U.S. Cong. Congressional record.

Appendix

Tribute to Senator George

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a remarkably fine article on the career of the distinguished senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. George], written by William S. White and published in the New York Times magazine of March 13, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR GEORGE: MONUMENTAL, DETERMINED
(By-William S, White)

WASHINGTON.—"Monumental" is the word for WALTER FRANKLIN GEORGE, the organ-voiced patriarch of the Senate and the third most powerful man in the United States in foreign policy. For "Mister GEORGE"—this is what his wife "Miss Lucy" calls him in the way of the old-fashioned southern gentle-woman in speaking to others of her husband—is for the Eisenhower administration in these tense days both a rock and an adornment.

He is a Democrat but in any ways, and especially in world affairs, a very unpartisan one, indeed. He has now resumed, after what to him in his long Senate career is a short hiatus of 14 years, the chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He is hand in glove with Secretary of State Dulles and with the President himself, though sometimes his is the hand and theirs is the glove. And though the George hand is seemingly gentle, it can be steely.

It is obvious to those in position to observe these matters closely that Mr. George is in the confidence of the Secretary of State to a degree that no other Senator has ever been during Mr. Dulles' tenure. This does not exclude Senators of Mr. Dulles' own Republican Party, no matter who they may be.

Senator George keeps up with the highest affairs of the State Department—the crises, the burgeoning new policies, and all the rest that matters—in a very personal way. He does not do this by going to the State Department. Every Thursday, barring his absence from the country, Mr. Dulles comes by at breakfasttime to Mr. George's apartment in the Mayflower Hotel to put the whole burden of the moment on the breakfast table,

Senator George, in his discretion, passes on to his colleagues of the Foreign Relations Committee such of these matters as he may think fit as the dean of the Senate as well as the chairman of that committee. He is not merely a partner in bipartisanship but its ambulant embodiment. An irreverent junior Democrat—the word "irreverent" is used because, while Mr. George is in no sense stuffy, he is profoundly impressive—observes of the arrangement: "George is the rich man's Arthur Vandenberg."

This irresistibly apt comparison to the last great Senate exemplar of bipartisanship—the late Republican Senator from Michigan in the days when the White House was in Democratic hands—is unconsciously revealing. No one on the Democratic side, and not many on the Republican side, if it comes to that, would think of comparing Mr. George to any other Senator in any way that did not clearly put him in the senior position.

This position he occupies, not simply in the committee but in the whole of the Senate, for a variety of reasons. First of all, to all there present he is senior; he has been 30 years in that body, and that is a very long time. Then, he not only runs the Foreign Relations Committee but also is the voluntary ex-chairman and still senior Demoratic member of another body that in some ways is even more puissant, the Committee on Finance.

He is, therefore, in a position with one hand to help shape the great affairs of the world—not excluding such affairs as peace and war—and with the other to assist in adding to, or relieving, the tax burden of everybody in the United States. He is also the President pro tempore of the Senate, its Presiding Officer in the Vice President's absence.

But all this indicates only a small part of the story of the prestige of George. (The monosyllable "George." by the way, is the most common way of speaking of him in Washington, even though now and then one hears him referred to as "Walter." When a man in the Senate is called almost habitually by his last name, it implies an unconscious concession by the speaker that here is a personage who does not need even the grand, rolling title of "Senator.")

Walter Franklin George, in his front-row seat just next to the chair of the majority leader, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, is an institution. Stocky rather than tall, his eyes cavernous behind thick spectacles, his small hand wearily smoothing his shock of white hair, he is for all the world like a proctor or monitor in a school for boys. Very grown men dread his frown and fear his displeasure, the one because it is so forbidding, the other because of the magnificent basso-profundo of his admonishing voice.

When he feels aggrieved he puts the case with the air of a patient man long, long put upon—intolerably and endlessly put upon—and now at last compelled to utter, as politely as may be remotely possible, some slight suggestion of the incredible travail that he has had to endure. Clearly, he honestly considers his capacity for endurance to be extraordinary.

Thus when he indicates that even this capacity has now been exceeded, the whole Chamber comes to a most respectful halt. The air is thereupon filled with Jovian bolts and rolls of thunder, and Members not remotely involved in the cause of his distress will nevertheless look a bit guilty and apologetic that matters have come to such a sorry point.

These incidents rarely occur—Mr. George is as far as possible from being a quarrel-some man—but when they do, they are memorable. One such occurred last year.

Senator George was determined to break a proposed constitutional amendment to limit the President's treatymaking power

that had been put in by Senator John W. Bricker, Republican, of Ohio. He was equally resolved upon the adoption of an amendment of his own, and this George paper, along with the Bricker paper, met the opposition of Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr.

Mr. Brownell had sent to the Senate a memorandum disapproving some aspects of Mr. George's project, and it became the duty of the unfortunate Senator William F. Knowland, of California, the Republican Senate leader and a respectful disciple of Walter F. George, to read the Attorney General's caveats on the floor.

Senator George arose in all his splendid fury to dispose of the luckless Mr. Brownell, who, had he been present, would hardly have known what had hit him until it was all over.

The Senator recalled with a mixture of sorrow and anger that he had undertaken to listen to the proposals of the administration, which he need not have done at all. But now, he said, with an incredulous scorn, look what had happened.

Someone in the Justice Department, George quickly concluded that it was "some kloik" (clerk), as he put it—had sent up a document that was both ridiculous and impertinent. This, he indicated, was about all that could have been expected of an agency in the hands of Mr. Brownell. For this, the Senator loudly suggested several times, was "a very odd little Attorney General."

His curiously wounding description, the nearest thing to an epithet that this correspondent ever heard George employ in debate, for good or ill, all but swept Brownells influence from the Senate floor. The small incident is a key to much of the Senator's operating power.

His most admiring friends (and they are very many) could hardly have maintained that George really dealt with the Brownell memorandum on its merits. Nevertheless, he destroyed it in a single phrase; it is his gift—and now a gift unique in all the Senate—to be senatorial in the grand manner. Senators do not always and necessarily require of a George that precision of logic, or that information as to details that they require of younger and lesser men.

Who expects a great prima donna to parse the sentences of her lyrics? It is enough that she sings. It is thus with Gronge when with matchless effectiveness he takes the lead on the floor for an Eisenhower foreign policy. Like many of the great politicians of the old school, he will not be bound by the details, nor will he haggle over the fine print.

Those who seek to engage him in these areas are wasting their time; he will peer at them in morose, lofty indifference, as not long ago he peered at those who wanted to put reservations into our defense treaty with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

He looks upon all high policy as a traveler sees a distant landscape. It is the panorama in which he is interested; it is not his habit of mind to be concerned with the situation of the hills and valleys. A traditionalist in these matters, he has the deep conviction that the conduct of foreign policy belongs in the hands of the President and, all in all, he will, before he is through, return to the White House a measure of control over world affairs that it has not had since Franklin D. Roosevelt.

He will do this, that is to say, so long as he remains convinced that the White House itself is acting with proper responsibility—and with due deference to the Senate. He is perhaps the only man who could make so difficult a rationale—that is, both a rendering unto Caesar and a retention of the Senate's own proper place in the scheme of things.

His own views are internationalist, as is fit and apt for a southern politician of his generation. They are oriented more toward Europe than toward Asia, in the typical fashion of Democrats who find it very hard to understand the passionate intensity of the old Republican preoccupation with Asia.

But these views could not fairly be called, even by the most vehement America Firster, hospitable to give-away. Mr. George in his time has helped to open the treasury to many foreign enterprises, and will do so many times again. For all of that, he does not gladly fling public money about. Few public men feel, in principle, a deeper pain at the size of the public debt. In a word, he is suitably safe in the fiscal sense—a circumstance that greatly forwards his influence in the Senate.

He is, moreover, the only man in the Senate who can visibly, undoubtedly, and repeatedly change votes simply by his incomparable rhetoric on the floor. Other men are much more effective in gathering votes in the lounges and corridors—Mr. George's junior colleague, Senator Richard B. Russell, for one. George, for his part, scorns the practical kind of operation, the man-toman discussion in which Mr. Russell so excels.

It is, nevertheless, the judgment of some of the most open-eyed and informed men in the Senate that George of Georgia, given ideal circumstances, can come close on the floor to controlling as many as 25 votes on certain issues at certain times. These issues will for the most part be issues of foreign policy; whatever George decides in this field is very nearly final with nearly all the Democratic rank and file and with a good number of Republicans as well.

Why this is so it is very nearly impossible to explain, though some suggestive considerations may be offered. There is the fact that the Senate is basically a hierarchal body; and George is the great hierarch. There is the fact that George is an authentic and profoundly safe conservative; no man supposes for a moment that George will lead him onto any terrain of sticky innovation.

One seeks to avoid exaggeration here. It is, nevertheless, for all practical purposes, a fact that when Groege takes a position it has, for many in the Senate, much of the political force that the proclaimed dogmas of the established churches may in the spiritual realm have for the faithful. The Senate feeling is that in Groege there is safety, there is continuity, there is dignity, there is a kind of indescribable stability as the years go by and he goes on.

It is so secret that when the Democratic leadership of the Senate senses trouble one of the regency is likely to mutter to another: "Shouldn't we ask George to go in now?"—meaning to go on the floor and do his stuff, George, of course, will go in or not, as he pleases. He is not the sort of man to be assigned to do anything, indeed the very suggestion of attempting to direct him in any way would be regarded as appailing heresy.

Like most artists, essentially he goes his own way. For example, in spite of his incredible seniority he is not a member of the Senate Democratic policy committee though this is not to say that his views are not sonorously heard there from time to time.

The chief of the Democratic high command, Senator JOHNSON of Texas, is 30 years junior to his seat mate; Mr. George needs no membership on any committee to transfer his views to Lyndon. Lyndon, for his part, looks with an affectionate fascination on his senior and would no more think of interfering with that senior in his sphere—foreign policy—than he would propose to try to tell a Texas uncle how to run a ranch.

Some of the rank and filers occasionally will attempt to challenge "the Old Man," but these youngsters most often are put in their place by the leaders even before they go so far as to provoke the Olympian frowns of George himself.

The Senator, more than any man who sits with him, embodies the powerful quality of long success. He was, for example, one of the triumphant survivors of 1938, the year that Franklin Roosevelt undertook to purge Congress of certain rightwing Democrats who were, the President felt, getting in the way of the New Deal.

Today, Mr. George recalls that episode with what can only be called a splendid, and somewhat absent, detachment. Mr. Roosevelt came to a political meeting in Barnesville, Ga., and sat on the platform with Senator George himself, among others. The President told the crowd that the Senator was both a scholar and a gentleman; but then he went on to say in substance that Mr. George, for all that, just wouldn't do in the Senate. As the President finished his speech, he turned to the Senator, said quietly, "God bless you, Walter," and went away.

Mr. George was returned to the Senate in a great outpouring of votes. Later, in the 6 months that he served in 1941 as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, he became indispensable to Mr. Roosevelt's great foreign-policy designs; there was, for example, the little matter of passing the lend-lease bill.

The President never afterward referred directly to the contretemps of 1938. Once, however, in the crowded and anxious war years he sought a certain tax program of Mr. George, who then had on his other hat as chairman of the Finance Committee. Pressing this program as one likely to be popular with the voters, Mr. Roosevelt said urgently;

"WALTER, if I know anything at all about Georgia politics * * *." At this point GEORGE caught the Presidential eye. " * * * and certainly I don't," Mr. Roosevelt finished with a laugh.

"Mr. Roosevelt," says Mr. George now, in a soft, forgiving rumble of a voice, "had a quite genuine gift for separating his personal feelings from his political feelings. He never mixed the two."

Senator George, on his side, has an equally decisive way of separating the personal from the official. Just before this Democratic Congress met, the administration was most anxious for him to leave the chairmanship of the Finance Committee and return to the chair of the Foreign Relations Committee.

At length he was requested by the President and Secretary of State Dulles to come to the White House. They put their hopes before the Senator. He agreed to go along. But, as he says, "I told them that I could not undertake the social part of this job. I do not much care to go out in the evening. I said I might feel obliged to come once a year to some official entertainment at the White House, but nothing beyond that. It was agreed."

What has happened in practice is that the unofficial stand-in for Mr. George at diplomatic affairs is his tireless and convivial junior on the Foreign Relations Committee, the 87-year-old Senator THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, of Rhode Island. By custom Mr. GEORGE, who is only 77, is still invited everywhere; by general understanding he will now and then accept an invitation, but more or less at the last minute it will somehow turn out that he cannot go after all.

Determined is also the word for WALTER FRANKLIN GEORGE.

Natural Gas Regulation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, on February 26, 1955, I issued a statement commenting upon the action of the White House Committee on National Fuel Policy with particular reference to their recommendation that the Federal Government remove itself from all regulation of field producers of gas. I would like to place a copy of my statement in the RECORD, and also a letter from Mr. Thomas W. Goodloe, president of Ten-nessee Natural Gas Lines, Inc., with tabulation showing weighted average price of producers for gas purchased in southwestern fields by 10 major pipeline companies from 1948 to 1953. Mr. Goodloe's letter and tables show that the price to field producers has increased 300 percent during that 6-year period. Further relaxation of regulations would be disastrous to the consumer.

There being no objection, the statement, letter, and tables were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR KEFAUVER

The White House Report on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy, released today, is bad medicine for consumers.

The weasel-worded section on natural-gas regulation means that the White House is giving administration backing to what amounts to a repeal of the Supreme Court decision in the Phillips case. This means consumers had better get ready for more millions on their gas bills.

The policy enunciated in this section is much worse than proposals to exempt the so-called independent producers of gas from interstate regulation—the so-called Kerr bill.

It harks back instead to proposals of some years ago which would exempt all field producers from Federal regulation. Integrated companies, which own both pipelines and field production, serve as an illustration. Under this policy, such an integrated company produces its own gas in the field and could charge whatever it wishes to its pipeline company. The pipeline company then would be subject to regulation only in transmission costs. At the other end, the distribution end, local regulation would be powerless to deal with anything that has gone before.

The White House policy statement simply sacrifices the interests of some 60 million consumers who depend on natural gas to the profits of a comparative handful of oil companies who produce it.

TENNESSEE NATURAL GAS LINES, INC., Nashville, Tenn., March 1, 1955. Re Regulation of gas field prices. The Honorable Estes Kepauver, United States Senate,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR ESTES: Tennessee Gas Transmission
Co. supplies most of middle and east Tennessee. This company's weighted-average cost of gas in 1948 was 4.28 cents per mcf and at present that company's weighted average cost of gas in the field is more than 12 cents per mcf, or approximately 300 percent of the 1948 field-price cost.

Attached is a tabulation showing the weighted-average price of producers for gas purchased in Southwestern fields by 10 ma-

jor pipeline companies in the years 1948 to This tabulation is an excerpt from an exhibit introduced by United Gas Pipe Line Co. in FPC Docket No. G-1142. In most cases prices have further increased substantially since 1953. It appears that the increase in field prices over this very short period has been tremendous and such prices should certainly now be approaching fair prices to producers, if indeed they have not already arrived.

Very truly yours, THOMAS W. GOODLOE. President.

Weighted average prices paid to producers for gas purchased in the field by 10 major pipeline companies (includes 745.11 field purchases and 745.12 gasoline plant outlet purchases)

[14.9 p. s. i. a.]

	Cents per thousand cubic feet					
	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Arkansas Louisiana Gas Co Mississippi River Fuel Corp. Southern Natural Gas Co. Teunessee Gas Transmission Co. Texas Eastern Transmission Corp. Texas Gas Transmission Corp. Texas Gas Transmission Corp. Texas Ullinois Natural Gas Pipeline Co.	4. 28 6. 69	3. 65 6. 04 4. 57 6. 50 6. 89	4.39 10.03 6.36 5.11 6.48 6.77	6. 41 11. 07 6. 29 5. 54 6. 53 7. 34 8. 70 7. 20	7. 85 11. 30 7. 15 6. 53 7. 51 7. 26 8. 54 7. 53	9. 01 11. 96 8. 08 9. 37 12. 05 9. 70 8. 86 7. 83
Franscontinental Gas Pipe Line Corp Frunkline Gas Co United Gas Pipe Line Co	3. 67	4. 29	5. 03	7. 74 5. 86	7. 76 7. 37	8. 04 8. 04
Total (weighted average)	4. 23	4.79	5, 43	6. 25	7.42	8. 8:

Note.—Gas purchased in the field by the above companies is produced primarily in Louisiana and Texas. Some chases are also made in Arkansas and Mississippi fields.

Source: FPC annual reports.

Resignation of Robert Cutler as the President's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Mr. Cutler's Contribution," published in the Washington Star of March 11, 1955. Mr. Cutler, a very distinguished citizen of Massachusetts, has been doing one of the most sensitive Federal jobs as the President's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs. He has been the operating executive of the National Security Council. He retired from that position as of Saturday last. The editorial is a commendatory one, which he well deserves.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. CUTLER'S CONTRIBUTION

As the President's special assistant for national security affairs, Robert Cutler has rendered distinguished service in one of the most sensitive of all Federal jobs. And now that he has resigned from the post, to return to private life and his native Boston, it may rightly be said that the country at large is indebted to him for important labors that cannot be publicized in detail because they have had to do with top-secret matters

of defense and foreign policy.

For Mr. Cutler has been the operating executive of the National Security Council. As such, in addition to having played a major Fole in reinvigorating the NSC as the Government's highest policymaking agency, he has participated in procedures that have resulted in decisions of the greatest import to the United States and the free world in general. Further, besides having served as a key administrator privy to secrets of the most vital sort, he has been perhaps the closest of the President's confidents and personal advisers-a man who because of the unique sensitivity of his duties, and not because of any lack of natural gregariousness, has kept himself out of the limelight and carried on his work with the utmost discretion and a real passion for anonymity.

It is because of this that relatively very few Americans know anything about Mr. Cutler. But the Nation, even though it has seldom seen his name in the headlines, owes him thanks none the less for what he has contributed to it since President Eisenhower called him to the White House. He is leaving his post in excellent shape for Dillon Anderson, his successor, and he has every reason to take proper pride in the fine ex-ample he has set as a public servant.

Norway and the Viking Spirit in the Atomic Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on last Saturday night it was my pleasure to address the 60th anniversary banquet of the Sons of Norway, meeting in New

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my address on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NORWAY AND THE VIKING SPIRIT IN THE ATOMIC AGE

It is a pleasure to participate in observing this 60th anniversary of your outstanding organization—the Sons of Norway.

It is a privilege for me from many stand-

First, as a United States Senator, I am pleased to pay tribute to a great ally of our country-Norway; an ally which has proven its staunch mettle in war and in peace.

Secondly, as an American, I am pleased to pay this tribute to a freedom-loving land, a land whose people share the values which we

Norway, like ourselves has always been deeply dedicated to the cause of liberty. Her people have always been a living demonstraion of the principles of human brotherhood. Norway, like our own, is a devout nation, with a reverence for the Lord.

And, then, there is a third reason: It is because like many in this audience tonight, I am proud to be a descendant of Norwegian parents and grandparents. We share, therefore, a common admiration for the land from which our forefathers came, a land which has always been truly worthy of that admiration.

MY VISIT TO NORWAY

May I say that it was our good fortune to spend a few days in Norway last summer.

Our good friend Trygve Gottas arranged for a car, and we set out on a journey to my father's old home in Numedal.

We stopped at Dramen and met some of the distinguished folks of that city.

From there, we journeyed to Kongsberg where our friend Trygve had assembled some 30-odd relatives of mine; we were treated there to a wonderful dinner.

We had rommegrout; we had gjeost and mountain trout and many other tasty dishes that spoke of Norway.

Of course, there were exchanges of toasts and much that was spoken, brought up memories of days that are gone.

We then journeyed by car into Numedal to my father's old home. Of course, here again we had to eat before we left.

In one of the rooms we found an old album with pictures of my parents and of us children when we were youngsters. There were pictures of the family taken in various periods.

This visit recalled another visit I had made back in 1939 before the Second World

I was attending the Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference in Oslo, and took a day off to get down to my father's old home. I also took a day off to go to Gudbransdalen and located the house in which my mother was

She came to America as a little child with

her folks before the Civil War.

My father emigrated when he was about 21, right after the Civil War.

While in Norway, I visited with the Crown Prince and a number of the Norwegian offi-We were the guests of our Ambassador cials. and his wife.

NORWAY'S BRIGHT BUT CHALLENGING OUTLOOK

Our general impressions of Norway last summer were that here were a people that were going ahead, that realized they belong completely to the West and are taking a strong position in that regard.

But the legacy of World War II's hardships, when 20 percent of Norway's national wealth was destroyed, are still with her.

Norway has serious domestic problems, for her's is basically a country poorly endowed with national resources. She has a \$400 million yearly deficit. Her taxes are high. Controls are strict on many phases of economic life.

Yet her production is booming. modest agriculture is expanding. Her great shipbuilding industry reached one-half mil-lion tons last year. Her shipping fleet—third largest in the world-flies her respected banner on the seas. In 1954, she had the biggest herring catch in history.

Norway, in spite of the damage of war and occupation, in spite of considerable defense burdens, stands stanchly with the free world.

NORWEGIAN-AMERICANS' CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNITED STATES

And now friends, I want just briefly to turn back a few pages of history here in our own land.

From the mid-19th to the mid-20th century, approximately 850,000 persons of Norwegian birth settled in the United States. Unlike other immigrant groups (who gravitated to the cities) Norwegians settled principally in the rural areas of America where they became among the sturdiest American farmers.

Their assimilation into the American scene was rapid. They took up our language promptly. Their ways and customs from the old country were not too dissimilar from the ways and customs of the new land.

The first Norwegian pioneers in my own State established a colony at Muskego, near Milwaukee, in 1839. Prior to the middle of the 19th century most Norwegian immigrants headed for Wisconsin.

As the years went on, Norwegians, as you know, settled elsewhere in the Middle West. By 1914, there were more Norwegians in my neighboring State of Minnesota than in any other State. Then, North and South Dakota, Montana, Washington, and Oregon attracted great numbers.

Norwegians brought to the new land their deep devotion to religion, and their deep interest in schooling for the young. Luther College, in Decorah, Iowa, was established in 1861, and St. Olaf College, in Northfield, Minn., in 1874. They established Concordia College in Moorhead, Minn.; Augustana College in Sloux Falls, S. Dak.; and Pacific Lutheran College in Parkland, Wash. They set up many newspapers, many singing societies and bands.

From the ranks of Norweglan Americans have come Knut Nelson, Governor of Minnesota and United States Senator for more than quarter of a century; O. E. Rolvaag, author of the epic of adjustment to the American scene, Giants in the Earth; Thorsten Veblen who is regarded universally as one of the greatest economists so far produced in our land; Victor Lawson, journalist and financier; and Eric Severeid, one of our most prominent radio-TV commentators, a man who, like his Viking ancestors, does not run from a fight.

NORWAY'S OWN CONTRIBUTIONS

From Norway itself to the world came Henrik Ibsen, in literature; Magnus Olsen, in science; Edvard Greig, in music; Kirsten Flagstad, in opera; Gustav Vigeland, in sculpture; and in discovery and exploration in centuries gone by, Leif Ericson; and in more latter days, Friedtjof Nansen and Roald Amundsen.

Yes; here is a country with a population only approximately that of my own State of the Union. Here is a country of meager resources, of often difficult weather conditions. Here is a country which has to live principally by the sea, which is often a hard master.

Yet, here is a country where culture has flowered, where freedom has thrived, where her sons and daughters, both those who have remained at home and those who have journeyed beyond the seas, have made important contributions to mankind.

Here is seen the triumph of courage, of resourcefulness, of industry over all obstacles.

And these are precisely the qualities needed in today's troubled world.

THE BIG ISSUE: NEUTRALISM OR DEFENSE

But now I should like to turn at this point to the major issue of our times: whether the nations will prove adequate to defend themselves against international Communist aggression or whether they will succumb one by one to that dreadful conspiracy? Throughout the world today, there are hundreds of millions of individuals in many free lands whose leaders unfortunately have chosen thus far blindly to turn their backs to and ignore the Communist international menace.

The neutralist leaders seem to prefer to make believe that it does not exist.

Many of these leaders recognize that communism is a threat at home. Some of them have adopted stern measures against internal subversion. But they seem to prefer to deceive themselves and to deceive their own people into believing, on the international front, that the Pelking Government and the Moscow Government do not really represent a direct and immediate threat to the peace and security of mankind.

Indeed, many of these neutralist leaders seem to act as if it were the United States which is the principal threat to world peace and security.

Nothing could, of course, be further from the truth. No land in the world more dearly desires peace than our own. No land more dearly desires to devote its major energies to constantly raising living standards and improving the peaceful way of life for its people.

But no land more clearly recognizes than ourselves that in this dangerous atomic age, to be weak is to "commit suicide on the installment plan."

NORWAY: SYMBOL OF DEFENSE

But, I am pleased to say that there are many lands which are in far closer proximity than ours to the Communist threat which definitely recognize as we do the grim danger to the free world.

Here is a land, like Norway, which is within but minutes of Soviet jet bomber bases, at modern supersonic speeds. Yet, Norway has bravely and completely cast her lot with the free world in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

She is contributing to the sinews of defense in terms of manpower, installations, military production, maritime strength, and vigilance.

Here is a wonderful symbol for all the world to observe and admire.

Brave Norway stands practically at the jaws of the Soviet bear. Yet, unafraid, undismayed she calmly, coolly signifies that she will take her stand in defense of her own independence. And by her very act of courage, she thereby deters the danger of war to herself and to all the free world.

Now, let me say that there are many reasons why some lands have preferred neutralism thus far: Historical reasons, cultural reasons, military, religious, economic, and political reasons.

We must understand why various lands have chosen neutralism. We must see the problem through their eyes. We must not be overly quick to criticize, although we must be frank and objective.

At the same time, we should take off our hats in salute to a country which has known what war can mean, what dreadful occupation can mean, and yet is willing to risk its all, knowing how close it is to the deadly peril.

This is the spirit which we need in our time.

LET'S NOT BE PANICKED BY WAR DANGER

Here, in our own country, we read every day alarming stories of what a thermonuclear war could mean.

We read about how many casualties could occur in our major cities.

We read about the danger of radioactive fallout, potentially contaminating areas of 7,000 square miles.

There are some who allow these admittedly grim stores virtually to paralyze themselves. They throw up their hands in dismay as if nothing constructively can be done or should be done.

That, however, is definitely not the attitude to adopt.

And Norway is the living proof that there is a more positive attitude to adopt, an attitude of courage, or forthrightness, an attitude which recognizes the peril, which recognizes all the horror that a third world war could mean.

But Norway knows that if there is anything worse than war, it is slavery.

Norway knows that hysteria concerning the danger of war can only bring war closer, that it is one thing to try all-out to prevent war; as we are, indeed, trying; it is another thing to become so panie-stricken about the danger of war that you try to appease; you forget that there is something worse in this world than to fight on your feet. It is to crawl eternally on your knees before a Red dictator.

PROBLEM OF QUEMOY AND MATSIT

What we can use in this country today is more of the Viking spirit. It is a fearless spirit which is willing to brave the unknown and to take calculated risks.

Nowhere, perhaps, on the international scene today do we more need this spirit than in troubled Asia, particularly in the western Pacific, in connection with our problem of defending Formosa, the Pescadores, and the related areas.

There are those in America who still would have us shrink back from this mission. They seem to say, "Let us not venture into this dangerous unknown affecting a few offshore islands 6,000 miles from the California mainland. Who knows where the uncertainty affecting Matsu and Quemoy may lead us?"

Well, the answer is: No one can accurately predict what will happen tomorrow morning, much less, next month or next year.

But we know quite well what would have happened or would happen were we to eliminate uncertainty and openly to exclude Matsu and Quemoy from our commitments.

Some of our good friends in the United Kingdom keep repeating, "Abandon outright Matsu and Quemoy."

But we have rightly refused to do so, preferring instead to leave the ultimate decision as to whether those islands will be defended under the varying circumstances of the future, to the great man who now occupies the White House, aided by his most expert advisers.

The burden of that decision will be a heavy one, a fateful one, a prayerful one. But you can be sure that when it is made, it will be objective, not emotional. It will be on the basis of all of the factors in the situation. It will not be based on just one factor, one geographic area; it will not just be on the basis of the problem of Formosa and the Pescadores, it will take into consideration our position in Korea, in Japan, in southeast Asia, and elsewhere in the world.

BOTH MILITARY AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS CRUCIAL

And if I may say just a few more words about that particular critical situation, let me say this: There is entirely too much piecemeal thinking in our country today.

Some individuals seem to say, "there is no important factor but the military factor with regard to Formosa, the Pescadores and related areas."

But that concept is nonsense. The principal Communist victories in Asia have been scored, not by traditional techniques of military warfare, but rather by the revolutionary new application of psychological warfare, by skilled propaganda techniques, by the eroding of morale among its foes.

So, a key question is, "What would be the psychological effect of possible loss of Matsu and Quemoy on the Chinese Nationalist forces on Formosa, on our allies and friends in southeast Asia and elsewhere, on our enemies in Peking and in Moscow?"

But then, there are those who swing to the opposite extreme and say, "The only factor is the psychological factor."

That concept, too, is false.

The Peking regime consists of shrewd military (and political chess players). It tries to ridicule us as a paper tiger, but it knows we have sharp military claws.

As for ourselves, the decision as to when and how we will use our strength is not a

simple one.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States must determine whether Matsu and Quemoy are (a) defensible in view of their proximity to the Chinese mainland, and (b) are worth the price of defense. The Joint Chiefs will weigh the effect of the possible rain of artillery fire from the mainland which may soon fall unceasingly on those offshore islands. The Joint Chiefs will consider the availability of Red jet fields and of Red jet fuel and Red sampans and Red paratroops. The Joint Chiefs will weigh the commitments of our Armed Forces in the Pacific and elsewhere. So, their military decision will be an immensely complicated one; let no armchair general or amateur admiral attempt to assert dogmatically what should be our military course under any and all circumstances. We have competent Chiefs of our Armed Forces; let us retain our confidence in their military judgment.

Let us maintain our well-placed faith, too, in our Chief Executive who obviously has so broad a background in military science that he is in a position personally to weigh the judgment of his own highest military ad-

visers.

DANGER IN PUBLICIZING ALL PLANS

Another example of piecemeal thinking is that very often people here in the United States seem to want to insist on publicizing virtually all the facts and plans-which we may want for our public, but which our enemies may want still more.

The President and the Secretary of Statea marvelous team-have been absolutely sound in resisting unwise efforts to have us

give away completely our hand.

They have perceived very clearly that, while from some standpoints it might be advantageous to outline very clearly and precisely what specific areas we actually propose to defend and those we do not propose to defend-that there are obviously grave disadvantages to that procedure.

We all remember the unfortunate consequences which flowed from the decision openly to exclude Korea from the United

States perimeter of defense,

So, we do not intend to engrave any more invitations to Peking to swallow up more

territory with impunity.

But the piecemeal thinkers are still not satisfied, all they can see is one segment of the problem—the matter of informing our own people, but they ignore the consequences of "spilling the beans" to the enemy.

RED CHINA WILL PROBABLY NOT CHOOSE WAR

We can be sure, Peking and Moscow will try to guess or plans by all sorts of little or big experiments. They will probe, they will jab here or there.

Let's not make their guesswork any easier. They have enough sples without our giving away our intelligence secrets on a silver

Our splendid Secretary of Stategreatest to ever occupy that high office—has told Red China exactly what we want her to know and nothing more. John Foster Dulles has spoken with vigor and clarity and substance. We will defend Formosa, the Pescadores, and related areas with force of immense power. But the decision as to war rests squarely in Peking. She will stand

self-indicted before the world if she chooses the course of war.

I do not believe she will choose war. For all its admitted strength, the Red dragon's fire for the present may be so much hot air. Clearly, she burningly covets Formosa and all the islands. But her ambition out-reaches her limited capabilities. Mao-Tse-Tung and company are hard realists, not idle daydreamers.

KREMLIN WATCHING OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

And before I conclude my references to the current situation, let me say this: The crisis in the Formosa Straits is being judged by Mr. Khrushchev and his cohorts in the Kremlin and Peking on the basis of many other facts elsewhere in the world.

Mr. Khrushchev is watching what the United States does in relation to strengthening its Armed Forces. This is not merely a matter of quantity, but rather, of quality, particularly the quality of our nuclear weapons and our strategic air programs which are

definitely progressing.

He is watching what we do to the vital appropriations request of the United States Information Agency. If the USIA funds are slashed, Mr. Khrushchev could declare a few hours holiday in Moscow. If Congress were to be pennywise and pound foolish and to reduce the ability of the United States Information Agency to get across the facts to the peoples of the world, particularly to the people of southeast Asia, it would be a sad day for the cause of the free world.

KHRUSHCHEV HOPES FOR AID SLASH TO SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Mr. Khrushchev is watching even more closely the nature of our future economic aid program to southeast Asia. He is hoping we will pinch our pennies so tightly that he can easily pick up such valuable but vulnerable population, real estate, and resources as South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand-all of which vitally need United States aid. Giving them aid with an eye-dropper won't be of any more help than giving them more aid than they can reasonably absorb.

Mostly, Khrushchev is hoping that America's almost universal and completely understandable desire for a balanced budget will lead us to miserly errors of ommission. Those errors would make for a further unbalanced world; a world in which a balanced United States budget would become abso-

lutely impossible thereafter.

And-in our own land, Mr. Khrushchev is watching, too, what happens to civil-defense appropriations. He will want to see whether we regard seriously the problem of defending the lives of 165 million Americans, in a small Nation which has now been crossed by a jet plane in 3 hours, 46 minutes, or whether by slashing civil defense, Congress were to indicate that it doesn't take too seriously this grim problem of defense in this superspeed age.

Most of all, Mr. Khrushchev and his cohorts will be watching the American spirit, the United States backbone.

Do we cringe, and shrink, and waiver, or do we stand firm and resolute and brave?

The latter course is the only true American course, and it is the one course which we will indeed follow.

CONCLUSION

It has been a great privilege to address the Sons of Norway tonight.

As we blow out these 60 warm candles in this fine organization's birthday cake, we look forward to its innumerable anniversaries to come.

We now that in the years up ahead, its members and their families will continue to contribute not only to America, not only to friendship with Norway, but to te cause of the free world.

Financing of Production of Electric Energy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "In Kansas and New York," which appeared in the Topeka Daily Capital, issue of Friday, March 4.

During the past few years the private utility companies in Kansas have been expanding their production of electric energy at a rate that is in keeping with the demands of our State. They have done this without financial aid from the Federal Government and in keeping with the true traditions and policies of the free enterprise system that has made our State outstanding.

Not only have they built a capacity to take care of the needs of our people but they have supplied this electric energy at rates that are competitive with electricity produced in other States and rates that our people can pay.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordere to be printed in the RECORD.

as follows:

IN KANSAS AND NEW YORK

The socialistic virus that seems to have gripped certain elements in various parts of the country has not taken much hold here in Kansas. Two electric power projects provide the contrast between New York and the Sunflower State.

The Kansas Power & Light Co. this week announced a \$16 million construction plan, to be paid for out of its operating revenues. without asking the Federal or State government for subsidies or help of any kind. strong public utility serves about one-third of the State, does it satisfactorily and at rates the public can afford to pay. And pays over \$8 million a year in taxes.

Look at what's happening in New York. Some of the Empire State's top officials are trying to get Congress to pass a bill to enable the State to finance, build and operate a \$300 million hydroelectric power project on the Niagara River near the falls. In one way or another, the taxpayers of New York would have to put up the money. They would also lose the millions that would be paid in taxes if private enterprise undertook the project.

The inconsistency of the New York pro-posal is emphasized by the fact that the State government already is hard-pressed for finances. And by the further fact that 5 private utility companies, with a splendid record of experience and achievement behind them, want to carry out the program the socialists in the New York legislature and elsewhere insist upon doing at public ex-pense. These companies would have started installation long ago, with private capital, but Congress has not yet given them

The same public power advocates who raised their voices in protest when the Atomic Energy Commission signed with Dixon-Yates for a powerplant, now are baying at the doors of Congress for approval of the New York scheme. These socialistic people are clamoring for the United States Government to spend \$1 billion for dams on the Snake River in the Northwest. other billions for the Colorado River project, which is about as fantastic a proposal as any

New Dealer ever dreamed.

It is fortunate that the people of Kansas have their feet on the ground, instead of keeping their heads in the clouds. The Kansas Power & Light Co., under the management of president Deane E. Ackers and his board of directors, asks no help from the government when improvements are needed to provide the necessary power for its cus-tomers. The virus of socialism has not struck the Kansas public utilities.

Industrial Dispersal Needs in Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Starting Civil Defense," published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 12, 1955. The editorial deals with industrial dispersal needs in civil defense.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STARTING CIVIL DEFENSE

Defense Mobilizer Arthur Flemming recently suggested the establishment of a legislative-executive body similar to the Hoover Commission to report on industrial dispersal needs in civil defense. Such a commission might have some merit as a means of calling public attention to what is necessary and as a means of compelling more vigorous action by the Executive and by Congress. But the basic trouble is not that the dimensions of the problem and the necessary precautions are unknown. It is that the administration has lagged in supplying the facts necessary for public judgment and the leadership to go with them.

More scrutiny in Congress of the sort being given by the Kefauver subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee certainly will help. We doubt, however, whether the creation of a joint committee on civil defense, as suggested by Senator HUMPHREY, is necessary. The need is not for a prolifera-tion of committees. There is and has been every reason for confidence that Congress would respond sensibly and sympathetically if it were presented with a realistic administration program. Leadership in this field is basically an administration responsibility.

It is shocking that the Federal Civil Defense Administration has been so hamstrung by secrecy, according to testimony by Val Peterson, that it could not inform subordinates about the consequences of radioactive fallout, let alone plan effectively, until the Atomic Energy Commission released the data last month-even though the existence of the danger has been known for many months. It is obvious that the move of the civil defense headquarters to Battle Creek, Mich., whatever the reason for it, has handicapped the agency enormously at a time when the major activity on the Federal level needs to be in Washington.

Even the facts the agency has had have ot always been publicized. Two and a half not always been publicized. years ago the Associated Universities prepared for the Federal Government an exhaustive study of civil defense problems known as Project East River. Perhaps some of the recommendations are now outmoded by the magnitude of the hydrogen bomb and the fallout problem, but wide understanding of the report would have been of enormous help in persuading the public that civil defense is not futile and that something can be done. Although most portions of the report were not classified, they have never been disseminated.

Considerable progress has been made in dispersal of new industry, and though some plans and assumptions will have to be revised in light of the fallout, the efforts have by no means been meaningless. The worst lag has been in the planning for safety of individuals. The early warning lines across Canada, very late in getting started, are now being pushed ahead rapidly and personnel safety measures will have to be speeded up to keep abreast of the warning system. What is lacking is authoritative shelter and evacuation planning done at the Federal level, with followthrough to see that States and cities apply it to their own situations.

Sir Winston Churchill and Field Marshal Montgomery recently have dramatized the importance Britain attaches to civil defense. The same sort of top-level attention and leadership is needed here. Assuredly, the initial responsibility for adequate civil de-sense must remain with States and communities throughout the country. But it is questionable whether defense at the local level can be made meaningful until the administrative revises its own concepts to take a more active role in seeing that local measures are effective.

Farm Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the GTA Daily Radio Roundup of March 9 and March 10, 1955.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP

FARMERS UNION GRAIN TERMINAL ASSOCIATION,

St. Paul, Minn., March 9, 1955.
Last night Minnesota legislators and other officials of State government were the guests of Northwest farmers at a dinner in the GTA office building. The affair honored these public servants for the service they And it was also an appropriate time in the headquarters of this region's co-op grain marketing organization for leaders in a farm State like Minnesota to do some serious thinking about the status of agriculture and the welfare of the farm family,

M. W. Thatcher, general manager of GTA, told the crowd that, in his opinion, there would be no change in price-support legislation in Washington before 1956, despite the fact that farmers will feel the economic pinch more and more this year and next. He also gave legislators and others present some of the facts from the GTA family farm survey, obtained in the first county to be surveyed. It's a west-central county of Minnesota.

Thatcher said first tabulated returns, based on a study of 220 farms in that county, showed that "farm income averaged 31 cents an hour in 1954." He pointed out that their income was "less than they would have realized if they had sold their farms and invested the money at 5-percent interest." The average net income of the farm families surveyed was \$1,739. They had an average capital investment of \$37,905. Say they had invested that money and gotten a 5-percent return on it. They'd have received an average income of \$1,895 off that. And that would be deemed quite reasonable, you can be sure, by the investment experts today.

But these farm families didn't do that. They worked-worked long, hard hours. And when you figure up how they made out, it looks like this: Even by allowing them absolutely nothing for that labor, they still didn't come out with a modest 5-percent return

on investment.

Another key fact that the first surveys show, Mr. Thatcher pointed out, is that the farmer's gross income was higher in 1954 than the average for the 5-year period studied. But, net income, that's what's left after paying expenses, was less. The reason? The farmer's costs went higher and ate up more and more of that gross income.

Mr. Thatcher also had some conclusions that particularly ought to interest business-men. He showed that "Main Street's prosperity is linked with farm income. It becomes very apparent from the survey reports that the farmers will spend money if given an adequate return so he has the cash with which to get the goods he needs and wants," Mr. Thatcher stressed.

The figures from the survey make this clear. The average gross income per farmer for the 5-year period was \$8,337, of which 75 to 80 percent goes right back to the community as operating expense. And most, or all, of the other 20 or 25 percent goes back, too, because the farm family spends that for living, for clothes and food, for the dentist and the doctor, for schools and churches. As Mr. Thatcher pointed out, "The operating costs are pretty much fixed so the squeeze takes place on family living."

Another fact for business people to mull over is this. The survey shows a pent-up market on farm buying that averaged \$3.843 per farmer just for repairs, things like painting, and fencing, and additions or replacements to buildings. There is a great market there if farmers can get the income. And, of those surveyed, 98 percent have radios, 97 percent have refrigerators, 77 percent have running water, and 38 percent have already television. Most of this they bought when income was higher. And many farmers expressed doubt that they could replace such items at present income. That thing for business to think about. That's some-

The farmer is a great customer when he's got the income. It's sound business for Main Street to pitch in and work with the farmers of GTA, the co-op way, for a sound farm program to bring that kind of income.

> GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP FARMERS UNION GRAIN TERMINAL ASSOCIATION, St. Paul, Minn., March 10, 1955.

Congress is getting deeper and deeper into the problems of agriculture and considering proposals that concern farmers. Two days ago, the House Agriculture Committee approved by a vote of 23 to 11, a bill that calls for a return to mandatory, firm price supports at 90 percent of parity on basic crops, like wheat and corn, for this year and 1956 and 1957.

Farm writers have called attention to the fact that when the House committee voted on the same question last year, it was much more one-sided in favor of firm supports. So, there's a shift—a closer division of opinion. Why? One reason is that the idea is being pushed in Washington that price-fixing ought to be given a trial, and it's only

been in effect for a couple of months at this date. And, then, of course, the other factor is the knowledge that the President holds in his hands the power of the vote. And, it's pretty clearly understood that he would use it to stop any bill that would upset the flexible price-support law.

But there has been a host of other bills in addition to the House farm committee bill. Over on the Senate side, for example, the news today tells us that Senator HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, is developing a plan to set supports higher for the family-type farmer and lower for the bigger farms. The plan would give growers 90 percent of parity on gross sales up to \$25,000 a year. would apply to a list of storable and perishable crops ranging from meat, milk, and eggs to wheat and cotton. Then a larger grower would get 75 percent of parity for sales between \$25,000 and \$50,000. And there'd be no price supports at all on sales above the \$50,000 limit. This bill aims to give protection to the smaller-the familytype farmer under the price-support program.

That plan is in the developing stage. Another type of bill of interest has been introduced by 23 Senators. They include Lan-GER and Young, of North Dakota; MANSFIELD, of Montana, and HUMPHREY. This bill is a food-stamp bill. It would work like this: The Secretary of Agriculture would determine the amount of surplus of perishables like dairy and poultry products, meat, fruits, and other commodities. Then certificates Would be issued to old-age pensioners and low-income people. They would take the certificates to a store and exchange them for the surplus food commodities.

This is the time of the year to keep your eyes on Washington, where farm prices are being made through legislation. And it's a time to do more than get ready for spring planting. It's also time to let Congressmen know what your problems are, and what you think of the bills that Congress has before it. The views you give will go a long ways toward helping your Representatives and Senators in considering legislation that affects you and the economic welfare of your family. Don't worry for a minute that they won't pay attention to your letter. They will, because they know farmers don't write letters to while away the time. They know you're concerned or you wouldn't have bothered to write.

And join with your fellow farmers of the Northwest in marketing your grain through GTA, the co-op way—working for better farm prices and a better future for the families on the land.

Gentle People of Prejudice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent sermon by Rev. Paul Covey Johnston, D. D., of the First Presbyterian Church, of Wichita, Kans. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

There being no objection, the text of the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GENTLE PEOPLE OF PREJUDICE

(By Rev. Paul Covey Johnston, D. D., First Presbyterian Church, Wichita, Kans.)

Matthew 5: 47: "If ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others?'

(Scripture: Luke 15: 11 to the end.) Senator Fulbright, a Rhodes scholar with an Oxford degree, recently "spoke his piece on January 25 at the National Book Awards dinner in New York City. His theme was the pressure to conform, which is a Machiavellian monster of our time. He pointed to the monopoly control of what people hear, see, read, and listen to; to the only 100 cities left in the United States where there is more than 1 newspaper competing for the thinking of the people; to the 4 "lords of radio" who dominate the networks and for 50 percent of whose products less than 2 dozen advertisers pay; and to the 5 big film companies which command most of the picture industry. This concentration of communication power is stereotyping our people-which is to say: rapidly eliminating individual judgments and flattening out individual opinions. It works adversely for the politician, who, however earnest, may come to believe he can retain his seat and exert influence only by parroting the sterile dogmas of the street. He will risk no bold scouting for what lies ahead for the Nation, nor utter prophecies of what ought to be. Business sometimes insists on what powerful Socony-Vacuum said to Princetonians, "personal views can cause a lot of trouble, the 'isms' are out"; and warned undergraduates to watch their step while in college if they expect to get good jobs after their degrees. Gagging the breath of student curiosity, it dangled bread before their mouths as a reward for silence and the absence of thinking. Some businesses have presumed to reach beyond the employee and attempt to control the kind of mate he will marry, and to set up rules for the conduct of his home. This is done in the name of "efficiency"; it is really an attempt to impose a conformity which will make a slave out of the worker, devoted to the behests of the managers. Education has no comfort, either; and brave indeed are its leaders who, midst loyalty oaths, kangaroo courts, and public suspicions, dare to imagine their job to be to admit their pupils to all relevant knowledge, and then to encourage their imprisoned splendor to escape. But the confession which tears the veil from these confusions, and which may become most celebrated for its candor, was contained in the report recently issued by the Reece committee of the House of Representatives. This report said that "the trustees of the tax-exempt foundations should be very chary of promoting ideas, concepts. and opinion-forming materials which run contrary to what the public currently wishes, approves, and likes." So, we are to have no prophets. "The voice of the people is the voice of God"—whatever the level of their timidity, ignorance, or coarse notions. These great research institutions are to be merely numb and neutral; and if the people are currently galvanized by soap operas and their equal, let the foundations rest content to underscore the wisdom of such execrable taste. Senato FULBRIGHT asks what the end result of all this can be? "It can be a society shaped in imitation of an Egyptian mummy; a society where the em-balmer holds the highest place of honor; a society of fixed, painted, and hard shells; a society feeding on its dry rot, until the fateful hour when a probing finger striking the shell from without makes it collapse on the empty center." You ask whether the You ask whether the Senator is a Democrat or a Republican; I say that in such comments he is greater than either, and exhibits qualities of a statesman.

I. This statement, which joins with so many others that warn us of the dangers of herd mentality, the suffocation of individual initiative, and the insidious dressing-down of ideals to an acceptable lowest common denominator, is a grave indictment of the cultural drift in our day. It admits a passion for mediocrity, and encourages the cowardice of having no opinion and preferring the security of being faceless in the mass rather than asserting one. If this is not anti-American, and antithetical to the traditions of our country, and to the incentives which have characterized and made us a distinguished people, I do not know what is the glory of the United States. There is nothing more lack luster than the willingness to be regimented into a common mold, yet that the phenomenon is not only a creeping lethargy but a galloping threat is undebatable. Scared into silence by public witch hunts and frightened into ananymity by the rotting suspicion of one another we have allowed to pervade our society, our boasted freedoms are largely a wistful memory. They will surge back, I believe, but not until we have taken the wraps off the individual, given the person, his ideas and acts, the respect of the dignity they are due; isolated the peril of coerced sameness for what it is: returned to the grand doctrine that a man is always right until he has been proven wrong; and made large place for the variable talents and even diverse opinions of some people. The latter can always be handled in the light and free air of open debates; for then they stand or fall according to their verity; repressed, they fester, and spread whatever poison they promote through the whole body politic, social, educational, and economic. Hence I believe that the current habit of boisterous suspicion and suppression is democratically destructive, and the clear enemy of the very system it professes to conserve. It is blighting our politics, substituting expedience for stamina, pruning ambition from the tree of achievement and denying us our natural leaders.
What comes out of the crowd into which

people lose their particularities is of great concern to us all; and, I believe, to the integrity of our Nation, its own future, and its mission in the world. We have come as far as we have because the American Constitution and the American tradition have not only protected the individual's rights, they have just as importantly placed a premium on his ideas, and their possibilities. We have been willing to listen to anyone with a notion-be he statesman or crackpot-leaving to time and the consensus the reward of judgment as to its soundness. We have expected our leaders to rise from the ranks, and to be people who can see farther than the drudging ones can look. But if we are to be compelled to conformity; if the vast intangible forces which possess congregates of people are moving in this direction, and are abetted by short-minded purveyors of shortminded wisdom; then we face a complete revolution in our culture, and a whole new set of axioms as to how life is and gets along. For myself, I do not believe that individual initiative is passé; against regimentation-even for a supposedly good causemy soul revolts; I believe we are in an historical interim period, until the human creature learns, through pain and thwarting, that monopoly of any kind will reduce him to a zero; meantime I have to admit that the spark of genius glows but fitfully against the glacier-like mountain of impersonality which would fain cover it and snuff it out. The tragedy is that so many of our people are as yet unaware of the peril.

But, compressed into the crowd, what comes out of the crowd is, I repeat, of enormous importance. The question is larger than the one natural to this Race Relations Sunday, yet our immediate theme of prejudice and how to deal with it rationally and as Christians is a sector of it. For a crowd is not as the persons who compose it. It has its own psychology. Its actions are swayed and determined not by reason, ordinarily, but by emotions. Explosions will occur in a group which would never burst in the persons of it. A crowd is notoriously cruel and captious, whereas the individuals thereof can be, each of them, gentle and considerate.

So it comes about that everything depends on the level on which a crowd is integrated. Have it the fashion that it is good and right and beautiful to knock an inoffensive old man down, to kick and defile him and you are in the presence of the mentality of the Nazi, and what any welldisciplined disciple of Hitler and his god, Woden, would do to any Jew just because he is a Jew. Or contrariwise, listen to the president of Swarthmore College trying to define the living spirit of that institution of Quaker origin and tradition and unable to lay his finger on its intangibles save to say that it inheres in a code of life and conduct which believes in God and cares very much for people; and you are in the presence of what is best and most admired in American thought and behavior.

Recognition of the corporate power of groups does not absolve us of personal responsibility, for a crowd moves in the direction in which its most earnest or flamboyant individuals aggressively take it. The attitudes which you and I bring to the group, and the contributions we make, are of crucial moment. And I take it that none of us—in this hearing, at least—devise to demit our responsibility, nor hide in the namelessness of the company. But we do well to appreciate the immense potential of any crowd for woe or weal.

II. The woe I can illustrate from the story of José Morales, a Mexican war worker in Los Angeles. Dorothy Baruch tells it in her book Glass Mouse of Prejudice. was proud of his war job. He had written his brother, who taught in the University of Mexico, that at last he had work in which he could use his knowledge and skill. One day, after finishing his shift, José took the bus home. When he got off at his street corner, he saw some men standing, waiting. They were strangers to him. He had never seen them before, nor they him. they looked hard at him and saw under the light of a street lamp that he was slim and dark. One of them cried "dirty Mexi-And then they were on him. They off his clothes. They beat him with can. tore off his clothes. chains and pipes. They left him naked and bleeding. His back was broken. The next morning José died.

Such a story leaves one bewildered. How could human beings be such brutal cowards? They had never seen him before, but from their actions you would think he had been some form of incarnate evil. But the horrible event, not infrequent in modern American history, was within the pattern of a false white supremacy which some crowds will enforce on just that dastardly level. It was blood broother to all manner of devices which we whitefaces will use to maintain our economic superiority-which we fear to share or lose-and a social caste system from whose disintegration we angrily dissent. ticket agent in a railway station may deliberately keep Negroes waiting until the last minute before train time, while he first serves the whites and then sits on a desk, chatting leisurely with a pal. He intends to be infuriating. He enjoys keeping the Negroes waiting. He knows they are bitter and he relishes their bitterness. He feels big. He is a white man. "Let the damn niggers wait." A woman with rooms to rent slams the door in the face of an in-quiring couple. "I don't take any Jews

here." She knows her words are an insult. She intends them to be. She feels important, even righteous.

The terrifying thing about prejudices of this kind is that it justifies itself to itself. It does it by the assumption of an unearned right. The white man eats where he pleases, lives where he pleases, dances and where he pleases. He takes that right as his-as absolute, and unrelated to his own merit or demerit. He does not believe he needs to give a thought to the fact that dark-skinned people do not have these rights, nor to the fact that they are denied them not because they are worse people but because they do not belong to the dominant They may even be better peoplemore intelligent, more reliable, and more gracious and pleasant to have around. Is it any wonder that one-half of the people of the globe, being dark-skinned, and having had a taste of these rights and liberties, have risen and are rising in gigantic rebellion against the retreating white man? white man retreats before the ferocity of the one-time colonials, and his own shame. Can it be other than expected that whenever the conditions I am describing appear or are continued, we Westerners are held up before the censure and disgust of the very Asians with whom we are trying so desperately to politically cooperate, to the point of saving our own skins? And can you imagine anything else but the doggondest racial explosion building up in South Africa at this hour, where the stubborn Dutch Afrikaner still seeks to maintain "apartheid" and keep the surging millions of black slaves under heel?

The way down to Avernus for racial prejudice is easy, and it is charted. Recent history is all one needs to observe the quick descent. A culture is slipping when it grants special privileges, or denies them, on grounds which have nothing to do with individual desert. The Nazis, herding luckless Jews into freight cars, and then into the ovens, showed us how. All human and humane distinctions were lost under the Hitlerian code. "In the night," wrote Hegel, "all cows are grey"; and in the night of racial prejudice, all despised persons are alike.

Then there must be scapegoats, that guilt and remorse may not rest on the aggressor but be transferred to the luckless. Follows the necessity for lies to support the hate. The Negro is, of course, shiftless, lazy, mentally inferior, and sexually unsafe to have around—which, of course again, is no more true than that there are thousands of whites as disappointing and as dangerous. The last step down is to make self-importance out of cruelty, and to be happy in hurting.

Oh, but you say, don't get so excited, Mr. Preacher! These things you describe do happen, and we deplore them; but none of us would dream of beating up an innocent Mexican, or even of making the "niggers" wait at the ticket window. I am not so certain of the latter, for I've lived in cities with their restrictive residential covenants, and I know something of our social complexes and irritations.

But granted the benefit of the doubt about our attitudes, we are again not excused from responsibility concerning the level on which our cultural mentality is integrated. I have taken much of my material, from the José Morales story on, from the tested pen of the trusted psychologist, Harry Overstreet. have even adopted his theme as the title of this sermon. He calls us the gentle people of prejudice. The title is ironical. We are gentle in our prejudices because we do so little to overcome and replace them, either in ourselves or in others. Most of us do have a streak of antifeeling toward the Jew. or the Negro, or whoever, but it does not alarm us since we intend no violence. while we go along with our indifferent and admittedly un-Christian prejudices, we are

helping to create a pattern that is fraught with profoundest evil. What we seemingly harmless people do is to permit the immoral principle of condemning people in the mass to take root in society. Once that principle is established, other things inevitably follow: Such as the permission to look down on certain groups of people; then to partially despise them and allow them to be objects of insult and humiliation. The way is then open for the more violent to project their frustrations upon the innocent. Of course, we do not intend such extremes. But he who permits evil, commits evil: And we who share in creating such social sanctions must share the guilt they subsidize.

The psychologist faces us with the cause of the inertia which characterizes so many Christian and church people. He takes off the covers and tells us that, deep down, we actually do not believe in the God-given equality of human beings and their rights to the respects of human dignity. We still prefer preferments, and we continue to regard ourselves as superior. Yet we profess the magnanimous position, both in our Constitution and our religious creeds. Caught, therefore, between ideals we cannot give up and practices equally entrenched, we develop a protective unresponsiveness to events and conditions which should properly fill us with horror and drive us to remedial action. This is a sickness of the soul. The religionist will say that it is evidence we are not thoroughly converted to the mind and way of Christ. And irrespective of what it does to the segregated, it returns in a corruption of the person prejudiced. The gentle people of prejudice are intellectually and morally sick; and what is worse, they are sick people who try to make their own sickness the measure of their society's health.

Not very pleasant, is it? We did not realize that we are so profoundly guilty, and that our evasions are so directly tied with the overt chair of degradation we take such please in denouncing. But if we give ear to the psychologist's charge, let us also hear the Master's challenge. Jesus loved and suffered for everyone, as children of the Heavenly Father; and He made it clear that He expected all His followerers to honestly adopt the same attitude. We are to be distinctive in this matter; and if we Christians fall back into the strife and contentions of the struggle for existence and positions of power which describe the non-Christian ethic of life, we have failed our commission and betrayed our Lord. Quite the opposite thinking and behavior is demanded of us. "What do ye more than others?"—Jesus turned one day to say to His disciples. He startled them immeasurably. They were saluting this person and that, and performing the customary courtesies. "Is that all?" cried Jesus. you content to go along, conforming to the fashions and the rules, and not breaking through their deadening shell to achieve some great social thrust and advance for the people?"

What do we more than others? I do not see how any of use can rest, or ride along with the great disparities of our day, and proclaim ourselves neutral or indifferent to its accusations. In such a case, I believe we cannot escape being the "sick souls" of Dr. Overstreet's definition, or from carrying the deep guilt and defeat complexes of those who refuse to measure to what we profess.

Moreover, I believe we, as Christians, must take fresh and forgiven souls into the deliberate reformation of the crowds to which we belong or to which we have access. The point, again, is the integration of the group at its highest possible level. We must make it the fashion, as well as the intent, that every living soul is reckoned on the basis of the merit and quality of his life, and not on the basis of any arbitrary, historical, or unavoidable personal characteristics.

We are on the way to this desired social ideal in America. Anyone with eyes he himself does not blind can see what is happening. Education, the courts, and a thousand human amenities grow in grace and concert to progressively eliminate segregation. They, more than the churches, lead the way. They are teaching us how to handle, and to finally erase, our prejudices. The movement is universal, deep-flowing, and determined. It is of the will of God.

"Though the mills of God grind slowly, They grind exceeding fine."

What makes any loyal churchman wince is that we are so far behind. I bow my head and confess the charge when Dr. Mc-Cracken, minister of Riverside Church in New York, stands up and preaches on the theme: "Discrimination, the Sunday morning American shame."

"What do ye more than others?" Tilt Justice's scales; and load the balance, not with mere equity, but with love's gracious companionship and concern. This is the Christian way, the healthy and the healing way; and the root requirement of all Christ's pledged people as they meet their brothers.

Difficult Problems of Guatemala

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, for many years I have been following closely the situation in our sister Republic of Guatemala.

I was one of the first Members of Congress to point out what was then the rising Communist crisis in the hemisphere, as the former Arbenz regime evolved more and more into a complete Soviet-style dictatorship. At that time I urged strong action to curb what was then the mounting threat to the Panama Canal and to the hemisphere as a whole.

Then, with the fortunate overthrow of the Arbenz regime by the liberation forces to Col. Castilo Armas, I pointed out that the hemisphere had secured an historic opportunity to help a sister republic show how the ruin and slavery of communism could be replaced by the prosperity and good life of freedom.

Although, since the liberation, Colonel Armas and his associates have taken many sound administrative actions, and authough the United States Government has been deeply sympathetic with the problems of the new government, unfortunately, the situation in that country remains exceedingly troubled.

I frankly believe that our own Government could and should do far more to be of assistance to the Government of Guatemala, to help make of it a showcase for the Western Hemisphere.

This does not relieve Guatemala itself of its own basic responsibilities. On the contrary, I believe that the Guatemalan Government and people are, fortunately, determined to rely upon themselves to the fullest possible extent. But they realistically recognize, as we should, that the Communist legacy of ruin cannot be overcome overnight.

The tens of millions of dollars which the Communists stole from the now bankrupt Treasury; the heritage of an agrarian and labor discontent which the Reds promoted; the shortage of corn; the problem of unemployment—these are but a few of the serious aspects of the current situation, coupled with the disturbed coffee market.

Surely, I say, in the instance of at least the corn shortage, American official resourcefulness is capable of helping our friends promptly to meet this problem. And surely, we can be of other assistance, consistent with our commitments elsewhere in the hemisphere.

I have a high regard for State Department and FOA intentions to be of genuine assistance to Guatemala. But my earnest hope is that the programs already announced will definitely be implemented in full as speedily as possible; and, more important, that they will be supplemented as needs require. I urge this in the interest of Pan-American unity and freedom.

Mr. President, I send to the desk two hard-hitting newspaper articles published last week under the theme Whither Guatemala. They were written by Mr. Daniel James, and were released by the Spadea syndicate. I ask unanimous consent that these articles be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHITHER GUATEMALA?

ECONOMIC CRISIS LOOMS—RED REVIVAL FEARED
(By Daniel James)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Daniel James is author of the new book Red Design for the Americas: Guatemalan Prelude. He is an authority on Central America, and has just returned from the Carlibbean.)

Guatemala is on the verge of an economic crisis. The crisis could topple her new anti-Red government, revive communism, and wreck United States policy.

Americans seem totally unaware of these grim prospects. They have been fed too much ballyhoo and too few facts about anti-Communist Guatemala. Yet fact No. 1 is that President Carlos Castillo Armas' regime, after 6 months in power, faces bankruptcy. And so does our policy in Guatemala.

Two-thirds of Guatemala's 120-millionpound coffee crop is unsold. Her notoriously tight-fisted, short-sighted coffee growers have been holding out for high prices while the market has been falling. Since coffee accounts for 80 percent of national revenues, the Government is at this moment virtually without an income.

It scraped through January and February thanks to incoming corporation and land-tax payments then due, and to bumper cotton exports. But no more money is due from those sources, and other expected revenue is piddling. With coffee still unsold, Castillo Armas may find it difficult or impossible to pay his obligations this month.

At best, if all the coffee were sold, the Government would lose \$6 million in taxes owing to unexpected low prices. Unless new sources of revenue are developed, Castillo Armas faces a rough year even if he rides out the impending crisis.

Unfortunately, there is no Guatemalan money in sight to help the Government. It can be authoritatively stated that some \$50 million fled Guatemala between 1952 and 1954, when the Reds were in power. Of that sum, \$24 million was deposited in foreign,

mostly United States banks. Another \$6 million was invested in foreign enterprises. The rest, \$20 million, is reckoned to be in Red hands.

Some flight capital has returned, but not enough to start a trend.

Added to these woes is a shortage of corn.

Added to these woes is a shortage of corn. Potentially, this may be the most explosive element of all. Corn is the basis of the national diet. It is worshiped almost as a deity by the Indians and thus possesses profound psychological meaning. A scarcity of corn could be calamitous.

Communism, hoarding, or both, may be responsible for the corn shortage. Prices are up to 6 cents a pound whereas normally they range between 4 and 5. Plantings were disrupted last year by the Red agrarian reform, and corn already planted was damaged by fall storms. However, peasants may be withholding corn in anticipation of higher prices.

Guatemala's progressive young Minister of Economy and Labor, Jorge Arenales, has authorized the private importation of 80 million pounds of corn. This, when put on the market, is expected to drive prices down and force hoarders to sell. By April, Arenales expects to know whether hoarding or a bad crop caused the scarcity.

If it is a bad crop, as many think, Guatemala will have to beg, borrow, or steal enough corn from somewhere to prevent starvation this year.

Still another serious economic problem is unemployment.

Around 20,000 workers, most of them in the capital, are believed to be unemployed. They present a political, as well as economic, headache. Some were lopped off Government payrolls for economy reasons. Others were fired by antilabor employers. Still others were laid off unfinished public works.

Officials say most of the jobless will be absorbed within 3 months on new highway projects, but by then the situation could be out of hand.

Behind the unemployed lies a discontended urban working population. The workers feel they are losing under Castillo Armas the rights they enjoyed under his Marxist predecessor, Arbenz. They begin to long for the days when their unions were a power in the land, ignoring the fact that they were Red controlled.

Specifically, the workers disapprove the abolition of the old unions. Castillo Armas is giving the unions every chance to purge themselves of Red influences, but that has been done in very few cases and so there is really no labor movement in Guatemaia.

Also resented is a decree issued in January which gives employers the right to fire employees for union activity and virtually prohibits peasant unions. The latter, however, is directly attributable to the fact that the illiterate peasantry is a prey to Red demagogy and only last January 20 Redled peasants joined a conspiracy to overthrow Castillo Armas.

Trade-union leaders blame everything on the antilabor atmosphere they say prevails among leading politicians. There is some truth to the charge. At best, the Government itself has been barely lukewarm to labor. On the other hand, labor has thrown up no really able men to replace its old Red bosses, and that is perhaps a primary reason why no labor movement exists.

Whatever the pros and cons of labor, this much is true: worker discontent is on the rise and there is a developing nostalgia for the past. In an acute economic crisis, this could be turned by clever Communist agitators into a strong leftist current.

Confronted by the prospect of an economic crisis accompanied by a political one, Castillo Armas can pull through only with the aid of the United States.

WHITTHER GUATEMALA?

TOO LITTLE GUATEMALA AID THREATENS UNITED STATES POLICY

(By Daniel James)

United States policy in Guatemala is failing. That is the sad conclusion this re-porter has reluctantly reached after a 4-

week, on-the-spot survey.

The consequences, if we fall in Guatemala, will be disastrous. Our prestige in Latin America will practically vanish. Our programs in Asia will be compromised. Communists everywhere will have a field day as we argue over who lost Guatemala.

When Guatemala's Reds were overthrown last June, United States leaders from President Eisenhower on down swore to make the Central American Republic an anti-Com-munist showcase. They were solidly backed by both political parties and the public. Rarely has there been such unanimity as on the need for all-out aid to Red ravaged Guatemala.

Now, 8 months later, how much aid have we given?

On paper, \$6,425,000. In fact, less than half that amount. Money is being doled out for certain projects only as, if, and when,

Of the total aid authorized, \$4,425,000 will eventually go into roads—If Guatemala can match it with \$1.5 million of her own. Another \$500,000 will go to finish a hospitalif Guatemala can match it with \$500,000. Health, agricultural, and other projects likewise depend on Guatemala's ability to match

So far, then, our aid largely consists of putting up dollar for dollar in a situation where the matching party sorely lacks dollars.

But even if we donated the entire \$6.5 million outright, that would be about as helpful as feeding aspirin to a man with appendicitis.

That sum, Guatemalans point out, represents exactly what their Government paid its employees in back wages last December.

It about equals what the Government expects to lose in coffee taxes this year.

It is less than one-third of what the Reds

are known to have stolen.

"A fraud" is how one Guatemalan bitterly described our aid to me. He was echoed by others. Already, our policy of too little is breeding dissillusionment in us.

Washington is relying upon United States Private capital to give Guatemala what she needs. That is sound general theory. The trouble is, it does not apply to Guatemala's immediate problems.

United States businessmen are swarming into Guatemala seeking investment opportunities. Some are already building roads, exploring for oil, selling machinery, making

The Electric Co. of Guatemala, a United States subsidiary, is putting \$17 million into new hydroelectric facilities to increase the capital city's power capacity. Pan American World Airways is about to join with local money to erect a big hotel. United Fruit reportedly awaits disposition of a United States antitrust suit before investing \$25 million.

Tourists are beginning to return, realizing no Red problem now beclouds enjoyment of Guatemala's unparalleled scenic beauty.

President Carlos Castillo Armas deserves great credit for the improving business picture. His personal popularity, general poli-cies, and practical measures—such as a progressive petroleum code-have combined to assure United States business a warm welcome and fair treatment in Guatemala.

Backing up Castillo Armas is the most talented and dedicated team of United States officials this reporter has ever seen abroad. United States Embassy, Informa-

tion Agency, and Foreign Operations Administration personnel deserve medals for their handling of a delicate task.

Owing to all these factors, Guatemala is acquiring a new look. Guatemala City streets, once deserted, are filled with busy and happy people. Stores are brimming with new merchandise. Hotels are full. New buildings are going up.

But overshadowing this bright picture is the dark legacy communism left behind. A looted treasury, a corn shortage, a jobless problem, and a falling coffee market (for which the Reds cannot be blamed) all spell a major crisis. Neither the Guatemalan Government nor United States investors are equipped to tackle it.

economic crisis in Guatemala just now would, as a matter of fact, slow down the flow of investment. It would destroy confidence in Castillo Armas, and perhaps cause his downfall. It would wreck United States plans for Guatemala and United States policy nearly everywhere in Latin America. We must awaken to these dangers at once and realize that only swift and unstinting

United States aid can ward them off.

The primary immediate job is to help Castillo Armas acquire sufficient funds to Castri or the task of governing. Second, Guatemala may need emergency food and grain supplies. Third, we must expand and accelerate our technical assistance—and without requiring Guatemala to match funds. Fourth, coffee prices must be ad-

Further, we should announce a long-term program. Guatemala needs about \$50 million to build a decent road network-one of the keys to an expanding economy. She needs perhaps another \$50 million for such basic projects as modernizing her agriculture. For about \$20 million yearly spent over the next 5 years, Castillo Armas' chances of finishing his term in 1960 would be immeasurably enhanced and Guatemala's stability and prosperity practically underwritten.

Vice President Nixon, just back from the Caribbean and keenly aware of Guatemala's problems in particular, might well suggest that President Eisenhower ask Congress to enact a \$100 million, 5-year program for Guatemala. Only such a program will demonstrate that we are really trying to make the world's first anti-Communist revolution a success.

Atlantic Union: Let's Meet the Challenge of Our Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered before the Greater New York Branch of the Atlantic Union Committee last Friday.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER, OF TENNESSEE, AT THE ANNUAL DINNER OF THE GREATER NEW YORK BRANCH OF THE AT-LANTIC UNION COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 18,

Judging from the experience of the past few years—and indeed, from the long history of military alliances—the longer we delay exploring better means of uniting the free peoples, the worse emergencies we shall face in the coming months and years.

Along with some 29 of my colleagues in the Senate and House. I have again introduced the Atlantic Union resolution to make that exploration possible.

Many of you will recall a day 4 years ago when President Eisenhower, at that time NATO Supreme Commander, addressed the Congress. In his speech he asked this question: "Why, then, are we frightened of dicta-torial government?" And he gave this an-"Only for one reason, because they have a unity of purpose. What we have to do—the only thing we have to do—is to meet that unity with a higher type, the unity of free men that will not be defeated."

Since that day, the Atlantic democracies have increased their collective military strength and the military effectiveness of the North Atlantic Alliance. Let us not forget, however, that during this same period the rulers of Russia and Red China have increased their military strength and effectiveness and that Soviet Russia is now building hydrogen bombs and transoceanic planes which can drop them on the United States.

During these 4 years, the Atlantic democracies as a group, and notably some of the nations of Western Europe, have increased their economic strength. Let us not forget, however, that Soviet Russia and Red China have also increased their economic strength even more rapidly under the lash of dictatorial power.

But in these 4 years the Atlantic democracies have not made comparable progress in increasing their political unity. Indeed, conflicts of policy between them concerning relations with areas of Asia and attitudes toward Communist propaganda offensives suggest that they are less united in some respects than they were 4 years ago. Our need for such unity, emphasized then so clearly by our present President, remains both critical and urgent. Threatened by a Communist bloc which can maneuver and strike with dazzling speed, we must still negotiate before we can act jointly.

This contrast between our respective ac-complishments in the military field and in the political field is the more striking when our potential capabilities in those two fields are recalled. For our military capabilities are clearly subject to strict limitations for the long-haul limitations set by the need to maintain a free and prosperous economy.

But there is no limitation on our political capabilities except ourselves. As free men, nothing except our own intelligence, our own will, and our own attitudes can bar us from doing anything which our security and welfare demand.

I am convinced that the introduction of this resolution will contribute directly to early ratification of the Paris Agreements. It will be regarded in France, in the German Federal Republic and in all other nations which must still ratify these agreements as a proof that there is powerful support in the Congress of the United States for further development of the Atlantic community. also recognize that the failure of EDC and the inclusion of the German Federal Republic directly in NATO have made further development of the Atlantic community imperative. Knowledge that this impressive support exists in the Congress for a resolution proposing a convention which would explore on the broadest basis the possibilities of achieving this objective will give them new hope and confidence that ratification of the Paris agreements will not lead up a dead end street, but will contribute towards the Atlantic development which these agreements themselves and the time in which we live have made urgent and necessary.

The history of the last few years has shown that progress on an Atlantic basis and progress in Europe are closely inter-related. When we have taken the lead in developing NATO and have emphasized the importance of increasing the solidarity of the Atlantic Community, which includes our country, Canada, and Britain as well as the countries of Western Europe, we have seen progress toward unity in Europe. But when we have refrained from mentioning the word "Atlantic," have called only for unity in Europe and have exerted pressure to persuade Europeans to take steps in which we were to have no part, the result has been failure.

We recognized in 1949 by becoming a party to the North Atlantic Treaty that our defense and theirs were inseparable. Surely, there is every reason why we should explore together in common, in a convention comprising our best minds and theirs, how our common defense might be made more effective and less costly and how we might at-tain that greater unity for which President Eisenhower has so consistently called.

This resolution opens to the democracies a new and broad road toward the attainment of this objective. At the same time, it provides the free nations with a means of taking the intiative in the war of ideas which forms a central part of the cold war. We cannot win the war of ideas if we remain on the defensive. To move forward toward ultimate victory in this ideological struggle, to make possible an expansion of the frontiers of freedom which have receded so far in the last decade, we must take the offen-Siva

Our forefathers demonstrated unsurpassed political capacity throughout our history as a nation, first in creating our American Union and afterward in expanding that Union from a fringe of 13 States along the Atlantic seaboard into a continental area containing 50 times as many people and constituting the freest and the most powerful and productive Nation in the world. met the challenge of their time. Shall we fail to meet ours?

This Is Your Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, J. HARRY McGREGOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an article written by my esteemed constituent and friend of many Members of this Congress, Louis Bromfield. I believe that this article, like the writings of Mr. Bromfield, is well worth the reading by the Members.

The article follows:

THIS IS YOUR COUNTRY (By Louis Bromfield)

In some ways the present Congress is well started on its way to be the shabbiest Congress in our history. It is a Democratic Congress and for its record the Democrats must take the blame, especially since they initiated most of the shabby goings-on.

The proposed \$20 a year per person tax reduction has about it something actually childish, and, so far as the Democrats are concerned, something desperate—the seeking for some kind of issue where issues seem to be few and far between. The size of the reduction is childish for, while \$20 is \$20, it will not make or break any family in the whole United States and certainly not have any world-shaking general benefits under the present conditions of high wages, general

employment, unemployment, reinsurance, social security, etc. Indeed the people to whom it might conceivably mean something are in the brackets which do not pay taxes in any case. And it is true that the inflationary effect of such actions may well cost the tax-payer far more than \$20 a year in rising living costs before he is through.

Presumably the Members of Congress or at least the House of Representatives should understand these things. If they do not they are ignorant; if they do they are shabby, mischevious, and even dishonest. In either case, they are unworthy of their jobs and poor representatives indeed of the American people, who are not fools despite the low opinion of them expressed by the late Harry

While the \$20 reduction means comparatively little in these times to the average citizen, it means a vast amount to the Government and the general overall welfare of a people who already have a burden of nearly \$300 billions of debt, with what is still one of the most extravagant governments in the world in terms of waste in the field of bureaucracy and the operations of the Armed Forces. Congress, or those Congressmen who have proposed and supported this iniquitous measure, are merely repeating the cheap political trick of passing on the burden of this debt to their children and grandchildren. At the same time they are enthusiastically voting to double their own salaries.

The men who proposed and support this reduction might well have applied their time to getting to work on a bill to put into action the economies and reforms set forth in the Hoover report of reducing and disciplining bureaucracy, on creating further economies while raising the efficiency of our defense forces, in modifying or creating a bill for the extension of the draft which makes some sense in view of changed conditions. It it astonishing that Democrats of the honor and dignity of Speaker RAYBURN, Senators GEORGE and RUSSELL should lend even lip service to this absurd reduction in taxes.

The irresponsible action of the House in voting to extend the draft for 4 years without hearings or consideration is still another demonstration of irresponsibility. Presumably the extension bill was passed hastily to demonstrate to the world that the people were behind the foreign policy of the administration. If this is so, there was some justification, although not much. Otherwise the action is ill-considered or not considered at all. The mere extension of the draft for a perid of 4 years, when 2 years would certainly be adequate, is certain to produce enormous expenditures of taxpayers' money and to produce utter confusion in a situation where there will be at least three times as many eligible draftees as can be accepted in the Armed Forces. Nothing is more expensive than the military training of a draftee, especially when, as many of them feel, there is no real necessity for a draft if the Congress and the Armed Forces would completely modernize the Army, raise pay and make a military career attractive to

There is an immense amount for Congress to do that would cut hundreds of millions, perhaps billions, from the expense of government and defense, and so justify in honest terms a genuine tax reduction without inviting inflation and without cheating our children and grandchildren. Congress, and especially the House of Representatives, has certainly started off on the wrong foot. If their actions to date are a sample of considered Democratic Party tactics, they are shabby indeed and will convince few people. The dragging out of the old New Deal stuff about helping the common man doesn't stand up. The proposed tax reduction is in reality helping no one and is harming the

Nation as a whole. Surely the Democratic Party cannot be as bankrupt as its present actions and policies indicate.

Chinese Reds Ignore United States Warning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include Drew Pearson's column titled "Chinese Reds Ignore United States Warnings," which appeared in the March 12, 1955, issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald:

CHINESE REDS IGNORE UNITED STATES WARNING

(By Drew Pearson)

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles informed the American ambassadors to 15 Asiatic countries last week that the time had come for the United States to stand firm against Asiatic communism. Reporting to the Nation by radio and television this week, Dulles reaffirmed that position.

He did not, however, outline the means and methods, by which we are to stand firm.

Earlier this week. I took the liberty of suggesting the means by which we should stand firm in the Orient, namely, by adopting the same method the orientals have used against us-the boycott-blockade.

The Chinese have used the boycott time after time against the Westerner in the Far East. The Indians used it to help win their independence from the British. whereas a battle to defend the small islands of Quemoy and Matsu would bring misunderstanding, bitterness and probable defeat. a boycott could be enforced-and be far effective-without war.

Without arguing the pros and cons of the boycott weapon for the moment, however, let's take a look at Dulles' stern words of warning and see what they will mean to the Chinese Communists whom he is hoping to stop dead in their tracks.

Unfortunately, Dulles' warnings, stern, forbidding, and frequent as they have been in the past, have too often been reversed, either by his own Chief in the White House or by Dulles' own policies or by the policies of his administration in curtailing military budget. Naturally the Chinese Reds listen to the radio and read the newspapers. And here is the record of Eisenhower admin-istration statements they have read in the past:

Dulles to American Legion, St. Louis, September 2, 1953: "There is a risk that as in Korea Red China might send its own army into Indochina. The Chinese regime should realize that such a second aggression could not be confined to Indochina. The Chinese regime should realize that such a second aggression could not occur without grave consequences. I say this soberly in the interest of peace and in the hope of preventing another aggression miscalculation."

"Grave consequences" in diplomatic language means a threat of war. But the Chinese Reds ignored the threat. They went right ahead with the invasion of Indochina.

MASSIVE RETALIATION

On January 12, 1954, Dulles announced that the United States of America was prepared to meet aggression with instant retaliation by "means and places of our own choosing." We would depend primarily upon "a great capacity to retaliate instantly," he said, referring to the atom bomb. The Chinese, however, blissfully proceeded to take over more areas of Indochina.

EISENHOWER'S WARNING

At Seattle, August 1953, Mr. Elsenhower told the Governors' Conference: "If Indochina goes, several things happen right away. The tin and tungsten that we so value from that area would cease coming. All India would be outflanked. Burma would be in no position for defense." His warning fell on deaf ears and the United States did nothing to back up the warning.

ANOTHER WARNING

Speaking to the newspaper editors on April 16, 1953, Mr. Elsenhower said that a truce in Indochina must not mean more attacks on Indochina. "It (a truce) should mean an end to the direct and indirect attacks upon the security of Indochina and Malaya. For any armistice in Korea, that merely released aggressive armies to attack elsewhere would be a fraud." But the Chinese did exactly that. They made the Korean peace a fraud. The United States, however, did nothing about it.

NIXON WARNS

Addressing the American Society of Newspaper Editors in April 1954, Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON warned the United States was ready to send land troops to Indochina. This did not seem to scare the Reds at all.

NIXON WARNS AGAIN

Speaking in Cincinnati a week later, however, Nixon claimed the Reds have been scared. "We warned the Chinese Communists that if they make overt moves across into Indochina as they did in Korea that they would run the risk of retaliation of the United States against China. Result: The possibility of that overt move by the Chinese Communists has been reduced very, very definitely." The Chinese, meanwhile, kept moving into Indochina.

IKE UNWARNS

Perhaps the Reds remembered an exactly contrary statement made by Mr. Eisenhower on February 10, 2 months before Nixon's warning. "No one could be more bitterly opposed to getting the United States involved in a hot war in that region than I am," said the Preisdent.

THE REPUTES NIXON

At any rate, the Communists hadn't long to wait before the President cut the ground out from under his Vice President. It was on April 20 that Nixon threatened stern measures against the Reds. It was on April 29 that Mr. Eisenhower told a press conference: "We certainly could not hope for a completely satisfactory answer from the Communists. The most you can work out is a practical way of getting along"—something, he added, that would stop "bloodletting."

Thus the Chinese Communists have heard brave words from one quarter and compromising words from another. They have listened to threats of both massive retaliation and land troops. They have listened to the demands of the China lobby and also watched us cut our military budget.

No wonder they have marched right ahead, first in Indochina and more recently opposite the Islands of Matsu, Quemoy, and Formosa. So it's highly doubtful that Secretary Dulles' stern words of warning last Tuesday will have much effect on the men in Peiping.

What the United States faces, therefore, when you get down to cold facts, is either another retreat, or a shooting war, or a third alternative—the weapon which orientals have used against us—the boycott-blockade.

Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN V. BEAMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to be invited to speak at the seventh annual banquet meeting of the convention of the Ohio Conservation Congress on Saturday evening, March 12. This important subject of conservation is so very important that, under unanimous consent, I include it in the Appendix of the Record.

The address follows:

As an introduction to this particular talk, I feel that it is fitting that I quote President Elsenhower on the subject of conservation: "Vitally important are the water and minerals, public lands and standing timber, forage and wildlife of this country. A vast growing population will have vast future needs in these resources. We must more than match the substantial achievements in the half century since President Theodore Roosevelt awakened the Nation to the problem of conservation."

President Eisenhower then calls for a strong Federal program in the field of resource development and I again quote from the President: "The best natural resource program for America will not result from exclusive dependence on Federal bureaucracy. It will involve a partnership of the States and local communities, private citizens and the Federal Government, all working together."

My personal interest in conservation is that of one as a farmer, as a conservationist, and as a legislator. For this reason, my approach to this particular subject on this occasion will be from this three-armed point of riew.

This past winter I had the opportunity with my congressional committee to visit briefly in Spain. This is a country with more than 2,000 years of history. The guide and informant that accompanied us on a portion of this journey stated that the population of Spain at the present time is some 29 million people. However, it was told that an estimate of some 43 million was made for the number of people living in this area at the time of the occupation of the Iberian Peninsula by the Romans. It also is recorded and reported that Spain was one of the most prosperous and industrious countries that the Romans occupied at that time. were vast timber resources and forests that were standing. It also was a place where ships were reprovisioned with food and fiber products from a very rich soil.

We noticed that many of the farmers still used the old wooden plows drawn by oxen, and that the soil seemed to be very thin and of low productivity. In fact, the average production of grain products has dropped so low that in our country it would be considered a failure if our farms produced in the same manner that theirs are producing. vast timberlands have been depleted, and the country today has a shortage of water. fact, the hotel at which we stayed in Madrid shut off the electricity from 4 to 6 each afternoon, because they stated that the hydroelectric plants did not have sufficient water to supply them with the energy required. At the same time, they have no coal resources and, since imported coal is expensive, very few steam-generating plants can be or have been built.

It then occurred to some of us that the timbers had been exhausted in the construc-

tion of vast fleets of ships that were used in fighting their neighbors and even among themselves. The Spanish nation has been ravaged by wars with other countries and even with civil wars in its own boundaries. The last civil war cost more than 1 million lives and billions of dollars of loss in property damage. Thus it is seen that a once rich country now has wasted its resources in wars and in the lack of conservation practices. Spain has a recorded history of more than 2.000 years, and the United States has a history of less than 200 years. Is there a comparison to be drawn and can a lesson be taught to those of us who are interested in the conservation program?

An eminent agronomist in this country not too long ago asserted that if any foreign power really has imperialistic designs on our country that she would be wise to delay action for perhaps another 100 years. By that time, this authority stated, we shall have used and wasted so much of our natural resources and especially our topsoil that our people will be so starved that they will not

be able to resist. Not long ago, I had the privilege of visiting in Nevada and witnessing the explosion of one of the atomic bombs. Our committee also saw the immense destruction that is possible with the use of this new type of nuclear energy. It has been pointed out by prominent conservationists that every the amount of waste of certain natural resources is greater than the explosion of many of these same hydrogen and atomic bombs. For example, it has been discovered that at a certain spot in Indiana on the Ohio River that every minute a 40-acre farm passes by in the form of silt. I am going to estimate that this farm is worth at least \$300 per acre and, in our section of Indiana, it is worth much more than that. This then means that every minute \$12,000 worth of good rich topsoil is floating down the Ohio River eventually to be deposited in the ocean where it is lost forever. amounts to more than \$17 million per year for this one given spot and think of the many, many other rivers that are carrying silt from the topsoil of so many of our farms

throughout this country.

In the last 40 years, the United States has spent more than \$586 billion on wars of various kinds. This is a staggering figure and it is done in the hope that the world can be made a more peaceful place in which our children and children's children will live. However, are we saving for our children and our children's children the God-given resources that we inherited or are we returning these to the ocean to be deposited where they will be lost.

Reference was made to the age of Spain and the age of the United States. In less than the 200 years, in fact only approximately 180 years, we have made approximately one-third of our soil incapable of producing a crop. At that same rate, more than one-half of our soil will be destroyed in 100 years. Perhaps the agronomist that gave the dire suggestion of a foreign power waiting 100 years was not too far from wrong. For this reason it behooves all of us to pay a tribute to the defenders of soil, woods, vater, and wildlife, and to all conservationists. It is for this reason that I consider your invitation to meet with you a distinct It is for this reason that I consider privilege.

In this talk I almost feel that the subject of water should be the one to be emphasized. Man's earliest recorded history was on shores where streams of sweet water flowed to the sea. Even as man pushed back from the seashore to the uplands, he recognized a good land as one "of brooks of water, of fountains and springs flowing forth in valleys and hills, a land of wheat and barley, of vines and fig trees and pomegranates, a land of olive trees and honey, a land in which you will eat bread without scarcity.

in which you will lack nothing, a land whose stones are iron and out of whose hills you can dig copper." The author of this portion of Deuteronomy recognized the value of water whether it comes in the form of rain or snow or fog or dew or in any form of precipitation. Sea water is too salty to meet most of man's needs and thus he depends largely upon fresh water.

The need to conserve water reaches to one of the most basic points in life. Water is needed to quench the thirst and for many personal needs not only of man but of livestock and to keep crops alive and growing. Modern industry uses water for steam gen-eration, for washing, cooling, conveying, and for a multitude of other processes today. Not counting the stream flow that is used mecanically to generate hydroelectric power, industries in the United States in 1950 used approximately 120 billion tons of water-almost 50 times the weight of all other indus-

trial materials. This took a flow of about 80 billion gallons per day which is 8 times as much as that which was used in 1900. The expectation by 1975 is that industry will require 21/2 times as much or 200 billion gallons of water per day. In this connection, most of the States in our Union can double the present Withdrawals of water at relatively low costs and a few States could increase them 10 or 20 times.

Before proceeding to a further discussion of conservation, it is necessary to stop and realize that whenever a quart of crude oil, or a ven of coal, copper, lead, stone, iron or gravel is mined and taken from this earth that it is gone forever. It also must be remembered that it never can be replaced. This fact alone should make us stop and remember what a tremendous role these resources play in our everyday living.

It was for this reason and for many other similar motivating factors that the 83d Congress passed the Watershed Protection and Control Act of August 4, 1954, which now is Public Law 566. This is an outstanding and historical accomplishment in the field of water conservation. It sets up the regular procedures for aiding local groups within a single watershed whereby they may have assistance in carrying out watershed protection. tection works. It applies to the entire country and provides for cooperation from the Department of the Army and the Department of the Interior. It expands and gives impetus to the watershed phase of the Nation's flood control program which the Department of Agriculture has been carrying on since 1936. Thus, it reflects the growing sentiment for nationwide action on upstream watershed protection and tribu-

tary flood control.

"In the Department of Agriculture" according to Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Tatt Benson, "we are determined to assist farmers to carry out a more effective program of soil and water development and wise utilization on a nationwide basis. naturally includes protection and development of soil and water resources on individual farms and ranches and also in the small

watersheds of subwatersheds."

Secretary Benson very wisely has pointed out that this program is very well the life-blood of the West both for irrigated and dryland farming, and in the East where many farmers today are using supplementary irrigation at some time during the growing season. Businessmen, bankers, and residents of small towns and communities that are harmed by floods and small tributaries of rivers, likewise are very much concerned and will be benefited by the eventual work and development of this watershed program.

Watershed development should be comprehensive and include flood control, power, irrigation, and navigation. It should also keep all natural resources in proper balance and in proper priority in relation to need. Some of these several points have been listed by the Department of Agriculture:

1. Sustained and improved agriculture production without waste.

2. Protection and sustained yield management of forest lands.

3. Prevention of erosion, protection of streams from excessive siltation, and flood

- 4. Protection of community and industrial water supply.
- 5. Maintenance of underground water 6. Irrigation and drainage on sound land
- use basis. 7. Maintenance of fish and wildlife re-
- sources. 8. Areas for recreation and various
- studies esthetic, cultural, and ecological. 9. Protection of grasslands suited to range

utilization.

Those of you who have traveled across our vast country and even in other lands undoubtedly have wondered whether or not their barren ground had some use to which it could be placed. Even the wastelands of Nevada which I visited at the time of the bomb tests only recently are serving a valuable purpose at the present time in the advancement of science and, we hope, in the protection of the human race. In hills and mountains nearby they are finding new sources and supplies of uranium which is one of the important factors in the development of this new science.

Thus, it is evident that the problem of water reaches into every particular phase of human endeavor. One of the important considerations in certain portions of Ohio and Indiana and, for that matter, in many areas is that of the pollution of water. Pollution of water supplies is characteristic of nearly all of the heavily inhabited watersheds, but it is most serious in the manufacturing belt from St. Louis and eastward to the Atlantic coast. Pollution of the Ohio River became so objectionable that Congress by special resolution gave the affected States authority in 1936 to form an interstate compact to deal with the problem.

Withdrawals of water for cooling purposes are so heavy in some areas that river water sometimes becomes too hot to act as an effective cooling agent and increases pollution because some forms of waste matter dissolve more readily in warm water. United States has reached a point where the costs imposed upon its economy by using streams and rivers as open sewers exceed the apparent savings. Many downstream communities are forced to pay large sums to purify water or to develop alternative supplies sometimes from distant sources. Valuable wildlife and recreational assets are destroyed and public health is menaced. Industries that require relatively clean water are discouraged from locating along heavily polluted rivers even though good plant sites, labor supply, and other attractions exist. Some plants whose water supplies have deteriorated have moved to other localities rather than incur high costs of purification.

Some of the above information was secured from Resources for Freedom, which points out the necessity for the Water Pollution Control Act of 1948 which was passed by the 80th Congress. This Water Pollution Control Act provided the beginnings of a program of Federal cooperation with States and interstate bodies. It authorizes the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, in cooperation with other interested agencies and bodies, to prepare comprehensive programs for interstate streams and underground water and, at the request of State or interstate agencies, to undertake research on specific problems. There are many other provisions in this worthwhile act, but I merely point it out as one of the steps taken by the Federal Government in the protection of this natural resource—water. The entire program is designed to give impetus to the local communities and to the States to first undertake the correction of this pollution problem. However, the Federal Government is ready at all times to step in and assist if the States and local communities have failed to act.

This bring up the study and consideration of pollution from coal mines. Seepage from abandoned coal mines is a source of sulfur water and acid that has ruined many good fishing streams and made the water unfit for many other purposes. Generally speaking this has been recognized as a State responsibility but insofar as the pollution affects streams that flow from one State into another, it can be said to enter the Federal domain. Previous sessions of Congress have considered bills which would require owners of abandoned coal mines to stop them against leakage. Otherwise, the Federal Government, through the Secretary of the Interior, would be directed to enter such mines and construct stoppings such as will prevent the formation and escape of polluting materials. A bill of this nature was introduced in the 83d Congress. However, within my knowledge no such legislation has been introduced in this 84th Congress. Several Members from Pennsylvania have introduced other bills which would authorize cooperation with that State for flood control and drainage in anthracite mines.

Incidentally, it has been estimated that the Ohio River and its tributaries receive daily some 25 million pounds of sulfuric acid derived from active and abandoned coal mines of which some 60 percent reaches the

water courses above Pittsburgh.

Public Works Administration funds were used to steal up more than 40 percent of the abandoned coal mines in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, and other coal-producing States during the depression period from 1933 to 1938. At that time, the cost of sealing each opening ranged from \$365 to \$467. The higher prevailing presentday cost was cited by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior as one reason for advising against enactment of certain types of legislation.

The Secretary of the Interior has expressed the opinion that the cost of sealing the mines should be assumed by the people of the States in which the mines are located and not by the country as a whole. The State of Pennsylvania, for example, during the past 15 or 20 years has followed some such extensive mine-sealing program.

Since I am a farmer, as I indicated earlier in this discussion, soil conservation is of special interest. Perhaps a report on Indiana alone would give an illustration of the work of this agency. There are 65 soil-conservation districts in my home State. These districts comprise 15,850,827 acres or 68 per-cent of the total area of the State. This area also comprises or consists of 109,367 farms which is 66 percent of the total number of farms in the State. These 65 soilconservation districts are on a county basis and there are 92 counties in the State. Thus, and there are 92 counties in the State. it is seen that the big majority of the State of Indiana has adopted the soil-conservation

Until January 1, 1955, soil surveys completed a total of 4,920,317 acres, including practices on contour farming, cover cropping, strip cropping, seeding of pasture, wildlife area improvement, tree planting (which includes windbreaks), pond construction, terracing, diversions, and farm drainage.

On the national level, more than fourfifths of the country's farms and ranches and nearly 90 percent of farmland now are within the boundaries of the soil-conservation districts. More conservation planning

and treatment is being done each year.

The policy of the Department of Agriculture, or the keynote of our national action

program of soil and water conservation can be stated by saying it is one to encourage and aid the farmers to plan and apply conservation farming measures, and to do for them only those things which need to be done in the public interest and which local people cannot do for themselves.

The basic Soil Conservation Act of 1935 established this principle and designated the United States Department of Agriculture through Soil Conservation Service to provide technical and certain other assist-

ance to accomplish that end.

The 83d Congress passed several laws of far-reaching effect in this conservation program. The first was the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act to which reference previously was made. The second was the amended Water Facilities Act which will make loans available for this particular purpose. The third is a new provision in the internal-revenue law that enables farmers to treat expenditures for various soil and water conservation measures as current expenses that may be deducted from farm income for tax purposes.

With this Federal recognition of conservation, especially through the watershed program, the success of this program is going to depend on public understanding of the problems and objectives and upon local participation all of the time. The program is purely local and Federal Government merely becomes a partner by providing technical and cost-sharing assistance. To be successful, the program must be advertised and encouraged and public acceptance must

be developed.

May I return to the farming problem to illustrate the importance of the conservation program. From 1919 to 1927, the number of persons engaged in farming dropped 4 million; 19 million acres were withdrawn from cultivation and 76,000 farms were abandoned. However, the farm income for fiber and food products during that same

period increased 15 percent.

During World War II, high rigid price supports were used as incentives to increase production. Unfortunately, these supports were continued at great cost to the taxpayers and as an illusion to the farmer. At the same time, lower prices can tend to force the producer to reduce costs and become more efficient and perhaps even increase production.

For example, in the last 15 years yields per acre have risen 20 percent. In cotton, for example, the gain has been more than a third. In tobacco the gain has been as much as one-half and in corn the gain in production has more than doubled. This illustrates the advancement of technological research in farming and in agriculture in general. Since the farmer can produce more from his soil with modern fertilizers and modern farming methods and since one man can farm a larger acreage than previously with modern machinery, it means that there is a terrific strain placed upon the soil and the farmer wants to keep it for future generations.

However, there are many other considerations which I know will be of interest to you and to all other people interested in conservation practices. Polluted streams and waters are contrary to the public interest for another reason and it is because they reduce opportunities for fish and wildlife to exist. Polluted streams also make the neighboring areas repulsive to all who would use them. Each species of fish has its own temperature needs but all fish demand reasonably pure water. Some are more tolerant of impurities than others but the best sports fish are those which thrive in clean water. Trout want cold water. Small-mouth bass want cool water. Large-mouth bass want warm water. If the temperature is too low, the fish become sluggish, they don't eat enough food to grow on and if the temperature is too high, the fish die.

Thus, good watershed protection, whether for lands under farm management or in forests, tends to encourage the maintenance of cool springs of water with a fairly even temperature. Conditions which reduce the flow of springs tend also to raise the summer temperature of these springs. This, in turn, can have a bad effect upon the streams that normally support trout and small-mouth bass. The water becomes too warm to support such fish.

Watershed management is vital to good fishing also because, except during periods of rain or fact-melting snow, most streams receive their flow from what might be called leaks in the ground water reservoir. These are the free-flowing springs. If they go dry, the stream goes dry. Then, sooner or later, the fish will disappear and so will their sources of food. Neither fish nor fish food can live in a dry stream bed. Good watershed management maintains soil conditions that encourage water to seep into the lower soil levels.

The recommendation given by President Eisenhower in his budget message on January 17 of this year makes the following important statement: "Under the recommendations for the fiscal year 1956, the Federal Government will spent \$673 million for development of land and water resources. A large share of this total—\$430 million—is for continuation of work on 152 river basin development projects and units under construction by the Bureau of Reclamation and the Corps of Engineers. Much of this work is multiple purpose development for irrigation, flood control, navigation, and hydroelectric power."

It was pointed out that there are under construction 37 of these projects which virtually will be completed in 1956. The budget message further included recommendations that would intend to encourage States and local public and private groups to take the initiative in developing the valuable water resources with Federal cooperation where national interests are involved. In fact, the budget includes \$20 million under proposed legislation to enable the Bureau of Reclamation and the Corps of Engancers to participate in 1950 in partnership water developments.

We finally come to the conclusion, and it certainly is clear that clear water and plenty of it in a continuous flow is necessary for the life of man, for the industries upon which he depends, and for the wildlife to which he looks for much of his recreation. To provide the clear water requires effective management of all watersheds coupled with such controls that sources of pollution may be kept down to the amounts to which nature can adjust. The Watershed Protection and Flood Control Act of August 4, 1954, is a major step toward this goal of achieving clean waters. To a great extent it supplements the Pollution Control Act of 1948. Acid seepage from abandoned coal mines continues to be a source of much damage to many fishing streams but the programs now underway in some of the States promise to fit in with the Federal program and reduce even this danger to the extent that it may be met by natural processes.

The laws whether Federal or State are merely tools available to be used. Without vigilance and citizen leadership of such conservation organizations as are represented here, such laws may be so neglected as to be no more than clanging gongs. As with the maintenance of freedom, we must fight to maintain conditions which will assure the continuous flow of clear, uncontaminated water.

Some time ago I read the story about Daniel Webster who scornfully described the western half of the United States as a formidable home of savages and beasts and an expanse of wasteland and brooding mountains. This was just a little more than 100 years ago. Webster even made the significant statement that he would not vote one cent from the public treasury to place the Pacific Ocean one inch nearer to Boston than ti is. He could not see any use to which the great deserts and endless mountain ranges ever could be put. The comment on this statement is the fact that few men so illustrious have ever proved so wrong on such a tremendous scale so soon. As a result, would it not be well for us to look 100 years ahead and try to determine not only the number of people who will be living off of the soil and will be dependent upon the products of the soil, but also to know in advance whether or not this same topsell still will be with us to produce the necessities of life. Reclamation, of course, is important, but conservation is a first-line defense to avoid the necessity of reclamation in the future.

We have enough good land left in these United States to keep us prosperous and well fed if we conserve and improve it. It can be done and with the assistance of conservation groups such as yours and others throughout the United States, the people will learn and know how to do it. We can make most of our land produce more and more year after year. We also can save that same land but will we do it in time?

No Free Enterprise for the Gold Miner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, every producer has the right to sell his product in the best market which bidding under conditions of freedom and full information provide. This proposition is incontrovertible.

The producer of gold is the only producer who must sell his product at a fixed price and is compelled by law to sell it to a single buyer, the United States Government.

This constitutes an unjust combination of economic servitude and reprehensible monopoly.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL

It is repugnant to the American principles of free enterprise and contravenes the letter and spirit of the Constitution. It is a denial of the right to sell and

the correlative right to buy.

It forces the gold miner to surrendct the fruit of his labor at an arbitrary price to a single buyer.

NOT LEGAL

Denying the gold producer the greater value which a free market would afford is a deprivation of property without due process of law.

The law compels the Interstate Commerce Commission to establish rates which permit a reasonable return on a fair value of the property. Under this statutory duty railroad rates have been raised 5 times since V-J day for a total of 52 percent.

LIVING RETURN DENIED GOLD PRODUCERS

This right to a living return does not extend to gold producers.

The law enjoins the Federal Power Commission to set a rate structure on gas which permits a fair return on property. The FPC has construed such a fair return at 61/2 percent.

No such consideration applies to the

gold producer.

The Civil Aeronautics Board is admonished by law to maintain a rate structure which will permit a fair return on capital and promote the further investment of capital in air transportation.

No such duty has ever been imposed upon the Treasury in the purchase of

gold.

Every State utility commission is compelled by law to set rates which will permit a fair return on property and promote the flow of capital into the electric utility industry.

No State, by law or in any other way, has displayed any genuine solicitude for

the gold producer.

PARITY PRINCIPLE IN LAW

The Federal Government, recognizing the elementary and imperative duty to survive, incorporated the parity principle in law to assure a fair return to the farmer. At substantial cost to the taxpayer minimum prices are guaranteed for every important farm crop.

There is no price parity for the gold

producer.

MINIMUM WAGE FOR WORKERS

The Federal Government enforces a minimum wage for workers. It encourages the organization of workers in order to enable them by collective bargaining to get the best price for their services which the market can afford.

There is no minimum wage for the gold producer. Collective bargaining is

impossible.

The tailor and the shoemaker can sell their product in the best market. The gold producer has a tightly bound, dictated market.

HAS BUT ONE CONSUMER

The gold producer has a single consumer totally indifferent to his losses, although eager to share in his profits,

The owner of a security has wellorganized free markets in which he can offer his shares to the highest bidder.

The producer of gold is not permitted to search for bidders.

Freedom of choice is one of the basic human rights in a democracy. In the United States this is denied only to the gold producer. The law treats him as a pariah. He is an economic untouchable.

This malevolent discrimination has brought great hardship to the gold producer. The price of his products was fixed in January 1934. His costs were not fixed.

WAGES UP 189 PERCENT-GOLD REMAINS SAME

Since January 1934, wages have gone up 189.3 percent. Wholesale prices have mounted 130.7 percent. Fuel is 64.2 percent higher. The cost of living has risen 83.4 percent.

The United States Treasury still pays \$35 an ounce for gold. Since the price was fixed in January 1934, the value of the money which the Treasury uses has dropped 43 percent. The ounce of gold which the producer must deliver is still

100 percent pure. There has been no addition of base alloy to compensate for the decline in the value of the dollar. The cheating has been strictly unilateral.

When the United States abandoned the gold standard in 1933, it was believed to be a temporary expedient justified by an urgent crisis. It left the control of the currency in the hands of a bureaucracy neither elected by nor directly responsible to the people.

CONSPIRACY BEHIND NO GOLD STANDARD

Under the influence of imported English monetary dogma and totalitarian ideology the country has never returned to gold. A sinister conspiracy of silence

shrouds the question.

The Federal Reserve Board and the International Monetary Fund both have a vested interest in managed currency. They constitute a mischievous cabal opposing the return of an honest currency. The lack of a common currency denominator, which only gold can provide, has maintained artificial currency values completely out of touch with the realities of fair value.

PREVENTS INTERNATIONAL TRADE

False currency values soothing to the pride of alien ministries have prevented the revival of wholesome international

The stubborn refusal to permit gold to exercise its historic function as a currency has retarded world recovery and placed an intolerable burden on the American economy.

TREASURY PRACTICE UNJUST

Who would say that the \$35 of 1934 could be any stretch of imagination be construed as \$35 today. If that was a pledge of value to us by our Government they owe us now at least \$70 an ounce for gold, but as the Treasury Department is now administering the Gold Act the industry is only allowed to receive value of about \$17 an ounce. And remember, we are not allowed to seek other markets and sell our products to higher bidders.

The gold-mining industry has thus been picked out as the sole victim of a particularly vicious swindle, perpetrated upon it under the power and majesty of the Government which controls our money and presumably stands on the pinnacle of integrity.

The Anthracite Coal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following copy of a resolution by the Lions international district governor's cabinet in Pennsylvania, Lions district 14-H:

Whereas Pennsylvania district 14-H of Lions International is composed of 66 clubs in the anthracite coal-producing area of Pennsylvania, including the cities of Carbon-

dale, Scranton, Pittston, Wilkes-Barre, Nanticoke, and Hazleton, and many important boroughs and towns, having a membership of about 3,500 members; and

Whereas the anthracite coal-producing area with its mining industry and other important industries located therein is impor-tant to the security and welfare of the great Keystone State of Pennsylvania, and our Nation; and

Whereas the said area is presently suffering from unemployment and the coal industry is not very prosperous for many reasons, among which are competition from oil and gas, and the importation of cheap residual oil from abroad, the tremendous problem of dewatering and drainage of the mines; and

Whereas the said anthracite area is in dire need of help and assistance from both the State and Federal Governments in the rehabilitation of the said industry; and

Whereas both the said State and Federal Governments should exercise the power and authority vested in them for the purpose of enacting legislation in aid of the said industry and area and making the necessary appropriation of funds for the purpose of helping the said industry: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the members of the district governor's cabinet in Pennsylvania Lions district 14-H, in regular meeting assembled, That this appeal be forwarded to the President of the United States, our United States Senators, our Representatives in Congress, the Governor of Pennsylvania, our State senators and our representatives in the assembly, our Lions Clubs in this district and other interested bodies and persons for the purpose of supporting this appeal so that proper action may be taken by those in authority in behalf of the welfare and security of our great anthracite area and industry, our State and our Nation; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the press in the district for their valuable support and aid herein.

Importation of Hams and Other Pork Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, with leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting in the RECORD a newsletter report, dated March 4, 1955, published by the St. Louis Livestock Exchange at the National Stockyards.

This article discusses the depressing effect of excess imports of Polish hams, and other pork products, in helping to drive down the price of hogs and pork products in the United States, and gives facts that are worthy of the attention of the Members of Congress at the present time:

THE LIVESTOCK SITUATION

The hog and pork market worked lower again, almost daily declines in wholesale pork winding up the week with loins down as much as \$5. Increased meat tonnage apparently cannot be blamed for the current weakness, since the February meat output was at the lowest point of several months. In fact, hog slaughter last month was off nearly a million head from the January kill; the 4,600,000-head hog butchering of February could even be considered moderate when compared with the peak winter slaugh-

ter (in December) of 6,119,109 hogs.
We are indebted again to the American Meat Institute for giving wide publicity to the unusually large imports of canned hams and other pork from Communist Poland. As was pointed out several weeks ago, these Polish imports last year (almost 20 million pounds) increased 39 percent over 1953 imports; to put it mildly, it is discouraging to learn that the imports from Poland during January jumped a whopping 55 percent over the canned ham and other pork imports during January 1954. In 1955 the January imports totaled 3,627,000 pounds against 2,339,000 in the same month of 1954. imports have been running about half of the American canned ham production figure. And the Meat Institute says, "United States tariff cuts on canned hams are under consideration." Now, canned ham carries a 31/4-cent per pound import rate. A cut-rate duty could bring in a veritable flood of foreign pork.

January 1955 combined imports from all countries increased 18 percent over a year earlier but other European countries (Germany, Denmark, Holland) reciprocate by buying a lot of American products with the dollars they get from selling their canned hams here (such as lard, tallows, hides, variety meats, etc. Poland doesn't buy any pork products here to make it worse, but could be using dollars gained through the sale of hams thrown on the American market in competition with domestic products, to the strategic materials anywhere else in the world which the United States does not permit any Communist country to export from the United States.

With the serious decline of the price of hogs, it would appear, Congress and the administration ought to take a serious look at this situation and make some move to protect our own economy which is evidently being depressed by excessive imports from Communist Poland.

Handling the Government's Share of the Cost of the Civil Service Retirement Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GARDNER R. WITHROW

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. WITHROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include a study called the Budget in Transition, by the National Planning Association:

HANDLING THE GOVERNMENT'S SHARE OF THE COST OF THE CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT FUND

For many years, Federal Government employees and the United States Government have shared the cost of a retirement and disability plan operated through the civil service retirement fund. From 1929 through 1953 the budget included an allowance for the Government's contribution to the cost of the system, appropriations were made, and the amounts involved were recorded as Government expenditure. They added to the total deficit as reported on the administrative basis.

The amount appropriated for many years was a compromise figure-below true actuarial cost and above the cost of current benefits and payments and for this reason and others, the liability of the Government not represented by appropriations has grown to a figure in excess of \$10 billion. This led to proposals for a reconsideration of the policy of financing the retirement fund, and studies of various possibilities have been going on for some time. Because a policy had not been worked out, Congress has refused to make appropriations for the fiscal years 1954 and 1955 in line with the pattern established during the previous 30 years of the system's life. The appropriation would have been \$368 million in fiscal 1954 (President's Budget Message for 1954, p. M52) and a somewhat greater amount in fiscal 1955, roughly about \$390 million. For fiscal year 1956, on the old basis, the figure would have been still greater, roughly about \$416 million, but the President suggested (message for 1956, p. M82) only \$216 million. These figures exclude certain cost-of-living increases for workers who have already retired, which have continued to be appropriated each year.

The failure of Congress to appropriate the amounts involved reduced the accounting totals of expenditures and the deficit. It has no effect on payments to retired employees but it allows the Government's unfunded liability figure to grow faster than would have been the case.

Highlights of changing policy with regard to the appropriation for the civil service retirement fund appear in the budget messages sent by the President to the Congress during the past few years. In the message on the 1953 budget, the President said (p. M75):

"The cost of civilian employee's retirement benefits is financed by contributions from the employees and the Government. By law, Federal employees covered under the system are required to contribute to a trust fund 6 percent of their salaries, and the Govern-ment is required to contribute an amount sufficient to cover the remaining cost of benefits. The Government contribution for the fiscal year 1953 consists of a normal contribution of 2.78 percent of payroll to pay currently accruing costs, and a deficiency contribution to pay interest on and provide for amortization of the Government's accrued liability to the fund. This liability results from employees' services rendered prior to the effective date of the system, credits for military service, and insufficient appropriations for the Government contribution in some years. This budget includes \$458 million for the annual contribution of the Government for the fisctl year 1953 to the civilservice retirement and disability trust fund. \$148 million more than in the current fiscal year. This estimate takes into account the higher benefits future annuitants which will result from a recent advance in the pay rates for Government employees. It also provides for the first of 30 annual payments to amortize the Government's accrued liability to the fund so that the retirement system eventually will be financed on a full reserve basis, as is contemplated by the Retirement Act."

Congress questioned the program suggested by the President and established a committee to report on the problem. It appropriated \$324 million for 1953, however, which represented a continuation of past Government policy.

In the message of the 1954 budget, the President said (p. M52):

"I am recommending appropriations of \$427 million to cover the Government's obligations to the civil-service retirement and disability fund and \$3 million to pay annuities under special laws. The Government's obligations to the civil-service retirement and disability fund includes \$59 million to cover the cost for 1953 and 1954 of the temporary increase in benefits voted last summer for persons then receiving annuities from the civil service retirement system, and \$368 million for its contribution as employed for the fiscal year 1954. The amounts I am recommending do not provide for payments on the Government's outstanding liability

to the fund, since this is one of the problems to be studied by the Committee on Retirement Policy for Federal Personnel recently established by the Congress."

Congress falled to appropriate the amount

requested by the President, waiting instead for the report of the committee that it had established.

In the message on the 1955 budget, the President said (p. M101):
"An appropriation of \$30 million is recom-

mended to permit the continued payment to retired Federal workers of temporary costof-living increases as authorized by the Congress in 1952. The budget also includes \$2 million to pay annuities under special laws.

"The civil-service retirement system is financed jointly by employee contributions and appropriations by the Government. The Congress, at its last session, however, did not appropriate for the Government's payments to the fund. The resumption of these payments is not included in this budget. Recommendations for financing this system as well as other retirement programs for Federal personnel will be determined after the Committee on Retirement Policy for Federal Personnel completes its study and reports to the Congress on or before June 30,

No appropriation was requested for the fiscal year 1955 and none was made.

In the message on the 1956 budget, the

President said (p. M82):

"The civil-service retirement and disability system should be financed on a more satisfactory basis. Employees now contribute 6 percent of pay, covering about one-half the currently accruing cost, and the Government is responsible for the rest of the cost. the past the Government's share of payments to this fund has not been provided on & consistent basis and in the last 2 years appropriations have been deferred pending the report of the Committee on Retirement Policy for Federal personnel. The Committee's report to the 83d Congress establishes the necessity for a sound and lasting financial basis for the civil-service retirement system. Financing of the civil-service system is a problem requiring careful consideration because of its importance to the Federal career service. For 1956 I am recommending a Government contribution of \$216 million. which is estimated to be the difference in that year between the Government's share of current benefit disbursements and the interest earned on its part of the fund. This will serve to maintain at its present level the equity the Government already has built up in the fund through its past contributions."

A table showing the figures on appropriations to the civil-service retirement fund by the Government on the basis of policy decisions existing in 1953 and prior years, compared with actual and proposed appropriations, is set forth below

In millions of dollars?

Year	Old basis	Actual and pro- posed	Differ- ence
1952	310	310	0
1954	368	0	368
1955	1 390	0	390
1956	1 416	216	200

¹ Estimate.

The estimates for 1955 and 1956 are rough projections based on the figures used in 1953 and prior years. They are lower than the estimated \$794 million level premium cost to the Government, carried in the tables of the report of the Committee on Retirement Policy for Federal Personnel which was submitted to the 83d Congress on June 29, 1954. Included in the level premium cost are amounts necessary to put the system on # self-sustaining basis.

Majority of Security Risks Hired by Eisenhower Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article written by John Cramer entitled "Air Force Aide Says the Big Majority of Security Risks Were Hired by Ike." The article appeared in the March 11, 1955, issue of the Washington Daily News and follows:

AIR FORCE AIDE SAYS THE BIG MAJORITY OF SECURITY RISKS WERE HIRED BY IKE

(By John Cramer)

Somewhere between 75 and 95 percent of all Federal employees "separated" from the Air Force under the Eisenhower administration's security program were employees hired by the Eisenhower administration.

That, in case you missed it, was the meaning of testimony given a Senate Government Operations subcommittee this week by Fred Ayer, an Air Force intelligence representa-In effect, it confirmed this column's estimate of last October 15 that "up to 75 percent" of all Eisenhower administration security risk separations involved employees hired by the administration itself.

It confirmed it—but strongly indicated the estimate may have been on the conservative

side,

And it cut new ground from under Republican politicians who have given the public the completely misleading impression that virtually all of the administration's security risk separations involved employees appointed by previous administrations.

That couldn't possibly be true. But, as politicians will, the GOP politicians have done their best to convince the public it is true.

Last October 15, this column said:

"Up to 75 percent of the 6,926 Federal employees the Eisenhower administration claims to have separated from the Government payroll as security risks may have been hired by the administration itself.

That is this reporter's estimate based on an analysis of past and present Government hiring and investigative practices.'
The column went on to explain:

That the great bulk of Federal employes are hired on a subject-to-investigation basis. That these investigations inevitably turn up many employees who have falsified their job application forms * * * who had police records as criminals, or drunks, or sex per-

That most of these employees ordinarily are dismissed before the end of their 1-year probationary period and generally within a

few months.

That previous administrations separated them under an unsuitable label.

That the Eisenhower administration has been separating many under a security risk

That these separations, mostly within the first month (or probationary) employment, undoubtedly had removed a great many Elsenhower appointees—and undoubtedly accounted for a high proportion of the administration's accounted to the second t ministration's security risk totals.

After the story in this column appeared, there were several attempts to minimize it.

NOT FULL STORY

For example, Vice President RICHARD NIXON, who made much of the security risk lasue in his campaigning in the West, cited

previously unpublished figures which showed that the vast majority of all State Department risk separations involved employees appined by previous administrations.

There is no reason whatever to question

his figures.

But State Department, for a number of reasons, is not a typical Federal agency.

Air Force is far more typical.

And the Air Force's Mr. Ayers told the Senate subcommittee that "95 percent of the Air Force statistics" published as security risk cases "would be probationary employees"—meaning those who had been on the payroll less than a year.

That doesn't quite mean that 95 percent of all Air Force security risk separations were Eisenhower appointees.

What it does mean is this:

That an absolute minimum of nine-six-teenths of the Air Force risks must have been Eisenhower appointees.

That the actual proportion almost certain-

was much higher.

Until very recently, the administration defined security risk separations as including all employees who were fired as security risks—all who were fired for other reasons, under regular civil service procedures, and who subsequently were listed as security risks-and all who resigned before a final decision on charges—even though they didn't know about the charges.

These standards were modified in December to exclude employees fired under regular civil service procedures-and to make a distinction between resigned employees who knew about the charges against them, and

those who didn't know.

But the original standards were the ones in effect last October when this column presented its "up to 75 percent estimate."

They also were in effect last September 30—the last date for which administration

security risk totals are available.

According to Civil Service Commission, Air Force security risk separations totaled 680 between May 28, 1953, the starting date of the security program, and September 30, 1954.

According to the Air Force's Mr. Ayers, "95 percent" of the separations in this 16-month period involved probationary employeesthose who had served less than a year.

Five months elapsed between January 1953, when the Eisenhower administration took office, and May 28, 1953, when its security program went into effect.

This period undoubtedly brought the removal of the vast majority of all remaining Truman probationary employees who had failed to stand up under investigation.

In fact, the proportion of Truman appointees in the Air Force risk separation could equal seven-sixteenths only if no Truman risk appointed after May 28, 1952, had been separated until May 28, 1953.

A much better guess is that at least 90 percent were separated within the first 5 months after appointment.

In other words, before the Eisenhower administration program started.

H. R. 4720

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, March 10, this Congress passed H. R. 4720-what might be called the career incentive bill. In my opinion this legislation will have a tremendous effect upon the morale of our people as well as upon the military and economic condition of our country.

This bill will increase the base pay of the active, retired, and Reserve forces of our military units and certainly it will be an incentive for young people to make a career of the armed services. I have always advocated, and last year introduced House Resolution 521, requesting that a study be made to make the Armed Forces more attractive, giving those who volunteer their services, compensation, and benefits comparable to what could be earned in civilian life. I want to thank the military, administration leaders, and especially the Armed Services Committee for their cooperation in considering my resolution.

I firmly believe that the intent of my resolution, at least a portion thereof, has been put into effect by the passing of H. R. 4720.

I am sure all of us recognize that we must have an adequate defense and I am certain that this legislation will go a long way to help this Nation protect the freedoms that we all enjoy.

I am one who does not like the word compulsion and one who firmly believes that the least Federal controls we have the better off we are. I hope and pray that this increased incentive will so attract the younger people into military service that we will soon be able to do away with the draft and other forms of compulsory military training.

Textile Tariff Cuts Hurt Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include an editorial which recently appeared in the Charlotte Observer, the outstanding evening newspaper published in Charlotte, N. C.

This editorial makes it clear that the textile worker in the United States is the one who will suffer most from a further reduction in our already low tariff on textiles. The editorial follows:

The 24 trade groups associated with the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute were a little sweeping in their criticism of reciprocal trade agreements, but their advice against "hastily enacted" legislation was sound.

Their warning is particularly applicable to the textile industry, which is especially vul-nerable to ill-advised reductions in tariffs on its products. These cuts have already averaged 37 percent and have affected 91 percent of the industry's products. In some indi-vidual cases, the tariff has been reduced by 50 to 75 percent.

In the cotton textile industry labor costs comprise 67 percent of the total value added to the raw material by manufacture. Since the cost of cotton to foreign manufacturers is just as low as it is to American firms, and in many cases lower, any further cuts in the tariff would probably have to be taken out of the 67 percent that goes to wages.

A comparison of wages in the United States and in other leading textile manufacturing countries will show why this is so. The average hourly wage in the American textile industry is \$1.30. In Switzerland it is 43 cents, in Britain 45 cents, in France 39 cents, in Germany 31 cents, in Japan 13 cents, and in India 9.5 cents.

The Japanese industry, where the wage is one-tenth of the American wage, is rapidly returning to its prewar production, but many of its former markets have been cut off. If the tariff were lowered so that Japanese textiles could enter this country at a profitable rate, the American textile worker with his \$1.30 an hour would be competing with the Japanese worker at 13 cents an hour.

In that case the competition would not be between the American and the Japanese manufacturer, but between the American and the Japanese workers.

The argument of the free-trade group is that American business could make up for the difference in wages with greater efficiency. That is not true. The Japanese industry was almost destroyed during the war. It has been replaced by the most modern machinery, fully as efficient as ours.

The same is true of the industry in France and Germany, where wages are about one-fourth of the American wage. India likewise is installing modern machinery with American foreign aid money, but the people operating the machines get only 9½ cents an hour.

The American textile worker is the one who would be hurt by that kind of competition. The free traders ought to think about that.

What Should Be the Government's Farm Policy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am enclosing an essay written by a young man, James J. Tarrou, of the Ashland High School, Ashland, Ohio. I recommend this reading to my colleagues:

WHAT SHOULD BE THE GOVERNMENT'S FARM POLICY?

Different ideas and proposals on various aspects of the Government's farm policy have been top political questions for years. Now it is even more important than ever that we take an objective look at our present agricultural policies. Our program should be one that will promote reasonable farm prices, give farm control back to the farmer, and provide for an expanding and changing economy.

The present piecemeal program under which we are now operating is totally ineffective because it provides for none of these things. But in fact it has forced unnaturally high consumer prices, resulted in unmanageable surpluses, priced us right out of the foreign markets, forced socialistic production and marketing controls on American farmers, and allowed farm prices to drop for 5 of the last 6 years.

It is time that we had a long-range farm program, geared to the future. Agriculture is not a piecemeal business; it cannot have a piecemeal program. As a long-rang policy the theory that we are over-producing is not

true. The real trouble is that we are underconsuming. It is true that for several years, we have been producing an over-abundance of certain commodities, but this is due to unrealistically high price supports which encourage unusually high production of these items.

We need a sliding price-support system that will allow farm commodities to sell at a normal level as long as that level does not threaten disaster to the farmer.

United States Department of Agriculture statistics show that price supports are on less than 25 percent of all the farmer's crops, and that for the last 20 years the prices of nonsupported crops have averaged slightly higher in relation to parity than the prices of those supported.

It must also be remembered that profit is not price alone; it is price times volume minus expense. It would do no one any good to receive \$10 a bushel for wheat if he had no wheat to market. But in many areas farmers are faced with the serious problem of not having enough cash crops to sell because of strict acreage allotments.

American agriculture naturally will produce more food than can be consumed in the United States. At the same time many countries have minerals and raw materials which we need, but which cannot or will not produce enough food for their people.

If our agriculture is to be prosperous, as it can truly be only when it is producing at full capacity, and if we are to obtain the much-needed raw materials, we must be able and willing to trade with other countries.

As long as we have the food we have a moral and political obligation to get it where it is needed. Whether communism or freedom wins the battle for world dominance depends on which one can get the most goods to the most people.

The last, but an equally important, factor in a successful farm program is expansion of education and research. It is estimated by leading economists that within a little more than 10 years our population increase will require 20 percent more food. American agriculture can and will meet these increased demands, but that is only for 10 years. What about 25, 40, or even 50 years? Again agriculture will respond, but it becomes obvious that the solution to our farm problem is through plenty, not scarcity.

No matter what the unforeseeable demands on American agriculture may be, they can be met through research. Research is the key to the future and to prosperity.

If we continue research and develop ways to market our surpluses where there is a demand, we will have a prosperous agriculture. Prosperity can come only through production.

If we follow this plan of sliding price supports, an opening of foreign markets, and increased education and research, we can expect to have an agricultural economy which will meet the needs of the Nation and the world for years to come.

BILL VAN TIBBURG.

He Bit Off Too Much

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROY W. WIER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the Congressional Record, I include an article from the Washington Post and Times Herald of Monday, March 7, 1955,

by George Sokolsky entitled "He Bit Off Too Much."

The article is as follows:

THESE DAYS
(By George Sokolsky)
HE BIT OFF TOO MUCH

You never know what you are liable to get into when you act as a plain citizen who helps to pay the civic bills as a taxpayer, and you begin to question the experts. The new rule seems to be that those who call themselves experts having spoken, it is for the rest of us to tremble and obey.

I got into a thing called fluoridation because I read an article in the Scientific American about this stunt. I did not like the authors' approach to the problem, since, in effect, they started out by telling those who might disagree with them that they were swinish antiintellectuals. As I read their profluoridation article my hackles rose and I said to myself that apparently nobody knows whether this thing is really good of bad except for small children and why not buy it in a drugstore. I have since discovered that I have paid cash money to a dentist to do it on my children out of a bottle. In fact, a study on the use of a stannous fluoride dentifrice appears in the Journal of the American Dental Society for February.

the American Dental Society for February. Having said such things to myself. I thought that maybe I would share my thoughts with my gentie readers, when lo and behold, upon my head fell a mountain of literature, pro and con, articles signed by physicians and dentists who favored and opposed fluoridation and even more material from those who join movements and become fanatical about them, no matter on which side.

I have now gone through this accumulation of literature, first having thrown away all the duplicates. What I discover is this:

all the duplicates. What I discover is this:

1. Fluoridation is good for children up to
their 8th year;

 It can be done out of a bottle bought in a drugstore by dentists and is being done;
 It does not help adults much, if at all;

4. The dental profession is not 100 percent in favor of fluoridating drinking water to lessen the danger of caries, which is fancy talk for a cavity; some dentists say that the arguments for it are nonconclusive; others say, "What do you know about it, you aren't a dentist?"

5. Nobody denies that fluorides in water, even in small quantities, can affect the kidneys adversely and can later in life show up in kidney stones; the pros take the position that the quantity used in drinking water is so small that the danger is not worthy of consideration. Still, if you get a kidney stone, you would know that it hurts and can cause great damage;

6. Nobody bothers about the citizen who is alergic to the stuff; perhaps he will drink bottled water or gin. When I go to Chicago for instance, I order bottled water from Wisconsin because the taste of Chicago water upsets my digestion. But what does the fellow do who has no expense account?

7. Fluoridation at the reservoir does not control the dosage; a child who drinks 10 glasses of water a day, gets 5 times the dosage of one who drinks 2 glasses a day.

of one who drinks 2 glasses a day.

This about sums it up. I have talked to a number of distinguished dentists about fluoridation. What impressed me most is that they object to being quoted pro or con. They say it is unethical for them to express an honest opinion as citizens about a matter which involves the taxpayers' money, because they may only ethically express them selves through learned journals.

Nevertheless, I get the impression that there is division in the ranks and when doctors do not agree, what should we laymen think? Maybe fluoridation is a boon, but I remember a whole skinful of boons which in short order were silently discarded and forgotten.

Death of Thomas B. Fitzhugh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I request unanimous consent to have printed in the appendix of the Congressional Record an article which appears in the February 1955 issue of Rural Electrification, regarding the death of Thomas B. Fitzhugh, of Little Rock, Ark. Mr. Fitzhugh was a leader in the rural electrification program, and I know that many Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives who have worked with him in behalf of the REA will regret the loss of this able and public spirited citizen.

I knew Tom Fitzhugh for many years. Not only am I saddened by the loss of a close friend, but I also realize that my State has lost an influential and progressive leader, a gentleman in business

and association.

Tom Fitzhugh, perhaps as much as any other person, is responsible for the development of rural electrification in Arkansas. He served his State unselfishly and at a great personal financial sacrifice. I know, however, that the rural electrification program, which he pioneered, will serve as a living memorial to his memory and to his tireless work in behalf of Arkansas farmers.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

DEATH OF THOMAS B. FITZHUGH IS LOSS TO RURAL ELECTRIC PROGRAM

(By Ed H. Thomas, editor, Rural Arkansas magazine)

Thomas B. Fitzhugh, a rural electric cooperative leader of national prominence who wrote the law enabling farmers in Arkansas to organize their own power systems, died at Little Rock on December 29 at the age of 46, after an illness of several months. He had served as attorney for NRECA in 1943 and again in 1946.

Fitzhugh was attorney for Arkansas State Electric Cooperative at the time of his death, as well as attorney for Ark-La and Arkansas Electric Power Cooperatives. He also was legal counsel for Central Telephone Cooper-

"The rural electric cooperatives have suffered a severe loss in the death of Tom Fitzhugh," Harry L. Oswald, executive manager of the Statewide, said. "His service to the farmers in the State has extended over nearly 20 years. He distinguished himself in public affairs as well as in the activities of the rural electric cooperatives."

Fitzhugh was on the publications committee which launched Rural Arkansas magazine in 1946 as the official publication of the State co-op and worked with Oswald (at that time field representative of REA) in starting the series of local co-op annual meetings on a rotational basis since copied by many statewide associations. In the realm of power supply, Fitzhugh took the lead in obtaining approval for engineering surveys which resulted in a loan of \$101/2 million to build a co-op steam generating plant and transmission system in northwest Arkansas—a proposal blocked by lawsuits filed by the commercial utility companies in the area.

Tom Fitzhugh started his public career in 1932 when he was elected city attorney at Augusta and graduted to State politics in 1936 when he managed the successful campaign of the late Carl E. Balley for attorney general, then becoming assistant attorney general. Two years later Fitzhugh managed the campaign which made Balley governor.

The man who later was to become a leader in the rural electrification drive by the cooperatives which boosted the number of electrified farms from less than 2 percent to more than 85 percent in the State in less than 20 years was appointed by Governor Bailey as chairman of public-utilities division, which now is the public-service commission. Early difficulties in getting the commercial utilities to even quote a rate to the cooperatives spurred Fitzhugh's interest in helping farmers obtain their own rural power systems. This interest in welfare of farm people was reflected in other activities. He helped organize the Arkansas Plant Food Co. and was its attorney as well as counsel for the Arkansas Farmers Association.

Fitzhugh helped organize many of the REA-financed co-ops, teaming up with Waldo Frazier, of the Farm Bureau, and E. E. Karns, then with the Extension Service, in holding meetings of farmers at many communities. While he was on the utility regulatory agency, Arkansas took the lead in adopting the area allocation plan, under which service territory was assigned to the utility best able to serve it, whether the power supplier was a commercial company or a cooperative. This policy helped to hold the building of so-called spite lines to a minimum in Arkansas, enabling the State to escape expensive duplication of utility lines. Sixty percent of the area of the State is allocated to the co-ops, practically all of it rural because the law prohibits a coopera-tive from serving in a town of more than

His first visit to Washington, in the interests of rural electrification, took Tom Fitzhugh and Governor Balley in 1937 to the office of REA Administrator Morris L. Cooke to inquire what was needed to give Arkansas farmers adequate electric service at a reasonable rate. Decision to write an enabling act to permit organization of REA-financed co-ops grew out of this meeting.

Serving on the Public Service Commission until Homer M. Adkins became governor in 1941, Fitzhugh went into private law practice in Little Rock, becoming legal counsel for Arkansas State Electric Cooperative when it was organized by the 18 rural electric coops in the State. He was in the Navy in World War II assigned as an armed guard officer on merchant ships facing danger of submarine attack. Returning late in 1945 he resumed his leadership in the rural-electric program.

He studied in the school of business administration at Washington and Lee University at Lexington, Va., for 3 years and received a law degree there after 3 years of additional study. Opening a law office at Augusta, he spent much of his time in management of the family's farm interests which included more than 3,000 acres along White River in Woodruff County. He was president of Fitzhugh, Snapp & Co., a general merchandising firm in the town of Fitzhugh, 7 miles north of Augusta, and of Fitzhugh Gin Co., in Woodruff County.

At the time of his death he was a partner in a legal firm with Howard Cockrill at Little Rock. He was a member of Christ Episcopal Church at Little Rock, the Little Rock Country Club, and the Arkansas and American Bar Associations.

He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Camille Waldron Fitzhugh, formerly of Walnut Ridge, and four sons, Thomas, Edward, James, and David, also a brother, Davis Fitzhugh, of Augusta.

Slovak Independence Day, March 14

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 14, 1939, the Slovak Parliament, perhaps under unusual circumstances, but nevertheless, declared the independence of Slovakia. I say under unusual circumstances, because the Slovaks would not have chosen that particular time to declare publicly what we and the whole world consider as their God-given and inalienable right to do. But were it not for the pressure exercised by Germany the yearning of the Slovaks for their national home would have been delayed much longer. As it happened, March 14 became the day of the fulfillment of Slovak national aspirations.

At the commemoration of this historical day of Slovaks throughout the world, I wish to remind the Members of the House that it was our own President Wilson who was intimately acquainted with the situation of the Slovaks in the newly born Republic of Czechoslovakia and that it was exactly this President who, after witnessing the plight of the Slovaks in that new state, proposed that the right of self-determination of the Slovak Nation should be brought to the attention of the League of Nations at one of its first meetings.

That this was so, is testified by no one less authoritative on this subject, than was the eminent American journalist and aide to President Wilson during the Versailles negotiations following World War I, Colonel Stefan Bonsal, who as a close friend of the foremost Slovak Patriot General Milan R. Stefanik witnessed the interview of President Wilson with General Stefanik at Paris in 1919, and who later was to learn about the Slovak national aspirations from other sources.

As it appears to us Americans, we may object to the Slovaks that they seized the opportunity to declare their independence on March 14, 1939, when Germany seemed to dominate the fate of the whole area of central Europe, a Germany which at that time was or was about to become our enemy. But, as we cannot blame the sick for accepting medical treatment at the first opportunity of seeing a doctor instead of waiting in agony for their own doctor, so we cannot reproach the Slovaks for the very fact of having declared their independence in 1939 instead of waiting for our own encouragement.

No, we cannot reproach them for having used their God-given right for freedom; on the contrary, we join our Slovak friends throughout the world in their joy of the glorious past of their nation and in their hope that soon again the chimes of victory of the good over the evil will ring in Bratislava and Kosice the hymn of freedom and liberty denied to them now under the Communist domination.

To make this possible, however, we cannot just stand by. We have to en-

courage all such brave and democratically minded Slovaks throughout the world, and their organizations that we are willing to help them if they also will help themselves. In this respect, I mean not only the organizations of those Slovak exiles who before all are responsible for the liberation of Communistdominated Slovakia, such as the Na-tional Committee for Liberation of Slovakia, but also organizations, clubs and lodges of Americans of Slovak descent, who are inspired by the plight of so many of their countrymen in Slovakia. Only recently one such organization was founded in the Luzerne County district under the guidance of some of my friends such as John T. Kmetz, Andrew Kosik, Stephen Farris, John J. Baloga, John Adamchak, and others in order to seek ways and means for a better understanding of the Slovak problems.

As for me, I have already expressed my views about the Slovak problem when on July 3, 1952, I introduced House Concurrent Resolution No. 238, in which I have not only stressed the traditional friendship of the American people with the people of Slovakia, and reaffirmed the firm conviction of the American people that the Slovak people have the right of self-determination and the right to be governed by their own consent, but, ever since, I have convinced myself by closely studying this same problem, that only then when Slovakia will become an equal member of the family of free nations, peace will prevail in that area of central Europe.

Backward Farm Step

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN V. BEAMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the Congressional Record an editorial from the March 10, 1955, edition of the Washington (D. C.) Evening Star:

BACKWARD FARM STEP

The House Committee on Agriculture has taken a predicted step backward in approving legislation which would restore the mandatory 90 percent of parity price supports for five basic crops—corn, wheat, cotton, peanuts, and rice. The same legislation would raise the discretionary minimum on dairy supports from 75 to 80 percent. It is legislation which should be defeated in the Senate if it passes the House.

The high, rigid price-support program, adopted originally as a temporary wartime formula, was set aside last year by legislation authorizing flexible supports for the 5 commodities within a range of 821/2 to 90 percent of parity. Actually, the authority to lower the supports does not become opera-tive until the 1955 crops come in, so this formula for Government aid has not been tested and is not, of course, responsible for the declining trend in farm prices which has been noted since 1951. Meanwhile, however, the high support program has resulted in Government purchase of billions of dollars of commodities-products that were

destined to be surplus even before they were planted or harvested. Furthermore, the chief beneficiaries of this wasteful program, as President Eisenhower pointed out last year, have been about 2 million owners of large and highly mechanized farming Little or no benefit has gone to about 3.5 million small farmers. At the same time, the consumer-taxpayer has footed the bill for unneeded purchases and storage, as well as in higher prices for the commodities being held off the markets.

Under other legislation enacted last year, the Government is authorized to dispose of some of the huge commodity stocks in return for foreign currencies, goods or services, and, within limitations, to give away some for famine relief. The Department of Agriculture has reported substantial progress on this program. In addition, expansion in research and educational work in agriculture is under way and a special study is near completion on the problems of the lowincome farmer. Last November's farm area voting in the congressional elections did not indicate any pronounced displeasure with the administration's approach to the agricultural problem. Certainly it warants a fair trial, and there should be no retreat to a system that failed because it was not designed for normal peacetime periods.

Hon, William H. Ayres, of Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an editorial written by a personal friend of mine, Mr. G. J. Kochenderfer, who has been an editorial writer for the Mansfield News-Journal many years. This editorial is of particular interest as it refers to my friend and distinguished colleague and very capable Congressman from Ohio, WIL-LIAM H. AYRES. Congressman Ayres is doing an outstanding job for his constituents as well as the people of the country. I am sure the editorial will be read with a great deal of interest by his friends:

A CLASS PROPHECY THAT CLICKED-GRADUATE OF WELLER TOWNSHIP SCHOOL, NOW CON-GRESSMAN, AS PREDICTED

(By C. J. Kochenderfer)

Remember that class prophecy which was put forth when you were graduated from high school? Think back for a moment on how it happened, and then you may be surprised at the accuracy of one such prophecy that took a forward look of 18 years.

This reference is being made to a graduate in the class of 1932 from Weller Township High School, who, according to the prophecy, was to be a Member of Congress in 1950and it was in exactly that year that he was first elected to Congress from Ohio's 14th district, which includes Summit County, with Akron as its chief city.

This is another of the instances in which the placement of a Methodist minister was instrumental in bringing to Richland County a boy who, without his guessing it at the time, was destined to succeed beyond the ordinary, and it is to a Mansfield teacher that he gives much credit for the upward start.

The name is WILLIAM H. AYRES, now serving his third term in Congress, having been re-

elected in 1952 and 1954 as a Republican in

what is thought of as a Democratic district.

Born in Eagle Rock, Va., February 5, 1916,
the son of Rev. and Mrs. William H. Ayres, WILLIAM, Jr., was subject to the changes to which Methodist preachers of that period became accustomed, and it was in 1927 that his father's transfer from Brighton, Ohio, to the Pavonia Church, with inclusion of the Franklin and Olivesburg churches in his cir-

So it came about that five of WILLIAM's youthful years were spent in this country; years which concluded with his graduation from Weller-Union High School, as it was known then.

Now comes the name of a Mansfield teacher into the story—Miss Pearl Danback, 223 South Franklin Avenue—who teaches mathematics (geometry) in MHS, but who was then principal of Weller-Union School.

It was Miss Danback who recognized Wn.-LIAM's above average potentialities and it was at her insistence that he became active in debating. She also encouraged him to apply for a scholarship at Western Reserve University, which he received and was among the graduates from WRU in the class of 1936, with an A. B. degree.

First employment after college graduation was as a salesman of heating equipment in Akron, interrupted by service as a private in the United States Army during 1945 and 1946. After discharge from the Army WIL-LIAM established his own heating and insulation business in Akron, which continues under the name William H. Ayres, Inc., of which he is president.

Difficulties encountered in a suit against the East Ohio Gas Co., including governmental interference, stimulated WILLIAM's interest in politics, in which his first venture was to run for Congress at a time when he admits having been naive enough to think that one man could correct a lot of evils quickly. Anyhow, William is now serving in this third consecutive term, which may be taken to indicate that he is doing right well in pleasing his constituents.

Recollections of occurrrences of school days in Weller township remain fresh in WILLIAM'S memory with eighth grade attendance in the one-room school in Payonia.

It was while in the eighth grade that WIL-LIAM accumulated enough savings, from trapping muskrats and skunks, to buy a Model T runabout, which provided transportation to high school for himself and some neighborhood children. Remembering that he was a 12-year-old at that time, William now wonders how the parents of the children who rode with him to school ever consented for them to do so. However, he was paid \$1 a week by each of those he provided with this transportation service-which seems fair enough.

It was while a high-school senior-at the age of 16-that a painful experience came about. William had been chosen valedictorian of the class and had prepared what he felt sure would be a terrific speech.

But fate intervened, and on the morning of Friday, May 13, 1932 (note the Friday the 13th), a baseball bat slipped from the hands of Perry Phelps, a classmate (also a riding passenger), and struck William on the mouth, knocking out seven teeth and breaking his jaw.

Thus, instead of declaiming his carefully prepared speech, William could do no more than sit on the platform, with his remaining teeth wired together and his jaw supported by a contraption that resembled a birdcage, while Miss Danback read his speech.

Also remembered is an episode of the summer of 1931 with unpleasant consequences. It was while WILLIAM was engaged in a tussle with Wendell Oswalt, who now conducts an office equipment business at 187 Marion Avenue, that Wendell's collarbone was broken

and William was required to do all of the heavy work on the Oswalt farm that would have otherwise fallen to Wendell, who did no more than lead the horse that pulled the hay up to the mow while WILLIAM (or BILL, as he was then known), was already in the mow doing the real work.

There was also a time when WILLIAM, as a schoolboy, played on the McVey Post American Legion junior baseball team, of which Ralph Hughes, now court bailiff and probation officer, served as director for 10 years, and the friendship of WILLIAM and Ralph has

extended through the years.

By the way, it was Miss Leota Pittinger (now Mrs. Arthur Boyce, of Shelby) who prepared the class prophecy which, in its forecast if William's later career, proved amaz-

ingly accurate.

It was the first girl with whom he became acquainted after entering Western Reserve-Miss Mary Helen Coventry, then at the age of 16-who became William's bride on April 1, 1937. Their home is at 804 Sunnyside Avenue, Akron 3, and they have three children: Virginia, 16; Frank, 14; and July, 10.
William's office is 227 West Exchange

Street, Akron, and during the time he is required to be in Washington as a Member of Congress he can be addressed at the House

Office Building.

Information from the current issue of Who's Who is to the effect that he holds membership in the American Legion, Amvets, Eagles, and Moose, also that he is a Methodist.

Appreciation of his father and mother is expressed in WILLIAM's realization that they were "very understanding parents," and he comments: "Being raised in a Christian home is a wonderful experience." His mother had been a missionary and had always seemed to consider her son a likely prospect for that field of activity, but circumstances directed otherwise.

WILLIAM's father has now retired from the more arduous tasks of the ministry but continues to serve as pastor of the Brokensword Methodist Church, north of Bucyrus,

Defense of Quemoy and Matsu Islands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROY W. WIER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, I include a letter from Mrs. Robert V. (Gertrude S.) Cram, Minneapolis, Minn., with resolution adopted by the members of the Second Ward DFL Club, recommending that the United States not defend the Quemoy and Matsu Islands against Communist China, Also, that our foreign policy should make Formosa a United Nations protectorate, preliminary to self-determination.

The letter and resolution follow:

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., March 7, 1955. Hon. Roy WIER,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WIER: I have been instructed to send you the enclosed copy of a resolution adopted by the DFL Club, of the second ward, at a recent meeting. We hope it will help your thinking on this important question.

Sincerely yours.

GERTRUDE S. CRAM Mrs. Robert V. Cram, Secretary, Second Ward. DFL Club.

Whereas there is great uncertainty about United States responsibilities in the Formosa areas; and

Whereas this uncertainty may be less of a deterrent than a provoker of war: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Second Ward DFL Club considers it sound United States policy not to defend Quemoy and Matsu Islands. Also, it should be United States policy to take steps to make Formosa a United Nations protectorate, preliminary to a self-determining

Textiles and Tariff: New Approach to the Revolution in World Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a thoughtful editorial which appeared recently in the Charlotte News, an outstanding afternoon newspaper published in Charlotte, N. C.

The Charlotte News has been outspoken in its advocacy of a liberal trade policy for our country. The editorial makes it clear that the News has not shifted its position but points out that one country cannot, by itself, bring about a revolution in trade and urges a realistic approach to the problem. The editorial follows:

The administration's new reciprocal trade bill (H. R. 1) is no tempest in a tariffpot. It is a genuine, full-blown threat to Dixie's multi-million-dollar textile industry and to the economic security of armies of south-

The effects would be felt right here in Mecklenburg if the textile industry-or any significant portion of it—should be sacrificed to foreign competitors.

The measure—which would extend the 20-year-old reciprocal trade law 3 years and give the President additional powers to reduce tariffs 5 percent a year during the period is dangerous in its present form. It would be folly to extend the law without adjusting it to the realities of the age.

These sentiments do not represent a major shift in the basic beliefs of the News. the past, our editorial policy on trade has been based on two cardinal points: (1) The more trade the better; (2) the freer it is the better.

We have not changed but conditions have altered the timetables of progress. We still believe in the free movement of goods throughout the world. We still maintain that it is a goal toward which the nations of the world must work. But one country cannot, by itself, bring about a revolution If it tries today, it will be caught in trade in a whirlwind of conflicting economic and strategic currents.

While nodding heads in unison about the necessity to reduce tariffs and stimulate a liberal trade policy, too many foreign nations have been silently erecting sky-high barriers to free trade. Import quotas, currency-control straitjackets, import licenses and every other conceivable protectionist device are being put into effect. A whole new arsenal of economic weapons has been developed. They make tariffs seem like horsedrawn artillery in a world of atomic armament.

But there are other new ingredients in the international trade stew as well.

For one thing, the ever-quickening technological and scientific revolution, which is undercutting the advantages of international specialization, is making the world even more fiercely competitive. Adequate mechanisms of adjustment have not yet been forged.

Under ideal free-trade conditions, one area

might be watchmaker for the world-because it might have a corner on the raw materials, skilled labor, efficient machinery, etc. In exchange for its watches it could receive other items from other specialized areas that produce them—on a stuff-for-stuff basis. The theory is that if a nation wants to sell, it must also buy. Every country has something to sell, something else to buy.

But look at textiles. They are produced all over the world. Techniques are about the same. Equipment is almost identical. There's not a great deal of difference in efficiency-although Americans have a par-

ticularly high rating.

There is, however, a difference. It is in wages paid labor. The average Japanese textile worker makes 13.6 cents an hour. The average United States textile worker makes about \$1.30 an hour. This is a ratio of about 10 to 1. When you consider that, in textiles, labor costs make up 49 percent of the value added by manufacture, the importance of this difference is clear. (Wages are not the only cost differential; there is also a disparity in the cost of cotton, equipment, and transportation.)

Japan is one of the world's principal manufacturers of textiles. United States foreign ald helped put the industry on its feet after World War II. Even under present tariff schedules, it is flooding the United States with cotton goods. In December alone, 85,-300 dozen woven cotton shirts entered this country from Japan. Prices are considerably below general United States levels. Quality is not always sleazy.

This competition has already injured United States producers. In the third quarter of 1954 (latest available figures), profits on sales after taxes amounted to only 1 percent-lowest level since 1938. Last year the United States lost 600,000 spindles while Japan was adding more.

The South-and particularly this immediate area-is, for better or worse, built upon a cotton economy. This is not a happy or particularly healthy situation. But it is a fact. Any sudden jolt to the textile industry will run like an earthquake through the region's entire economic terrain.

Slowly, new industry is being established. lowly, Dixie's economic base is being Slowly, Dixle's economic base is being strengthened and broadened. But the region is not yet ready to exile King Cotton. Human factors are involved. Too many lives are wrapped up in the prosperity of thousands of individual mills and supporting institutions and businesses. The textile South must not slash its own throat or stand idly by while someone elses wields the razor.

This does not mean, however, that the goal of a liberal trade policy should be junked. It simply means that before the United States liberalizes its trade program further, it should take stock of what the total world situation is and act accordingly. It should decide what its long-range strategic and economic interests are.

It may take a 2- to 3-year trade truce to provide a breathing spell for competitive relations to shake themselves down.

It will certainly mean that America will have to develop a clearcut understanding with its world neighbors about mutual responsibilities in international trade.

It will probably mean some additional investments abroad to open up new markets— for the United States and even for pesky rivals like the Japanese.

The Nation's first concern must be to maintain a high level of production and employment in a solvent and expanding American economy. Next, from that sound economic base, the Nation must work aggressively to strengthen the free world through the expansion of world trade. In the long run, both of these responsibilities can be discharged—if Americans have the patience, the wisdom, and the commonsense to do the job.

The Inquiry Into the Stock Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Don't Brush Off Wall Street As None of Your Business," published in the Courier Journal of Louisville, Ky., of March 4, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DON'T BRUSH OFF WALL STREET AS NONE OF YOUR BUSINESS

Senator Fulbright is taking great pains to calm any fears that may be stirred by the prospect of his inquiry into the stock market. Obviously he does not want anybody to think that he and his colleagues on the Senate Banking Committee suspect any funny business, any unwholesomeness, any danger. He doesn't want to shake anybody's confidence or start a selling spree. He is not investigating, he insists, but only studying.

This caution on the Senator's part is a good thing. But there is no call for any apologies as to the inquiry. It too is a good thing. It can very well become a means of creating a better general understanding of great developments in our economic life. It could, in short, be highly educational, bringing more confidence rather than less.

There never was a time when such a study was more appropriate. The stock market has come to be a vital interest to more and more people. As the national product grows, incomes grow and savings, too. Last year the people of this country made more money than ever before, spent more—and still saved around \$20 billion. Here is a potential stake for investment in the essential America of production. The assurances of health and protection that a competent and sympathetic study should give might make things really move.

More and more people are buying stocks. In the United States are around 20 million individual shareholders. There are more women than men. Activity and interest have grown in the last year phenomenally. Sales on registered exchanges in December 1953 totaled around 65 million shares, of value around \$1.5 billion. In December 1954 the total was 135 million shares, of value nearly \$3.2 billion.

Is this unhealthy? Not so long as prices and the essential elements of value keep in proper proportion. Is this the case? That is what the Fulbright committee could and should find out.

Is the vast amount of trading and the dramatic increase in prices due to a competition among investors—the institutional investors (pension trusts, foundations, etc.) versus the personal investors—which might bring about an inflation and distortion of values by the old pressures of supply and demand? This is for the committee to find out and if necessary to give advice, utter warning, or propose regulation.

We can't think of a healthler sign than the entrance of these millions of individual stock buyers into the market. Responsible corporations and stock sellers seem to have the same idea. There are more and more appeals to the little fellow—pay-as-you-go plans, solicitation of popular interest in the movement of stocks. So long as these are backed up by proper scrutiny of issues, for which we have the machinery and proper insistence on equities (solid margins), the stimulation helps all. With some 10 billions in new issues of stocks and bonds taken to market last year, it is desirable to have as many investors as possible. Otherwise the capital for new and larger enterprises might dry up.

There may be a value in the Fulbright inquiry also for guiding Government money policy. Are public agencies too likely to be as skittish as investors? Is there a danger of making credit for general business purposes too tight simply because restrictions are deemed necessary to discourage stock speculation? This question from the National City Bank's letter is repeated here by way of showing that there is more than one legitimate and timely point to the Fulbright inquiry. The thing is not necessarily to be feared. On the other hand, the country might get some valuable enlightenment from it, not to say encouragement.

Mine Drainage Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to inform the House that on March 7, 1955, a hearing on the mine drainage bills, one of which I introduced-H. R. 2931-was held before the Mine and Mining Subcommittee of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House, At this hearing a number of officials of the mining industry appeared in behalf of this proposed legislation and, although it affects several districts, it also directly affects the coal industry of my congressional district in Pennsylvania. I had the privilege of testifying at this hearing and herewith insert the following resolution that has been adopted by Loomis 2444, UMW, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., expressing interest and urging Congress not to delay the mine drainage legisla-

Whereas the Honorable Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD has always taken a keen interest in the problems of the mine workers; and

Whereas he has introduced the mine drainage bill, which will boost production and provide work for thousands of unemployed through production and pumping work time: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the mine workers of the Loomis local go on record to sing high the praises of a great Congressman and a real friend of the miners and laboring class of people; be it further

Resolved, Congressman FLoop insist on no further delay by any unfounded local opposition

Adopted by the officers and members of the Loomis Local, No. 2444, United Mine Workers of America.

PELIX THOMASHEPSKI,
President.
ALBERT STATKEWICZ,
Recording Secretary.
MICHAEL SALKO,

Adenauer Sees End to Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a very enlightening article entitled "Adenauer Sees End to Cold War," written by May Craig and published in the Portland (Maine) Press-Herald of March 10, 1955. May Craig is the Washington Correspondent of this newspaper.

There being no objection, the article

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

ADENAUER SEES END TO COLD WAR (By May Craig)

Bonn.—Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of the German Federal Republic (West), looked tired and white when he came into the small drawing room of the Palais Schaumburg to greet the group of editors and publishers with whom I am traveling. He is a tall, lean man, straight, though nearly 80 years old. He has great dignity, quiet power, is indomitable.

He was tired after the battle in the Bundestag about the London-Paris accords, the agreements about Germany in NATO, German rearmament, allowing the German Saar Valley to remain temporarily in French administration, Germany joining the Western Union of free Europe. He won all but the Saar agreement by a two-thirds vote; he won the Saar bigger than had been thought. But it was a battle, with no holds barred. An American correspondent who stayed with the battle all the time, said he thought it was the most healthful demonstration of democracy he had seen in Germany—everybody said whatever he wanted to—all the points of view, all the bitter differences were laid out, just like in our Congress.

The Chancellor came quietly into the drawing room, with several members of his cabinet. Tall windows had thin glass, curtains, and yellow damask draperies; there was a bowl of red tulips on a table, though the ground outside was covered with snow; large portrait of the wife of King Charles the Fifth looked down on us, regal in red velvet.

Adenauer wore formal morning dress, and sat comfortably on a sofa facing us. An interpreter translated what Adenauer said, a few sentences at a time.

The Chancellor said that the defeat of the European Defense Community (EDC) in the French Assembly last September had been a hard blow, but the Bundestag had voted on the next best thing and adopted it with a comfortable vote. There is no trend toward isolationism in West Germany, nor towards "anschluss," which means reunion, with the East, in that vote; it shows the desire to cooperate with the West.

He said he believed a few weeks would complete German approval and that this time France would not lag behind. For 4 years, he said, his government had told the West Germans that this was the way for Germany to go, toward unity with Europe for its defense against communism, but that this could not go on forever.

If these agreements are ratified, he said.

If these agreements are ratified, he said, then we enter "a new phase," in world politics.

After complete ratification, he said he believes the Communist cold war will end because they will see it serves no purpose. In that I do not agree—I don't think the Communists ever give up. There remains, Adenauer said, Asia, and the Middle East, with turmoil, but he trusts to the diplomacy of the United States to win a measure of success there too.

He hopes to open negotiations with Russia for relaxation of East-West tension. He hopes for decision on control of the H-bomb, which, he said, he believes is an instrument for peace because of its awfulness.

I asked him whether, if Russia makes German neutrality a condition for reunification of East-West Germany, the West Germans would consent, however reluctantly. He replied sternly and firmly that they would not.

"We are firmly convinced that a reunified Germany cannot exist neutralized," he said. "We saw the fate of Poland. Ninety percent, at least, of the East Germans want reunification, but in freedom, not in slavery."

He is not for talks with Russia on reunification unless there is some good chance of tolerable agreements for our side. just come from a talk with Erich Ollenhauer, head of the Social Democratic Party, the second largest political party, after Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party. Ollenhauer had used mealy words about Germany reunited which would be a menace neither to east or west. The Ollenhauer party is for talks with Russia now. His party does not want reunited Germany to ally with any of the occupying powers, which means—the neutrality that Adenauer condemns firmly. Adenauer wants to begin at once on the steps toward rearmament. "The world must be shown that the accords are not just a piece of paper. I believe this will show the Communists they must think again—review their plans. We need heavy equipment from the United States. We should think of steps to peace, not how many regiments. We want to be on the free European side."

Advance of the Churches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the spiritual strength of America is the bulwark of our national security. It is the most powerful barrier against the spread of communism and other un-American ideologies among

It is, therefore, most gratifying to have placed before us information showing how much the churches have advanced in recent years.

The data, published by the information service of the National Council of Churches is of great interest. I ask unanimous consent to have the article inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHURCHES ADVANCE

The following data gleaned from Information Service published by the National Council of Churches (research and survey department) strengthens faith in the progress of religion.

"More than 94 million of the people of our Nation are members of churches or synagogues. More than 30 millions of new membars have been added in the past 14 years. A century ago, 1 out of every 6 Americans was a church member. Today the ratio is better than 1 out of 2—more accurate-

ly, 6 out of 10. Since 1920, church membership has increased twice as fast as the population; it has doubled while the population increased by 50 percent. In 1940 less than one-half the people were church members; today 60 percent."

The World Almanac, 1955, reports 250 religious bodies with an estimated 294,359 churches and an inclusive membership of 95.681.604. The Roman Catholics have 31,-648.424 in 15,914 parishes. Protestantism enrolls 56,138,335. Jewish congregations have 5,000,000 in 3,990 synagogues. Most of the Protestants are envolled in a few major denominations. The Yearbook of American Churches reports that there are 77 religious bodies with over 50,000 members each, and these reported 98.2 percent of all church members.

Detroit Speed Track

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAT McNAMARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the lead editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of Monday, March 14, 1955, which points out that "Assuming that strikes will be averted, the auto industry by its own calculations will run into serious trouble after the middle of the year."

Government officials in high places have severely criticized those who urge the auto industry to take heed before it is too late. I hope that the Washington Post editorial may help to impress these Government officials with the importance of the situation.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DETROIT SPEED TRACK

The hot dispute between Ford and Chevrolet over which company won the race for auto leadership last year approaches the competitive spirit of a contrast between the Giants and Dodgers. Ford says it sold more and Chevrolet says it produced more cars last year. This year the race is equally furious, with both producing at a faster rate. What the onlookers will want to know is not who will win but whether the auto industry is engaged in such a furious drive for sales in the first half of the year that it is headed for serious trouble in the second half.

An outsider cannot make decisions for the industry. One of the inviolate rules of free enterprise is that Government may not tell an industry how much to produce or how much to charge for its product. Those are necessary responsibilities of management. The managers may make unwise decisions, but once Government attempts to set the price or fix the rate of production it becomes in fact the master.

The auto industry has introduced new designs that are making a hit with the buyer, who is in a buying mood. Thus, the auto companies are making an all-out drive for the consumer's dollar. Competition has seldom been more intense. By March 5 this hustling industry had produced 1,481,248 new cars during 1955; the figure at the same point last year was 998,557. In other words, production so far this year is 48 percent higher than in 1954. Besides capitalizing on

the popularity of the new models and the buying mood of the public, the industry is preparing for a possible summer strike by the auto workers. If the manufacturer has a large supply of new cars on hand, he can face labor's demands with a certain calm and be in a position to sit out a long strike. General Motors' contract with the CIO United Automobile Workers expires May 29 and Ford's contract expires June 1.

Assuming, however, that strikes will be averted, the auto industry by its own calculations will run into serious trouble after the middle of the year. One estimate is that the industry will produce about 4 million cars in the first half of 1955 and about 2.6 million in the last half. This decline could have unpleasant consequences throughout the economy. Many important industries are dependent upon the automobile industry for a large part of their business. Such a cutback in auto production could hurt the steel and rubber industries particularly, and have serious political effects. The major question, then, is whether the producers are paying enough attention to their very real though undefined social responsibility.

Army Pay Rate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Quit Kidding the Troops," published in the Army Times of March

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

QUIT KIDDING THE TROOPS

We had a rather pitiful little note the other day from a unit commander in the field. "For Pete's sake, help," he cried in typescript. "Stop those people at the Pen-tagon before they tear the already frayed morale of my men into tatters. We can't take much more of this." Or words to that

His complaint, briefly, was first based upon those two words prominent on every re-enlistment poster being sent to him for display. They were: "Regular promotions." In his unit, he said, were three key noncoms. He called them his "unfortunates." All SFC's they had dates of rank going back to March 1945. None were foul balls, he said, but they had never been in the right place at the right time for upgrading. Though they had all but lost hope, they had not lost their sense of humor. So they could ignore the posters with no more than a passing shrug, but he could not.

He could not help but contrast the scarcity of top grade promotions among enlisted people with the officer promotion system. He pointed out that most of his fellows, up to the grade of colonel, had at least a chance to move up every 4 or 5 years. Upgrades depended simply on seniority and efficiency—and had no regard for TO & E vacancies. No such rewarding "step up the ladder" is in the offing for most noncoms today. He wanted to know—in view of the Womble report and such-why not.

Well, this paper has tried to report "why not." The Army's official explanation has always been that grade limits are fixed by the amount of money allowed for pay, and service requirements (time in position or grade set as minimums for promotion, etc.). Some of these limits are the work of the Budget Bureau or of Congress. But others are caused by the need to conform to the troop program and the TO & E. As long as these boundaries exist, there will always be a shortage of ratings. (See our story of last week on NCO "spots.")

So—to get back to our officer and his "unfortunates"—the Army would probably do well to treat the subject frankly and honestly when it brings the matter up among soldiers at reup time. For instance it should not make wild statements in some of the pamphlets it puts out, like "You and the Army." Much of this little booklet makes sense, but we doubt that anything is gained by telling service people that—

"Actually, your chances for promotion in the present-day Army are unlimited."

"Under its new policy of officer procurement, the grade of master sergeant is only the first step." (But that first step is a "when and if" proposition, isn't it?)

"A warrant or commission is within your reach." (Possibly, but only if a warrant or commission is within an enlisted man's chosen field.)

The booklet then goes on to say: "The pay of the first four (warrant officer) grades corresponding to the pay of major, captain, first and second lieutenants is as follows:" and prints the following corresponding (or "matching," according to Webster) table:

WO basic pay

[After 14 years]	
W-4	\$408.56
W-3	340.48
W-2	295.08
W-1	257. 24
Officer basic pay	
[After 14 years]	
Major	8459.52
Captain	414.96
First lieutenant	363.10
Second lieutenant	326.04

If we assume that the author of the pamphlet was thinking of "corresponding" as meaning "matching" in its use here, then this, indeed, is some match. If he wasn't thinking of it in this way, then he should have made himself clear.

In our view, this is no way to make the warrant officer happy with his lot. It's no way, either, to encourage enlisted men to try for a warrant officer's bar. It's a good way, however, to instill a feeling of cynicism and bitterness in a soldier's breast.

The moral of all this: Quit kidding the troops.

The Inquiry Into the Stock Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the Record an excellent article by Miss Sylvia F. Porter appearing in the New York Post of March 10. This article reveals a keen insight into and understanding of the hearings being conducted by the Banking and Currency Committee.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Arm: To Avert Trouble (By Sylvia F. Porter)

There never has been anything to parallel it—a full-dress Government investigation into a boom while it is still roaring along just to find out if there is anything wrong that could turn the boom into a bust.

Always before in our country, we have begun the probes after trouble has happened. That's normal procedure. First the disaster strikes, then we look for the culprits to blame, then we try to write new laws or curbs to deal with the situation.

But in Washington today an entirely new spectacle is taking place. For the Senate Banking Committee, under the brilliant direction of Senator Fulbright, of Arkansas, is spending the month of March investigating the stock market, not because there is trouble.

(There isn't anything wrong with the stock market today. It simply has been going up and up and making whopping paper profits for people with the cash, know-how, and luck to be in the advancing stocks.)

The Senate is investigating Wall Street only because it wants to make sure the boom remains sound and doesn't blow up in our faces.

And that, I submit, is a fact that in itself is of deepest bread-and-butter meaning to all of us.

What are the Senators finding out that's good and that's bad as they question some of the top financiers, bankers, industrialists, and economists of our Nation?

They're finding out plenty that's good.

For instance, there is no doubt that the great stock boom of the last 18 months represents a belated catching up with our spectacular economic growth since the 1930's * * that it reflects investors' relief over the mildness of the 1953-54 recession and their optimism over our long-term future * * that it mirrors the Government's easy credit policies and the changes in our tax laws last year.

Just by stressing these points, the committee is doing the Nation a service. Confidence is essential to our continued prosperity. As the committee encourages justified confidence in our bright future, it will help make that bright future a reality.

But the Senators also are finding out things that are bad.

Only a thoroughly blased person would deny that speculation in stocks recently has been climbing at an alarming pace and that reckless gambling on tips and rumors is spreading through the Nation.

Only a blind optimist would argue that the economic road ahead is entirely clear and we need not fear any bumps or detours. The road is good but not that good. For the fact is we are not expanding at a rapid enough rate to absorb all our new workers or to offset the increase in the efficiency of men and machines. The fact is that the key industries sparking our revival now are building and automobiles and you may properly shudder at what might happen to our economy if these industries suddenly slow down or decline.

Just by stressing these points, the committee is doing the Nation a service. Awareness of possible dangers also is essential to our continued prosperity. We'll be in a much healthier condition if the committee's findings do help control speculative excesses and alert us to the fact that maintenance of stability is an ever-present challenge.

Day after day, the witnesses are emphasizing to the committee the many distinctions between 1929 and today.

But to me, one distinction which hasn't even been mentioned is among the most significant. This is it:

In 1929, our Government didn't have the slightest thought of acting in advance to prevent economic catastrophe. Even if our

Senators had thought of it, they wouldn't have known what to do or how to do it.

Today, a prime search is for preventives so we won't need any cures. This investigation symbolizes the search and shows how far we have moved toward true economic statesmanship in our land. And this alone makes the jobs, paychecks and savings of all of us more secure.

Achievement of Citizens of Seymour, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, the fine citizens of Seymour, Ind., have done it again.

You may recall that Seymour gained nationwide publicity some time ago when its 9,629 inhabitants, together with their neighbors in nearby Jackson and Jennings County areas, oversubscribed an \$850,000 fund to build a new hospital without assistance, Federal or otherwise.

Now, in typically American fashion, this same group of citizens has just completed a fine new building to house the Seymour Boys Club as the culmination of a civic effort which they appropriately have called Seymour's rebuttal to the alleged appeal of foreign ideologies.

The story of that civic effort is a fascinating one. So, just a few days before the scheduled dedication of the new building next Wednesday, I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a history of the project sent to me by the committee in charge.

There being no objection, the history was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEYMOUR'S REBUTTAL TO THE ALLEGED APPEAL OF FOREIGN IDEOLOGIES

Mr. Wilbur Pfaffenberger, a successful shoe merchant and respected citizen of Seymour, passed away on February 14, 1939. His will generously stipulated that his home, his place of business, and other property or the proceeds of their sale should be used for the benefit and betterment of the boys and girls of Seymour.

For the past 13 years the Seymour Girls' Club has occupied the residence of the late Mr. Pfaffenberger. The other properties were sold and the proceeds have been held in trust awaiting an opportunity to use them to advantage in accordance with Mr. Pfaffenberger's wishes.

Prominent citizens of Seymour, who have served as trustees for 15 years and are currently entrusted with the management of this fund include Mr. Donald L. Coy; Mr. Burton F. Swain; Mrs. George Laupus, Jr.; Mr. Ernest N. Birge; Mr. Norman Lasher.

The Seymour Boys' Club was organized in 1940, as the result of joint efforts of a group sparkplugged by Mr. Ernest N. Birge and Mr. Walter L. Surface, to provide a wholesome center of recreation and character building for the male juveniles of our community. Through the cooperation and generosity of Mr. Arthur Kaufman the second and third floors of the Kaufman Building on Chestnut Street were made available to the club.

The club membership grew steadily under the direction of past President William Reetz until by the summer of 1953 it had passed the 500 mark and bulged the seams of its quarters to a near-bursting point.

Something surely had to be done to provide adequate room for the enthusiastic crowds of Seymour youth which came in ever-increasing numbers to participate in the activities so successfully conceived and administered by our popular director, Mike Kreshka.

The board of directors of the Seymour Boys Club, composed of a group of leading Seymour business men acted to meet the situation. An equally energetic trio of directors was given the task of meeting the housing problem by raising funds to build a new boys club.

The first move of this committee: F. Walter Voss, George Graessle, and Edward F. Scherer, was to obtain a commitment from the trustees of the Pfaffenberger fund of \$24,000. They then begged, borrowed and just plain sandbagged every available source for donations. These modern buccaneers sailed the high seas of Seymour until the count of their pieces of 8 reached the undreamed of total of \$23,000. With the Pfaffenberger money, their loot now totaled \$47,000. All that was necessary to complete the dream of shiny new quarters for our boys club was what then seemed the simple procedure of locating a building site, preparing plans, and erecting the structure. However, many months of struggle and hard work lay ahead. Unfortunately land and building construction come high these days and the job had to be done within a limitation of \$47,000 on hand and in the bank.

Efforts were first directed to purchasing a site for the building. All concerned agreed that a square city block of vacant land on South Broadway owned by the B & O Railroad, would be an ideal location. Attempts to obtain an offer at any price within reach were unsuccessful until Edwin Blish, President of the Seymour Boys Club and chairman of the Hoosier Area Council, appealed directly to Mr. R. B. White, president of the B & O Railroad, with an explanation of the purpose for which the land would be devoted. At one time Mr. White had lived in Seymour. Mr. Blish received an immediate favorable reply from Mr. White and a few days later the boys club was proud owner of a city block of land for a purchase price of \$4,000. After spending this sum there remained but \$43,000 in the building fund.

The winter of 1953-54 was devoted to conferences with architects and builders over plans and specifications, having in mind the fiscal limitation, but also keeping an equally alert eye on the climbing membership total which by the spring of 1954 had passed the 600 mark.

The architect completed final plans in April 1954 and bids were requested from contractors to be opened in May.

The fateful day arrived and the following board members me' to consider the various proposals submit d: Harold C. Ahlbrand, president, A. H. albrand Co.; Edwin Blish, proprietor, Blish Feed & Chick store; E. S. Cummins, vice president, National Veneer & Lumber Co.; C. H. Englehardt, principal, Shields Junior High School; George Graessle, vice president, Graessle-Mercer Co.; Harold S. Hobson, vice president and general manager, Seymour Manufacturing Co.; Taylor T. Hoffar, attorney at law; Edwin F. Scherer, partner, the Hobby Shop; Paul Scully, plant manager, the Grote Manufacturing Co.; Glenn Seward, personnel manager, Seymour Plant Arvin Industries; Alfred Snyder, proprietor, Snyder's dairy; Walter L. Surface, district manager, American United Life Insurance Co.; Burton F. Swain, president, National Veneer & Lumber Co.; Thompson, vice president, Thompson Dairy Co.; Wagn Trautner, chief engineer, Grote Manufacturing Co.; F. Walter Voss, Voss & James T. Sons, morticians.

Gloom descended upon the group when the figures were added and it was finally clear that \$43,000 would not construct a building large enough to house the club membership.

At this point Mr. Blish said: "Boys, we can't obtain additional money and obviously our funds will not buy what we need. We can build it ourselves with the aid and assistance of the community as a whole. Let's go."

Mr. Blish's temerity in suggesting such a course was based largely on his confidence that Seymour was a typical American community and as such was blessed with a goodly supply of citizens willing to put their shoulders to the wheel in a common effort for the good of all. Mr. Blish's faith that Seymour would be equal to the task had recently been reinforced by his knowledge that another group of his fellow citizens had successfully scaled a seemingly unclimbable mountain. From the inhabitants of this city of 9,629 and the surrounding area in Jackson and Jennings Counties, the Jackson County Schneck Memorial Hospital Foundation had sought to raise by popular subscription the entire cost of a new hospital for Seymour without Federal or other aid. The goal of \$850,000 was oversubscribed.

With this assurance, his trust in God and his fingers crossed. Blish obtained the approval of the board to proceed with no definite assurance the job could be completed. He gave Harold S. Hobson the task of heading a building committee. Mr. Hobson soon found that he suddenly had been converted from a full time manufacturer of hand agricultural implements without professional construction experience into a part time do-it-yourself builder of a boys club.

Blish and Hobson ably assisted by Director Mike Kreshka adopted the tactics of Messrs. Voss, Graessle and Scherer with innovations of their own in transforming the \$43,000 fund into as big and fine a building as could be provided within the means at hand.

Suppliers of materials were contacted and in every instance the response was a positive and affirmative reply to a request for their cooperation: "For the boys of Seymour? You bet, count us in; we will go along with you 100 percent."

Arrangements were made with Paul Stuckwisch to be a working foreman and superintendent of construction on an hourly basis. Paul laid out the foundation on July 5, 1954, and he and his two brothers Noble and Glen went to work with a vengeance. As construction proceeded Richard Darlage, Pete Willman, and Leon Pollert were added to the working force.

Nothwithstanding the fact that the original size of the building had been enlarged after it was decided to go ahead with construction, the major concern of all was that the building would not adequately house all the boys who were club members. As a matter of fact, consideration was being given to the necessity of restricting the membership to younger boys which would have made no provision for high-school boys.

In August as the walls were rapidly rising, the Seymour Optimists Club became interested in the project because they felt it was absolutely necessary to provide proper recreational facilities for boys through high-school age. The Optimists raised \$4,000 among their membership and through a club-sponsored appeal for donations. With this increase in the available funds, 25 feet were added to the length of the building, which area was to be earmarked for use by older boys. Thus, the senior lounge became a part of the project. High-school boys may hang out or play pool in the lounge or they may bring a girl, sip

a coke, and dance to jukebox music.
With the Optimists' contribution the sum of \$47,000 became the final amount available for construction of a club building containing a floor area in excess of 8,000 square feet, including a gymnasium with basketball floor.

Every penny of this sum spent for materials and labor was stretched to the limit. The only extravagance permitted was a rigid insistence that only the best of materials be used and that no detail be slighted. The savings made by Scottsmen Blish and Hobson, combined with many truly generous responses to appeals for gratis materials and voluntary labor have made it possible for us to present this beautiful club to the boys of Seymour.

Thus, the acorn planted by the late Mr. Pfaffenberger 16 years ago sprouted and took root in the custody of the fund trustees. Messrs. Voss, Graessle, and Scherer, with the help of the Optimists, nursed the sapling on its way to maturity and Messrs. Blish, Hobson, and Kreshka have harvested a mighty oak with the aid and assistance of the entire community. Seymour accordingly has proved the fundamental soundness of the American system of free enterprise. munism can never extinguish the beacon light of democracy which burns so brilliantly in Seymour. We have shown that in the United States we need no politically inspired and sponsored youth movements to regiment our sons. We have done our job of providing a place of recreation and guidance for the boys of our community with the pioneer spirit which built America and we have had a peck of fun doing it.

Federal Aid for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Education and Labor has been holding hearings on Federal ai for school construction. Members o. Congress who have introduced legislation on this subject and who have a special interest have been heard and have made worthwhile contributions to the general information on this important question.

It was no surprise that one of the outstanding presentations was made by our very able colleague the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. UDALL]. His analysis of the questions confronting the committee provided the answers to many of the objections raised against the school-construction proposals. His statement before the committee is worthy of study by every Member. The statement follows:

STATEMENT ON BILLS TO PROVIDE FEDERAL AS-SISTANCE FOR CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, MARCH 9, 1955, BY REPRESENT-ATIVE STEWART L. UDALL, SECOND DISTRICT OF ARIZONA

I am appearing today before my own committee, not merely as another Congressman urging positive action, but as a grassroots witness—a former school board member in a typical "problem" district faced with an oppressive tax rate and a shortage of classroom

There is an old saying that in our preoccupation with the forest we sometimes lose sight of the trees. My focus will be on the "trees" in this presentation. I would like to point out some elementary facts which might help to point the way around the two stumbling blocks which seem to lie across the path of full-scale Federal participation in a national school-building program. I refer to: (1) the argument that large-scale Federal participation necessarily means Federal control of education, and (2) the argument that the size of the national debt prohibits such Federal action.

THE FEDERAL CONTROL OBJECTION

This objection was squarely posed by the President in his school message in these terms: "Federal aid in a form that tends to lead to Federal control of our schools could cripple education for freedom." I daresay no one here will quarrel with this assertion as a general statement. However, when we attempt to determine whether the Hill-Bailey-Kearns type legislation is, or is not, "aid in a form that tends to lead to Federal control" our quarreling grounds are quickly staked out. Apparently the administration feels that all of these bills "tend to lead to Federal control," otherwise the President's proposals would have adopted the grant-in-aid technique as a major premise.

Before exploring this subject further, I would like to take a moment to examine one of the "trees"—the organization and functioning of a typical school district. We all know that the governing body of a school district is a board of education. However, it was my experience that the people take a keen interest in school government, and in many respects the conduct of school affairs represents democratic self-government at its best. I might say, too, that a wise school board is always closely attuned to the mind of the community, and consults freely with parents of school children and makes frequent use of citizens' advisory boards.

As a community project school operation might be roughly divided into three general areas—educational management, fiscal management, and plant management. Let us attempt to list the main initiative and responsibility exercised under each of these management areas.

A. Educational management includes these functions:

 Hiring and firing of administrators and teachers;

Determination of basic educational policies (e. g., whether teaching shall be "traditional," "progressive," etc.);

3. Human relations policies—parentteacher and pupil-teacher relationships; and 4. Curriculum policies, classroom proce-

dures, use of school facilities, extracurricu-

lar activities, etc.

(Obviously educational management is the most important function of a board of education, and is an area where communities traditionally stand guard against any outside intrusion. I would venture to say that there are few, if any, fields of government where local prerogatives are so jealously guarded and outside pressures so intensely repelled.)

B. Fiscal management includes these functions:

Determination of annual school budget outlay;

2. Fixing salaries and wages; and

3. Financing capital improvements by bond issues, special levies, etc.

C. Plant management includes these functions:

1. Selection of school sites;

2. Design and construction of school buildings;

Maintenance and operation of school facilities and grounds;

4. Purchase of equipment and furnishings; and

5. Hiring and supervision of maintenance force (busdrivers, groundskeepers, etc.).

Any discussion of Federal control of a

Any discussion of Federal control of a school system takes place in a vacuum unless the usurpation of control relates directly to the management duties outlined above. It must be, to use the President's words, a type of encroachment that would "take

away the responsibility of communities and States in educating our children."

Let us look then, for a moment, at the type of Federal controls created by the Hill-Bailey-Kearns legislation. As I read these bills they require State agencies to qualify to administer the disbursement of funds. These agencies would devise federally approved plans designed to guarantee that the Federal funds will be properly matched and channeled where the need exists. Field administration to ensure compliance by local districts would be the function of the State agency.

Now I do not think the average school board member would consider that his governing power or the right of local determination would be seriously threatened by this type of legislation. Such supervision as might be asserted over him would touch on 1 or 2 functions of fiscal and plant management, and then only to assure compliance with minimum State standards. I venture to predict, too, that State administrators would exercise their powers with restraint and due regard for local prerogatives.

EXPERIENCE UNDER PUBLIC LAW 815

I would like to comment briefly on the experience of my district under the old program-Public Law 815. This is a plan, mind you, where a Federal agency deals directly with local districts, determines eligibility, and exercises the necessary supervision to ascertain that the Federal moneys are actually used economically to build classrooms. Our school board received three Federal grants totaling \$737.818.99 during my tenure. We selected the architects. We had buildings designed to suit our special requirements. And these structures were erected by local contractors on sites chosen by a citizens committee. I met a Federal official only once during the entire process, to discuss clearing title to a school site. As far as I recall, our vital management prerogatives were preserved from all except nominal encroachment. * * * Unless the Hill-Bailey-Kearns bills have

hidden controls not apparent on their face, it would be my opinion that the amount of Federal control under these laws would be considerably less than under Public Law I can only conclude that Federal regulation of local school boards would be minimal, and local management of the school systems would be kept 99 percent intact. Sincere people may well argue that the limited controls proposed by these bills are the opening wedge and that more encroachments will follow. This may be a sound argument. But if we are to proceed on the basis of past experience and take actual controls inherent in the legislation before us, pernicious Federal control is largely a myth.

THE NATIONAL DEST OSJECTION

It seems to me that the other chief stumbling block is the budgetary fear which has caused the administration to hang back when massive Federal participation is proposed. A day or so after the President sent his school message to Congress, he was asked at his press conference to comment on criticism from congressional quarters that his program merely loaded more debts on overburdened States and school districts, and it was reported that he replied: they [the critics] mention the national debt?" Perhaps this is the nub of the administration's opposition. If so, I think the President might well be persuaded away from this objection if he would listen to the schoolmen of the country for a momentand turn a deaf ear to Secretary Humphrey.

Thirty years ago most public schools were wholly operated and maintained from taxes levied against the real property located within the particular school district. As that burden became more oppressive a movement was set afoot in the State legislatures to shift some of it to the counties and the

States. This has been done on the theory that providing an education for the children of the State is a statewide problem and should properly be met, in part at least, by mustering the full taxing power of the State. We are now confronted with a nation-wide classroom shortage of sufficient magnitude to constitute a serious national problem. Acting on much the same theory as that embraced by the citizens of the States, many of us here have concluded that Federal responsibility is involved, and that the whole national wealth should be marshaled to help hard-pressed communities cope with this situation.

Practically everyone is agreed that the shortage exists. And I believe that everyone (including the President) is also agreed that the funds must be provided to overcome this educational "deficit," we disagree only in regard to where the burden shall fall.

In short, our diagnosis is the same, we are agreed on the cure, and the only dispute concerns how the doctor shall be paid; the administration says the patient should pay; Hill-Balley-Kearns says the whole family (i. e., local districts, States, and the Federal Government) should share the load.

I'm afraid the President's advisers have confused the Federal debt with the national debt. The Federal debt, as we well know, is some \$278 billion; the national debt is the sum of the debts of Federal, State, county, city, and school district governments. Once we have agreed that the classrooms must be built, the Rubicon is crossed, and the only question that remains is where the funds shall be raised to accomplish the agreed purpose.

Mr. Chairman, having participated intensively in school education at the local—one might say the child—level, and holding strong convictions as to the vital place it occupies in our national life, I would like to say today that if we are forced to place priorities and choose this year between a national highway program and a national classroom construction program, I shall cast my lot with the schools.

Mr. Speaker, I also call attention to the following editorial from the Washington Post on March 13 commenting on Mr. UDALL's testimony:

WHOSE MONEY IS IT?

Representative STEWART L. UDALL thoroughly deserved the general acclaim he received from his fellow-members on the House Committee on Education and Labor the other day for his striking analysis of the school-aid problem. He provided some much needed perspective on the issue which constitutes the essential difference between President Eisenhower's school-aid proposal and the formula sponsored by Senator Hnl. and Representatives Balley and Kearns—whether the principal additional financial burden should be borne locally or by the Federal Government.

Mr. Upall put his finger on what is apparently the nub of the President's objections to direct Federal grants-in-aid to the States—the fact that this will tend further to unbalance the Federal budget. "Did they ever mention the national debt?" Mr. Eisenhower retorted to critics who objected that his program placed increased indebtedness on already overburdened States and school districts. "I'm afraid," commented Mr. UDALL, that "the President's advisers have confused the Federal debt with the national debt. The Federal debt, as we well know, is some \$278 billion; the national debt is the sum of the debts of Federal, State, county. city, and school district governments. Once have agreed that the classrooms must be built, the Rubicon is crossed and the only question that remains is where the funds shall be raised to accomplish the agreed purThus the problem, as this newspaper has suggested from the beginning of the controversy, is basically a bookkeeping one. We share Mr. Udall's view that just as the burden of financing schools was originally shifted from local districts to counties and State governments, it needs now to be shifted, in part at least, to the Federal Government. The reason is that the Federal Government has the revenue resources, while the States and the localities have not. And the problem has become a national one with a disastrous impact on the whole Nation.

Publisher Williams Honored at Chamber of Commerce Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an article paying tribute to Hon. Jack Williams, Sr., editor and publisher of the Waycross (Ga.) Journal-Herald, who was recently honored by being elected to the "South's Hall of Fame for the Living":

LIFE OF SERVICE: PUBLISHER WILLIAMS HON-ORED AT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DINNER

(By Jim Pinson)

Georgia newspaper publishers joined the people of his hometown last night in paying tribute to Jack Williams, editor and publisher of the Journal-Herald.

lisher of the Journal-Heraid.
"Mr. Jack," who came to the annual chamber of commerce dinner to introduce Pogo's creator, Walt Kelly, was taken by surprise.

creator, Walt Kelly, was taken by surprise.

The tribute was threefold. First, Hubert
Lee, editor of the magazine Dixie Business,
Presented Editor Williams with a scroll naming him to the "South's Hall of Fame for the
Living."

He said Mr. Williams was respected as much as any editor in the Nation. "He possesses a great love for people. In transmitting the news he has come to know all their little joys and heartaches, their life stories."

The South's Hall of Fame for the Living is composed of 200 southern leaders from whose ranks the magazine selects "the man

of the South" each year.

Jere Moore, publisher of the Milledgeville Union-Record and a longtime friend, presented to editor Williams a bound volume of letters from editors and publishers from all over Georgia, testimonials to his service to his profession and to the people of the State.

He said the Journal-Herald publisher had contributed much to the progress of the State in such fields as health, conservation, and growth of the pulpwood industry.

The testimonials, editor Moore told Mr. Williams, "show what Georgia newspaper publishers think of you. They are precious memories of many old friends."

"Mister Jack" arose to reply to the tribute only to be told that still another honor was to be accorded him.

Said Cecil Herrin, president of the chamber of commerce:

"He has been one of the most stable and constant supporters of the chamber. He has never waivered in his faith."

In behalf of the chamber he presented to Mr. Williams a replica of the Jack Williams cup inscribed as follows:

"For a lifetime of faithful, unselfish, and loving service to his fellowman."

President Herrin said the "overflowing loving cup" was the chamber's expression of love and appreciation for a fine life of service.

Misty-eyed and his voice filled with emotion, publisher Williams accepted the honor with "great humility and deep emotion." He said it was one of the greatest honors of his life.

A newspaperman for 40 years, Mr. Williams has been editor and publisher of the Journal-Herald since 1915. Awards received by the editor and his paper have included the Baynard Knight cup for community service, the Sutlive trophy and the Miller medal.

Packers and Stockyards Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SID SIMPSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. SIMPSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act, to prevent sudden and unreasonable decreases in the price of hogs and cattle which are sold at stockyards and subject to that act.

In the year 1952, hogs had reached a \$15 price from the high in 1947 of \$31. About a year ago hogs had rebounded to around \$26. They have been dropping back in price since that time until they have virtually reached the 1952 price of \$15 to \$16.

In 1947 and 1948 the top price on cattle was around \$41 to \$42. Since that time they have gradually gone down in price to the low of probably \$22, and now the same grade around \$26.

During these fluctuations of hogs, they have dropped on some days as much as 75 cents per hundredweight. While this severe drop per day was going on, in my opinion, a corresponding decrease of meat over the counter was not brought about. A hog raiser or cattle feeder would naturally try to guess when he thought there would be a light run of these animals at the stockyards and send in some of his animals accordingly. The legislation which I have introduced to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act would not permit the price paid at a stockyard for swine of any grade to fluctuation more than 15 cents a hundredweight less than the average price paid at such stockyards for swine of the same grade on the preceding day. The price paid at a stockyard for cattle of any grade will only be within the permissible range of fluctuation only if it is not more than 25 cents a hundredweight less than the average price paid at which stockyards for cattle of the same grade on the preceding business day.

This fluctuation limitations should, if it becomes public law, not cause a hog raiser or cattle feeder to try to hit the market when there are short runs. Regardless of any day the markets are open, a hog raiser or cattle feeder would know that there would only be a certain fluctuation downward and no more in his

price. It seems that this should help stabilize the market. If hog prices especially continue their downward trend, it only means that the hog raiser will sell his brood sows and market his corn at the Government price. If this is done, and I believe it will be, there will then, within 6 months to a year's time, be a shortage of pork, and the same vicious cycle will proceed over again.

The same thing, I think, is true with cattle. Fifteen to sixteen dollars per 100 weight for hogs at the stockyards with the price of concentrates today is not a

very profitable one.

This office has not consulted with the Department of Agriculture relative to this legislation or with the packers. It is my hope that the Agriculture Committee will call an early hearing on the bill that I have introduced. At this time, anyone interested, the Department of Agriculture, the packers, hog raisers and cattle feeders, and the agriculture associations, would be allowed to express their views. I have no pride in the authorship of this offered legislation. If during the hearings a better solution is forthcoming, I will be the first to welcome it. I sincerely feel that someone should come up with some kind of a solution and soon. I feel that a packer would rather have a stabilized livestock market than one with violent fluctuations. If a hog is worth \$16 today to the packers to slaughter, it should be worth a minimum of \$15.85 the next day and not \$15 or \$15.25. Again, I think the same is exactly true about cattle.

I believe the hog raiser and the cattle feeder would welcome some attempt at

stabilization.

That Old House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article written by Helen F. Bate, which appeared in the Corson County News, a weekly newspaper in my home county. Mrs. Bate has so uniquely painted life and human nature on the Western prairies, that I felt her word picture should be preserved:

Like the spokes on a wheel converge toward the hub, so the paths around our place have for numerous years moved to and from the center of our activities, namely, our home. But starting just lately the paths have all led to the wrong place. In short, we moved from our home into our new house, and now though we are partially settled, we are constantly beset with the idea that "it's been fun fooling around in here but now let's go home."

As soon as we moved in we invited the cats in to make things seem more homelike. They looked things over and then picked out the bed with the newest blanket and pounced on it. We promptly raked them off and showed them a rug near a register. They stalked out, highly offended, and headed

back for home. Next we asked Laddie inside. He came in reluctantly, his toenails slipped on the new linoleum, he shuddered, looked horrified, and backed out. Then he also went back home to sit on the doorstep as he has so often done during his 12 years, to peer through the screen glass storm door to see what was going on inside.

The next morning we returned to the old house for some things we'd forgotten. The cats forced their way in and leaped joyously on the old couch in the dining room and

stretched out

As the cats purred and the range gave out its careful warmth, we moved among a lifetime of memories in picking up the articles for which we had come. Memories of threshing crews cooked for on a twoburner oilstove, of very young calves flexing their damp, new legs on an old blanket by the heater during the late winter blizzards. Or of baby chicks having comingout parties in an old cracker box on a lukewarm oven door.

Recollections of golden lamplight on pine rafters, of dusky Christmas mornings and the frosty fragrance of a cedar Christmas tree. Memories of the first spring rain on the claim-shack roof, or of standing on the porch on early spring evenings listening to a creek cutting foamy channels through drift-filled draws after a long, deep

Memories of cool summer evenings after hot August days and the night wind moving in through the screen door under a canopy of grape vines. Or of old snapshots and letters, of young tomato plants growing lustily in sunny south windows in March or of evenings spent with a seed catalog.

After a time, loaded up with various articles, including the cats, we returned to our new house to gaze at spotless walls and shiny woodwork and wonder why we were living there since it didn't seem to be home.

In time, no doubt, we'll become accustomed to living in this new house, but, as Edgar Guest said, "It takes a heap of living in a house to make it home."

Blocked Currencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following letter from Mr. Alfred W. Barth, vice president of the Chase National Bank, offers what I believe is a sound and businesslike approach to the problem of blocked currencies. In this instance, reference is made specifically

to the Spanish peseta.

It is refreshing to hear a man of Mr. Barth's standing in the financial world praise the Report on Economic Assistance to Spain by the International Operations Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, under the able chairmanship of Mr. CHARLES B. Brownson, of Indiana. Having had the honor of serving on the Brownson subcommittee in the last Congress, I am happy that we were able to contribute something tangible and constructive to the great problem of blocked currency and exchange generally.

Without free exchange of currencies, international trade is difficult, and it is hoped that this study will help us and our Spanish friends to ease any tension in this field that may still exist.

A distinct gain to the United States would be possible if Mr. Barth's suggestion could be followed of having the United States take title to the blocked pesetas in Spain and use them for its purposes. What this would amount to. of course, would be that aid goods to the amount of the value of the pesetas would not be sent into Spain. The Spanish Government would turn pesetas over to the United States, receiving nothing in return. Ethically, this would be quite proper, since the pesetas are owed to American nationals anyway and would be spent in Spain. The actual negotiation for using blocked pesetas is a responsibility presently of the United States Operations Mission in Spain. This problem is currently being worked on, since rather difficult negotiations about the total aid level have just been completed and now that that is out of the way, attention is being turned to the area of blocked pesetas. There are no controversial matters involved in the nature of the indebtedness.

Mr. Barth's letter follows:

THE CHASE NATIONAL BANK, New York, March 4, 1955. The Honorable KATHARINE ST. GEORGE. House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C. DEAR MRS. St. GEORGE: Through the courtesy of Mr. Coster Schermerhorn I have just received a copy of the Report on Economic Assistance to Spain made by the International Operations Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations.

The report has had my most careful at-tention and I find it to be outstanding in that it is an unbiased study of a highly controversial and difficult subject. Not only does it reflect a tremendous amount of understanding of the problems but it gives praise where praise is due and is not afraid to criticize when criticism is in order. I take this opportunity to ask you to be good enough to convey my heartiest congratulations to your entire committee.

Your committee seems to be unanimous in

the following conclusions:

1. "The defense support assistance program is essentially economic aid to bolster its (Spanish) economy to a point where it can support sizable increases in military expenditures and to improve the logistic capabilities of the economy in relation to bases for joint use with the United States."

"Testimony of United States officials indicates that the Spanish Government has frequently gone beyond the letter of existing in cooperating with United agreements

States authorities."

3. "That further efforts be made in accordance with the terms of the economic aid agreement with Spain to discourage cartel and monopolistic business practices . and that this would result in the establishment of conditions under which private foreign investors could supply a substantial portion of the outside capital for capital expansion."

4. "Since Spain's future economic ability to finance its share of the cooperative military program without defense-support grants may be expected to vary with crop levels and hydroelectric power production, both dependent on weather conditions, the existing time lag between authorization and use of funds may well result in unnecessary expenditures.'

5. "To obtain necessary imports Spain must expend its slim holdings in foreign ex-

change."
6. "At present, it is definitely contemplated that at least \$250 to \$300 million will be spent by the United States on airfield and naval base construction over a period of several years. Approximately 70 percent of this will be spent in Spain."

"One of the great hazards of any effort to help any nation to modernize or enlarge its national economy under forced draft, as was brought home to the subcommittee in its study of the United States aid program for Korea, is the danger of inflation.'

8. "The subcommittee was impressed with the evidence on every hand that the sincerity and good faith of the United States in this cooperative endeavor were matched by equivalent contributions and efforts on 9. "That defense support assistance for

Spain be continued but that further authorizations take due notice of the fact that less than half of the funds authorized in 1953

has actually been used to date."

I hasten to state that I agree completely with the above conclusions, but may I take the liberty of suggesting that the Economic Aid Agreement dated September 26, 1953, spells out the obligations of the United States Government as well as those of the Spanish Government and I would like to refer in particular to subparagraph F of section 1 of article 2 of this agreement which reads as follows:

"The Government of Spain will use its best endeavors * * * to make as promptly as possible in agreement with the Government of the United States of America in which will be established for United States nationals and companies a system of payments and international transfers, including the progressive conversion of their accumulated peseta balances."

It would be of prime interest to learn what our Government contemplates doing for the relief of the many American holders of blocked peseta balances which are variously estimated to amount to considerably more than one-half billion pesetas and which resulted from financial rather than commercial transactions and also includes an important item which is often overlooked. namely money, securities, and real-estate inheritances which are due to American heirs from Spanish decedents.

If it is the desire of our Government to aid Spain improve her financial and economic situation, and this I believe to be so, then I am of the opinion that the suggestions which I made to Mr. Clarence S. Gulich, Chief of the Iberian Division of the Foreign Operations Administration, in correspondence which I exchanged with him in the early part of 1954 should receive renewed and serious consideration.

In connection with inheritances you may be aware of the fact that at the present time Spanish nationals may receive inheritances to which they are entitled in the United States, with free right of transfer, without any undue complications. However, in the reverse situation when United States nationals are the legatees they cannot receive inheritances due them because of transfer restrictions and thus the funds due to American legatees remain blocked in Spain and are possibly subject to depreciation if the inflationary trend, which you so correctly analyzed in your excellent report, continues.

May I reiterate what I have told Mr. Clarence S. Gulich, namely, that in order to assist Spain improve her financial and economic situation and at the same time help United States individuals and corporations, most serious consideration should be given to the development of a plan whereby American nationals be permitted to liquidate their holdings of blocked pesetas, as seems to be envisaged in subparagraph F of section 1 of article 2 of the Economic Aid Agreement signed on September 26, 1953. would this prove of great benefit to the United States nationals but just as important—the economy of Spain would profit. The plan which I suggested to Mr. Gulich

envisaged that these holdings of blocked Pesetas be acquired by the United States Government and then utilized in connection with the base construction program. While I was finance officer of the United States in Spain during 1943 and 1944 I concluded a similar operation, acquiring a very substantial amount of blocked pesetas from Amer-lean nationals for the purpose of paying taxes which the Government owed the Spanish Government.

I feel convinced that American holders of blocked pesetas would be glad to sell them to our Government at the rate of 50 pesetas to the dollar and, also, that the competent authorities in Spain would be agreeable to

such a proposal.

The benefits which such a program would have are legion, but the most important are:

1. A large foreign indebtedness now on the books of Spain would be eliminated-without causing a strain on the limited foreign exchange holdings of Spain.

2. The American taxpayer would be saved a large sum of money due to the reduction of the cost of the base program by reason of the favorable rate of exchange.

3. American nationals—taxpayers—would enabled to repatriate holdings now

blocked in Spain.

After the United States Government has utilized all of the blocked pesetas owing to American nationals, it would seem to me that, if it is the desire of the United States Government to really assist Spain, then I believe that our Government should purchase pesetas directly from the Instituto de Moneda Extranjero, at a rate of exchange to be agreed upon, thus increasing the dollar holdings of Spain. It goes without saying that, prior to this proposition becoming an actual fact, an intergovernmental agreement Would have to be drawn up to insure that all future American earnings, as well as all future inheritances due to American legatees in Spain, would be freely transferable in United States dollars.

As above stated, Spain would not only build up her dollar balances but she would be enabled to purchase in this country many of her badly needed consumer goods, includ-

ing foodstuffs, etc.

I believe that the late Senator McCarran saw the importance of the foregoing when he suggested his amendment to the Mutual Security Act of 1954, section 109 of Public Law 778, to wit: "Provided, That 80 percent of the foreign currencies generated hereunder shall be used to strengthen and improve the civilian economy of Spain," the balance to be available for use of the United States.

In other words, he must have realized that if counterpart funds were used in their entirety on the base construction program, then the purpose of the Economic Ald Agreement would be defeated.

Perhaps also the authors of section 104, Subparagraph G of Public Law 480 were of the same opinion when they suggested the use of funds resulting from surplus sales for "loans to promote multilateral trade and economic development, made through estab-lished banking facilities of the friendly nation from which the currency was obtained, or in any other manner which the President may deem to be appropriate." In other words, if a substantial portion of counter-part funds—no matter how they were created were used for such long-term loans to Drivate industry in Spain for work on badly needed local programs, such as the moderni-Pation and extension of electric power, the rehabilitation of transport facilities (including highways and railroad tracks), the rationalization of industrial undertakings and providing, of course, that such loans would thereby thereby increase employment, efficiency in industry, and consequently the exports of Spain, then some real headway would be made to "improve Spain's financial and ecohomic situation." This statement is impor-

tant because, as your report clearly indicates, in Spain particularly, either due to a lack of a capital market or for other reasons private industry has found it very difficult to obtain the necessary funds in a private market and it is for this very reason why the INI is encroaching more and more on private industry, thus reducing their independence.

Pardon the length of this letter, but I felt that your report was of such worth that you might like to hear the views of a banker whose interests lie in the same direction and who-due to the nature of his work-appreciates the complexity of the problems which ont Spain.
Yours sincerely,
Alfred W. Barth,
Vice Presid confront Spain.

Vice President.

Red Cross Stands as Symbol of Helpfulness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Red Cross Stands as Symbol of Helpfulness," which appeared in the March 7, 1955, issue of the Park City Daily News, of Bowling Green, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

RED CROSS STANDS AS SYMBOL OF HELPFULNESS

All over the world, the Red Cross stands as the symbol of helpfulness in time of trouble. In this country, people have a chance once a year to show by their dollars that they are grateful for the work of this remarkable agency. That time is now at hand,

Hardly an American lives who does not know the great and continuing humanitarian record of the Red Cross in disaster relief all around the globe. Since 1953 it has responded to 19 international appeals, and, of course, many similar calls at home.

What is perhaps less fully appreciated is the present extent of Red Cross services to the American Armed Forces at home and abroad. Forty percent of its estimated 1955-56 budget of \$85 million, which it hopes to raise in this March campaign, will go for such services.

Never in our history has the Red Cross served longer overseas than in the period during and since World War II. Workers can be found at snowbound bases in Alaska, Greenland, and Newfoundland, in the dusty desert of north Africa, in half a dozen European lands, and in the Philippines, Korea, and Japan.

President Eisenhower once said an army doing peacetime duty in a foreign country needs the Red Cross more than does a shooting army. Personal problems, other than his physical safety, loom larger to an inactive soldier than a man in combat.

Red Cross people provide service personnel with financial aid, counsel them on a wide range of matters, help them communicate with their families, and perform many tasks in military hospitals. Some 100 Red Cross girls take lively recreational programs into remote spots occupied by our soldiers.

Altogether the Red Cross has 2,200 workers placed in 270 military installations and 140 hospitals here and abroad.

Most of us are pretty familiar with the immense blood program, which the Red Cross expects will cost more than \$14 million in

the year ahead. This is big business-business whose objective is the saving thousands of lives. And the agency also has a number of other programs of unmistakable value.

The Red Cross naturally deals with emergencies of many sorts as part of its routine. But there is one emergency it does not plan for financially: war. If trouble should break out in the Formosa area, all its present estimates would be outmoded. Understandably, the agency would welcome a little cushion of money to hedge against that danger.

The Red Cross does not need to be sold to the American people. It should be enough to note that this is the moment for them to make another investment in the helpfulness

it symbolizes.

Need Gulf Weather Ship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following articles from the New Orleans Times-Picayune and the New Orleans States:

[From the New Orleans Times-Picayune of March 11, 1955]

NEED GULF WEATHER SHIP

Bills have been introduced by Senator Eastland and by Representatives Thompson and Boykin expressing a united desire by gulf coast interests for establishment of a Government weather ship, or floating ocean station, for continuous meteorological broadcasts from the gulf.

The necessity of more reliable warnings as to gulf-bred hurricanes and line squalls, plus data helpful to path forecasting, has impressed itself particularly since resump-tion of offshore oil development and the revelation of potentials for fisheries expansion. Even were the coast spotted with radar stations, there would remain a vast blank area from which ship and aircraft reports are few. and difficult to correlate.

In a comparable land area, stretching southward from the line formed by Oklahoma, Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, no less than 146 United States weather stations aid the public with timely, reliable forecasts of changing weather. The density can be no less in other continental sections. Surely one station could be provided to bring the mystic gulf (its western half, at any rate) into the analytic picture.

Ever since weather service began the coast forecasters have sat upon a fence, having plenty of information from north and northwest, but very little from the southward to fit into calculations. A sort of meteorological battle line exists along this frontier in the form of conflicting air masses and movements; but the forecasters really know only what one of the antagonists is up to. Add to this situation the hurricane menace; add the new coastal and offshore developments (in which the United States has a tremendous stake), and the need for doing something about it becomes obvious.

[From the New Orleans States of February 13, 1955]

NEED FOR WEATHER SHIP IN GULF STRESSED-FORECAST DATA SCARCE IN AREA

(By Gordon Gsell)

The safety and prosperity of many multimillion-dollar industries along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico depend on timely and accurate weather forecasts.

But to the forecaster, that vast body of about 716,000 square miles of water is almost a complete void. He must depend on sporadic, and many times unreliable, ship and aircraft reports.

aircraft reports.

Meteorologists for many years have been unanimous in their pleas for the location of at least one Coast Guard weathed ship in the gulf. But only since the development of the great offshore oil industry and the postwar expansion of the fishing fleets has the need for such a ship come into sharp focus.

Bills are before Congress to establish one such ship in the gulf, and opinion in favor of the plan mounts as the public becomes more weather conscious.

A leader in the fight for the weather ship is Representative T. A. Thompson, of Louisiana's Seventh District, who introduced a bill in the 1954 session of Congress but which was not acted upon. He has offered another at the current session and identical measures are being prepared by Representatives Frank M. Boykin, of Alabama; William Colmer, of Mississippia; and Jack Brooks, of Texas.

KEEP CLOSE TAB

If an outline of the Gulf of Mexico were moved north and superimposed on a map of the continental United States, the gulf area would cover Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgie, South Carolina, and Florida, with enough left over to make several New England States.

And in this area of the continental United States there are 146 reporting weather stations which transmit surface as well as upper air observations several times a day. Forecasters can keep close tab on air masses which move south and eastward.

But to the south of the gulf coast the only reports to be had are from ships which take part in a cooperative program with the Weather Bureau, and aircraft. The ship reports are limited mainly to the route between New Orleans and the Florida Straits. Reports from the west gulf are almost non-existent.

Meteorologists ask this question:

Would anyone in this day of expanding science think of basing the weather service for those nine important States on cooperative reports from motorists who happen to be driving from Miami to Little Rock?

Yet, they point out, it is analogous to the manner in which weather information for the Gulf of Mexico is obtained.

ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY MILES OUT

Archie N. Kahan, executive director of the Texas A. and M. Research Foundation, an organization which has endorsed the proposal for a weather ship, points out, "If the Gulf of Mexico were an area of persistent high pressure and infrequent storminess bordered by slightly populated wastelands, such an incomplete weather service would be acceptable. In the light of increasing industrialization of the gulf coast and the known frequency of gulf-bred storms, a need for weather service improvement by all possible means is apparent."

A proposed location for the weather ship, advanced by Nash C. Roberts, Jr., a private meteorologist, and Charles Murphy, chief of industrial services for the Louisians department of wildlife and fisheries, is about latitude 26 degrees north, longitude 90 degrees west, or about 180 nautical miles south of the mouth of the Mississippi.

Roberts points out that, contrary to popular belief, hurricane warning service would be only a small part of the weather ship's contribution to forecasting. At such a location, he says, it would be of great value during the winter months when vicious storms breed on the edges of cold fronts which lose their push and stall along the coast.

With a weather ship about 180 miles out in the gulf forecasters would be able to tell just how far south of the coast the cold fronts moved, he says. The ship would also be close enough to the coast so that nothing in the form of a disturbance could form between it and the coast without being detected by the ship's radar.

AID RESCUES

The meteorologist stresses the fact that the installation of radar stations along the coast could never be a substitute for a weather ship, since in addition to having radar devices, the ship would also take surface and upper air observations, and it is the so-called steering winds at the very high levels which govern the path of a storm.

Such a ship could also serve as a rescue craft, Roberts explained. It would be equipped with radio homing devices and aircraft in distress could be guided to it in emergencies. Fishing boats which operate deep in guif waters would also be able to get valuable weather information from the ship.

If legislation is passed authorizing the station, it would be maintained by two cutters fully equipped with the latest observation equipment. One cutter would be on station at all times, with the other used as relief.

Dissent and Separate Statement of Commissioner Holifield on Commission Report on Lending Agencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the Commission report is so faulty in concept and method that I must object to it even though a few recommendations, standing alone, may have merit.

By and large the recommendations in the report, if fully carried out, would make it harder for American citizens to buy homes or to get loans for their farms or businesses

The recommendations point in the direction of tighter agricultural credit, a slowing down of housing construction, restrictions on the rural electrification program, and limitations on other direct or indirect aids provided by the Federal Government.

Persons will differ as to the wisdom of these programs. There is no doubt, however, that they concern intimately the affairs and well being of millions of Americans and the health and strength of the national economy.

The Congress recreated the Hoover Commission to study the present organization and operations of the executive department and agencies, with a view to better management and economy. I do not believe that the Congress wanted advice from the Commission on public policies of every sort.

The Commission has construed its congressional mandate otherwise. This report indicates that the Commission is willing to roam far and wide in the field of public policy.

No matter how wise and well informed, the 12 Commission members cannot be expected to have more than a casual acquaintance with many of the complex issues posed by this report. The task force study contributed little, in my opinion, to the deliberations of the Commission.

It is unfortunate that the present Commission did not benefit from the experience of the first Hoover Commission along this line.

The previous Commission engaged Price, Waterhouse & Co., a firm of certified public accountants, as a task force to study Government lending activities. The previous Commission's report, based on that study, was criticized by three Commission members—Acheson, Pollock, and Rowe—as being wholly wrong in its organizational approach and as reflecting a narrow accounting view on broad public policies.

Senator AIKEN, in a separate dissent, stated at the time that the Price-Water-house report on lending agencies "does not adequately represent the broad public-interest viewpoint which motivated the establishment of these agencies"—Report on Federal Business Enterprises, 1949, pages 113-114.

Nevertheless, Price, Waterhouse & Co. were engaged a second time to make a study for this Commission. Their present report is a rehash of the old report, with some additions to bring it up to date and with some modifications in the light of recent developments. Many paragraphs are taken verbatim from the earlier report. Senator Arken's comment is equally applicable today.

Neither the Price-Waterhouse report nor the Commission's own report represents an adequate study of Government organization and management. Numerous agencies are strung together on a common thread of lending, guaranteeing, or insuring activities, however diverse the Government purposes served thereby. The activities range all the way from housing loans to Eskimos in Alaska to American participation in the International Monetary Fund.

Instead of studying Government agencies and functions and then deciding what reorganizations should be effected, the report attempts a wholesale rearrangement and curtailment of these agencies and functions to fit an oversimplified pattern.

Thus, starting with the assumption that Government lending is generally a bad thing, the report then easily disposes of a variety of important Government functions. Recommended for termination are the following:

Crop loans to farmers made by the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Loans to American firms in foreign trade made by the Export-Import Bank. Loans to colleges for student and faculty housing made by the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Loans to veterans for home and farm improvements made by the Veterans Administration.

Loans to public housing authorities for low-rent projects made by the Public Housing Administration.

Loans to rural electric cooperatives and other groups made by the Rural Electrification Administration.

Loans to communities for planning and construction of public works made by the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Where lending or related activities are not to be terminated outright, the report proposes that these be restricted by the imposition of higher interest rates or extra fees.

Thus the Federal intermediate credit banks are to add a premium charge on their loans to borrowers.

The Farmers Home Administration is to do likewise and to require greater

equities from prospective farm owners.
The Federal Crop Insurance Corporation is to increase its premiums to farmer participants in the crop insurance pro-

The Small Business Administration is to increase its interest rates on loans and is given a grace period of 2 years to

The Federal Housing Administration is to require larger equities from prospective home owners and to reduce its insurance coverage by sharing risks with mortgage lenders.

In place of the Government loan program for rural electrification, the Rural Electrification Administration is to be reorganized and required to obtain its financing from private sources. Like-Wise, the Federal Housing Administration is to be made a privately financed institution.

Reviving a concept of "mutualization" advanced by the first Hoover Commission report—Report on Federal Business Enterprises, 1949, page 36—the present report proposes that the Federal intermediate credit banks liquidate Federal Ownership of their capital stock and that liquidation of the Federal investment be accelerated with respect to the banks for cooperatives, production credit associations, and the Federal savings and loan insurance corporations.

Reviving other proposals of the first Hoover Commission—ibidem, pages 12 and 15-the report recommends that those Government agencies which hold Government securities return them to the Treasury for non-interest-bearing credit; and that all agencies which lend funds or guarantee loans charge such interest rates or fees as will cover their administrative expenses and the cost of money to the Treasury.

These proposals are made without regard to the effect of the actions on established programs or objectives sought by the Congress.

The justifications advanced in both the first and second Hoover Commission reports are that the agencies involved should not be subsidized by public contributions to their administrative ex-Penses or to their income in the form of interest on investments in Government Eccurities. And, further, that such agencies should become privately owned and managed as rapidly as possible by retirement of Government stock or by obtaining their financing from private sources.

Again, these positions are taken without regard to the impact on authorized programs and without a careful evaluation of the consequences for the national economy.

report is ill-defined; it does not indicate Government equity once the capital stock of the Government is retired.

Whatever the advantages of "mutualization," the result is the creation of hybrid Government agencies which are, in most cases, privately owned and privately managed, subject to a limited amount of Government regulation, but remote from congressional, Presidential, or General Accounting Office audit control.

At the same time the "mutualized" agencies enjoy many Government privileges. Among these are tax exemptions, free use of Government mails, free use of Government buildings and property. Government annuity contributions to the employees, access to Government funds, and reliance upon Government insurance or other commitments.

Even if these privileges are removed in whole or in part, the agencies are still Federal instrumentalities in some sense, and the conflict of interest between private and public management and policy remains

Although the report recommends that certain agencies be brought under the Government Corporation Control Act, it fails to point out that withdrawal of Federal stock ownership from "mutualized" agencies ordinarily is accompanied by withdrawal of General Accounting Office audit.

In a few cases, such as that of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Congress enacted special legislation to permit GAO access to the Corporation's books. However, the status of this agency is still a matter of debate. It is publicly managed and privately fi-nanced. Technically the Corporation has no owner since the Government stock was retired. The Commission does not consider this phase of the problem.

Government subsidies so vehemently criticized in this report, are means of achieving public purposes deemed worthy by the Congress. I may note that the report hardly begins to identify all the subsidies involved in Government

Merely to cite one example, the hundreds of millions of dollars obtained by large companies as interest-free loans through the device of accelerated tax amortization gets no mention in this

The subsidies involved in the administration of Government programs which help home owners, farmers, smallbusiness men, veterans, and others of modest means pale into significance when compared with the subsidies that are doled out to big manufacturers, publishing firms, ship operators, airline companies, and the like.

The Congress has authorized subsidies of many kinds throughout our history to develop the Nation and to keep it strong. The Commission made no systematic study on the whole subject of subsidies, nor does it recommend their elimination in all fields. The ones complained of in this report appear to be, in the main, those which bring widespread benefits to the whole population.

The "mutualization" concept in the Defense, Economic, and Political Union of Western Democracies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a splendid editorial entitled "How Far Federal Union?" written by the distinguished editor, Mr. Carroll Binder, and published in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of February 15, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

HOW FAR FEDERAL UNION?

Recent developments on both sides of the Iron Curtain point up the desirability of a convention to explore the possibilities of defense, economic and political union of the Western democracies.

Fourteen Members of the Senate and sixteen Members of the House have joined Senator Estes Kefauver, Democrat, of Tennessee, in introducing a concurrent resolution requesting President Elsenhower to invite the other democracies which sponsored the North Atlantic Treaty to name delegates to meet in a convention with similarly appointed delegates from the United States.

The purpose of the convention would be

"to explore and to report to what extent their peoples might further unite within the framework of the United Nations, and agree to form, federally or otherwise, a defense,

economic, and political union."

The object would be to see whether the United States and other nations long experienced in the practice of freedom can find a basis of cooperation which would enable them to more effectively maintain their free institutions during the crtical era ahead.

The changes in Russian leadership and policy clearly foreshadow more aggressive efforts to extend Communist power at the expense of non-Communist countries. Russia is taking steps to increase its military and industrial potential. It is coordinating its policies with those of Communist China and the satellite countries in order to function monolithically against the democracies.

While the Soviet bloc is being welded more closely together it is trying to foster divisions within the democratic camp so that they will act separately rather than unitedly. The Communists hope to create conditions in which the United States and its allies will be economically and militarily weakened and at cross purposes politically.

A military alliance such as NATO is his-torically difficult to maintain over a long period, particularly during intervals in which the common danger is not as apparent as it

is at this particular time.

Clarence Streit and other advocates of the principle of Federal union, as distinguished from traditional type of alliance, have been trying to interest the Atlantic democracics in the idea of closer cooperation for the past 16 years.

The Kefauver resolution provides for an exploration of the possibilities of such a union. Adoption by Congress and partici-pation in an exploratory convention would not commit the United States to such a political relationship. It would merely acquaint the American people and the people of other Atlantic nations with the possibilities of uniting for their security and economic well-being in freedom.

We are glad to see Senator HUBERT HUM-PHREY and Representative JUDD among the sponsors of the resolution. We hope the resolution is adopted and that the President will send representative members of both political parties to such an exploratory convention.

Tribute to Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Dr. Khan, who is prominent in Pakistani circles in the West, complimenting Abraham Lincoln's great soul.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK PARISTANIS HONOR ABRAHAM LIN-COLN'S MEMORY ON HIS BIRTHDAY

New York's Pakistanis paid tribute to the memory of the Great Emancipator at a Lincoln's Birthday celebration held at the Pakistan League's headquarters, 80-82 Clinton Street, New York City, on the 12th of February 1955. More than 200 Pakistanis and American friends present heard Ibrahim Chowdry, president of the Pakistan League of America which is a member of the Moslem Council pay tribute to the great spirit of Abraham Lincoln describing Lincoln's keen interest in India and the East and Dr. Mubarek Ali Khan, pioneer in the citizenship fight for immigration bill for India quota and organizer and national president of India Welfare League from coast to coast which became in 1947 the Pakistan League of America and is now national welfare chairman of New York, Arizona, and California. Dr. Khan, prominent in Pakistani circles in the West complimented Lincoln's great soul. "Mr. Lincoln's spirit," said Dr. Khan, "was fundamentally Islamic in character and practice as is proven by all of his speeches, writings, and deeds. In these days it is increasingly necessary that we pause and consider the contributions of this man to our times and period. We need these good, clean views of this God-sent man."

Dr. Khan quoted President Lincoln's speech given April 19, 1864, in Baltimore on the anniversary of the blood shed in 1861 by loyal soldiers marching to protect the Capitol and for the occasion of the opening of a fair held for the benefit of the United States Sanitary Commission:

"Mr. Lincoln. So true it is that man proposed and God disposes.

"But we can see the past, though we may claim to have directed it; and seeing it, in this case, we feel more hopeful and confident for the future.

"The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of these things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names—liberty and tyranny.

"The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as the liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act, as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. [Applause.] Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures, and all professing to love liberty."

Mr. Ibrahim Chowdry concluded the meeting with an earnest prayer that the United States might be guided by the spirit and noble thinking of the Great Emancipator. Both Mr. Chowdry and Dr. Khan likewise spoke in high esteem of United States Senator WILLIAM LANGER, of North Dakota, and Congressman EMMANUEL CELLER, of York, and Mrs. Clare Booth Luce, who are among the first to champion the cause of India and people of Pakistan who were barred from citizenship until 1946 under the Oriental exclusion laws. As both Mr. Chowdry and Dr. Khan stressed: "They are the ones whose heart and conscience struggled for citizenship rights for India and Pakistanis to be able to become Americans since July 2, 1946. Thank you sincerely and kindly, ladies and gentlemen."

Hungarian Freedom Day, March 15

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the revolutionary movements of mid-19th century Europe are probably not as well known as they deserve to be. Those movements, especially the revolution of 1848, are of particular significance in the political evolution of various European peoples toward national freedom. Even though the movement of that year did not result in definitive freedom for subject peoples, yet the seeds of liberty and independence took root firmly in many lands. Hungary was one of them.

The Hungarians were restless under Austrian rule and were clamoring for their ancient liberties. Early in 1848 they saw their chance, and under the leadership of Louis Kossuth they secured a number of political rights. On March 15 of that year they adopted a charter by which freedom of the press was guaranteed, a Hungarian national guard was established, feudal servitude as well as heavy taxes on the peasantry were abolished, and a general tax system was introduced extending to all classes. The Hapsburg Emperor agreed to this charter and appointed a Hungarian ministry responsible to the Hungarian Parliament. The country thus became practically independent.

As we all know those days of virtual independence did not last long. By the middle of the following year the gains registered in the freedom-day charter were lost and the Hungarians once more

were brought under a form of government they did not desire.

Ever since 1848 the memory of freedom day has been revered by the Hungarians and they have celebrated it as a national holiday. It is indeed a memorable event in the long history of man's struggle to attain free and democratic government and I am happy to join in its celebration.

Perry Meloan, 1881-1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record I include herewith an article entitled "Perry Meloan, 1881–1955," which appeared in the March 10, 1955, issue of the Edmonson News, of Brownsville, Ky.

It was with deep regret that I learned of the death of my friend Perry Meloan, one of Kentucky's finest newspapermen. The editor and publisher of a small weekly, but often quoted in papers many times its size, Mr. Meloan's life was dedicated to the theory that a newspaper existed in order to dispense news with sincerity and truth; to make the community a finer place in which to live and to serve as a forum for public debate and expression.

There was never any doubt in anyone's mind about how Mr. Meloan felt on any subject but fairness of mind always left the columns of the Edmonson News open to the other side—thus often leading to hot debate but always working for a better community particularly for the young people. Any community feels keenly the loss of such a man, and though Kentucky will feel this loss deeply it is fortunate in having his son, Jack Meloan, to carry on the traditions of integrity and high principle which were established by his father.

The article is as follows:

PERRY MELOAN, 1881-1955

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following is the text of remarks made by Charles E. Whittle at the funeral of Perry Meloan at Brownsville Missionary Baptist Church last Sunday morning.)

Perry Meloan, son of the late John Z. and Altha Jane Clayton Meloan, was born at Murray, January 6, 1881, and died at his home in Brownsville, March 5, 1955.

In 1900 he was married to Julia Utterback and they shared together the beauty and bits of mutual marital devotion until she passed away in 1918. He never remarried and his mention of her always exemplified memories of tenderest love and affection.

To them were born 2 sons: Jack, of Brownsville, and Pat, of Nashville; and 2 daughters, Mrs. John Sangston, of Red Bank, N. J., and Mrs. Hazel Gentry, of Bowling Green. These and his 7 grandchildren and 1 brother, R. R. Meloan, of Murray, survive him.

The deep family devotion which existed between him and them throughout his entire life undoubtedly succored him in his days of adversity and will sustain them in the grief they bear at his loss.

In recent years he and the family of his son, Jack, have shared together their home here; and his daughter-in-law, Louise, and her little son, Billy, have joyed in his affection, and have returned it, as if they were his own.

Early in life he became a devout member of the Christian Church and for many years was an active church leader in that denomination. Always he continued to be proud that his grandfather traveled almost all the way across Kentucky in pioneer times to be baptized by Alexander Campbell himself, and was an eminent minister of that faith. In later years, Mr. Meloan did not assume an active role in church affairs, but he was always zealous in his personal practice of Christian charity toward his neighbors, and in opening the columns of his press gratultously for church purposes without prejudice toward dogma, creed, or denomination.

In business and by profession Perry Meloan was a newspaperman; and his ambitions in this field were richly realized.

Over a period covering several years he was editor of such outstanding newspapers in Kentucky as the Paducah News-Demorat, the Paducah Evening Sun, the Owensboro Inquirer and Messenger, the Lexington Herald, the Clinton Gazette, and the Murray Ledger, and of a number of newspapers in other States, including the Birmingham Age-Herald (in Alabama), the Fort Myers Press (in Florida), the Advance (in New York City), the Beckley News (in West Virginia), and the Paris Post-Intelligencer (in Tennessee).

For a considerable period of time he also held a position in the editorial department of the Courier-Journal in Louisville.

But he was never happy with the metropolitan press. Essentially he always yearned for a small-town country weekly of his own, in which he could say what he pleased in his own inimitable way.

It was this yearning which led him, with his son, Jack—then still in his teens—to Brownsville in 1927. With no capital assets except their native ability and their faith in our people, they established the Edmonson News, affectionately known to all of us since its lowly first editions as "the Gimlet."

In the intervening years he has served continuously as its editor and joint owner, and has undoubtedly wielded a greater influence upon the destiny of affairs here than any other citizen of our county.

His loyalty to our people and his willinghess always to wage battle for the commonplace citizen has been characterized by an able pen and an utter disregard for his material gain. Who of our people of this gen-eration does not remember his crusade for the rights of the residents of the Mammoth Cave National Park while they were being ousted from their homes; his championship of candidates from this county when pitted in their fights for public office against candidates from other counties, without any regard for political affiliation or any hope of material reward; his recent campaign for better pay and better treatment of our school teachers after they were deprived of benefits from Frankfort to which he felt that they were entitled; and above all, perhaps, the long hours of sweat and toil and the considerable sum of money he sacrificed in mailing out the Gimlet regularly each week without charge during World War II to every member of the armed services who went from Edmonson County, wherever he might be stationed within the States or in the remotest corners of the globe. Other like crusades of his will undoubtedly recur to all of you. But always his onslaughts were based upon high principle in behalf of his friends and fellow citizens. Personal venom or spleen—if he ever felt any—were never exhibited by him, either in the Gimlet or in his private conduct.

He was no ordinary man—no ordinary newspaperman. He was truly one of the great country newspaper editors of all time, and in his passing the profession has lost one of the giants of the fast-vanishing type.

Somewhere within the bosom of this man was an extraordinary power which sustained him in his work, gave his pen a might, and endeared him to us all. Was it not the boundlessness of his love—his love for the simple, the beautiful, the lowly things of this world—a love so all pervading that it left no room for envy, ambition, avarice, greed, or hate?

Few of us knew of his love for music, and the rhythm of the spheres it reverberates. Yet he was an accomplished pianist, and his first sojourn in Edmonson County was half a century ago when as a bugler in the State militia he encamped with his regiment for maneuvers at Manmoth Cave.

He loved flowers. Yet when his physician some years ago advised him to relax from his work by cultivating a flower garden, he went to the woods rather than the florists for his plants; and right soon his garden was all abloom with a rict of beauty reflected by the commonplace flowers most of us had but despised. Because he loved them all the more for their lowliness they unfolded for him a delicacy within their petals unseen by selfish souls.

He loved pets—dogs, in particular; and no stray was too mongrel or mottled to become an object of his affection. They returned his devotion and trailed him at his heels in his shop and in his home.

He loved and was beloved by children. Although still in his midforties when he came to Brownsville, he immediately became "Uncie Perry" to all of the children here. How happy it made him.

Once he suggested that it be said of him at his funeral:

"Here lies a man beloved by all the dogs and all the children in Brownsville."

To him that was praise and panegyric enough.

Yet his love and his bigheartedness encompassed the old and the young alike so abundantly that he soon became the beloved "Uncle Perry" to all of us. But mostly he lavished his love upon the lowly. To him a pound of sausage or a peck of sweet potatoes tendered by some impoverished farmer or penniless widow for a subscription to the Gimlet was greater payment than all of the gold envaulted at Fort Knox.

"Uncle Perry" was conversant with the Scriptures. One of his favorite passages was 1 Kings, 20: 25, in which is so glowingly described the richness and glory of the reign of Solomon and the extent of his dominion over the peoples of Judah and Israel; but the verse he always quoted was the 25th:

"And Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig tree from Dan to Beersheba, all the days of Solomon."

"Safely, every man under his vine and his fig tree"—emblematic of joy and plenty.

After all, that is the thing "Uncle Perry" sought for our people—all people—that all might dwell safely in peace and joy and plenty. What an ideal for Christian living. No wonder we loved him so.

Back to the sod which enbosoms his forbears at Murray we consign his ashes; his passionate love for his fellowman flowed back yesterday morning into the boundless bosom of the God who is love; but our memories of him we shall treasure as priceless jewels to sustain us in our quest for the better, the loveller things of everyday living, and to be handed down to our children as a beautiful tradition, the tradition of our beloved "Uncle Perry." Still Mainly Political

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include an article published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of Friday, March 11, 1955:

STILL MAINLY POLITICAL

Politically clever the Senate Democrats' compromise tax plan may be, but there are strong reasons why it should be defeated just as the House bill should have been defeated.

The first reason is that nobody now knows whether the economic and budgetary circumstances that will exist next year will justify a tax cut next year. The Democrats in effect admit that their proposal is unwise at the moment by delaying its effect until next January.

But how do they know that it would be

But how do they know that it would be wise as of that date? They do not know, of course, and neither does anybody else. The only reason for adopting a postdated tax cut now is a political reason.

Likewise politics provides the only reason for linking a cut in individual income taxes with revision of last year's tax benefits to corporations and stockholders. If the Democrats want to reopen consideration of these issues, let them offer a separate bill and debate it on its merits.

Actually a majority of Senate Democrats last year supported the accelerated depreciation plan which it is now proposed to repeal as an offset to the personal tax cut. As for the tax credit on dividends, this newspaper opposed it at the time and we still oppose it, but we do not believe it should be repealed as part of an omnibus exercise in demagoguery designed to prove that somebody in Washington loves the "little fellow" with a tender passion.

Under the Senate Democrats' plan, as under the House bill, a good many "little fellows" would be taken off the tax rolls altogether, and that is another reason to defeat this measure.

Progressive tax rates which give recognition to the principle of ability to pay are and should remain the heart of our income tax system, but those rates should be applied in such a way that some income tax, however small, is paid by virtually every employed person.

At present a single person begins paying income tax at an income of around \$13 a week. A married person has a tax liability if his income is over \$29 a week. The head of a family of four begins paying taxes at around \$50 a week. In each case, the tax liability amounts to 1 or 2 percent. It amounts to 12 cents a week for the unmarried person, 60 cents a week for the married person, and about \$1 a week for the head of a family of four.

Are such taxes so onerous that they should be eliminated altogether at the lower income levels? We cannot believe so. Perhaps a case can be made for adjusting this rate or that, but surely the principle that some income tax should be collected from most employed persons is sound.

As a matter of fact, we suspect that most such persons would themselves prefer to pay some tax, as a recognition of the obligation which they and all others owe to a Government whose services range from national security to many fields of social welfare. When the time comes to cut individual income taxes, they should be cut in such a way as to avoid relieving large groups of any liability.

Confiscation by Default

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, for many months now, I have been pressing the International Joint Commission to establish administrative machinery to adjudicate claims arising from the power and navigation projects it has authorized on the United States-Canadian border, particularly those affecting Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River.

Shorefront residents of Lake Ontario find themselves faced with potentially severe damages if the lake level is raised and maintained at high levels. Yet the causes of these damages may well be diffused among a number of entities, national and international, with the result that litigants seeking redress or protection will find themselves lost in a legal jungle.

Up to this time, the International Joint Commission and the Department of State have insisted that there is ample protection for these individuals under the Constitution and laws of the United States and the laws of Canada.

In order to determine whether this is accurate, I recently asked the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress to make an analysis of the relevant provisions of the Constitution and statutes.

That analysis has now been completed, and under leave to extend my remarks, I append a copy hereto.

It concludes "categorically" that the "extant treaty, statutory and administrative provisions—affecting shorefront property owners—afford no definitive protection," and that "the constitutional protection is more theoretical than substantive."

In other water resources development projects on the United States-Canadian border, the Commission has recognized the total inadequacy of normal legal procedures and remedies, and has itself assumed responsibility for the establishment of formal administrative machinery to adjudicate claims arising from such projects.

The Library of Congress study confirms, if confirmation is necessary, that such machinery should be established in connection with the St. Lawrence projects if the statutory and constitutional protection of the rights of United States citizens are to be safeguarded. Failure to do this will result in the virtual confiscation of their property by default.

The analysis of their legal remedies under our present laws, made by James P. Radigan, Senior Specialists Division of the Library of Congress, follows: [The Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service, Washington, D. C.]

ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS WHICH EXIST AND CAN BE INVOKED TO PROTECT AND INDEMNIFY RESIDENTS OF NEW YORK LIVING ALONG THE SHORES OF LAKE ONTARIO FOR DAMAGES RESULTING FROM THE PENDING ST. LAWRENCE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

That there are constitutional, treaty, statutory, and administrative provisions that could conceivably be used, either singly or jointly, as a base upon which to erect a claim for damages resulting from a raising of the level of Lake Ontario in connection with the St. Lawrence development is not denied. These provisions are: Constitutional-the just compensation provision of the 5th amendment and the due-process provision of the 14th amendment of the United States Constitution; treaty-article VIII of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909; statutorysection 10 (c) of the Federal Power Act (16 U. S. C. 803 (c)), Public Law 358, 83d Congress, McKinney's Consolidated Laws of New York, book 42, article 5, title I; and administrative-the order of approval issued October 29, 1952, Document 68, by the International Joint Commission and article 19 of the Federal Power Commission's order issued July 15, 1953.

Practically, however, none of these has the solid foundation it appears to have.

T

The constitutional protection afforded by the just compensation provision of the 5th amendment which would be available if the damages of the lakeshore property could be attributed to the activities of the St. Lawrence Seaway Corporation and the constitutional protection afforded by the due process provision of the 14th amendment which would be available if the damages to the lakeshore property could be attributed to the activities of the Power Authority of the State of New York (the designee of the Government of the United States, under sec. 1 of Executive Order 10500 signed by President Eisenhower on October 4, 1953) would not come into play in either instance unless the damages sustained were found to be in effect the taking of private property for public use. See U. S. v. Lynah ((1903) 188 U. S. 445); U. S. v. Cress ((1917) 243 U. S. 316); U. S. v. Dickerson ((1947) 331 U. S. 745); and U. S. v. Kansas City Insurance Co. ((1950) 339 U. S. 799).

It is possible and even probable that the damages suffered by these residents would not be considered a taking of private property for public use but would be considered a remote or consequential damage resulting from the exercise of the plenary power of the Government to make improvements in navigation. Such damages create no liability. See Jackson v. U. S. ((1913) 230 U. S. 1); U. S. v. Chicago M., St. P. and R. Co. ((1941) 312 U. S. 592).

Admitting for the sake of argument that the increased height of Lake Ontario resulting from the proposed project, in and of itself, is a servitude imposed upon the land for which there may be no just legal or equitable claim for compensation, there is a substantial equitable claim for relief for storm damages which would not be suffered by these residents were it not for the increased water height.

As stated by Melissa E. Bingeman, Fras, in a reprint from the proceedings of the Rochester Academy of Science, December 1953, page 18:

"The question arises: How much is destruction of shores increased by reason of high lake levels? Obviously a 3-foot wave that might be innocuous with the lake at a 245-foot level could be destructive in certain areas with the lake at a 247-foot level. Or, if a wind of a given force raises the cutting edge of a wave 5 feet, from 245 to 250 feet above sea level, then a lesser wind which will

raise it 4 feet will raise it from 246 to 250 feet, and a wind which will raise it 3 feet will raise it from 247 to 250 feet. Manifestly, therefore, the higher the level of the lake, the less wind force is required to work damage upon the shore. The significance of this principle lies in the fact that the number of winds increases as their velocity decreases. There are more winds of 60 miles per hour than of 70 miles per hour, more of 50 than of 60, and so on progressively, in this area—which is in the zone of the great westerlies."

Even if liability is conceded, the proof these residents would be required to produce in sustaining their contention would be almost impossible to supply. If we consider the liability as analogous to the liability of a tort feasor, the rule of decision that the last efficient one (in this case the wind) of several successive causes (in this case in creased height of water and wind) is regarded as the approximate cause or the rule of decision that where several causes are concurrent, the predominant efficient one (the wind) is regarded as the proximate cause where the damage done by each cannot be distinguished, might foreclose recovery. See Howard Fire Insurance Co. v. Norwich & New York Transportation Co. ((1870) 12 Wall. 194).

I

The treaty protection, if any, emanates from article VIII of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, the pertinent part of which reads: "The Commission (International Joint Commission, United States and Canada) in its discretion may make its approval in any case conditional upon the construction of remedial or protective works. * * and * * * may require that suitable and adequate provision * * * be made for the protection and indemnity against injury of any interest on either side of the boundary."

III

The statutory provision afforded stems primarily from section 10 (c) of the Federal Power Act, the pertinent part of which reads "each licensee shall be liable for all damages occasioned to the property of others by construction, maintenance, or operation of the project works pertinent or accessory thereto, constructed under the license, and in no event shall the United States be liable therefor." This provision, as is readily seen, does not create a new liability on the part of the licensee but merely provides that if there is a liability arising from the operation of the project the licensee and not the Federal Government is liable. See Hope Plantation v. South Carolina Public Service Authority ((1550) 59 S. E. 2d 132).

Granting argumento, that sufficient proof might be furnished to establish liability and to obtain a judgment against the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation or the Power Authority of the State of New York, the problem of collecting might arise. Even though the acts creating government corporations authorize them to sue and be sued, it does not necessarily follow that the property and funds of such corporation are attachable. See Federal Housing Administration v. Burr ((1940) 309 U. S. 242) and Inland Waterways Corporation v. Young ((1940) 309 U. S. 517).

IV

The administrative protection, if any, afforded by section (a) of the order of approval of the International Joint Commission which reads: "(a) All interests on either side of the international boundary which are injured by reason of the construction, maintenance, and operation of the works shall be given suitable and adequate protection and indemnity in accordance with the laws in Canada or the Constitution and laws in the United States, respectively, and in accordance with the requirements of article VIII of the treaty," is nothing more than a notice to the applicants that the Commis-

sion expects them to recognize any liability which is found owing by the Court. It cer-tainly does not go as far as the Commission could or as far as is implicitly possible under the provision of the treaty. The administrative protection, if any, afforded by article 19 of the Federal Power Commission license which reads: "ARTICLE 19. In the design, construction, maintenance, and operation of the project covered by this license, the licensee shall comply with all applicable provisions, and requirements of the order of approval (International Joint Commission Docket 68) issued October 29, 1952, by the International Joint Commission to the Governments of the United States and Canada for the construction of certain works for the development of power in the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence River," is nothing more than a requirement that the licensee comply with the order of approval, which unfortunately does not cover liability for the contemplated damages.

Neither sets up any administrative procedure for determining damages resulting from the development of the St. Lawrence, although such procedure could be set up under the terms of the treaty and the licensing provisions of the Federal Power Act.

CONCLUSION

In summary, it may be stated categorically, that the extant treaty, statutory, and administrative provisions afford no definitive protection and that the constitutional protection is more theoretical than substantive. Therefore justice demands that the Governments of the United States and Canada afford these residents practical remedial aid.

Walter Winchell's American Broadcasting Co. Simulcast of March 13, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the opening statement I made on Walter Winchell's American Broadcasting Co. simulcast in New York at 9 p. m., Sunday, March 13, 1955, together with the questions I asked Mr. Winchell about his stock market references.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

OPENING STATEMENT BY SENATOR HOMER E. CAPEHART ON WALTER WINCHELL SIMULCAST IN NEW YORK CITY OVER ABC NETWORK AT 9 P. M., MARCH 13, 1955

Mr. Winchell, at your invitation, I am happy to appear on your program tonight.

I accepted your invitation because you said you would be willing to answer any questions I chose to ask.

There are several questions I will ask you which are intended to bring out the facts for your listening audience with respect to reference to stocks you made in previous broadcasts.

However, in the event time does not permit you to answer on this program all the questions I have here, I will release the unanswered questions to the press and you may answer them later.

QUESTIONS BY SENATOR HOMER E. CAPEHART TO WALTER WINCHELL SIMULCAST, NEW YORK, MARCH 13, 1955

1. Why should you, or any radio or television commenator, ever refer to a stock as a bad or good investment?

2. How many specific stocks have you mentioned on your broadcasts or telecasts?

3. Have you or any member of your family ever been paid, or received anything of value for mentioning any of these stocks?

4. Have you ever recommended to your listeners that they either purchase or sell any particular stock or stocks?

5. What stocks have you or the members of your family purchased in the last 2 years, and did you purchase any of the stocks you mentioned on the air?

6. Did you ever suggest or infer to your listeners that a specific stock would go up or down?

 Has any officer, director, employee, or stockholder of any corporation ever asked you to mention, or plug, any stock in which they were interested?

8. Has any individual ever given you any stock tips, either orally or in writing?

9. Has any statement about a stock that you ever made turned out to be false?

10. If asked, would you go to Washington and answer these questions under oath, and if so, will your answers be the same?

Nation's Business Is Definitely on Upbeat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, LEO E. ALLEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, we see daily increasing indications that our Nation's business is advancing. It is gratifying, therefore, to see that an Illinois newspaper has taken editorial note of the country's progress and I commend your attention to the editorial taken from the March 7 edition of the Sterling Gazette, Sterling, Ill.:

NATION'S BUSINESS IS DEFINITELY ON UPBEAT

Perhaps you may be one of those individuals who do not believe in signs, such as "fresh paint," and feel the urge to touch the articles to which the sign refers to find out for yourself.

Then again, you might be one of those who don't believe the news stories that are constantly reminding us that things are getting better because there may not be any sign that you can touch to make sure it is true.

Be that as it may, regardless of how you feel about it, things were definitely on the upbeat last week in key areas of the Nation's business.

Here's where you could spot the most impressive gains:

Consumer spending at retail, 4 to 6 percent higher than a year ago.

Automobile production, significantly high-

Automobile production, significantly higher than the week before and just below the all-time peak.

Contracts awarded for heavy construction jobs, 58 percent ahead of the year-ago rate. Production and refining of crude oil—highest ever recorded.

Brisk demand for unfinished steel indicated a renewal of inventory building by major steel consumers. Output of the Nation's steel mills hit 90 percent of capacity for the second week in a row. Prices of iron ore moved up.

Proposal for Joint Committee on Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a letter dated February 28, 1955, which I received from Dr. Harold S. Diehl, chairman of the Council on National Defense of the American Medical Association, together with a report of a national survey which the council conducted to determine the status of American civil-defense preparedness.

This report appeared in the Journal of the American Medical Association on October 9, 1954. I commend it to the attention of the Senate, together with a renewed plea to the Senate for increased awareness and alertness to the immediate needs for enlarging our program of civil defense and preparing on a more realistic level of priority.

There being no objection, the letter and report were ordered to be printed

in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, Chicago, Ill., February 28, 1955. Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey, United States Senate,

Washington, D. C.
My Dear Mr. Humphrey: It was with considerable interest that I read Senate Concurrent Resolution 11, which you jointly submitted with Senator Symington to the Senate on February 4, 1955. That resolution, which calls for the establishment of a Joint Committee on Civil Defense composed of seven Members from the Senate and a like number from the House, is most timely and merits careful consideration.

Recent public pronouncements of the widespread devastation that can be expected from the use of hydrogen bombs in the event of an enemy attack make it not only apparent but absolutely essential and vital that the Federal Government assume its proper role in civil-defense preparedness. It is necessary that the Federal Government take such steps as to assure that adequate plans, preparation, and financial support are provided for the best possible defense of our civilian population and facilities. You are commended for the forthright speech you made in support of the resolution. It clearly pointed up the necessity for active leadership on the part of the Federal Government if we are to have an effective civil-defense program.

As you know, the medical profession has, for a number of years, been keenly aware of the necessity for intelligent medical civil defense planning. Our Council on National Defense has attempted to attimulate interest and to educate our membership to its responsibilities in civil defense. In addition, we have cooperated with all echelons of the Government in preparing and implementing plans for medical care in time of national emergency.

Last year, the council conducted a national survey to determine the status of medical civil-defense preparedness, by State, for both wartime and natural disasters. I am enclosing a copy of the results of this survey as I am sure you will be interested in this tabulation.

If at all possible I would appreciate about 25 copies or reprints of the resolution and your speech together with the other material as it appeared in the Congressional Rec-ORD. I plan to distribute this material to members of our council as well as other interested persons.

We shall be most happy to assist in any way possible and I invite you to call upon us in such capacity as you deem appropriate.

Cordially, yours, HAROLD S. DIEHL, M. D., Chairman.

STATUS OF MEDICAL CIVIL DEFENSE PLANNING IN STATES

The council of national defense of the American Medical Association recently completed a survey of the status of medical civil defense planning in the States and Territories. In conducting the survey a series of 30 questions were used. Questionnaires were sent during April to directors of State civil defense departments and to chairmen of emergency medical service committees of all State and Territorial medical societies. copy of the questionnaire was also forwarded to the executive secretaries of all State medical societies for their general information and for such additional comments as they might consider appropriate. The questionnaires were returned either by the Director of Civil Defense or by the chairman of the emergency medical service committee from all but six of the States. Following is a summary of the results of the survey. results will be made available to interested persons by the council on national defense upon request. The results of the survey are intentionally summarized in terms of those things that the States have not done rather than what they have done. The adoption of this procedure does not represent a failure on the part of the council to recognize and appreciate the outstanding and tireless work done by many individual physicians in the field of medical civil defense, but rather is an effort to present factually the lack of real preparedness in some areas.

STATUTES AND LEGISLATION

Prior to the survey, the council had on file a considerable amount of general information about civil defense legislation in the 48 States, including citations and dates of en-actment. The information received in the 1954 survey enabled the council to bring this material up to date. The survey revealed that there is a civil defense law of one kind or another in every State from which information was received. It may or may not be significant that in at least 13 States no amendments have been made to the State Civil Defense Act within the last year. This may well be due to the fact that some State legislatures meet biannually and therefore were not in session in 1954. However, it definitely is of concern to note that in at least 10 of the States the basic legislation does not appear to be applicable to natural disasters.

APPROPRIATIONS AND STAFFING

It is difficult to make general statements about requirements in appropriations or staffing in civil defense that are applicable to all the States, owing to the great diversity in population, resources, strategic location, and many other factors. The survey revealed that the total paid civil defense staff ranged from I person in Idaho to 116 persons in California. The total number of persons on the medical staff ranged from none in several States to 43 in New York. It is obvious from the survey that many of the States have small civil defense staffs. Information also indicates that in many States the State health officials are also serving in civil defense medical capacities.

The State with the largest appropriation for fiscal year 1954 is New York, with \$1,494,-000; the second largest is California, with \$1.191.894; the third largest is Connecticut, with \$375,201; and the fourth in rank is Virginia, with \$316,270. The 4 highest ranking States in terms of amounts appropriated for medical civil-defense purposes for fiscal year 1954 are: New York, \$438,000; Massachusetts, \$75,000; Connecticut, \$62,550; and California, \$51,048. In at least 18 States the total amount appropriated for civil defense for fiscal year 1954 was smaller than that appropriated for fiscal year 1953. In about 19 States the amount for fiscal year 1954 is the same as for fiscal year 1953, and in only about 5 States is the amount for fiscal year 1954 larger than for fiscal year 1953.

It should be observed that some States have a conditional appropriation authorization for use in case of emergency, such as that of Alabama, \$250,000 for fiscal year 1954. In some States the amount appropriated for medical civil defense is designated for specific things, such as supplies, or a specific amount is allotted for administration. appropriation acts do not specify when the money is to be spent; further, it appears that in a number of States no specific sum for medical activities is specified in the appropriation act itself.

MEDICAL PLANNING AND HOSPITALS

The information received disclosed that at least 7 States still do not have a written civil-defense plan and that 6 of the States that do have a written plan do not include natural disasters in the plan. Of considerable concern is the fact that in 7 States it was indicated that no specific assignments had been made to physicians in case of emergency; in 9 States no specific assignments had been made to dentists; in 9 States, no specific assignments to veterinarians; in 9 States, no specific assignments to pharmacists; in 8 States, no specific assignments to nurses; and in 8 States, no specific assignments to other allied health personnel. It was also revealed that assignment lists in 10 of the States apparently are not kept on a current, or up-to-date, basis.

According to the survey, in about 21 States there appeared to have been no civil-defense committees established on a regional basis; in 18 States, no civil-defense committees established on a district basis; in 9 States, no civil-defense committees established on a county basis; and in 9 States, none established for large cities.

The participation of hospital administrators and officials in drafting civil-defense plans is considered to be important for a number of reasons. The survey revealed, however, that in at least 8 States hospital administrators did not participate in formulating the civil-defense medical plan. In 9 States no plans have been made for improvised hospitals, and in 9 States no plans have been made for mobile first-aid stations.

TRAINING

A variety of information was requested in the section of the questionnaire devoted to civil-defense training. Some of this information is of considerable importance in presenting an overall picture, while some of the questions were asked primarily for education purposes.

In at least 15 States no manuals have been issued for training purposes, and about 14 States have not been divided into regions for training or other purposes. It appears that 10 States, as of the time of the completion of the questionnaire, had had no civil-defense drills; in 16 States no drills had been conducted in metropolitan districts; in 16 States no drills had been conducted in counties; in 18 States no drills had been conducted on a regional basis; and in 16 States no drills had been conducted on a statewide basis. It should be observed here, however, that these questionnaires were completed and returned to the council prior to the nationwide civildefense alert that was held under the auspices of the Federal Civil Defense Administration in the middle of June 1954.

Information received indicates that in 16 States no staging areas have been designated, at least for medical personnel. In at least 3 States there has not been any specific coordination of the various civil-defense divisions and activities within the State.

With reference to civil-defense health instruction in the schools and colleges, the survey disclosed that in 17 States no civildefense courses of any kind are given in the high schools: in 18 States no civil-defense courses are given in professional schools; and in 21 States no civil-defense courses are given in medical postgraduate schools.

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS BY OFFICIALS

The final item on the questionnaire requested comments, suggestions, and recom-mendations as to how the Council on National Defense could be of most assistance to State officials and medical society officials in medical civil defense planning and operations. A wide variety of helpful suggestions was made. They will be presented for the consideration of the Council at its next meeting in October.

SUMMARY OF SUGGESTIONS MADE ON QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1. Encourage interest, and make officers of State medical societies, as well as individual physicians, more aware of the need for civil defense.
- 2. Encourage State legislatures to appropriate more money for civil defense.
- 3. Encourage more interest on part of State health departments. 4. Supply specific information about ex-
- tent of need for mobile first aid stations. 5. Supply specific instructor training man-
- uals-material on hand is too general 6. Expedite assignments of improvised hos-
- pitals to regions and target areas. 7. Provide more civil defense conferences and information.
- 8. Sponsor biological warfare courses on a high level for State officials.
- 9. Sponsor gas-warfare defense courses for high-level officials.
- 10. Survey total hospital liabilities, etc.
- 11. Impress on physicians the fact that they may have to treat 100 times more per sons in a given period than they now think they will.
- 12. Encourage standardized procedures in treatment and other fields.

Ralph R. Roberts, Clerk of the House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following article on our efficient Clerk of the House, Ralph Roberts, was in the magazine section of the Indianapolis Star of March 6, 1955:

THE CALM MR. ROBERTS (By Ben Cole)

The election last November returned to a powerful office a Hoosier whose name appeared on no ballot and who made no campaign in his own behalf.

When the Nation returned the House of Representatives to control of the Democratic Party, it followed that Ralph L. Roberts of Rockport would be the Clerk of the House.

A man seemingly without nerves, Roberts filled the vastly complicated job from 1949 through 1952. He turned over the office to Lyle Snader of Illinois when the Republicans marched victoriously into the Chamber after the election of 1952.

That GOP triumph meant that Roberts would have to step down a notch and become minority clerk.

There have been fewer Clerks of the House than there have been Presidents. He is the 28th. Since the Civil War, there have been only 4 or 5 Clerks, at most.

The Clerk is a constitutional officer of the House. His duties are judicial and executive. Some of his responsibilities were created by law. Some are traditions whose ori-

gins are lost in history.

For instance, the Clerk must subscribe to the newspapers in every district. These are available daily to the lawmakers in the Speaker's lobby. Nobody knows when it started; there's no authority for it; but Roberts had better have those papers on file

every day.

Roberts' signature goes on every bill, as Roberts' signature goes on every bill, as any sigimportant a part of its validity as any signature that appears there. He is the paymaster for the House, laying out some \$2 million in checks every month to Members

and attaches.

Under Roberts is a corps of nearly 200 em-ployees, file clerks, bill clerks, stationery clerks, librarians, disbursing clerk, enrolling clerk, and others. Each is a department head with a sizable staff of his own.

Roberts came by the job in an unorthodox manner. He jumped from a lifetime job as a doorkeeper to the equally long-lived job The jump, though, could have been fatal.

Born to politics, however, Roberts knew What he was doing. Part of his secret was hever having backed a loser for speaker or

for majority leader.

Roberts, however, guessed wrong on his own chances in 1946 when he tried to capture the Democratic congressional nomination in the Eighth Indiana District. He lost to WINFIELD K. DENTON.

Roberts was born in Rockport, a town of some 6,000 Hoosiers along the gentle sweep of the Ohio River, just above Evansville. His father, Ralph E. Roberts, still resides there, an 88-year-old veteran of many political campaigns. The elder Roberts served in many political offices, finally became Spencer circuit court judge when his son was in the eighth grade.

Young Roberts took politics to his heart at an early age. And he hurried to it as soon as his education was complete.

There was an interruption. World War I came along, and he joined the Marine Corps and went hustling off to the trenches in France. "I was in the Marines," is the way Roberts sums up his service record. For the Marines, World War I was no picnic.

Waiting to come home after the armistice, Roberts took a competitive examination for West Point and was 1 of 40, out of nearly 500, Who passed. He entered the military academy, blanched at the idea of spending 4 years learning a science he might never use. Home he went to Indiana and courses at Indiana University and Northwestern University.

It was 1923 when Roberts came to Washington, secretary to the Congressman from his home district, remained to make service

in the House his career.

In 1925, he got a taste of national politics as secretary of the Democratic congressional campaign committee, and he joined in the Al Smith campaign of 1928.

But in his entire Washington career he has hever missed going home to Rockport for every primary and general election, a record he doubts anybody else can match.

In 1943, he was serving as an assistant doorkeeper in the House of Representatives. The chief doorkeeper died unexpectedly, and the House elected Roberts to the post.

Three years later, the Republicans had captured the House and Roberts learned the minority clerkship would be vacant. He started a quiet campaign for election, and

As Clerk, Roberts is the social peer of the Secretary of the Senate. The latter, how-ever, gets more notoriety as a social figure because a private dining rooom goes with the Senate job and the Secretary is often host to the biggest names.

Roberts has no official host duties to clutter up his day. In the House, it is the Speaker who has the private dining room.

However, Roberts' duties have brought him into contact with many luminaries, including the late King George VI who would not enter the House Chamber on grounds that he was denied entry to the Commons and could not break the rule in America.

Roberts is known as one of the Capital's most prodigious walkers. Whenever the weather is even slightly acceptable, he will leave his office in the late afternoon and walk half a dozen miles to the University Club where he is a devoted member.

After a brief pause at his club, Roberts then may proceed on foot another 5 or 6 miles to the Sheraton Park Hotel where he and Mrs. Roberts have their home.

In his office at the Capitol, Roberts has custody of one of the cherished relics of the House: the Adams couch. It is a mo-

hair-covered couch upon which John Quincy Adams died.

After his term as President, Adams returned to the House as a Member. He was stricken fatally while on the House floor, carried to an anteroom and placed on the couch where he remained 3 days until his death.

Another of Roberts' office relics is a chandelier taken from the White House when President Theodore Rooosevelt remodeled the Mansion, its last improvement un-

til 1950-52.

A man of middle years, Roberts has a quiet manner, polished appearance and sin-gularly youthful features. His dark, straight hair is always brushed to perfection and he frequently puffs contentedly on a good quality cigar.

With every Congressman in Washington screaming frantically for gallery tickets on an important day in the House, Roberts can calmly stroll into his office and pass the time of day with a fellow Hoosier and never bat an eyelash when the angriest lawmaker bursts in and demands justice.

You've got to stay calm if you are going

to be clerk of the House.

Resolutions From Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith five resolutions adopted by the Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association and of pertinence to the administration's policy in respect to public

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE OREGON RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION DECEM-BER 14, 1954

Be it resolved, That the legislative program of the Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association be supplemented by the following policy statement:

"Resolution No. 3

"That we are opposed to the principles and implications of the Dixon-Yates con-

Resolution adopted.

Be it resolved, That the legislative program of the Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association be supplemented by the following policy statement:

"Resolution No. 4

"That we urge early enactment of legislation to authorize construction of Hells Canyon Dam."

Resolution adopted.

Be it resolved, That the legislative program of the Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association be supplemented by the following policy statement:

"Resolution No. 5

"That we strongly urge Congress to appropriate funds for a new Federal start in the Pacific Northwest, preferably John Day Dam." Resolution adopted.

Be it resolved, That the legislative program of the Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association be supplemented by the following policy statement:

"Resolution No. 6

"That we express our lack of confidence in the so-called power partnership policy, and instead we urge a return to the letter and spirit of Federal legislation providing for the preference clause and maximum comprehensive development of our waterpower resources.

Resolution adopted.

Be it resolved, That the legislative program of the Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association be supplemented by the following policy statement:

"Resolution No. 8

That we deplore the policy of Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay in opposition to public power."
Resolution adopted.

B. R. LITTLE, Secretary-Treasurer, Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association.

City Council of Chicago Opposes Change in Natural Gas Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker. by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include a letter from the Honorable Joseph F. Grossman, special assistant corporation counsel of the city of Chicago, and approved by the Honorable John J. Mortimer, corporation counsel, together with a resolution adopted by the city council of Chicago on January 26, 1955, as follows:

FEBRUARY 28, 1955.

Hon. BARRATT O'HARA, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Your attention is respectfully solicited to proposed amendments of the Natural Gas Act to exclude so-called independent producers of natural gas from the category of natural gas companies subject to regulation. It was strenuously argued in the case of Phillips Petroleum Co. v. Wisconsin before the Supreme Court of the United States that the Natural Gas Act was not intended to apply to producers of gas who sold their product in the State in which the gas was produced even though delivery was made to a pipeline for transportation and sale in interstate commerce. The Supreme Court held that such sales by producers are sales in interstate commerce and that such producers are natural gas companies within the purview of the Natural Gas Act and subject to regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

It is now urged that natural gas when produced is a commodity similar to wheat and other produce and to timber, coal, ore, and oil which are sold in the open market free from price regulation; that natural gas in the field should likewise be free from regulation. The forests and produce of the land must be differentiated from the mineral resources which cannot be replenished or restored when consumed. These mineral reserves constitute the primary wealth of the Nation and the public has such vital interest in their products that they are inherently subject to Government regulation for conservation and necessary use. The necessity for regulation of traffic in such products depends upon the degree of freedom of the channels through which they can be brought to the market for ultimate consumption, as well as upon the balance of supply and demand.

Under our pattern of dual Government jurisdiction, and in accordance with long established tradition, the States have assumed control of production of natural gas to prevent waste and rapid depletion of the resources within their respective bounda-ries and the local distribution of gas for consumption. The United States Congress has undertaken to regulate the production and transmission of natural gas for interstate commerce to protect the ultimate consumers from economic pressure incident to virtual monopoly of the interstate channels

for distribution of the gas. The producers of gas are primarily en-gaged in the production of oil. They explore the country for oil and may discover gas, which, but for the demand of distant consumers developed by investors in interstate transmission facilities, would be burned up or carried away by the winds. They are not interested in the security, comfort, or convenience of posterity, or, for that matter, in the welfare of the present generation. They are bent upon immediate exploitation of all the oil and gas which they can sell in the present advantageous market with preferential taxwise consideration for depletion. Since oil and gas are competitive fuels the producers can control the price of both if the gas can be sold without regulation. Hence, they have organized an unprecedented lobby for exemption from regulation of the price of natural gas produced for sale in interstate commerce, advancing incompatible arguments, in support of their right to a free competitive market price, that it will stimulate exploration for gas to supply the demand and encourage conservation of the resources in the natural-gas fields.

The corporate authorities of the city of Chicago, in behalf of its million consumers of natural gas, having evaluated the special interest of the producers, who are now subject to regulation under the Natural Gas Act. their incompatible interest in the sale of both oil and natural gas and their spurious and inconsistent arguments against the interest of the consumers, as well as the interest of investors in other natural-gas companies, which the Natural Gas Act is designed to protect, passed a resolution op-posing any action of Congress to nullify the

decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that independent producers of natural gas for sale in interstate commerce are subject to regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

A certified copy of the resolution of the City Council of Chicago is herewith transmitted.

Very truly yours, JOSEPH F. GROSSMAN, Special Assistant Corporation Counsel.

RESOLUTION ON EXEMPTION OF INDEPENDENT PRODUCERS OF NATURAL GAS FROM REGULA-TION BY FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

Whereas more than 1 million homes in Chicago are dependent upon a supply of natural gas from the Peoples Gas System for cooking, and many of them for other domestic uses, such as water heating, refrigeration and space heating; and

Whereas the Peoples Gas System is an integrated system of interstate natural gas companies and the People Gas Light & Coke Co. the sole distributor of gas in the city of Chicago and said system is dependent in great measure upon a supply of gas pur-chased from so-called independent natural gas producers who have heretofore been free to sell their gas at prices affected by competition between natural gas pipeline companies seeking a supply of natural gas to satisfy their respective customer demands; and

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States has recently determined in the case of Phillips Petroleum Co. v. Wisconsin, that independent producers are natural gas companies within the purview of the Natural Gas Act and are subject to regulation by the Federal Power Commission to prevent unfust, unreasonable and discriminatory prices for natural gas produced and sold in interstate commerce; and

Whereas the oil and gas interests in the United States have initiated a nationwide campaign through the press and other media for enactment of legislation by the Congress of the United States to exempt producers of natural gas from regulation by the Federal Power Commission so that they may exact from those who supply gas for ultimate consumption in the homes of Chicago and elsewhere the highest price obtainable by the incidence of competition among the pipelines for their sources of supply; and

Whereas such competition and competitive prices will rapidly increase the cost of gas for domestic uses in Chicago and elsewhere and will inevitably increase such cost as to restrict the normal use of gas necessary for the health and comfort of residents of Chicago: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States be fully informed of the consequences of such legislation and that the corporation counsel be and he is hereby directed to use all proper means, and to make such representations to the Congress of the United States, to prevent the enactment of legislation exempting producers of natural gas from regulation by the Federal Power Commission. STATE OF ILLINOIS,

County of Cook, ss:

I, Ludwig D. Schreiber, city clerk of the city of Chicago, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of that certain resolution adopted by the City Council of the City of Chicago at a regular meeting held Wednesday, the 26th day of January, A. D. 1955.

Witness my hand and the corporate seal of the said city of Chicago this 16th day of February A. D. 1955.

LUDWIG D. SCHREIBER, City Clerk.

Another Attempt To Grant the "Item Veto"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I believe the time has come for the Congress to act with regard to giving the President "item veto" power and for that reason I have reintroduced my bill, H. R. 561, on the subject in this Congress.

The following article written by Arthur Krock, which appeared in the New York Times of March 4, 1955, is deserving of our attention:

IN THE NATION-ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO GRANT THE ITEM VETO

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, March 3 .- Senator Byrn, of Virginia, has revived the old effort to give authority to the President to disapprove particular items in revenue bills instead of, as now, being obliged to veto or approve them in toto. He has proposed an entirely new formula which may find favor for the general objective which hitherto it has lacked.

Previously the plan advanced was to write into the Constitution unrestricted item veto power for the President. Under the BYRD proposal Congress is authorized to grant or withhold it in any appropriation bill it passes. Congress could specify the sections open to separate veto, maintaining the same right to override a Presidential veto of items as it now has with respect to measures as a whole. If the Byrn amendment were now a part of the Constitution such riders as the RAYBURN \$20-per-head tax deduction on the bill to extend corporate and excise tax rates would be within the President's veto power. So would be the more frequent type of riders that, in contrast to the RAYBURN proposal passed by the House, are not even faintly germane.

The item veto authority over appropriation bills is already possessed by the Gov-ernors of three-fourths of the States. Several Governors have the alternative power of reducing an item. In some States they can veto items in legislation of any kind. Senator Vandenberg, who was an advocate of this Federal reform, President Roosevelt wrote, September 24, 1937: "During my 4 years as Governor of New York I came to the conclusion that the right to veto items in general appropriation acts met with general favor on the part of the legislature and the public."

TWO ROOSEVELTS AND DOUGLAS

He was replying to a letter in which Vandenberg made this observation:

"Legislative riders on tax and appropria-tion bills * * rob the Executive of legitimate and essential freedom of action in dealing with this legislation. * * * I do not see how there can be effective Executive action upon an appropriation bill unless it can be considered by the President in its separate factors."

President Roosevelt replied that Congress already had the machinery to suppress "the evil of intermingling wise and unwise ex-penditures, or tax provisions * * * like that of riders," and "if there were a public opinion * strong enough to carry a constitutional amendment [to the purpose] it ought to be reflected in the action of Congress." But in 1953 his son, Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., came out for direct action. On May 14 he served notice that, each time an appropriation bill was before the House, he would propose item veto authority for the President. He quoted Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, as estimating that the lack of this authority costs "about \$4 billion a year of the taxpayers' money."

The Roosevelt, Jr., motion was ruled out of order by the Chair on the ground that it sought to impose legislation on an appropriation bill. That ruling made it additionally clear that an amendment to the Constitution was required for the purpose. But all amendment texts proved vulnerable to the charge that they would dangerously expand the Executive province, enable him to reward and punish areas and individuals Politically, and remove from Congress one of the vital checks and balances derived from the Constitution. By his new formula Sena-tor Byrn hopes to blunt the edge of that Point by minimizing its cause.

THE CRITICS ANSWERED

Other objections have been raised which,

With Byrn's answers, follow:

A constitutional amendment is dangerous because, if a President abused the perogative granted, the harm would be done before the amendment could be repealed. (Answer) Since the item veto authority under the Byrd amendment would be granted by statute, it could be as quickly suspended or repealed, and by joint resolution, which is not subject to Presidential veto.

An amendment text, even with the above saleguard, could probably not be made acceptable to Congress. This is because ceptable to Congress. This is because amendments must be brief, and that pre-cludes the essential definitions of terms like "Items" "Items" and "provisions." (Answer) The Byrd text leaves all these definitions to Congress; also the occasions when they are

to be applied.

"The Federal budget has been in the red 23 cut of 26 years," said Bran in support of his plan. "The Federal debt is at its Peacetime peak of \$280 billions. Contingent debt of the Federal Government is approximately \$250 billions. * * A balanced budget is not in sight. This is a device to attain constructive and responsible economy * * and I believe it to be properly Omy * * * and I believe it to be properly safeguarded in the form I have presented."

Constitutional amendments must travel a rugged, uphill path before they can be obtain the two-thirds of Congress required to submit them to the States and the subsequent approval of two-thirds legislative hajorities in three-fourths of the States. But not many of Democratic origin can claim the support of so rare a party alliance as that of Byrd, Douglas, and Roosevelt, Jr.

Resolution of the General Assembly of North Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the text of a joint resolution recently adopted by the General Assembly of North Carolina, as certified to me by the Honorable Thad Eure, secretary of state for North The joint resolution follows:

Joint resolution petitioning the President and the Congress of the United States not to adopt tariff policies destructive of the domestic textile industry by failure to recognize difference in cost of manufacture by foreign industry compared with American

Whereas the present conditions of uncertainty in world affairs demand that in the interest of self-preservation our Nation maintain all of its potential capacity; and

Whereas the low living standards of certain foreign countries provide textile manufacturers in those countries with an unfair advantage which may be destructive of that part of this Nation's industrial capacity now made up of textile industries unless there is a tariff structure which acts to offset this unfair advantage; and

Whereas more than one-fourth of the Nation's spindles are operated in North Carolina to process 28 percent of the Nation's

cotton consumption; and

Whereas, of the 450,000 industrial workers in the State, more than one-half, or 228,000, find employment in textile plants, the industry's annual wage bill in North Carolina ranging between \$550 million and \$600 million; and

Whereas the welfare of such industrial workers and their families would be adversely affected if tariffs on textile goods should

be further reduced; and

Whereas, in the interest of protecting the Nation's total industrial capacity, North Carolina's textile industry should not be weakened or forced to lower its manufacturing potential; and

Whereas the lower tariffs on textiles become, the easier it is for foreign countries to ship their products to this country and with each increase in the textile production of foreign countries a part of the American industry's foreign market is destroyed: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the house of representatives, the senate concurring—
SECTION 1. That in the administration of

tariff policy and in the enactment of legislation relating thereto, procedures be estab-lished which will provide protection for the American textile industry.

SEC. 2. Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the two Members of the United States Senate and to each of the Members of the House of Representatives from North Carolina.

SEC. 3. That this resolution shall be in force from and after its ratification.

In the general assembly read three times and ratified, this the 2d day of March 1955.

L. E. BARNHARDT, President of the Senate. LARRY I. MOORE, Jr.,

Speaker of the House of Representtives.

Imports of Residual Fuel Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to include for the information of my colleagues a resolution recently approved by the West Virginia State Legislature dealing with our proposed new and enlarged trade program.

The unrestricted imports of residual fuel oil has so raided our coal markets that the economy of our State is in a very sad plight. Approval of H. R. 1, now before the Congress will complete the devastation of our once stable econ-

The resolution follows:

House Resolution 25

Memoralizing Congress to protect the coal industry and the economic status of the employees therein by restricting the importation of foreign residual oil

Whereas the importation of foreign residual oil has stifled the market for the sale of coal;

Whereas the curtailment of the sale of coal, resulting directly from the unrestricted importation of foreign residual oil, has, and is reducing the living standards of the people of the State of West Virginia and is resulting in untold hardships and needless unemployment to the coal miners in the State West Virginia; and

Whereas this importation of foreign residual oil has resulted in a tremendous loss of State revenues to the extent that the State government has been hampered in providing essential services to the people of

West Virginia: Therefore be it

Resolved by the house of delegates, That the Members of West Virginia serving in Congress exert their best efforts in opposing the importation of foreign residual oil into the United States; and be it further Resolved. That the clerk of the house of

delegates forward attested copies of this resolution to the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Members of Congress now serving from West Virginia.

I, C. A. Blankenship, clerk of the house of delegates, hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of a resolution adopted by the said house of delegates on the 7th day of March 1955.

Given under my hand this the 8th day of March 1955.

C. A. BLANKENSHIP, Clerk, House of Delegates.

Foreign Traders Association of Philadelphia Favors Deepening of Delaware River Channel and Opposes Recommendation That Local Interests Contribute to the Cost

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker. there is widespread interest in the deepening of the Delaware River as an international highway for commerce. However, the opposition to the recommendation that local interests contribute to the cost of deepening the channel is equally

As part of my remarks I herewith include a copy of a resolution adopted by the Foreign Traders Association of Philadelphia, Inc. This resolution was adopted unanimously by its members at a meeting held on February 28. The association now has 434 members who are actively engaged in international commerce and, therefore, are vitally concerned with the adequacy of shipping. The resolution to which I have referred reads as follows:

In consideration of the importance of the Delaware River as a vital factor in the national security and mainenance of a strong economy, the Foreign Traders Association of Philadelphia, Inc. hereby puts itself on record as opposing the recommendation that local interests contribute to the construction and recommended improvements of the channel in the Delaware River between the Philadelphia Naval Base and Newbold Island.

Brownell Alibis Grain Scandal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am directing the attention of our colleagues to the following article by Drew Pearson which appeared in his column The Washington Merry-Go-Round in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 10, 1955:

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND—BROWN-ELL ALIBIS GRAIN SCANDAL

(By Drew Pearson)

Attorney General Brownell went out of his way at a press conference last week to try to alibi the dismissal of five Galveston grain scandal indictments just before they were to go to trial and shortly after Governor Shivers, of Texas, had lunched with President Eisenhower.

Brownell even brought his chief of the criminal division, Warren Olney, a competent public servant who did a good job as counsel of the California Crime Commission, to the conference. Together they claimed they were short of evidence and that one Government witness had reversed himself.

This did not, however, satisfy some of the Senators, most of them Republican, who investigated the shocking Galveston grain scandal 2 years ago and who gathered enough evidence to indict several of the grain dealers plus E. H. Thornton, Sr., the father of Gov. Allan Shivers' commissioner of highways who was Shivers' roommate in college and manager of his reelection campaign last summer.

"I would have thought it was a matter for the jury to decide," commented Senator ED THYE, Minnesota Republican. "The dismissal just doesn't look good."

Senator Militon Young, North Dakota Republican, also expressed dissatisfaction.

"How can American wheat farmers expect to sell abroad in competition with Canada," he said, "when Canada maintains strict inspection of its wheat exports while American wheat is sent to ports like Galveston where it's mixed with hog feed and milo maize, then sent abroad as supposedly top-grade American wheat?

"The American farmer does not know his wheat is being mixed with hog feed and he's the one in the long run who suffers."

SWISS REFUSE DELIVERY

Senator Young referred to the fact that two shiploads of the impure Galveston wheat had been sold to the Swiss who refused to take delivery. Several shiploads were also sent to the West German Republic, a country we are trying to keep friendly to the West. They, however, accepted the wheat and used it even though later found to be "unfit for human consumption."

"That's the kind of reputation our wheat is getting abroad," Senator Young commented.

He also referred to the fact that the Bunge Corp., an Argentine firm, made it a regular practice to ship its wheat to Galveston where it had a friendly arrangement with the Galveston City grain elevators, of which E. H. Thornton was manager, to mix its poor wheat with good-grade United States Government wheat right under the eyes of the United States inspector.

Thornton brazenly admitted to investigating Senators that he gave orders to slug the ships as much as possible, that is, mix off-grade wheat with the good. He told how ships selected to be slugged were loaded at night when it was difficult for the inspector and the sampler to see what was happening.

"It's 100 feet from one hatch to another," Thornton testified, "He has to walk that 100 feet, and these ships we might have selected to slug would start at night, and he can't walk from one hatch to another in 10 minutes. He went on to explain that the sampler had to climb up and down hatches.

THE AMAZING BROWNELL

The most amazing thing about Attorney General Brownell's allbi for dismissing these indictments was that the Senate Agricultural Subcommittee had already developed all the evidence a prosecuting attorney would appear to need to take the case to court.

In page after page of the Senate hearings are frank statements of graft and wrong-doing—how the damaged Canadian wheat was imported through Duluth at less than regular duty because it was supposed to be hog feed, how it was carefully shipped to the friendly and cooperative Galveston docks, how it was mixed with good Government wheat and how the Bunge Corp. then collected subsidy payments from Uncle Sam. It's all spelled out in the Senate hearings.

Furthermore, though the Justice Department alloled that there was no evidence any Galveston dock officials profited from the transaction, this is directly contrary to the facts.

At Galveston, bribes were paid to D. J. Sweeney, assistant superintendent of Elevator B, totaling \$5,500 during the same 3 years that the Canadian hog feed was secretly mixed and loaded. The bribes were paid by S. P. Perich, vice president of the Stone Forwarding Co., which handled all shipments for the Bunge Corp.

BRIBERY IS COMMON

Senator Young unearthed the fact that bribery—called "Christmas presents"—was a common custom in loading grain.

"You wouldn't call \$5,500 a bribe?" asked the incredulous Senator Young of Mr. Perich. "No, sir," replied Perich, "not compared to what we paid our other employees."

"But he was an employee in a public warehouse," remonstrated Young.

"He was harbor master, employed by Galveston wharves," Perich admitted.

"But they are a public institution, aren't they?"

"I guess so."

"When you pay a public official \$1,000 or \$2,000, you think it's not bribery?" pursued Senator Young.

"I don't think to give a man a Christmas present is bribery."

"I would say it's bribery, pure and simple," concluded the Senator.

However, the Justice Department apparently agreed with Perich, not with the Senator from North Dakota. They dismissed the indictments.

In Houston, however, they did not dismiss. There, the same agents for the Bunge Corp. bribed William Felirath, superintendent of the Houston public elevator, a total of \$15,-299. In this case, the Justice Department went to trial and secured convictions.

Democratic Support for Ike a Myth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of political capital has been claimed by both parties regarding support or nonsupport of President Eisenhower and his program. The following article recently appeared in the Los Angeles Times in which columnist Holmes Alexander details his belief that congressional support of President Eisenhower by the Democratic Party, as distinguished from members of one wing of the party, and, of course, millions of individual Democrats not in Congress, is a myth:

DEMOCRATIC SUPPORT FOR IKE SEEMS ILLUSORY
(By Holmes Alexander)

President Eisenhower's vocabulary as an old soldier is coming in handy again—especially the big, big D. He finds it most expressive in discussing double-dealing Democrats.

One White House visitor describes the President's peeve over the Democratic \$20 kickback tax as a trigger which has set off a long-delayed chain reaction.

Today when Mr. Eisenhower mentions the rabble-rousing tax tease, authored by his beloved friend, Speaker RAYBURN, the subject leads to deep-buried resentment on other matters.

One of these is the Democratic Party line concerning the proposed cutback in military personnel. Standard criticism by Democrats is that the President is risking his country's life in order to save money.

This charge is a flagrant slur upon something Dwight Elsenhower holds dear—his love of country, as well as upon the only capacity in which he ever claims expert knowledge—his military judgment.

Another smoldering resentment now nearing its blow-up temperature has to do with the sneer campaign against the Dixon-Yates agreement. This contract with a group of private companies to produce electricity for the Atomic Energy Commission has been debated and examined in Congress, by the Securities and Exchange Commission, by numerous public and private fiscal groups-

Every examination without exception has ended in a clean bill of health. But the contract is admittedly and necessarily complicated. The average citizen cannot follow it despite many open-forum discussions by AEC officials and by Messrs. Dixon and Yates themselves.

Democratic mischlefmakers continue to exploit this confusion. They insinuate against President Eisenhower's personal honesty in the matter. Ite is burned up.

The old infantryman's sulfurous anger is not without some political reaction that is just becoming discernible.

It is a reaction which seems to be moving the President from the periphery toward the center of his own party. One GOP leader who has perceived this shift is Senator Styles Bridges, chairman of the GOP policy committee.

For the first time since the death of Senator Taft, Mr. Elsenhower is in a position where he must turn to the Old Guard Republicans for support of his program.

This is conspicuously true on the Armed Forces cutback proposal with its touch upon Ike's emotions as well as his self-respect as a professional sadder.

a professional soldier.
Without votes of confidence from Old
Guard Senators, and specifically without

the active aid of Senator Banges in the policy committee and elsewhere, the President's military bill will be trampled down by Democrats claiming to save the country.

It hasn't been—and can't be—explained how they expect to do so with an additional 500,000 men under arms against an estimated 60 million Russo-Chinese Reds. Only H-bomb supremacy can win or prevent world war III.

One of the day's persistent fallacies is the theory that President Eisenhower's program owes its life to Democratic support. Actually, Democrats in Congress vote for Ike when he offers Democratic measures and against him when he offers Republican measures.

It's as simple as that if you're watching it happen. But the claim that Ike's middle-road program has been mainly supported by Democrats can also be statistically disproved.

Last year the Citizens for Eisenhower, a multipartisan outfit, surveyed the 83d Congress for Ike backers. Taking the Senate and House committee chairmen and the ranking minority members, the citizens made an Eisenhower who's who. It contains percentages of Presidential support in the last Congress. Here are some pertinent samples:

On the Agriculture Committees, Republicans Aiken (94 percent) and Hope (87 percent) outshone Democrats Ellender (40 percent) and Cooley (41 percent). On the Armed Services Committees, Republicans Saltonstall (94 percent) and Short (48 percent) gave Ike better support than Democrats Russell (20 percent) and Vinson (43 percent).

On the money-raising committees, Republicans MILLIKIN (94 percent) and REED (71 percent) succeeded in helping Ike over the opposition of Democrats BYED (45 percent) and COOPER (51 percent).

Even Senator McCarthy (45 percent) was a better Ike backer than his opposite number, Senator McClellan (21 percent).

And Senator Bridges, GOP policy chairman, was an 85-percent Ike backer, while Senator Hayden, holding the same post in

the other party, was a 60-percent Ike backer. It may be news, even to Mr. Elsenhower, that his own party is much closer to the middle road than the Democrats. And certainly it's good news now that the President needs to know where his friends are.

The American-Flag Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include a letter I have received from the national merchant marine committee of the national security commission, the American Legion, and an editorial regarding the American-flag merchant marine:

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
HOD, MELVIN PRICE,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

You may know, has actively lent its support for many yearrs to a strong American-flag merchant marine. In line with this policy we backed the Butler-Tollefson Cargo Preference Act to the limit of our ability. There-

fore, we consider that it is appropriate to call your attention to the attached editorial from the New York Journal-American which describes a current and serious attack on our merchant marine from a foreign source.

In commending the Congress of the United States for putting the 50-50 act on our statute books we wish to restate our opinion that the act is important to our Nation's security and a keystone of a strong American merchant marine policy.

Sincerely.

HENRY PARKE, Chairman.

[From the New York Journal-American of February 4, 1955]

PROPAGANDA

Since 1936 this country has paid subsidies to American shipping interests in order to have an American merchant marine to carry a fair portion of our maritime commerce and to serve as an auxiliary to the Armed Forces in time of war.

In World War I, we had to spend billions of dollars to build ships. Then the costly process had to be repeated in World War II because of our own negligence. Experience has plainly demonstrated that the ship-subsidy plan is both cheaper and safer.

Now, it appears, Great Britain has a scheme to divert American subsidies to the support of the British merchant marine,

which competes with ours.

Under the foreign-aid program, Congress requires that part of the goods we give away be carried overseas in American vessels. Our Government, of course, pays the cargo charges as well as the cost of the goods. And lately the Government has been giving away \$700 million worth of farm products as a means of reducing \$7 billion worth of surpluses accumulated through the agricultural price-subsidy plan.

We read, however, in the London Sunday Despatch that the British Government is refusing large quantities of these free goods because the United States has laid it down that half the goods must be moved in United

States ships.

"The United States Government has been told," the report continues, "that unless the rule is altered, the United States economicaid plan is in danger of breaking down."

Perhaps, in the circumstances indicated, the sensible course would be to let the aid plan break down and save our money. We certainly cannot afford to let our merchant marine be broken down by subsidized foreign competition—much less ourselves pay part of the foreign subsidy.

Slovak Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, today is the national independence day celebrated by the Slovak people throughout the world. For 10 years their traditions and ideals, firmly dedicated to a heritage very like our own, have been kept alive beneath the cruel oppression of Soviet occupation. Let us joint in acknowledging their brave resistance. Let us send them words of hope and cheer. And let us reaffirm our high resolve to help them win freedom and independence once again.

International Air Carriers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, problems confronting our United States flag international air carriers become more complex day by day. We who are fortunate enough to be members of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee have historically concerned ourselves with keeping our international carriers in a fairly competitive position.

Apparently there is now great concern over our route to the Orient trade cen-

ters out of Seattle.

Apparently, also, there has developed a great controversy over whether Northwest Airlines should enjoy an exclusive operation to Japan and beyond via the Great Circle route or whether, in the interest of free enterprise, Pan American World Airways should not be allowed to compete with Northwest over this increasingly important route.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an editorial from the Chicago Daily News of February 22, 1955, covering this vital

issue:

MUDDLED ATRLINE PICTURE

When the railroads were built, their routes were fixed and the tracks laid, and that was that. It is not so with the air carriers, Competition between the great airline systems for routes and markets is intense. The taxpayers have a considerable stake in this contest, because of the subsidies paid to the airlines in consideration of the fact that they may become overnight an arm of our national defense.

President Eisenhower himself intervened recently in one of these disputes that carried some special interest to Chicago. After first ruling otherwise, he ordered that Northwest Airlines be permitted to continue flying a Seattle-to-Hawaii route, although Hawaii is served by United and by Pan American World Airways.

In his explanation, Mr. Elsenhower said his intention had been to reduce subsidy payments by assigning the route to the carrier requiring the least aid. He found, however, that it was expected that both Pacific runs would be able to operate with-

out subsidy within 2 years.
Since Northwest and United enter Chicago, the decision means that the present services to Honolulu from this city will continue. The President said he desired to give both Pan American and Northwest "equal opportunity to demonstrate their capacity to develop adequate traffic to op-

erate without subsidy."

That sounds fair enough. But, curiously, the same reasoning does not seem to be applied to Pan American's request to be allowed to operate the great circle route between the west coast and the Orient. This is the north to the Orient route that General Lindbergh surveyed in 1931, but which could not be used until after the war because the Japanese were unwilling to permit American craft over their cities.

Pan American is confined to the mid-Pacific route, stopping at Hawali, Wake, and Guam. This adds 1,847 miles to the flight from Chicago to the Orient, which is the direct destination of 80 percent of Pan Am's passengers. It also costs the Government an extra million a year for GI mail allocated to Pan American to take this circuitous route.

Northwest and Canadian Pacific fly the shorter great circle route; a Japanese and a Scandinavian line are preparing to do the same. It seems strange that the pioneer Pacific carrier should be handicapped in violation of the principle of equal opportunity laid down in the Scattle-Hawaii case.

Importance of Small Mines in Supplying Critical Metals for National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERMAN WELKER

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, further in support of the contention of many Senators that the continued operation of small mines is vital to our defense and our economy, I have before me an article published in the March 3, 1955, issue of the Idaho Voter, which is a reprint of an article written by Betty Butler and published in the Sunday magazine section of the Spokane (Wash.) Spokesman-Review of recent date. The article is entitled "Idaho Cobalt Mine Gives United States Assurance of Critical Metal." I think it is deserving of the attention of my colleagues in the Senate. All too often we forget the importance of the mining industry in our national defense program. A great deal has been said about our dependence on other countries for strategic metals. In view of those statements it is interesting to note that a small town, population 800, in my State of Idaho, 40 miles from the highway, and 107 miles from the nearest railroad, is the leading and very nearly the only hope the United States has of ever becoming self-sufficient in the production of cobalt.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IDAHO COBALT MINE GIVES UNITED STATES ASSURANCE OF CEITICAL METAL—BLACKBED MINE HAS LONG AND EVENTFUL HISTORY PRIOR TO ITS PRESENT IMPORTANT PLACE IN MAKING NATION SELF-SUFFICIENT IN STRATEGIC REQUIREMENTS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following is a condensation of an article by Betty Butler, from the Sunday magazine section of the Spokane Spokesman-Review.)

The leading, and very nearly the only, hope the United States possesses of ever becoming scif-sufficient in 1 of the world's most strategic metals lies in a little community of about 800 persons, 107 miles from the nearest railroad and nearly 40 miles from a surfaced highway, in the rugged wilderness of the Salmon River Mountains in central Idaho.

The community, and the mine and mill which brought it into existence, aren't even on many road maps of Idaho. But the name of the town—Cobalt—tells the story of why it figures so largely in the plans of American scientists, industrialists and military planners.

Cobalt as a mineral has been known and used in limited amounts ever since the Egyptians colored their pottery with it centuries ago. But it was technological developments of the 20th century that made the element necessary to an adequate defense program and in many phases of industrial progress.

As an alloy, cobalt helps give jet engines the toughness to withstand the terrific heat developed in flight. The material made from tungsten carbide with cobalt as the binder is so hard it is referred to as a diamond substitute, used for high-speed cutting tools and mining drills.

The Belgian Congo produces three-fourths of the world's supply of cobalt, and Canada produces about 15 percent as a byproduct from a number of complex ores. Idaho's Blackbird mine near Cobalt, owned and operated by the Calera Mining Co., is the leading known source of cobalt in the United States.

BLACKBIRD MINE OLD

Though its national importance is new, the Blackbird is not a new mine. In its miles of tunnels and shafts lie 60 years of frustration, broken hopes, and tragedy. The mineral deposits of the district have been known since the days of Leesburg, where discovery of gold in 1866 brought the first permanent settlers into Lemhi County. Well over \$16 million in gold was taken from Leesburg before it was left a crumbling ghost town, but the Blackbird, only a few miles away, yielded little in free gold and was bypassed in the placer-mining rush.

The presence of cobalt was known to these early operators, but there was little demand for it then and it was considered a detriment to the smelting process. But in 1915 Elwood Haynes, one of the founders of America's automobile industry, became interested in the mine as a source of cobalt for an alloy to be used in machining engine blocks. The Haynes Stellite Co. mined in the district between 1917 and 1920, milling about 4,000 tons of ore, but milling difficulties and high transportation costs finally closed the operation.

SIMS BUY MINE

The Uncle Sam Mining Co., principally interested in producing copper and gold, had a try at the Blackbird in 1938. The company leased property from James G. and J. Howard Sims of Salmon, who had picked up the claims at a tax sale, and erected a 75-ton flotation mill. (J. Howard Sims is presently Idaho State senator from Lemhi County.) But the 8,000-foot-high passes, deep canyons, and precipitous cliffs of the Salmon River mountains for the third time won the battle, and the Uncle Sam Co. gave up in defeat.

In 1942 the United States Geological Survey and the United States Bureau of Mines started investigation of the district in a wartime search for strategic minerals. The Calera Mining Co., a subsidiary of Howe Sound Co. of New York, took an option on the Sims property in August 1943 and began underground exploratory work in 1945. Extensive exploratory work since has revealed a large deposit of cobalt, occurring in a 30-square-mile area, which is expected to yield cobalt and copper profitably for many years.

Work on the flotation mill, which sprawls halfway up a steep ridge on the south side of Blackbird Creck, began in 1951, but was hardly well under way when the Government requested Calera to increase it from the planned 600-ton capacity to 1,000 tons. Cobalt was vitally needed in the defense buildup.

MODERN MINING CAMP

Now, with the milling process completed, one of the difficulties that doomed earlier cobait operations has been overcome—but the other still remains. Forty-seven miles of twisting, nurrow, graveled mountain road across Morgan Creek Pass lie between the

Blackbird and the oiled highway (U. S. 93) north of Challis.

Most supplies for the mine and mill and for the town of Cobalt are trucked in from Salmon, 42 miles away, over a 1-way road hacked out of the mountainsides, full of chuck holes and rocks.

But Cobalt people suffer little from isolation. The town's 800 citizens, including about 200 families with 300 children, live in 55 privately built homes, 75 Government housing units, 25 houses and apartments for staff members, and 3 55-unit dormitories for single men. There is also a trailer camp and a hotel.

What the Bill of Rights Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, J. VAUGHAN GARY

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride that I call to the attention of the House the fact that a 17year-old girl from my home city of Richmond, Va., recently won first prize in a national essay contest on What the Bill of Rights Means to Me, sponsored by the National Association of Real Estate Boards. This fine high-school student, who has brought such honor to our city and State, is Miss Ann Turner. Her essay, judged the best from over 10,000 submitted by high-school students from all over the United States, was translated into 30 languages for international broadcasts, and the Voice of America beamed a recording of her voice, reading her own essay, all over the world on 6 English language programs. I think her inspiring words will grace the Appendix of the Congressional Record, and I commend the attention of the Members of the House to her fine essay, which I here present:

WHAT THE BILL OF RIGHTS MEANS TO ME

I am the Bill of Rights. I represent America. I dwell in her churches, her courts, her newspapers. I protect her people. Long ago my way was paved, my destiny established. I hold the rights of all Americans. I am their watchword, their beliefs, their stronghold. So long as I may ring the words of freedom, I am the basis of their lives, and in me rests the law of a Nation.

A gray, towering spire juts into the sky. Chimes ring through the dusk. From all walks of life come peoples to this sanctuary. Therein dwells their God. Hymns fill the world as their voices echo the truths of peace—voices of youth, of the aged, voices of America. I protect them in this sanctuary. Through me they may choose their religion—worship as they please. They may join their fellowman in prayer, and I pray with them, for I am the soul of America.

Before the hushed courtroom sits the judge, the jury. It is their job to decide the fate of a man. Their wisdom and judgment will determine his guilt or innocence. Once a man was not given this chance. Once he was thrust into the dark cells of injustice. No one would hear his plea; no one would believe in him. He became an outcast of humanity. To a man such as this I have brought justice. I have given him the right of trial by jury. He may stand before the world and be heard. He will be judged in all fairness, guilty or not, and I will stand

In his judgment, for I am the justice of America.

On the street corners, in newspaper stands, on doorsteps, lies the truth of a nation. Gigantic presses work continually to publish the word of the people. There is no one who may say what is to be printed and what is not to be. No one may buy the opinion of America, may bargain with her integrity. Daily, thin lines of clear black type bring to every section of this country the news of the world, unbiased. I am a part of every published article and protector of the people's interests. I am their thoughts, for I am the truth of America.

A friend stops his neighbor on the street. An uncensored conversation follows. It may be a discussion of politics, of government, of religion. They talk freely, unafraid of sudden arrest. In many countries of the world a man's speech is not his own. He may not say what he pleases. He may be incriminated for even the slightest word against his government. Consequently he lives in constant fear. His words are locked behind barred doors and whispered only in the most secluded of places. This is not so in our land. I give to each man his right of freedom of speech, for I am the voice of America.

In courts, in churches, in the mouths and minds of America I dwell. My job is the protection of her people. I am their beliefs, their freedom, their future, for I am the Bill of Rights.

Value of Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL ELLIOTT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, in an address he delivered to members of the Alabama Press Association at their annual convention in Huntsville, Ala., January 20–22, 1955, Prof. C. E. Bounds, head of the department of journalism of the University of Alabama, pointed out the relationship of formal education to the earning power of an individual in the United States today.

Now when we are considering Federal aid for schoolhouse construction, I think the contents of Professor Bounds' speech are especially significant.

A portion of his speech follows:

You've heard other speakers on this program speak of the future for this State; of its resources and of its recent industrial attainments and future potential. This hoped-for growth of Alabama depends in great measure on the high quality of our local and State government, and on the high degree of intelligence of our supply of workers to be the personnel in this industrial expansion on the good standard of living which Alabama can offer its people, on the quality of its schools and educational institutions, on all the factors which go to insure good citizenship.

I want to offer you editors one course of action you can follow which will help bring about this brighter and happier Alabama. I suppose I would be a traitor to my two professions—newspapering and teaching—if I didn't categorically state that I believe that the partnership of public information and public education is the greatest single force to bring about a better future for this State. From the very beginning of public

education in this country, good citizenship has been its primary aim. As one result of good instruction in his schools, the young citizen is expected to make informed judgments and decisions on the countless questions—political, social, economic—later to confront him, but he must make these decisions and temper his judgment in the realistic light of the current events and situations which make the day's news. And he must gain his knowledge of the news from his newspaper, and thus the newspaper and public education are hand-inglove partners in forming the pattern of thinking which affects our lives and which will determine our future.

We know, from all economic studies and reports, that higher levels of education always lead to higher standards of living and greater demands for consumer goods. We know that industry expands in areas where an intelligent supply of labor is available. That means higher per-capita retail sales—which means more retail and national advertising. We know, furthermore, that higher educational levels mean a greater demand for current information—which means greater circulation for newspapers. So its money in the cash register for newspaper publishers to have a good public school system in their community, and a high level of educational attainment and school completion.

Let me show you exactly what it means in hard money to you and to your community when we measure income in comparison with schooling. Just last month, December 10, to be exact, the Department of Commerce issued a study of the earning records of three classes of average Americans—those who had a grade school education, but no high schooling; those who stopped their education at the high school level, and those who had a college-level education. The difference in average earnings over the 45 years between ages 20 and 65 is amazing.

The fellow who quits in grade school or immediately thereafter earns less than \$1,800 a year average. The high-school graduate doubles this—to \$3,600 per year average. The college graduate skyrockets—his average is \$6,000. Project these figures to make total earnings and you get the picture of what higher educational levels in your community can mean to the economy of your community—and to the financial success of your own newspaper. The grade schooler has a potential earning power of about \$80,000 for 45 years of work; the high schooler earns \$165,000; the college graduate earns \$268,000.

You can see that it's money in your pocket to have better education in Alabama, yet more than 50 percent of all Alabama children who start the first grade drop out of school before they complete the eighth grade. This year in Alabama we have approximately 450,000 kids in the first 6 grades, about 185,000 in the junior-high level, and only about 75,000 in our high schools. Our college enrollment for the entire State is less than 35,000 and, tragically enough, we spend 14 times as much per capita in the State liquor stores than we pay per capita for higher education.

Put it this way: If you and your newspapers, by forcing local authorities to enforce the State compulsory school-attendance laws, by editorially forcing parents to the realization that their kids should go to school, by instilling in your community the appreciation of the advantages of a better education, by being the leader in any program to build more and better schools—if by these and any other means you can boost the educational level of attainment in your communities by as much as a couple of years additional on the average, you'll come close to doubling the potential per capita inceme of your community 10 years from now; and

if you do that, you'll sell more newspapers, you'll sell more advertising, you'll sell more printing, and you'll make more money. As a dividend to the money, however, you'll gain the satisfaction and the pride of knowing you've made a genuine contribution to the future of your town and your State, and you can't measure that in terms of dollars and cents. You'll know you've lived up to the highest demands of a noble profession; you've given leadership to your public; you've helped make a better future for your fellowman.

God Bless America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL ELLIOTT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, in November of last year, I had the opportunity of attending a veterans' day service at the Jasper, Ala., First Church of the Nazarene. At that time, I heard Rev. Paul J. Stewart, pastor of the church deliver a message on God Bless America, which I thought contained some fundamental truths for our times. I commend the reading of it to the Members of the House. Reverend Stewart's message follows:

GOD BLESS AMERICA (By Rev. Paul J. Stewart)

"God Bless America" was one of the most popular slogans, mottoes and songs of the Second World War. It swung in our churches, towered from our skyscrapers, decked our college chapels, and adorned our senate houses. It was stamped on emblems and woven into banners, it swept the highways on automobile windshields, soared through the trackless blue on airline transports and plied the seven seas with our merchant marines, "God Bless America," was the most popular song, the most popular slogan, and the most popular prayer of the war.

APPLICABLE TODAY

Today we must pray "God Bless America" to win the peace as much, or more, than we prayed "God Bless America," to win the war. Even though we won the war, if we lose the peace, we will be of most men the most miserable.

It is an indelible and undenlable fact that God has blessed America. The God of eternity, the God of history, the God of infinity holds the destiny of nations in the palm of his hand. The intelligent and benevolent providence of God is clearly and plainly revealed and manifested in that He reserved and preserved a magnificent continent of immeasureable and inexhaustible resources down across the ages until He had a prepared people to possess and populate it.

While Homer sang, Hannibal fought; Rome rose and fell; the mighty Mississippi rolled majestically toward the Gulf of Mexico unseen by civilized and Christianized man. The great Rocky Mountains towered to the sky unknown and unsung. The broad acres of the western prairies were uncultivated and unharvested.

ALABAMA'S COTTONFIELDS

The cottonfields of Alabama, the wheat-fields of Kansas, the gold mines of Colorado, the coalfields of Pennsylvania, and the oil wells of Texas were undiscovered and unutilized. This vast, unlimited reservoir of resources was the sole possession of a few

REPRESENTATIVES WITH	Chiperfield, Robert B., Ill_1713 House Office	Granahan, William T., Pa
RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON	Building	Grant, George M., Ala4801 Conn. Ave.
OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building,	Christopher, George H.,	Gray, Kenneth J., Ill
Washington, D. C.	Mo.	Green, Edith, Oreg
[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]	Chudoff, Earl, Pa	Green, William J., Jr., Pa.
Speaker, Sam Rayburn	Church, Marguerite Stitt, 2122 Mass. Ave.	Gregory, Noble J., Ky2401 Calvert St.
	III.	Griffiths, Martha W., Mich.
Abbitt, Watkins M., Va	Clark, Frank M., Pa The Jefferson	Gross, H. R., Iowa Gubser, Charles S., Calif
Abernethy, Thos. G., Miss6278 29th St.	Cole, W. Sterling, N. Y 1610 44th St.	Gwinn, Ralph W., N. Y
Adair, E. Ross, Ind3971 Langley Ct., Apt. 596-B	Colmer, William M., Miss	Hagen, Harlan, Calif
Addonizio, Hugh J., N. J	Cooley, Harold D., N. C The Dorchester	Hale, Robert, Maine2722 N St.
Albert, Carl, Okla	Coon, Sam, Oreg	Haley, James A., Fla
Alexander, Hugh Q., N. C	Cooper, Jere, TennThe Washington	Halleck, Charles A., Ind 4926 Upton St.
Alger, Bruce, Tex	Corbett, Robert J., Pa	Hand, T. Millet, N. J.
Allen, John J., Jr., Calif	Coudert, F. R., Jr., N. Y	Harden, Cecil M., Ind The Congressional
Allen, Leo E., IllUniversity Club	Cramer, William C., Fla4454 Tindall St.	Hardy, Porter, Jr., Va
Andersen, H. Carl, Minn4545 Conn. Ave.	Cretella, Albert W., Conn	Harris, Oren, Ark1627 Myrtle St.
Andresen, August H., Minn_	Crumpacker, Shepard J.,	Harrison, Burr P., Va 4519 So. 34th St.,
Andrews, George W., Ala3108 Cathedral	Jr., Ind.	Arlington, Va.
Ave.	Cunningham, Paul, Iowa	Harrison, Robert D., Nebr
Anfuso, Victor L., N. Y	Curtis, Laurence, Mass3314 O St.	Harvey, Ralph, Ind110 Maryland
Arends, Leslie C., Ill4815 Dexter St.	Curtis, Thomas B., Mo	Ave. NE.
Ashley, Thomas L., Ohio	Dague, Paul B., Pa	Hays, Brooks, Ark314 2d St. SE.
Ashmore, Robert T., S. C.	Davidson, Irwin D., N. Y	Hays, Wayne L., OhioThe Woodner
Aspinall, Wayne N., ColoArlington Towers,	Davis, Clifford, Tenn4611 Butter-	Hayworth, Don, Mich
Arlington, Va.	Worth Pl.	Hébert, F. Edward, La104 Cockrell St.,
Auchincloss, James C., N. J. 113 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.	Davis, Glenn R., Wis2550 South Joyce,	Alexandria, Va. Henderson, John E., Ohio125 Marthas Rd.,
Avery, William H., Kans	Davis, James C., Ga	Alexandria, Va.
Ayres, William H., Ohio	Dawson, William A., Utah	Herlong, A. S., Jr., Fla
	Dawson, William L., Ill	Heselton, John W., Mass
Bailey, Cleveland M., W. Va.	Deane, Charles B., N. C	Hess, William E., Ohio
Baker, Howard H., Tenn	Delaney, James J., N. Y	Hiestand, Edgar W., Calif
Baldwin, John F., Jr., Calif.	Dempsey, John J., N. Mex_2500 Q St.	Hill, William S., Colo110 Maryland
Barden, Graham A., N. C. 2737 Devonshire	Denton, Winfield K., Ind.	Ave. NE.
Barrett, William A., Pa	Derounian, Steven B., N. Y.	Hillings, Patrick J., Calif
Bass, Perkins, N. H.	Devereux, James P. S., Md_	Hinshaw, Carl, Calif
Bass, Ross, Tenn	Dies. Martin, Tex	Hoeven, Charles B., Iowa2108 Suitland
Bates, William H., Mass	Diggs, Charles C., Jr., Mich. The Congressional	Terrace SE.
Baumhart, A. D., Jr., Ohio_	Dingell, John D., Mich	Hoffman, Clare E., Mich Methodist Bldg.
Beamer, John V., Ind110 Maryland	Dixon, Henry Aldous, Utah.	Hoffman, Richard W., III
Ave. NE.	Dodd, Thomas J., Conn	Holifield, Chet, Calif
Becker, Frank J., N. Y 1727 Mass. Ave.	Dollinger, Isidore, N. Y	Holmes, Hal, Wash
Belcher, Page, Okla	Dolliver, James I., Iowa3752 Jocelyn St.	Holt, Joe, Calif
Bell, John J., Tex	Dondero, George A., MichThe Continental	Holtzman, Lester, N. Y
Bennett, Charles E., Fla1530 38th St. SE.	Donohue, Harold D., Mass_	Hope, Clifford R., Kans3541 Brandywine
Bennett, John B., Mich7304 Bradley Blvd.	Donovan, James G., N. Y.	Horan Walt Wash
Bethesda, Md.	Dorn, Francis E., N. Y	Horan, Walt, Wash
Bentley Alvin M Mich Bethesda, Md.	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C	Hosmer, Craig, Calif
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak2720 Terrace	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex	Hosmer, Craig, Calif
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich2720 Terrace Road SE.	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex	Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala.
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex	Hosmer, Craig, Calif
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex	Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex3877 30th St. N., Arlington, Va. Durham, Carl T., N. CThe Lee House Eberharter, Herman P., Pa.3101 4th St. N.,	Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex	Hosmer, Craig, Calif——— Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo——— Hyde, DeWitt S., Md——— Ikard, Frank, Tex————————————————————————————————————
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex	Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Ikard, Frank, Tex Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. SE. Jarman, John, Okla
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Ikard, Frank, Tex Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. Sk. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio.—The Mayflower
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex	Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Ikard, Frank, Tex Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. Sk. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio.—The Mayflower
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex	Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Lkard, Frank, Tex Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio Jennings, W. Pat, Va Jensen, Ben F., Iowa Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washing-
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C. Dowdy, John, Tex Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Ikard, Frank, Tex Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat, Va Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washington House
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C. Dowdy, John, Tex Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex	Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Lard, Frank, Tex Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio Jensen, Ben F., Iowa Jensen, Ben F., Iowa Jensen, Hen F., Iowa Johansen, August E., Mich Johnson, Leroy, Calif ———————————————————————————————————
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Ikard, Frank, Tex Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio The Mayflower Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio The Mayflower Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washington House Johnson, Leroy, Calif ——630 North Carolina Aye. SE.
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C. Dowdy, John, Tex Doyle, Clyde, Calij	Hosmer, Craig, Calif
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif————————————————————————————————————
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C. Dowdy, John, Tex Doyle, Clyde, Calij	Hosmer, Craig, Calif. Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Jackson, Donald L., Calif. James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. SE. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat. Va Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washington House Johnson, Leroy, Calif
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak Betts, Jackson E., Ohio Blatnik, John A., Minn Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga Boggs, Hale, La Boland, Edward P., Mass Bolling, Richard, Mo Bolton, Frances P., Ohio Bonner, Herbert C., N. C. The Dorchester Bosch, Albert H., N. Y Bow, Frank T., Ohio Bowler, James B., Ill Boykin, Frank W., Ala Brooks, Jack B., Tex Brooks, Overton, La Brooks, Overton, La Brown, Clarence J., Ohio Boston House Brown, Paul, Ga Boston House	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex	Hosmer, Craig, Calif
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak Betts, Jackson E., Ohio Blatnik, John A., Minn Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga Boggs, Hale, La Boland, Edward P., Mass Bolling, Richard, Mo Bolton, Frances P., Ohio Bonner, Herbert C., N. C. The Dorchester Bosch, Albert H., N. Y Bow, Frank T., Ohio Bowler, James B., Ill Boykin, Frank W., Ala Brooks, Jack B., Tex Brooks, Overton, La Brooks, Overton, La Brown, Clarence J., Ohio Boston House Brownson, Charles B., Ind Broyhill, Joel T., Va Broyhill, Joel T., Va Buchanan, Vera, Pa	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calij	Hosmer, Craig, Calif. Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Jackson, Donald L., Calif. James, Benjamin F., Pa 200 C St. SE. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat. Va Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washing- ton House Johnson, Leroy, Calif
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calij	Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Lkard, Frank, Tex Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio The Mayflower Jensings, W. Pat, Va Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washington House Johansen, August E., Mich Johnson, Leroy, Calif Johnson, Lester R., Wis 215 Constitution Ave. NE. Jones, Charles Raper, N. C Jones, Paul C., Mo Seli3 Greenway Pl., Alexandria, Va. Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala Jones, Woodrow W., N. C Judd, Walter H., Minn 3083 Ordway St
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif. Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Jackson, Donald L., Calif. James, Benjamin F., Pa 200 C St. SE. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat. Va Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washington House Johansen, August E., Mich. Johnson, Leroy, Calif 630 North Carolina Ave. SE. Johnson, Lester R., Wis 215 Constitution Ave. NE. Jones, Charles Raper, N. C. Jones, Paul C., Mo 3613 Greenway Pl., Alexandria, Va. Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala Jones, Woodrow W., N. C Judd, Walter H., Minn 3083 Ordway St. Karsten, Frank M., Mo
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif. Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa 200 C St. SE. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat. Va Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washing- ton House Johansen, August E., Mich. Johnson, Leroy, Calif 630 North Caro- lina Ave. SE. Johnson, Lester R., Wis 215 Constitution Ave. NE. Jones, Charles Raper, N. C. Jones, Paul C., Mo 3613 Greenway Pl., Alexandria, Va. Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala Jones, Woodrow W., N. C Judd, Walter H., Minn 3083 Ordway St. Karsten, Frank M., Mo Kean, Robert W., N. J 2435 Kalorama
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calij	Hosmer, Craig, Calif. Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Jackson, Donald L., Calif. James, Benjamin F., Pa 200 C St. SE. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat. Va Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washington House Johansen, August E., Mich. Johnson, Leroy, Calif 630 North Carolina Ave. SE. Johnson, Lester R., Wis 215 Constitution Ave. NE. Jones, Charles Raper, N. C. Jones, Paul C., Mo 3613 Greenway Pl., Alexandria, Va. Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala Jones, Woodrow W., N. C Judd, Walter H., Minn 3083 Ordway St. Karsten, Frank M., Mo
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak Betts, Jackson E., Ohio Blatnik, John A., Minn Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga Boggs, Hale, La Boland, Edward P., Mass Bolling, Richard, Mo Bolton, Frances P., Ohio Bonner, Herbert C., N. C. The Dorchester Bosch, Albert H., N. Y Bow, Frank T., Ohio Bowler, James B., Ill Boykin, Frank W., Ala Brooks, Jack B., Tez Brooks, Jack B., Tez Brooks, Overton, La Brooks, Overton, La Brown, Clarence J., Ohio Boston House Brownson, Charles B., Ind Broylil, Joel T., Va Buchanan, Vera, Pa Buckley, Charles A., N. Y Budge, Hamer H., Idaho Burdick, Usher L., N. Dak Burleson, Omar, Tex Pl. Burnside, M. G., W. Va	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif. Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Jackson, Donald L., Calif. James, Benjamin F., Pa 200 C St. SE. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat. Va Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washing- ton House Johansen, August E., Mich. Johnson, Leroy, Calif 630 North Caro- lina Ave. SE. Johnson, Lester R., Wis 215 Constitution Ave. NE. Jones, Charles Raper, N. C. Jones, Paul C., Mo 3613 Greenway Pl., Alexandria, Va. Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala Jones, Woodrow W., N. C Judd, Walter H., Minn 3083 Ordway St. Karsten, Frank M., Mo Kean, Robert W., N. J 2435 Kalorama Read Kearney, B. W. (Pat), N. Y. Kearns, Carroll D., Pa Sheraton-Park
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak Road SE. Betts, Jackson E., Ohio Blatnik, John A., Minn Biltch, Iris Faircloth, Ga Boggs, Hale, La Boland, Edward P., Mass Bolling, Richard, Mo Bolton, Frances P., Ohio Bonner, Herbert C., N. C. The Dorchester Bosch, Albert H., N. Y Bow, Frank T., Ohio Bowler, James B., Iil Boykin, Frank W., Ala Brooks, Jack B., Tex Brooks, Jack B., Tex Brooks, Overton, La Brown, Clarence J., Ohio Borown, Clarence J., Ohio Boston House Brownnon, Charles B., Ind Broyhill, Joel T., Va Buchanan, Vera, Pa Buckley, Charles A., N. Y Budge, Hamer H., Idaho Burdick, Usher L., N. Dak Burnside, M. G., W. Va Bush, Alvin R., Pa Bush, Alvin R., Pa	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calij	Hosmer, Craig, Calif————————————————————————————————————
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich. Berry, E. Y., S. Dak. Betts, Jackson E., Ohio. Blatnik, John A., Minn. Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga. Boggs, Hale, La. Boland, Edward P., Mass. Bolling, Richard, Mo. Bolton, Frances P., Ohio. Bonner, Herbert C., N. C. The Dorchester Bosch, Albert H., N. Y. Bow, Frank T., Ohio. Bowler, James B., Ill. Boykin, Frank W., Ala. Brooks, Jack B., Tez. Brown, Clarence J., Ohio. Alban Towers Brown, Clarence J., Ohio. Buckley, Charles A., N. Y. Burleson, Omar, Tex. 2737 Devonshire Pl. Burnside, M. G., W. Va. Bush, Alvin R., Pa. Byrd, Robert C., W. Va. Byrne, James A., Pa.	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif. Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak Road SE. Betts, Jackson E., Ohio Blatnik, John A., Minn Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga Boggs, Hale, La Boland, Edward P., Mass Bolling, Richard, Mo Bolton, Frances P., Ohio Bonner, Herbert C., N. C. The Dorchester Bosch, Albert H., N. Y Bow, Frank T., Ohio Bowler, James B., Iil Boykin, Frank W., Ala Brooks, Jack B., Tex Brooks, Jack B., Tex Brooks, Overton, La Brown, Clarence J., Ohio Borownson, Charles B., Ind Broyhill, Joel T., Va Buchanan, Vera, Pa Buckley, Charles A., N. Y Budge, Hamer H., Idaho Burdick, Usher L., N. Dak Burnside, M. G., W. Va Bush, Alvin R., Pa Byrne, James A., Pa Byrne, James A., Pa Byrne, James A., Pa Byrnes, John W., Wis 1215 25th St. So.,	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Land, Frank, Tex Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio The Mayflower Jensen, Ben F., Iowa Jensen, Hen F., Iowa Johnson, Leroy, Calif Johnson, Leroy, Calif Johnson, Lester R., Wis 215 Constitution Ave. NE. Jones, Charles Raper, N. C Jones, Paul C., Mo Seli3 Greenway Pl., Alexandria, Va. Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala Jones, Woodrow W., N. C Judd, Walter H., Minn Soad Ordway St Karsten, Frank M., Mo Kean, Robert W., N. J Lester R., Sheraton-Park Keating, Kenneth B., N. Y Kelly, Augustine B., Pa Kelly, Edna F., N. Y
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak Betts, Jackson E., Ohio Blatnik, John A., Minn Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga Boggs, Hale, La Boland, Edward P., Mass Bolling, Richard, Mo Bolton, Frances P., Ohio Bonner, Herbert C., N. C. The Dorchester Bosch, Albert H., N. Y Bow, Frank T., Ohio Bowler, James B., III Boykin, Frank W., Ala Brooks, Jack B., Tex Brooks, Overton, La Brooks, Overton, La Brown, Paul, Ga Brown, Paul, Ga Brown, Paul, Ga Boston House Brown, Charles B., Ind Broyhill, Joel T., Va Buchanan, Vera, Pa Buckley, Charles A., N. Y Budge, Hamer H., Idaho Burdick, Usher L., N. Dak Burnside, M. G., W. Va Byrne, James A., Pa Byrd, Robert C., W. Va Byrnes, John W., Wis 1215 25th St. So., Arlington, Va.	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calij	Hosmer, Craig, Calif————————————————————————————————————
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif. Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich. Berry, E. Y., S. Dak. 2720 Terrace Road SE. Betts, Jackson E., Ohio. Blatnik, John A., Minn. Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga. Boggs, Hale, La. Boland, Edward P., Mass. Bolling, Richard, Mo. Bolton, Frances P., Ohio. Bonner, Herbert C., N. C. The Dorchester Bosch, Albert H., N. Y. Bow, Frank T., Ohio. Bowler, James B., Ill. Bray, William G., Ind. Brooks, Jack B., Tex. Brooks, Overton, La. Brooks, Overton, La. Brown, Paul, Ga. Brown, Paul, Ga. Brown, Paul, Ga. Brownlil, Joel T., Va. Buchanan, Vera, Pa. Buckley, Charles A., N. Y. Budge, Hamer H., Idaho. Burdick, Usher L., N. Dak. Burniside, M. G., W. Va. Byrne, James A., Pa. Byrne, James A., Pa. Byrne, James A., Pa. Byrne, James A., Pa. Byrnes, John W., Wis. 1215 25th St. So., Arlington, Va.	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex	Hosmer, Craig, Calif
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calij	Hosmer, Craig, Calif. Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak Betry, Bytre, James A., Pa. Bytre, James A., Pa. Bytres, John W., Wis Bytre, James A., Pa. Bytres, John W., Wis Canfield, Gordon, N. J. Cannon, Clarence, Mo Cartige, Joseph L., Pa.	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif. Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich. Berry, E. Y., S. Dak. Betts, Jackson E., Ohio. Blatnik, John A., Minn. Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga. Boggs, Hale, La. Boland, Edward P., Mass. Bolling, Richard, Mo. Bolton, Frances P., Ohio. Bonner, Herbert C., N. C. The Dorchester Bosch, Albert H., N. Y. Bow, Frank T., Ohio. Bowler, James B., Ill. Broykin, Frank W., Ala. Brooks, Jack B., Tex. Brooks, Jack B., Tex. Brooks, Overton, La. Brooks, Overton, La. Brown, Paul, Ga. Buchanan, Vera, Pa. Buckley, Charles A., N. Y. Budge, Hamer H., Idaho. Burdick, Usher L., N. Dak. Burleson, Omar, Tex. 2737 Devonshire Pl. Burnside, M. G., W. Va. Byrne, James A., Pa. Byrne, James A., Pa. Byrne, James A., Pa. Byrne, James A., Pa. Byrnes, John W., Wis. 1215 25th St. So., Arlington, Va. Canfield, Gordon, N. J. Cannon, Clarence, Mo. Carrigg, Joseph L., Pa. Cederberg, Elford A., Mich.	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calif	Hosmer, Craig, Calif
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich. Berry, E. Y., S. Dak. Betts, Jackson E., Ohio. Blatnik, John A., Minn. Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga. Boggs, Hale, La. Boland, Edward P., Mass. Bolling, Richard, Mo. Bolton, Frances P., Ohio. Bonner, Herbert C., N. C. The Dorchester Bosch, Albert H., N. Y. Bow, Frank T., Ohio. Bowler, James B., Ill. Boykin, Frank W., Ala. Brooks, Jack B., Tez. Brooks, Jack B., Tez. Brooks, Overton, La. Brown, Clarence J., Ohio. Alban Towers Brown, Paul, Ga. Boston House Brownson, Charles B., Ind. Broyhill, Joel T., Va. Buchanan, Vera, Pa. Buckley, Charles A., N. Y. Budge, Hamer H., Idaho. Burdick, Usher L., N. Dak. Burleson, Omar, Tex. Byrne, James A., Pa. Byrne, James A., Pa. Byrnes, John W., Wis. Byrnes, John W., Wis. Canfield, Gordon, N. J. Cannon, Clarence, Mo. Carrigg, Joseph L., Pa. Cederberg, Elford A., Mich. Celler, Emanuel, N. Y. The Mayflower	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calij	Hosmer, Craig, Calif. Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak Betry, E. Y., S. Dak Betry, E. Y., S. Dak Betry, E. Y., S. Dak Bets, Jackson E., Ohio Blatnik, John A., Minn Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga Boggs, Hale, La Boland, Edward P., Mass Bolling, Richard, Mo Bolton, Frances P., Ohio Bonner, Herbert C., N. C. The Dorchester Bosch, Albert H., N. Y Bow, Frank T., Ohio Bonner, James B., Iil Boykin, Frank W., Ala Bowler, James B., Iil Bray, William G., Ind Brooks, Jack B., Tex Brooks, Jack B., Tex Brooks, Jack B., Tex Brown, Clarence J., Ohio Boston House Brownson, Charles B., Ind Broyhill, Joel T., Va Buchanan, Vera, Pa Buckley, Charles A., N. Y Budge, Hamer H., Idaho Burdick, Usher L., N. Dak Burleson, Omar, Tex Byrne, James A., Pa Byrd, Robert C., W. Va Byrne, James A., Pa Byrnes, John W., Wis Lilis 25th St. So, Arlington, Va. Canfield, Gordon, N. J Cannon, Clarence, Mo Carige, Joseph L., Pa Cederberg, Elford A., Mich Celler, Emanuel, N. Y The Mayflower Chase, Jackson B., Nebr	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calij	Hosmer, Craig, Calif
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich. Berry, E. Y., S. Dak. Betts, Jackson E., Ohio. Blatnik, John A., Minn. Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga. Boggs, Hale, La. Boland, Edward P., Mass. Bolling, Richard, Mo. Bolton, Frances P., Ohio. Bonner, Herbert C., N. C. The Dorchester Bosch, Albert H., N. Y. Bow, Frank T., Ohio. Bowler, James B., Ill. Boykin, Frank W., Ala. Brooks, Jack B., Tez. Brooks, Jack B., Tez. Brooks, Overton, La. Brown, Clarence J., Ohio. Alban Towers Brown, Paul, Ga. Boston House Brownson, Charles B., Ind. Broyhill, Joel T., Va. Buchanan, Vera, Pa. Buckley, Charles A., N. Y. Budge, Hamer H., Idaho. Burdick, Usher L., N. Dak. Burleson, Omar, Tex. Byrne, James A., Pa. Byrne, James A., Pa. Byrnes, John W., Wis. Byrnes, John W., Wis. Canfield, Gordon, N. J. Cannon, Clarence, Mo. Carrigg, Joseph L., Pa. Cederberg, Elford A., Mich. Celler, Emanuel, N. Y. The Mayflower	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex. Doyle, Clyde, Calij	Hosmer, Craig, Calif. Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo

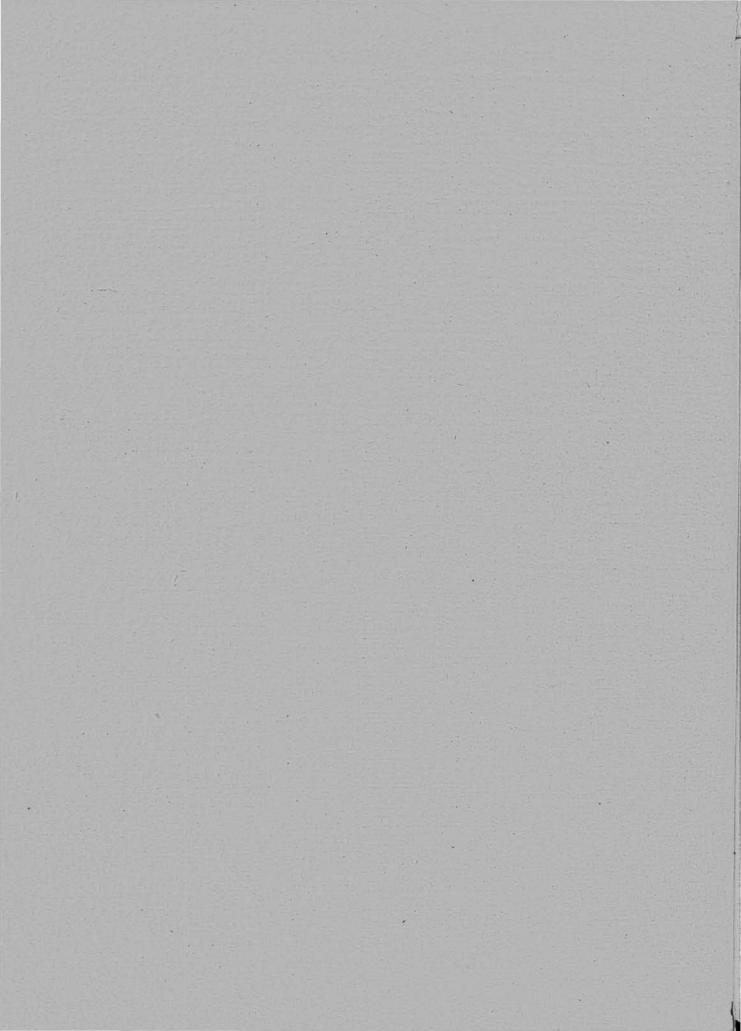
Lane, Thomas J., Mass	Pilcher, J. L., Ga Pillion, John R., N. Y Poage, W. R., Tex2309 Skyland	Tumulty, T. James, N. J.— Udall, Stewart L., Ariz.—— Utt, James B., Calif.———
Lankford, Richard E., Md Latham, Henry J. N. Y	Poff, Richard H., Va Polk, James G., Ohio	Vanik, Charles A., Ohio Van Pelt, William K., Wis Van Zandt, James E., PaThe Senate Courts
Lesinski, John, Jr., MichSheraton-Park Lipscomb Glenard P. Calif.	Powell, Adam C., Jr., N. Y Preston, Prince H., Jr., Ga Price, Melvin, Ill	Velde, Harold H., Ill4 Primrose St., Vinson, Carl, Ga4 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Lorg, George S., La Lovre, Harold O., S. Dak1605 Sherwood Road, Silver	Priest, J. Percy, TennThe Berkshire Prouty, Winston L., Vt	Vorys, John M., Ohio2032 Belmont Rd. Vurseil, Charles W., IllThe Congressional
Spring, Md. McCarthy, Eugene J., Minn_419 Raymond St.,	Quigley, James M., Pa Rabaut, Louis C., Mich Radwan, Edmund P., N. Y_	Wainwright, Stuyvesant, N. Y.
McConnell, Samuel K., Jr.,	Rains, Albert, Ala Ray, John H., N. Y Rayburn, Sam, Tex	Walter, Francis E., Pa Watts, John C., Ky Weaver, Phil, Nebr9408 Crosby Rd.,
McCormack, John W., Mass. The Washington McCulloch, Wm. M., Ohio. Westchester Apts. McDonough, G. L., Calif. McDowell, Harris B., Jr., Del.	Reece, B. Carroll, Tenn	Westland, Jack, Wash Wharton, J. Ernest, N. Y_ Whitten, Jamie L., Miss5804 Nebraska
McGregor, J. Harry, Ohio_The Westchester McIntire, Clifford G., Maine	Reed, Daniel A., N. Y The Woodner Rees, Edward H., Kans 1801 16th St. Reuss, Henry S., Wis 2750 32d St. Rhodes, George M., Pa 1809 Franklin	Wickersham, Victor, Okla_ Widnall, William B., N. J_ Wier, Roy W., Minn
McWillian, John L., S. C1201 S. Barton St., Arlington, Va. McVey, William E., Ill3130 Wisconsin	St. NE. Rhodes, John J., Ariz Richards, James P., S. C	Wigglesworth, R. B., Mass3257 N. St. Williams, Harrison, Jr., N. J.
Macdonal t, Torbert H.,	Riehlman, R. Walter, N. Y. 3210 Wis. Ave. Riley, John J., S. C Rivers, L. Mendel, S. C	Williams, John Bell, Miss_1001 26th Road S., Arlington, Va. Williams, William R., N. Y_1241 Pa. Ave. SE.
Machrowicz, Thaddeus M., 812 Park Ave.,	Roberts, Kenneth A., Ala_4545 Conn. Ave. Robeson, Edward J., Jr., Va_	Willis, Edwin E., La Wilson, Earl, Ind
Mack, Peter F., Jr., III Mack, Russell V., Wash Madden, Ray J., Ind3250 T St. SE.	Robsion, John M., Jr., Ky_1500 Delafield Pl. Rodino, Peter W., Jr., N. J_ Rogers, Byron G., Colo	Wilson, Robert C. (Bob), Calif. Winstead, Arthur, Miss
Mahon, George H., Tex.—Alban Towers Malliard William S. Calif	Rogers, Edith Nourse, Mass_The Shoreham Rogers, Paul G., Fla Rogers, Walter, Tex	Withrow, Gardner R., Wis_ Wolcott, Jesse P., Mich3707 Thornapple St., Chevy Chase
Martin, Jos. W., Jr., Mass The Hay-Adams Mason Nosh M III The Beronet	Rooney, John J., N. Y Roosevelt, James, Calif Rutherford, J. T., Tex	Wolverton, Charles A., N. J. 1836 HOB Wright, Jim, Tex
Fla. Meader George Mich 2260 Tennyson St	Sadlak, Antoni N., Conn St. George, Katharine, N.Y. Saylor, John P., Pa	Young, Clifton (Cliff), Nev_3202 So. Stafford St., Arlington, Va. Younger, J. Arthur, Calif_4545 Conn. Ave.
Merrow, Chester E., N. H.— Metcalf, Lee, Mont.————————————————————————————————————	Schenck, Paul F., Ohio3801 Conn. Ave., Apt. 307 Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower	Zablocki, Clement J., Wis_ Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE.
Miller, William E., N. Y 3708 Calvend	Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif. 4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr.,	Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii.
Lane, Kensing-	beerg brown, morney, br.,	
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave.	Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St.	RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St.
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio_ Mollohan, Robert H.,	Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III.—Shelley, John F., Calif	Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts.
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa420 Dexter St. Moss., James H., La420 Dexter St.	Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III.—Shelley, John F., Calif.—Sheppard, Harry R., Calif.—Short, Dewey, Mo.—Shuford, George A., N. C.—Sheraton-Park	Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio_ Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y Mum.	Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III. Shelley, John F., Calif. Sheppard, Harry R., Calif. Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky	Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark	Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III So., Arlington, Va. Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa., 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III 2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif	Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark	Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III So., Arlington, Va. Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa., 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III 2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss 204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va.	Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark	Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III So., Arlington, Va. Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa., 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Richard M., Pa., 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid., III 2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va 204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Sheraton-Park	Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Mills Wilbur D., Ark	Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa., 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid. III 2100 Mass. Ave. Simpson, Sid. III 2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss 204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., III Staggers, Harley O., W. Va. Steed, Tom, Okla	Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark	Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C., Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa., 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Richard M., Pa., 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid., Ill 2100 Mass, Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif 2100 Mass, Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Lawrence H., Wiss The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill Staggers, Harley O., W. Va	Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark	Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Short, Dewey, Mo Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa., 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid., III 2100 Mass. Ave. Simpson, Sid., III 2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Frank E., Miss Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., III Staggers, Harley O., W. Va. Steed, Tom, Okla Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Tagge, Charles M., Calif	Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark	Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill. Shelley, John F., Calif. Sheppard, Harry R., Calif. Short, Dewey, Mo. Shuford, George A., N. C. Sheraton-Park Sleminski, Alfred D., N. J. Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla. Siler, Eugene, Ky. Simpson, Richard M., Pa., 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Richard M., Pa., 2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif. Smith, Frank E., Miss. Smith, Frank E., Miss. Smith, Howard W., Va 204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans. Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill. Staggers, Harley O., W. Va. Steed, Tom, Okla. Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y. Talle, Henry O., Iowa Taylor, Dean P., N. Y. Teague, Charles M., Calif.	Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark	Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sleminski, Alfred D., N. J Siler, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa., 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid. Ill 2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va 204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla Sullvan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Clark W., Tex Sheraton-Park Thompson, Clark W., Tex Sheraton-Park Thompson, Clark W., Tex Sheraton-Park Thompson, Ruth, Mich Thompson, T. A., La	Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark	Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa., 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III 2100 Mass. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III 2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss 204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., III Staggers, Harley O., W. Va. Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Olin E., Tex 2901 34th St. Thompson, Clark W., Tex Sheraton-Park Thompson, Frank, Jr., N. J. Thompson, Ruth, Mich 726 So. Royal St.,	Fernós-Isern, A., P. R

REPRESENTATIVES WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON	5
OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building, Washington, D. C.	ŀ
[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated] Speaker, Sam Rayburn	-
Abbitt, Watkins M., Va	1
Abernethy, Thos. G., Miss_6278 29th St. Adair, E. Ross, Ind3971 Langley Ct.,	-
Addonizio, Hugh J., N. J	6
Albert, Carl, Okla	0
Alger, Bruce, Tex	5
Allen, John J., Jr., Calif	0
Andrews, George W., Ala3108 Cathedral	(
Anfuso, Victor L., N. YArends, Leslie C., Ill4815 Dexter St.	0
Arends, Leslie C., Ill4815 Dexter St. Ashley, Thomas L., Ohio	1
Ashley, Thomas L., Ohio Ashmore, Robert T., S. C Aspinall, Wayne N., ColoArlington Towers,	I
Arlington Va.	
Alexandria, Va.	I
	I
Bailey, Cleveland M., W. Va_	I
Baldwin, John F., Jr., Calif.	I
Barden, Graham A., N. C. 2737 Devonshire Pl.	I
Barrett, William A., Pa	I
Bass, Ross, Tenn	I
Baumhart, A. D., Jr., Ohio_	1
Ave. NE.	I
Recker Frank J N V 1727 Mass Ave	I
Belcher, Page, Okla Bell, John J., Tex Bennett, Charles E., Fla1530 38th St. SE.	I
Bennett, Charles E., Fia 1330 38th St. St. St. Bennett, John B., Mich 7304 Bradley Blvd. Bethesda, Md.	I
Bertley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak2720 Terrace	I
Road SE. Betts, Jackson E., Ohio	I
Blatnik, John A., Minn	I
Bitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga_Boggs, Hale, La_Boland, Edward P., Mass	I
Bolling, Richard, Mo	H
Bolton, Frances P., Ohio2301 Wyo. Ave.	HH
Bonner, Herbert C., N. C The Dorchester	
Bow, Frank T., Ohio4301 Mass. Ave.	I
	1
Bray, William G., Ind	H
	I
Brown, Clarence J., Ohio_Alban Towers	1
Brown, Clarence J., Ohio_Alban Towers Brown, Paul, GaBoston House Brownson, Charles B., Ind_	ITITI
Broyhill, Joel T., Va Buchanan, Vera, Pa	1
	1
Burdick, Usher L., N. Dak	1
Burleson, Omar, Tex2737 Devonshire Burnside, M. G. W. Va.	1
Bush, Alvin R., Pa	
Bush, Alvin R., Pa Byrd, Robert C., W. Va Byrne, James A., Pa	1
Byrnes, John W., Wis1215 25th St. So., Arlington, Va.	HHHH
Canfield, Gordon, N. J	
Cannon, Clarence, Mo The Washington	1
Carrigg, Joseph I. Pa	0
Cederberg, Elford A., Mich. Celler, Emanuel, N. Y The Mayflower Chase, Jackson B., Nebr	0000000
Chase, Jackson B., Nebras	-
Chelf, Frank, Ky	4
Chenoweth, J. Edgar, Colo_	1

	COLICIONOLOLINA LIECULE	
	Chiperfield, Robert B., III1713 House Office Building	
	Christopher, George H.,	
	Chudoff, Earl. Pa Church, Marguerite Stitt, 2122 Mass. Ave. Ill.	
	Clark, Frank M., Pa	
	Clark, Frank M., PaThe Jefferson Clevenger, Cliff, OhioThe Jefferson Cole, W. Sterling, N. Y1610 44th St. Colmer, William M., MissCooley, Harold D., N. CThe Dorchester	į
	Cooley, Harold D., N. CThe Dorchester	
	Cooper, Jere, TennThe Washington Corbett, Robert J., Pa	
	Corbett, Robert J., Pa Coudert, F. R., Jr., N. Y Cramer, William C., Fla4454 Tindall St. Cretella, Albert W., Conn	į
	Crumpacker, Shepard J., Jr. Ind.	
	Cunningham, Paul, Iowa Curtis, Laurence, Mass314 O St. Curtis, Thomas B., Mo	
	Dague, Paul B., Pa	
	Davidson, Irwin D., N. Y Davis, Clifford, Tenn4611 Butter-	
	Davis, Glenn R., Wis2550 South Joyce,	į
	Ariington, Va.	
	Davis, James C., Ga Dawson, William A., Utah Dawson, William L., Ill Deane, Charles B., N. C Delaney, James J., N. Y	
	Deane, Charles B., N. C Delaney, James J., N. Y	į
	Dempsey, John J., N. Mex2500 Q St. Denton, Winfield K., Ind	į
	Derounian, Steven B., N. Y. Devereux, James P. S., Md.	į
	Dies, Martin, Tex	į
	Dingell, John D., Mich	ļ
	Dixon, Henry Aldous, Utah_ Dodd, Thomas J., Conn	
	Dollinger, Isidore, N. Y Dolliver, James I., Iowa3752 Jocelyn St.	į
2	Donohue, Harold D., Mass_Donovan, James G., N. Y Dorn, Francis E., N. Y	
	Down, W. J. Bryan, S. C Down John Tex	į
	Doyle, Clyde, Calif3877 30th St. N., Arlington, Va. Durham, Carl T., N. CThe Lee House	
	Eberharter, Herman P., Pa. 3101 4th St. N., Arlington, Va.	
	Edmondson, Ed, Okla	į
	Ellsworth, Harris, Oreg4301 Mass. Ave. Engle, Clair, Calif3840 Lorcom Lane	
	Arlington, Va. Evins, Joe L., Tenn5044 Klingle St.	
	Fallon, George H., Md	
	Fascell, Dante B., Fla Feighan, Michael A., Ohio_	
	Fenton, Ivor D., Pa3725 Macomb St. Fernandez, A. M., N. Mex_200 C St. SE.	į
	Feighan, Michael A., Ohio- Fenton, Ivor D., Pa	
	Fisher, O. C., TexCalvert-Woodley Fjare, Orvin B., Mont Flood, Daniel J., PaThe Congressional	
	Flood, Daniel J., PaThe Congressional	į
	Flynt, John J., Jr., Ga Fogarty, John E., R. I3627 Chesapeake St.	
	Forand, Aime J., R. I. 4108 Dresden St., Kensington, Md.	2
	Ford, Gerald R., Jr., Mich1521 Mount Eagle Pl., Alexandria, Va.	
	Forrester, E. L., Ga	ø
	Forrester, E. L., Ga	
	N. J. Friedel, Samuel N., Md Fulton, James G., Pa	The second
	Gamble, Ralph A., N. Y	
	Garmatz, Edward A., Md Gary, J. Vaughan, Va	
	Gathings, E. C., Ark6377 31st Pl. Gavin, Leon H., Pa	
	George, Myron V., Kans3801 Rodman St.	
	Gordon, Thomas S., Ill	

Granahan, William T., Pa Grant, George M., Ala4801 Conn. Ave. Gray, Kenneth J., Ill Green, Edith, Orgg Green, William J., Jr., Pa
Gregory, Noble J., Ky
Gwinn, Ralph W., N. Y Hagen, Harlan, Calif
Hale, Robert, Maine2722 N St. Haley, James A., Fla Halleck, Charles A., Ind 4926 Upton St.
Hagen, Harlan, Calif
an anne Court a cea
Harrison, Robert D., Nebr Harvey, Ralph, Ind110 Maryland Ave. NE.
Ave. NE. Hays, Brooks, Ark314 2d St. SE, Hays, Wayne L., OhioThe Woodner Hayworth, Don, Mich Hébert, F. Edward, La104 Cockrell St.,
Alexandria, Va. Henderson, John E., Ohio_125 Marthas Rd., Alexandria, Va.
Herlong, A. S., Jr., Fla Heselton, John W., Mass
Hess, William E., Ohio Hiestand, Edgar W., Calif Hill, William S., Colo110 Maryland
Ave. NE. Hillings, Patrick J., Calif
Hoeven, Charles B., Iowa 2108 Suitland
Hoffman, Clare E., MichMethodist Bldg. Hoffman, Richard W., Ill Holifield, Chet, Calif
Holmes, Hal, Wash Holt, Joe, Calif
Holtzman, Lester, N. Y Hope, Clifford R., Kans3541 Brandywine St.
Horan, Walt, Wash
Huddleston, George, Jr.,
Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Ikard, Frank, Tex
Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Ikard, Frank, Tex Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. Sk.
Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Ikard, Frank, Tex Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. Sk. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio_The Mayflower
Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. SE. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio_The Mayflower Jensen, Ben F., IowaThe Washington House Johansen, August E., Mich.
Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. Sk. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio_The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat, Va Jensen, Ben F., IowaThe Washington House Johansen, August E., Mich. Johnson, Leroy, Calif630 North Carolina Ave. SE.
Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. St. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio_The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat, Va Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washing- ton House Johansen, August E., Mich_ Johnson, Leroy, Calif630 North Caro- lina Ave. SE. Johnson, Lester R., Wis215 Constitution Ave. NE.
Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. Sk. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio_The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat, Va Jensen, Ben F., IowaThe Washing- ton House Johnson, Leroy, Calif630 North Caro- lina Ave. SE. Johnson, Lester R., Wis215 Constitution Ave. NE. Jonas, Charles Raper, N. C. Jones, Paul C., Mo3613 Greenway Pl., Alexandria, Va.
Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. SE. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio_The Mayflower Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washington House Johansen, August E., Mich Johnson, Leroy, Calif630 North Carolina Ave. SE. Johnson, Lester R., Wis215 Constitution Ave. NE. Jonas, Charles Raper, N. C. Jones, Paul C., Mo3613 Greenway Pl., Alexandria, Va. Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala Jones, Woodrow W., N. C Judd, Walter H., Minn3083 Ordway St.
Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. Sk. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio_ The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat, Va Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washington House Johnson, Leroy, Calif 630 North Carolina Ave. SE. Johnson, Lester R., Wis 215 Constitution Ave. NE. Jones, Charles Raper, N. C. Jones, Paul C., Mo 3613 Greenway Pl., Alexandria, Va. Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala Jones, Woodrow W., N. C Judd, Walter H., Minn 3083 Ordway St. Karsten, Frank M., Mo Kean, Robert W., N. J 2435 Kalorama Road
Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. SE. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio_ The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat, Va Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washington House Johansen, August E., Mich_ Johnson, Leroy, Calif 630 North Carolina Ave. SE. Johnson, Lester R., Wis 215 Constitution Ave. NE. Jonas, Charles Raper, N. C. Jones, Paul C., Mo 3613 Greenway Pl., Alexandria, Va. Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala Jones, Woodrow W., N. C Judd, Walter H., Minn 3083 Ordway St. Karsten, Frank M., Mo Kean, Robert W., N. J 2435 Kalorama Road Kearney, B. W. (Pat), N. Y. Kearns, Carroll D., Pa Sheraton-Park Keating, Kenneth B., N. Y. 1249 31st St. Kee, Elizabeth, W. Va
Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo
Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. Sk. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat, Va Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washington House Johansen, August E., Mich Johnson, Leroy, Calif 630 North Carolina Ave. SE. Johnson, Lester R., Wis 215 Constitution Ave. NE. Jonas, Charles Raper, N. C Jones, Paul C., Mo 3613 Greenway Pl., Alexandria, Va. Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala Jones, Woodrow W., N. C Judd, Walter H., Minn 3083 Ordway St. Karsten, Frank M., Mo Kean, Robert W., N. J 2435 Kalorama Road Kearney, B. W. (Pat), N. Y. Kearns, Carroll D., Pa 256raton-Park Keating, Kenneth B., N. Y. 1249 31st St. Kee, Elizabeth, W. Va Kelly, Edna F., N. Y Kelly, Edna F., N. Y Keogh, Eugene J., N. Y The Mayflower Kilday, Paul J., Tex 3507 Albemarles King, Karl C., Pa King, Cecil R., Calif King, Karl C., Pa
Huddeston, George, Jr., Ala. Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo
Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. Sk. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat, Va Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washington House Johansen, August E., Mich Johnson, Leroy, Calif 630 North Carolina Ave. SE. Johnson, Lester R., Wis 215 Constitution Ave. NE. Jonas, Charles Raper, N. C Jones, Paul C., Mo 3613 Greenway Pl., Alexandria, Va. Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala Jones, Woodrow W., N. C Judd, Walter H., Minn 3083 Ordway St. Karsten, Frank M., Mo Kean, Robert W., N. J 2435 Kalorama Road Kearney, B. W. (Pat), N. Y. Kearns, Carroll D., Pa 256raton-Park Keating, Kenneth B., N. Y. 1249 31st St. Kee, Elizabeth, W. Va Kelly, Edna F., N. Y Kelly, Edna F., N. Y Keogh, Eugene J., N. Y The Mayflower Kilday, Paul J., Tex 3507 Albemarles King, Karl C., Pa King, Cecil R., Calif King, Karl C., Pa

	COLIGINATION AND ALL COLIN	
Laird, Melvin R., Wis	Pilcher, J. L., Ga	Tumulty, T. James, N. J
	Pillion John R. N. Y	Udall, Stewart L., Ariz
	Poage, W. R., Tex2309 Skyland	Utt, James B., Calif
	Pl. SE.	Vanik, Charles A., Ohio
Lankford, Richard E., Md Latham, Henry J., N. Y	Poff, Richard H., Va Polk, James G., Ohio	Van Pelt, William K., Wis
	Powell, Adam C., Jr., N. Y	Van Zandt, James E., PaThe Senate Courts Velde, Harold H., Ill
	Preston, Prince H., Jr., Ga.	Vinson, Carl, Ga4 Primrose St.,
	Price, Melvin, Ill	Chevy Chase Md
	Priest, J. Percy, TennThe Berkshire	Vorys, John M., Ohio2032 Belmont Rd.
, marold O., S. Dun1005 Shel wood	Prouty, Winston L., Vt	Vursell, Charles W., Itt The Congres-
Road, Silver Spring, Md.	Quigley, James M., Pa	sional
Morale Spring, and	Rabaut, Louis C., Mich	Wainwright, Stuyvesant,
McCarthy, Eugene J., Minn_419 Raymond St.,	Radwan, Edmund P., N. Y.	N. Y.
McConnell, Samuel K., Jr.,	Rains, Albert, Ala	Walter, Francis E., Pa Watts, John C., Ky
	Rayburn, Sam, Tex	Weaver, Phil, Nebr9408 Crosby Rd.,
McCormack, John W., Mass_The Washington	Reece, B. Carroll, Tenn	Silver Spring, Md.
	Reed, Chauncey W., Ill2009 Glen Ross	Westland, Jack, Wash
McDonough, G. L., Calif McDowell, Harris B., Jr.,	Rd., Silver Spring,	Wharton, J. Ernest, N. Y.
	Md. Reed, Daniel A., N. YThe Woodner	Whitten, Jamie L., Miss5804 Nebraska Ave.
AlcGregor T Harry Ohio The Westchester	Rees, Edward H., Kans 1801 16th St.	Wickersham, Victor, Okla
	Reuss, Henry S., Wis2750 32d St.	Widnall, William B., N. J
	Rhodes, George M., Pa1809 Franklin	Wier, Roy W., Minn
McMillan, John L., S. C 1201 S. Barton St.,	St. NE.	Wigglesworth, R. B., Mass_3257 N. St.
McVey, William E., Ill3130 Wisconsin	Rhodes, John J., Ariz Richards, James P., S. C	Williams, Harrison, Jr., N. J.
Ave.	Richlman, R. Walter, N. Y_3210 Wis. Ave.	Williams, John Bell, Miss1001 26th Road S.,
	Riley, John J., S. C	Arlington, Va.
Macdonald, Torbert H.,	Rivers, L. Mendel, S. C	Williams, William R., N. Y_1241 Pa. Ave. SE.
"Alachrowicz, Thaddeus M., 812 Park Ave.,	Roberts, Kenneth A., Ala_4545 Conn. Ave.	Willis, Edwin E., La
Mich. Falls Church, Va.	Robeson, Edward J., Jr., Va_	Wilson, Earl, Ind
Alack Dates B 7- 777	Robsion, John M., Jr., Ky_1500 Delafield Pl. Rodino, Peter W., Jr., N. J_	Wilson, Robert C. (Bob), Calif.
Mack, Russell V., Wash	Rogers, Byron G., Colo	Winstead, Arthur, Miss
Magnuson Flor Wash	Rogers, Edith Nourse, Mass_The Shoreham	Withrow, Gardner R., Wis-
Mahon, George H., TexAlban Towers	Rogers, Paul G., Fla	Wolcott, Jesse P., Mich 3707 Thornapple
Mailliard, William S., Calif_	Rogers, Walter, Tex	St., Chevy Chase
	Rooney, John J., N. Y Roosevelt, James, Calif	Wolverton, Charles A., N. J_1336 HOB Wright, Jim, Tex
Martin, Jos. W., Jr., Mass_ The Hay-Adams	Rutherford, J. T., Tex	
Mason, Noah M., IllThe Baronet Matthews, D. R. (Billy),	Sadlak, Antoni N., Conn	Yates, Sidney R., Ill Young, Clifton (Cliff), Nev. 3202 So. Stafford
Fla.	St. George, Katharine, N.Y.	St., Arlington, Va.
Aleadow Commo Mich noco monomon Ch	Saylor, John P., Pa	Younger, J. Arthur, Calif_4545 Conn. Ave.
Merrow, Chester E., N. H	Schenck, Paul F., Ohio3801 Conn. Ave.,	Zablocki, Clement J., Wis
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Apt. 307	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y
MALITON A W NO N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N	Scherer Cordon H Ohio The Moufformer	Eleterate, area ber o, at a amount
A. L. IVEUT ZOUT EAST- WEST	Scherer, Gordon H., OhioThe Mayflower Schwengel Fred Jova	
Highway, Chevy	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa	DELEGATES
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral	
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave.	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE.
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave.	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska.
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr.,	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn.	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave.	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif_4545 Conn. Ave. Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634_B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va.	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St.
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio.	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScott, Hugh, Pa2331 Cathedral Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif_4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va.	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScott, Hugh, Pa2331 Cathedral Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawati. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morgan, Thomas E., Pa	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634_B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., IIIShelley, John F., CalifShort, Dewey, Mo	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FERNÓS-ISERN, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohto. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morgan, James H., La 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634_B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III_ Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morgan, Thomas H., La 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Mulder, Morgan M., Mo Mulder, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa The Coronet	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohto. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morgan, Thomas H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Mulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Murray, James C., Ill	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa_4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawati. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohto. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morgan, Thomas H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Mulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Murray, James C., Ill	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminskt, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa_4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom, Tenn. Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III. Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Slier, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass, Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Foward W., Va204 W. Walnut St.	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawati. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morgan, Thomas H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Mulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Murma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill Natcher, William H., Ky 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda,	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa_4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va.	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Mortison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Mulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom, Tenn. Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Mc. Nelson, Charles P., Maine.	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., IIIShelley, John F., CalifShort, Dewey, MoShuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. JSikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, KySimpson, Richard M., Pa_4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass, Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint. Kans	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morano, Albert P., Conn Morano, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Multer, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Murray, James C., Ill Murray, James C., Ill Murray, Tom, Tenn Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Northolson, D. W., Mass	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., IIIShelley, John F., CalifShort, Dewey, MoShuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. JSikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, KySimpson, Richard M., Pa_4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass, Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint. Kans	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawati. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shepard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminskt, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va204 W., Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morson, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom, Tenn. Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Nicholson, D. W., Mass. Norblad, Walter, Oreg	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III. Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminskt, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass, Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Ioward W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., WisThe Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, KySheraton-Park Springer, William L., III Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Staggers, Harley O., W. Va	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawati. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Mulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom, Tenn. Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Bivd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Nortell, W. F., Ark. 2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y.	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., IIIShelley, John F., CalifShort, Dewey, MoShuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, KySimpson, Richard M., Pa_4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Richard M., Pa_4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morano, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom, Tenn. Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. O'Brien, Thomas J., Ill. The Hamilton	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky_ Simpson, Richard M., Pa_4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Muller, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom, Tenn. Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norrell, W. F., Ark. 2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. O'Brien, Thomas J., Ill. The Hamilton O'Hara, Joseph P., Minn. 2813 31st St. O'R. A., Joseph P., Minn. 2813 31st St. O'R. A., Joseph P., Minn. 2813 31st St.	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave, Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminskt, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa_4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplaln—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. Official Reporters of Debate SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane. Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinclotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St.
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans 2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa Siler, Eugene, Ky Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va Sheraton-Park Sheraton-Park Sheraton-Park Sheraton-Park Sheraton-Park Sheraton-Park Sheraton-Park Sheraton-Park Sheraton-Park Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634_B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminskt, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa_4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Richard M., Pa_454	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawati. Resident Commissioner Fernös-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Mortison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom, Tenn Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark. 2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Loy, Minn 2813 31st St. O'Konski, Alvin E., Wis 4201 Mass. Ave. Mass.	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III. Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminskt, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa_4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Lawrence H., Wis204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., WisSheraton-Park Springer, William L., III Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Clarles M., Calif Teague, Olin E., Tex6015 Mass. Ave.	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans 2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif Scoly-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Siler, Eugene, Ky Siler, Eugene, Ky Siler, Eugene, Ky Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa 2100 Mass. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill 2100 Mass. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va 204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Clin E., Tex 6015 Mass. Ave. Thomas, Albert, Tex	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawati. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., IIIShelley, John F., CalifShort, Dewey, MoShuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminskt, Alfred D., N. JSikes, Robert L. F., FlaSlier, Eugene, KySimpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., CalifSmith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., III Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Tague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Olin E., Tex6015 Mass. Ave, Thomas, Albert, Tex2901 34th St. Thompson, Clark W., TexSheraton-Park	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawati. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morgan, Thomas H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom, Tenn. Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. OBrien, Leo W., N. Y. OBrien, Leo W., N. Y. OBrien, Thomas J., Ill. The Hamilton OHara, Buratt, Ill. The Congressional O'Konski, Alvin E., Wis. 2201 Mass. Ave. O'Keill, Thomas P., Jr., Osners, Frank C., Jr., N. J. Ostertag, Harold C., N. Y. 100 Maryland Passman, Otto F. La.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans 2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif 4545 Conn. Ave. Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawati. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans 2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif 4545 Conn. Ave. Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminskt, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Richard M., Pa 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid. Ill	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawati. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morano, Albert P., Conn Morano, Albert P., Conn Morson, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill Murray, Tom, Tenn Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark. 2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Louin H., Ill The Hamilton O'Hara, Burratt, Ill The Congressional O'Hara, Joseph P., Minn 2813 31st St. O'Konski, Alvin E., Wis 4201 Mass. Ave. Nell, Thomas P., Jr., Osners, Frank C., Jr., N. J. Osners, Frank C., Jr., N. J. Osners, Harold C., N. Y 100 Maryland Pasman, Otto E., La. Patterson, James T. (Cons.) Patterson, James T. (Cons.)	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, Pa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans 2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Silen, Eugene, Ky Siler, Eugene, Ky Siler, Eugene, Ky Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa 2100 Mass. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill 2100 Mass. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va 204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Clin E., Tex	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohto- Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom, Tenn. Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norrell, W. F., Ark. 2301 Conn. Ave. OBrien, Leo W., N. Y.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans 2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif 4545 Conn. Ave. Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Slier, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Richard M., Pa 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid. Ill	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohto Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. 4420 Dexter St. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. 4420 Dexter St. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill. 1000 Multer, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. 1000 Nelson, D. W., Mass. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norell, W. F., Ark. 2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. 100 Maryland O'Ronski, Alvin E., Wis. 4201 Mass. Ave. Nelli, Thomas P., Jr., Osners, Frank C., Jr., N. J. Ostertag, Harold C., N. Y. 100 Maryland Passman, Otto E., La. Patterson, James T., Conn. Perkins, Carl D., Ky. Phys., Gracte Mess. 117 Carroll St. SE. Perkins, Carl D., Ky. Phys., Gracte Mess. 119	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans 2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Silen, Eugene, Ky Siler, Eugene, Ky Siler, Eugene, Ky Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa 2100 Mass. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill 2100 Mass. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va 204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Clin E., Tex	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark. 2701 Conn. Ave. Mills, William E., Ohto Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom, Tenn. Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Nicholson, D. W., Mass. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norrell, W. F., Ark. 2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. O'Brien, Joseph P., Minn. 2813 31st St. O'Konski, Alvin E., Wis. 4201 Mass. Ave. Nell, Thomas P., Jr., O'Stertag, Harold C., N. Y. 100 Maryland Passman, Otto E., La. Patterson, James T., Conn. Park, Thomas M. Webb. Park, Thomas M. Webb.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans 2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif 4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Sheelley, John F., Calif Sheraton-Park Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R



Appendix

Preparations for Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address delivered by Robert B. Anderson, Deputy Secretary of Defense, in Oklahoma City, Okla., on the occasion of the 50th or golden anniversary of the Oklahoma City Rotary Club. It is an address that is worthy of careful attention, since it spells out our defense needs and our policy for keeping America in readiness to combat Communist aggression.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

I am happy and, indeed, proud to be with you as you celebrate Rotary International's golden anniversary. You have a great deal to celebrate. In 50 years you have grown from meager beginnings to a membership of 402,000 in 8.500 clubs the world over. You count some of the most illustrious persons now living among your number—kings and statesmen, scientists and industrialists, artists and explorers, bankers and educators, agriculturalists and oilmen, our neighbor, and the man across town.

Your presence in 89 countries throughout the world is a living testament to the unity of the human brotherhood and the essential alikeness of human beings everywhere. high standard of ethics which is traditional With Rotary and Rotarians is a shining example of what can be done when men are Serious about extending their religious principles into their business affairs. You have done a great deal to make the world a better place to live in these past 50 years and you may look forward during the next half century to the opportunity of doing a great deal more, for the world needs Rotary and what it represents—the gentle civilizing action of moral goodness at the level of busihess and politics and the continuing demonstration that there are everywhere forces which tend to draw men together, uniting them in brotherhood and fellowship regardless of language or color or nation or creed. So I say to you, in the fullness of my heart, Congratulations on 50 wonderful years of progress and achievement. May you prosper and grow in the service of our country and of all mankind."

The span of your 50 years has covered one of the most momentous periods in human history. It has been a period which recorded some of the most profound changes in our world, and in America's position in it. It is no longer the comfortable secure old world of the century's dawning—the gay splendid world of the Edwardians, the confident world of Edison and Carnegie, of Theodore Roosevelt and the elder Morgan. It is a more mature world, and we may hope, a wiser one. In many ways it is a better world

But most importantly to Americans, it is a world in which our Nation has succeeded to a central role in international affairs. We are affected, closely or remotely, by almost every significant event which occurs anywhere in the earth. The "annihilation of distance" as Toynbee expresses it, has sharply narrowed the wide spaces which once separated us from the rest of the world. The monopoly of power once held by Western Europe has been destroyed, and with it many of the relationships which meant political stability to the world's people.

A billion people have been added to the earth in the past 50 years, and perhaps twice that number may be added in the next 50. An advanced technology, available both to the evil and to the good, makes it very nearly possible for man to destroy the culture which he has so laboriously extracted from 15,000 years of experience. And through all these massive changes and upheavals in human affairs there runs the sinister counterpoint of the Communist philosophy and program—a missionary secular doctrine, dedicated to our destruction.

As a result, we in America find ourselves intimately concerned not merely with the physical and military defense of our territory, but also with the defense of the political, economic, and social institutions which are the very stuff of our democracy. The menace is about as near to being total as we have ever seen. It is physical, it is moral. It is military, political, economic, and psychological. It is external and it is internal. It is immediate, and it is continuous.

The dilemma of our times lies in the fact that in order to preserve the essential elements of our society, we must stand ready to meet a military threat, and we must do it in a way which will assure the survival of the values we have moved to defend. It is small consolation to us if our military efforts are so great as to bring down upon us some odious form or police state; yet unless our military preparations are reasonably adequate, nothing else we do may count for anything.

Militarily, we must maintain a capability for several kinds of separate, but related action. We must maintain a powerful retaliatory force, primarily to prevent the outbreak of war, but capable of overwhelming an enemy should he strike. We must have an effective continental defense system.

We must have flexible, mobile ground, sea, and air forces which can be used in a variety of situations and a variety of places in potential trouble spots in many parts of the world while free people are endangered by Communist aggression. We must maintain a powerful Reserve and an adequate production base capable of being mobilized rapidly to whatever degree may be required by the circumstances of any future emergency.

In the nature of the case we have to maintain these capabilities without the advantage of knowing precisely when, how, or in what measure they may be required, if at all. The time, place, and circumstances of physical aggression are largely matters of choice for the aggressor, not the peaceable nation. Since we are thus limited, it means that we must undertake the discharge of our responsibilities for defense within certain limits of what it is possible for our Nation to sustain on a continuing basis—politically, economically, and above all morally.

We cannot expect to run the mile as if it were a hundred-yard dash. What we are capable of devoting to our military effort on a sustaining basis is bound to be measurably less than what we might be capable of putting worth over a very few years of allout effort as the price of immediate physical survival. No nation, not even a dictatorship, can afford to keep itself fully mobilized all the time.

What we are undertaking is a state of partial mobilization, adequate to give a reasonable assurance against the outbreak of both total and limited war, sufficiently advanced to enable us to proceed quickly to whatever mobilization level is justified by the nature of the hostilities we may fall to prevent, and which in the long run will prove tolerable to the institutions of our democratic society.

The nature of this responsibility for our defense is so pervasive and appears in prospect of such long duration, that it must be accepted by all of us as an elementary fact of our contemporary national life. It is an enterprise in which all of us have a part, and in which all bear a certain responsibility.

The processes of war and national defense have ceased to be the concern solely of the small coterle which use to make and prosecute foreign policy—the sovereigns, their diplomats, and their small professional Armed Forces. The past 150 years have witnessed an ever-growing preoccupation with the military means of war to the extent that in times of active hostilities there is scarcely a facet of national life that is not in some way affected. Even now, in a period of nominal peace, 13 percent of our gross national product and 7 percent of our labor force are allocated directly to purposes of national security.

Within the past 5 years we have authorized the expenditure of over \$220 billions by the Department of Defense—more than the total expenditures of our Federal Government from the beginning of our Républic until 1943. Last year the Armed Forces consumed 500 million pounds of beef, 250 million pounds of flour, and purchased \$1 billion in petroleum products. Throughout the length and breadth of America, our farms, ranches, mines, oil fields, forests, factories, and mills poured out their products in an enormous stream to build the strength we must have if we are to live unmolested in a troubled world.

The roots of our military might are thus deeply imbedded in our national life, and because this is so, we cannot limit our concern with things military merely to the end results of the productive process.

We are concerned that there be adequate funds available for national defense; yet we are also concerned with the long-term effect of heavy taxation and expenditures upon your capacity to undertake new business ventures, your ability to replace and expand your capital assets, the ultimate value of your pension plans and life-insurance benefits, the soundness and solvency of your banks and savings companies.

We want to have powerful and effective standing forces; supplemented by trained and readily available reserves; yet we cannot ignore their profound implications for the lives of your sons and daughters, brothers and sisters. We need great quantities of weapons and equipment, constantly to be replaced by newer and more effective models. Yet every substantial change of pace in our procurement programs means the hiring and firing of men, the opening and closing of plants, the quickening or slackening of business in the affected commu-These are but a few, but they are typical of the manifold considerations which are constantly before those who bear responsibility for the direction of our defense effort.

Thus it is that we endeavor to avoid a policy of feast or famine in the development of military strength and seek instead a more nearly stabilized problem of ever-increasing strength that we can and will

maintain for an unknowable period of time.

Let me assure you that the decisions which are made, and the programs which are adopted to acarry out those decisions, reflect the full consideration of all these factors by some of the wisest and most dedicated people I know, military and civilian. And in all America, there is no man whose experience in these matters is greater, whose judgment is sounder, whose solicitude for the people's welfare is more abiding, than magnificent soldier-statesman-patriot whose leadership it is our great good fortune to enjoy in these uncertain days-Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Of great importance is the endless march of technology which renders obsolescent the best weapons of a few years before. It is this fact, more than any other, which warns us against procurement programs which overcommit us to the weapons of a par-

ticular vintage.

The desperate race for weapons superiority goes on, and sometimes the issue of victory or defeat is decided by the narrowest of margins. One may well speculate upon what our own fortunes in the European theater might have been had the Germans gotten their V-weapons into action 6 months earlier than they did, or had they gotten the Focke-Wulfe jet fighter operationally inte-grated into the Luftwaffe before our air offensive smothered it by sheer weight of bombs and numbers, or had the snorkel submarine made its appearance in 1943 instead of 1945.

No one need be reminded of the implication of these events for our own day. appalling consequences of losing the technological race in even a single major weapons system cannot be overestimated, and they argue insistently for the closest kind of attention, not alone of a comparatively few scientists, engineers, factory executives, and military officers, but by all of us.

For it is out of our great commonwealth of skills, knowledge, and understanding in our school, colleges, libraries, laboratories, and factories that all specific applications must be drawn. All of us have a stake in the vitality of that fund. All of us have a responsibility for increasing it, widening its scope, making it more readily accessible to those who would draw upon it and contribute to it. Our success, both in the arts of peace and the arts of war, will be directly proportional to the success with which we are able, through the educational system and process, to provide the most intimate and productive association between this fund of knowledge and those who seek it.

Another area of responsibility in which many of our people are involved directly, is

that of military service.

The President and many others of our leaders have stressed the urgent necessity of having a program which would produce a large, well-trained, readily available reserve. Such a program should try to achieve at least five things.

First, since both the active and the reserve forces have their roots in the common ground of the Nation's manpower pool, any Reserve plan must provide sufficient manpower to staff the active forces.

Second, there was the requirement that we build a reserve force that will be effective if and when mobilized.

Third, we should maintain reasonable stability in such matters as induction age levels so as to minimize the difficulties of our young men in planning their lives and their service obligations.

Fourth, we should provide a pool of militarily eligible men so that the program would operate efficiently.

Fifth, we should in some way insure a reasonable equity of service in the defense

of our country.

The national Reserve plan presently before the Congress obtains, in my judgment, an effective reconciliation of these factors. It is designed to be practicable, flexible, and equitable, and will provide over the next few years a trained, vital, Ready Reserve of almost 3 million men, and a Standby Reserve of 2 million more. Because as a democracy we depend heavily on citizen soldiers, it is essential that we have an awareness and understanding of the importance of this program to our Nation and particularly to those young men whose lives are so vitally con-

This is true of every other aspect of our national defense effort. There is an insistent need for each of us to develop a con-tinuing awareness of his own position in the world, to see how his problems and efforts relate to those of his neighbors, his city, his State, and his Nation. We need to perceive the implications for each of us in the general truth that we can best defend our country by the maximum development of our individual capabilities for useful, productive work.

The engineer, the mechanic, the farmer the shopkeeper, the lawyer, the teacher—all those who contribute to the success of this marvelous organism called the United States, are each in their own way, helping to advance the cause of freedom in the world. It is of critical importance that each brings to his task the very best of his heart, mind, and hand.

And here, it seems to me, we are getting back to Rotary's motto of "service above self," and to the abiding truth that a free community must be built upon something more substantial than the self-love of its citizens. For the very practical meaning of service above self lies in the fact as each individual voluntarily gives up a portion of his time, his substance, his rights and privileges to his fellow men, the happiness and well-being of all, including his own, are increased thereby.

The key lies in the word "voluntarily."

Any form of community life requires a certain amount of order; and to the extent that order is not achieved voluntarily by the self-discipline of its members it will be achieved by the enforced discipline of a central authority. In a responsible free society, there is a minimum of central authority. which means a maximum latitude for the natural creativeness of its individuals to assert itself in making productive and useful things.

Thus in our free society there are these strong motivations of competition, the natural desire to excel, the sense of satisfaction in a job well done, the joy of discovery and creation and constructive effort. In the economic field this has produced a situation in America in which the natural ambitions of people tend to create surpluses, and our problem is how better to utilize and distribute what we have so bountifully produced.

Where the stifling influence of a powerful central authority blights the initiative and creativeness of the people we have not abundance but scarcity. Lacking the stimu-lus of natural incentives, the bored and spiritless people simply go through the mo-tions of the social and economic processes of community life.

We have recently had the novel experience of seeing the Soviet regime admit to failurethe colossal failure of its agricultural program. Here we have the incredible spectacle of a predominately agricultural nation, with a great expanse of some of the richest soil in the world, being actually unable adequately to feed itself.

Despite all its plans and quotas and exhortations Soviet agriculture remains at about the level it was 25 years ago. Its cattle population is 10 million below what it was in 1928; its pork production has dropped 5 million tons since 1940, and by its own admission the supply of meat, potatoes, and vegetables is unsatisfactory. Throughout the world one can see everywhere the results of the two systems: the success and prosperity of the free nations and the poverty and failure of the Communist bureauc-

racy. To a greater or lesser degree these differences are evident in every other field of human endeavor, and they underscore the basic principle that the answers to the common problems of human association should be sought at the most elementary administrative level which permits of a satisfactory solution for all concerned: the town, the precinct, the county, the school district. Still more do they argue the need for the fullest kind of participation of the individual in the everyday process of community life, for the thesis of democracy is that its citizens have the capacity to solve their own problems and to do it better than any paternalistic government could possibly do it for them.

This means that the focus of effort upon & great many things which intimately and directly affect our lives-our moral and religious outlook, the state of our basic edu-cation, the competence of our citizenship must come at the local and individual level: the level at which one person sees and embraces his ultimate responsibility toward his nation, his fellow men, and his God. It is at this level that Rotary has for 50 years concentrated its attention with such great success, and it is at this level that we must continue to work for a world of free and continue to work for a world of free kilds responsible individuals whose useful, happy, abundant lives give increasing proof that "he profits most who serves the best."

Tribute to the Portuguese

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, 1 ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Portuguese Have Added Much Color and Interest to Saga of Cape," and an editorial entitled "Tribute to the Portuguese," both of these having been published in the Provincetown Advocate, of Provincetown, Mass., on March 10.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PORTUGUESE HAVE ADDED MUCH COLOR AND IN' TEREST TO SAGA OF CAPE

It is hard to find a part of the United States more interesting or more widely known than the sandy fishhook that projects from the Massachusetts coast and is called Cape Cod, writes Raleigh Costa in the Falmouth Enterprise.

Falmouth, like many other towns on the cape is well represented in books such as

Cape Cod, by Kittridge, Old Cape Cod, by Mary Rogers Bangs, and Cape Cod Pilot, by Digges. For the most part, the townspeople as a whole are well informed of Falmouth's past and of early inhabitants of our town. The names Isaac Robbins, Elijah Swift, Weston Jenkins, Ichabod Hatch, Bradford Dimmock, Jonathan Hatch, and Thomas Bowerman are all familiar as early settlers of the town.

There also was another group of settlers, not quite so early as our first, but who now make up quite a large percentage of our townspeople. To the majority little, if any, is known about these people. They are the Portuguese people of the town who inhabit the villages of Teaticket and East Falmouth.

DILIGENCE AND INDUSTRY

Through their diligence and industry they have won for themselves the praise of those who know them. Where today extend in ever increasing dimensions whole fields given over to strawberries and turnips, there existed only a few years ago waste of scrub pine and oak.

Due also to the industry of the Portuguese, Falmouth has taken place as one of the foremost strawberry-growing centers in the entire country, since the production in the last few years has approximated a yield of 1½ million to 2 million quarts of berries each Year.

The fields that extend to each side of the State road through the East Falmouth district are models of well cultivated farms. Row after row of plants is seen, yet a tract of land as large so free from weeds would be difficult to find elsewhere.

Most of the people of Portuguese descent feel that the townspeople should at least have a vague idea and understanding of the origin, race, and language of their fellow townsmen.

MIXTURE OF OLD RACES

The Portuguese are a mixed race originally Iberian or Basque with late Celtic admixture. Galician (derived from the ancient Galiaic, presumably Gallic invaders). Jewlah and Arabic blood are also strongly present. They are generally sober, good natured, obliging, and patriotic, but shiftless. The Portuguese people are of the white race and their language one of the Romance, formed by the junction of the Latin-speaking Celts with the Teutonic races. Words of Greek, Phoenician, Iberian, Celtic, and Carthaginian origin are found in Portuguese as in Spanish, indicating the relations into which commerce or conquest brought the early inhabitants of the country.

The Portuguese language, by means of colonization and emigration, has been widely spread. It is spoken in Portugal, Azores, and Madeira, which are regarded as integral parts of the republic; Brazil and the Portuguese colonies in Asia, Africa, and in the United States, and among the Portuguese Jews scattered over Europe, particularly in Hamburg and Amsterdam. The Portuguese Possess the richness and conciseness of the dialects founded on the Latin tongue.

LANGUAGE

The lingoa geral spoken on the eastern and western coasts of Africa, as well as in some parts of India and Ceylon, which bears an analogy to the lingua-franca of the Mediterranean, may be regarded as a dialect founded on the Portuguese and as containing reminiscences of the ancient maritime Power of the Portuguese people.

It might be quite confusing to some who have heard people of the black race speak and say they were Portuguese. True, they speak Portuguese, but of a different dialect, and call themselves Portuguese because they were Portuguese subjects, much the same as the Prench Moroccan speaks French and says he is a Frenchman. To be more specific, Portugal has possessions in Africa and solely

owns the Cape Verde Islands, of which the inhabitants are for the most part Negroes, except for a few thousand Europeans who are engaged in business there.

This is but a short account, but should be basis for a vivid and closer understanding of the fellow citizens of our town.

March 10, 1955

TRIBUTE TO THE PORTUGUESE

Elsewhere in this issue is an article which points up contributions made to Cape Cod by its Portuguese people, telling something of their ancient origin and development.

This is timely because next Tuesday has been designated by Gov. Christian A. Herter as Peter Francisco Day to honor "a truly great American of Portuguese origin, a patriot whom our historians will always underscore."

The Governor's proclamation has this to

say:
"To Peter Francisco, a giant in structure,
might, and courage, who slew in this engagement 11 of the enemy with his own
broadsword, rendering himself, thereby,
perhaps the most famous private soldier of
the Revolutionary War."

These stirring words are found on a monument at the battlegrounds of Guilford Courthouse, N. C. They will tell tersely of the climatic event in the life of a heroic young man, who did much to assure the future of the newly born American Republic.

Of Portuguese origin, Peter Francisco came to Virginia at an early age. When the Revolution came, Francisco was 16 years of age. He joined the 10th Virginia Regiment of Continental troops and was engaged in some of the war's most sanguinary conflicts until victory was achieved. In his complete dedication to the ideals of freedom and democracy, the youthful soldier performed feats of heroism and daring that have rarely been equalled by any soldier in the annals of American history. As a result, he was severely wounded several times. Truthfully, it can be said that by the arms of such men the liberty of our country was achieved.

Later in life, Peter Francisco, who was industrious, temperate and always devoted to the cause of the weak and unprotected, became sergeant at arms of the house of delegates in Virginia. He died in this public service on January 16, 1836, and received burial with military honors.

Citation of Elgin Watch Co. for Refund of Savings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, some of the people who have been critical of the President's decision to raise the tariff on imported watches have claimed that the American watch industry is inefficient. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an official Navy Department press release citing the Elgin Watch Co., of Elgin, Ill., for voluntarily making a refund of savings effected through economical operation even before the price renegotiations have been mediated.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE,
OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION,
Washington, D. C., February 28, 1955.

George W. Fraker, general manager of the ordnance division of the Elgin National Watch Co., Elgin, Ill., today presented Rear Adm. F. S. Withington, United States Navy, Chief of the Navy's Bureau of Ordnance, with a refund in the amount of \$2,725,000. The Elgin Co. is producing precision ammunition components for the Navy.

The refund applies to four of the current

The refund applies to four of the current contracts the company has with the Bureau of Ordnance. These contracts contain provisions which enable the Government to establish final prices for the material under production, after completion of approximately 50 percent of the production. Although Elgin would not have been required to make this refund until the price-revision negotiation had been completed, it has done so in advance voluntarily.

According to representatives of the Bureau

According to representatives of the Bureau of Ordnance, production efficiencies developed by Elgin have contributed to a portion of the savings to the Government represented by this refund.

This action on the part of the Eigin National Watch Co. is a fine example of Navy-industry cooperation in obtaining necessary defense material in the most economical manner.

Impact of St. Lawrence Seaway on State and Municipal Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, all along the 2,300-mile lifeline into the heart of the North American Continent, there is a tremendous burst of activity at State, county, and city levels, as the Midwest prepares for the 1958-59 opening of the deepwater Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway frontier, as made possible under the Wiley seaway law, Public Law 358, of the 83d Congress.

I was pleased to see in the March 8 issue of the Wall Street Journal a round-up article by Ray Vicker, staff reporter, regarding the tremendous variety of local projects which are now underway for the purpose of making the various States and communities adequate to reap the fullest possible benefits from the seaway.

These benefits will not drop into people's laps automatically. They must be worked for, planned for, built for—carefully and soundly.

The Wall Street Journal, I may say parenthetically, in recent days has not been carrying very encouraging news to its readers because of the downward fluctuations of the stock exchanges. But at least in this article, as in many other articles, depicting the continuing growth of the American economy, every reader—in Wall Street or Main Street—could feel encouraged and enthused.

As this noted publication knows and as we all should know, the basic fact of the matter is that the economy of the United States is fundamentally sound. It is not only sound, it is booming. Provided the Government continues to provide a sensible framework of encourage-

ment and, provided the American people maintain sound, reasonable confidence in themselves and in their country, there is no reason why we cannot enjoy continued and ever-increased prosperity.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the fine Wall Street Journal article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEAWAY SPURS PORT IMPROVEMENT PLANS— CITIES ALONG GREAT LAKES PUT UP MIL-LIONS TO PEEPARE HARBORS FOR DEEPER DRAFT VESSELS EXPECTED IN 1959—MILWAU-KEE BEST EQUIPPED

(By Ray Vicker)

Chicago, Int.—Icebound, 2,200-acre Lake Calumet in the heart of this city's industrial south side isn't much to look at with its swamps, garbage dump and backdrop of smoky factories. But civic and industrial officials have been looking at it intently of late. In the office of the Chicago Regional Port authority, two drawings show how the lake will look in 1959. Big oceangoing freighters are moving from a Lake Michigan connecting channel and nosing into docks. Long piers jut into a man-made harbor; warehouses and terminal facilities hug the shore. Around June 1, construction crews will begin the \$22½ million job of transforming the drawings into reality.

Lake Calumet's conversion is one phase of a chain reaction set off by the decision to go ahead at last with construction of the St. Lawrence seaway, to open the way for deep draft ocean vessels to sail from the Atlantic into the heart of the Midwest.

MILWAUKEE TO SPEND \$4.7 MILLION

Among the many projects planned or under way in other harbor conscious cities are: A \$4.7 million harbor improvement program at Milwaukee; a rough plan for a \$20.6 million docking facility at Toledo; a new \$1 million terminal at Toronto; \$109 million worth of Federal channel improvements on the upper Great Lakes; a \$2.3 million harbor deepening project at Buffalo; a \$5 million plus harbor at Ashtabula, Ohio. Even smaller cities such as Manitowoc, Wis., and Erie, Pa., are talking port development.

Pa., are talking port development.

One United States Army engineer estimates at least \$500 million may be invested in the Great Lakes area in the next 10 years by Federal, State, city and private agencies for harbor and channel improvements.

Experts disagree only on the extent to which lake shore cities will be affected by the seaway. All expect heavy gains in commerce. Iron ore from Labrador will flow in big quantities to midwest steel mills, grain will flow from Great Lakes elevators directly to foreign shores, and Milwaukee machinery. Chicago metal products, Detroit autos, and other manufactured goods from the heartland of America will move on water to the rest of the world.

EQUAL TO PANAMA CANAL

The Federal Government's St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation estimates 36 million tons of cargo will flow through the seaway the first year it opens. This approximates the current annual volume through the Panama Canal. Higher estimates of the United States Department of Commerce, the Army engineers, and the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Association range up to 57 million tons annually.

The railroads, which fought the seaway tooth and nail as uneconomic, figure they'll gain as well as lose. A. E. Periman, New York Central's president, speculates that expansion of the lake ports may step up north-south traffic, although it might "affect us adversely east and west."

Right now, most Great Lakes cities don't have much more than a brass band to meet

any big ocean freighters which might ride empty into their ports.

CHICAGO EXPECTS 800 SAILINGS FIRST YEAR

That's why you find so much activity along water fronts, Maxim M. Cohen, general manager of Chicago's port authority, says: "We plan to construct 8,000 linear feet of dock, 4 transit sheds of 60,00 square feet each, 2 grain elevators each of 6.5 million bushels' capacity, 2 railroad classification yards, and 100-acre site for liquid tanks. Completion of this initial project is scheduled for 18 months after the first dirt is turned this June.

But that's only a start. Eventually, the port is expected to consist of 14 miles of docks, with facilities for handling barges from New Orleans, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and other river ports, alongside big ocean freighters from the four corners of the globe. To build that port will require upward of \$100 million.

A second major project here—the \$182 million dollar Calumet-Sag Channel project—is aimed at widening the present link between the upper reaches of the Illinois waterway and Lake Michigan. Completion would allow the biggest towboats on the inland rivers to dock at Chicago, transferring cargoes directly to ocean freighters at the new harbor.

President Eisenhower's budget message to Congress in January called for funds to help get that project rolling. And the Chicago city council already has deeded the Lake Calumet area to the port authority, with legislative action anticipated soon to clear the way for a bond issue this spring. Says Cohen: "We are planning for 800 to 1,000 sailings here the first year that the seaway is opened."

MILWAUKEE PORT NOW BEST

Chicago's present facilities are inadequate even for the tiny freighters which now can navigate the St. Lawrence. When Norwegian marble was imported via the Great Lakes for the new Prudential Insurance Co. building here, the cargo was unloaded at Milwaukee, not Chicago. Milwaukee was the only nearby port with a crane large enough to handle the job. Chicago machinery exporters frequently bypass their own port to ship via Milwaukee.

"Right now we have the best equipped port on the Great Lakes for handling foreign cargoes," says Harry C. Brockel, Milwaukee's municipal port director. "Present port facilities will require only dredging to seaway draft to qualify them as facilities to accommodate seaway traffic." Seaway draft is 27 feet, compared with the present 14 foot St. Lawrence bottleneck.

But Milwaukee officials aren't sitting on their hands. Today, the skeleton of a new 20,000-square foot warehouse stands at the north end of Jones island in the harbor. Welders work on orange-painted beams overlooking the frozen bay. Steel walls will be in place soon. "This warehouse," says Mr. Brockel, "might be called the first step in our expansion for the St. Lawrence seaway."

Recently, the city's board of harbor commissioners presented a further four and seven-tenths million dollar development program to the city council. Biggest project in the program is a new three and four-tenths million dollar general cargo terminal. Others include a new highway to provide better truck access, expansion of rail trackage, purchase of new cranes, and dredging of harbor slips to seaway draft.

DULUTH REVIVES ITS PORT AUTHORITY

The board estimates it has room for 8 new major piers on the south side of the ice-crusted harbor entrance, and 6 on the north side. Currently it has 6 marine terminals which were served by 10 ship lines, in 1954. Foreign sailings totaled 188, compared with 10 in 1946. An estimated 225 are expected for

At the head of the lakes, wintry blasts aren't cooling Duluth-Superior's enthusiasm for the seaway. This hill-rimmed port, 1,340 miles west of Montreal, would be the end of navigation for big ocean vessels.

To get its harbor development program going, Duluth has reactivated its long-dormant port authority. Pending before the Minnesota legislature is a proposal to grant the authority an initial \$73,000 to plan for development of the harbor. Duluth-Superior visualizes itself as the country's biggest grain-exporting port, while also serving as a medium for exports of farm implements and machinery.

Superior, Wis., also is considering reorganization of its inactive harbor commission and setting up a joint port authority with Duluth, and is studying budgetary problems of port development.

Before any of the lake ports above Monroe, Mich., can benefit from the seaway, the Detroit river, one of the connecting links between Lakes Erie and Huron, must be deepened, as must other channels between the upper lakes. A bill is pending in Congress to eliminate such bottlenecks through a \$109 million United States Army Engineers dredging program.

In Toledo, Ohio, civic fathers dream of making the muddy Maumee River into a world-cargo port. The river splits the city, offering 7½ miles of waterfront lined with industrial plants and properties open for marine development.

At the mouth of the harbor, lean lake freighters are moored beside two huge coal docks which handled 20.9 million tons in 1954. But Toledo hopes to become more than a big coal port.

CLEVELAND STUDIES NEW PORT NEEDS

A tentative plan for a new \$20.6 million general-cargo harbor facility has been drawn by Harland Bartholomew & Associates, St. Louis engineering firm. Proposed location is at the mouth of the Maumee on a 175-acre site. Facilities for 10 large cargo ships would be provided at 5 cargo slips and at open wharves.

In a room of Cleveland's city hall overlooking the lake front, engineers are leaning over blueprints of a proposed port of Cleveland.

Currently, the engineering firm of James C-Buckley, Inc., New York, is making a traffic survey of 1,500 manufacturers in a 6-State area to see who might use a port at Cleveland. This information is expected to provide a foundation for port improvements.

Sixty miles east of Cieveland, at Ashtabula. 2 new piers jut 2,000 feet into the harbor, the core of the city's seaway port. The N. J. Pinney & Associates Dock Co. is scheduled to complete two 2,000 by 500 foot bulk cargo terminals with 8,000 linear feet of ship dock within 2 years. On drawing boards, is a third 2,000-foot dock. This \$5 million plus project is a private Pinney venture aimed at transforming Ashtabula into a chemical shipping port.

The Buffalo, N. Y., city administration currently is pressing the State legislature to authorize a Buffalo area port authority.

"We anticipate the greatest value of the seaway to Buffalo will come from the movement of iron ore from Labrador," says Charles C. Fichtner, executive vice president, Buffalo Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wisconsin yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, with reference to the article in the Wall Street Journal to which the Senator from Wisconsin has made reference, I am entirely satisfied that that article is not correct. The seaway should extend a number of miles inside my State. In my lifetime, there was navigation all the way up to

Montana. I remember that when Teddy Roosevelt was in North Dakota he went on a big ship all the way to Custer and brought back the dead and the wounded

from that point.

I wish to serve notice that I intend to introduce a bill providing for a survey to be made which has for its purpose ascertaining from the Army engineers or the Bureau of Reclamation the facts as to whether the seaway can be extended into the Missouri River.

Mr. WILEY. I certainly would not have any objection to that. I am sure the article speaks, at least, the honest conclusions of the writer. There is a great deal of discussion when we disagree on the floor of the Senate. This is just another example of the Senator from North Dakota disagreeing with the Wall Street Journal.

Mr. LANGER. I agree, on general Drinciples, with the Senator from Wisconsin. All I am trying to do is to have another survey made to see whether we can have navigation to the Missouri

River.

Maritime Training and Federal Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, Just as capable leadership is a prerequisite to the successful operation of government and of business and industry, so must our American Merchant Marine be assured a continuing complement of well-trained, capable ships officers if it is to carry on its function of serving the country's commerce and security.

The recent issue of the Merchant Marine Bulletin of the American Legion, Published by the National Security Commission, editorializes most reasonably along this line, in an expression of views entitled "Maritime Training and Federal

Funds."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Recorn, as follows:

MARITIME TRAINING AND FEDERAL FUNDS

The tradition of safe and efficient operation for American-fiag vessels at sea is due, in large part, to the expert training many merchant marine officers have been receiving at the State maritime schools and at the Federal school at Kings Point. Such training has safeguarded life and property; hence, in the common interest, it should be continued and encouraged.

It is with distress that we learn of the recommendation in President Elsenhower's recent budget message that martime training be continued at Kings Point at Federal expense, but that no funds be allocated to the State schools, as in former years. This is patently false economy, which will be a disservice to the industry and damagingly unfair to the State schools that have served so long and well.

Graduates of the State maritime schools of New York, Massachusetts, Maine, and California have the same moral commitment to the merchant marine as have graduates of Kings Point. The maritime industry, as we all know, has no holdover either. Furthermore, the Federal school naval reservist, and the State school naval reservist, and the State school naval reservist have identical obligations to the United States Navy. In short, both groups of students provide equal service to the merchant marine and the Navy. Both should receive Federal support. The appropriation heretofore granted the State schools, some \$660,000, should certainly be restored.

The maritime industry needs competent officers. So does the Naval Reserve. To let the State schools languish when an appropriation which is a very tiny drop in a very big bucket can give them vigor to continue to serve is very poor policy indeed. Let us hope that this Congress will act to restore to the State maritime schools the money they

deserve to have.

The Defense Program and New England: Research for Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I aks unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "The Defense Program and New England: Research for Defense," which was published in the Monthly Review of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston for February 1955. The article is an excellent one.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DEFENSE PROGRAM AND NEW ENGLAND: RESEARCH FOR DEFENSE

The interest of the Armed Forces in both basic and applied research has brought to New England many contracts for important research work. The three service departments, Air Force, Army, and Navy, share about equally in the \$2.6 billion of funds for research and development shown in the current fiscal year Federal budget. It is impossible to determine how much of that sum will be received by New England research organizations. Nevertheless, some picture of New England's contributions can be pieced together from the published information about individual programs.

Most research for defense is carried on under contracts developed by the service branches, such as the Office of Naval Research or the Office of Ordnance Research. Virtually all basic research is accomplished under such arrangements. Basic or fundamental research is directed toward no specific end product except the increase of knowledge concerning the subject of research. Applied research on the other hand is directed toward improvement in specific commodities, in weapon design, and the like. Each of the service branches has special interests in both basic and applied research, and both types have found acceptance among New England's technicians.

DEFENSE FUNDS SUPPORT RESEARCH

Since its opening in October 1954, the Quartermaster Research and Development Center at Natick, Mass., has awarded 23 re-

search contracts to New England individuals and research agencies. The corps has committed nearly \$600,000 under these contracts which total nearly 10 percent of those placed with all United States agencies since July 1, 1953. These contracts are in addition to the research activities carried on at the center.

The Boston Ordnance District Research and Development Branch estimates its 1954 payments at more than \$6 million to New England research firms and institutions. At the end of the year the branch maintained 160 such contracts worth \$18 million. Comparable data for the United States were \$220 million of contracts under which \$175 million was paid out in 1954. About 400 research contracts averaging \$10,000 in value have been negotiated with 126 universities and colleges in 40 States. Among the New England institutions engaged in this program, Massachusetts Institute of Technology received 16 contracts, Brown University received 6, Harvard 4, while Boston Univers Tufts College, and the Universities of New Hampshire and Rhode Island received 2 each. The remainder were with Boston College, Clark University, Holy Cross College, and the University of Maine.

The Air Force supports research in New England through several different agencies. On June 30, 1954, the Air Force Cambridge Research Center maintained with New England agencies 70 research contracts valued at more than \$60 million. In addition, a small research project on effects of Arctic weather on types of building construction was being carried on in Boston by the Army Corps of Engineers for the Air Materiel Command. While the project employed only 45 persons and spent less than \$350,000 in 1954, it is 1 of but 2 such establishments in the United States. Another unique project is the Lincoln Laboratory near Bedford, Mass., a multimillion dollar research project on the air defense of North America, operated by Mas-sachusetts Institute of Technology for the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

In addition to several projects of applied research carried on by service personnel, the Navy, through its Office of Naval Research, contracts for a large quantity of basic research in its first (Boston) district. The first district includes all of New England except Connecticut. Of some 1,500 Office of Naval Research contracts in the United States providing for about \$20 million per year in payments to contractors, 180 are with New England agencies—principally colleges and universities. The New England contracts account for about \$6 million of payments annually.

TYPES OF RESEARCH

Armed Forces research, in addition to being either fundamental or applied, varies from one service to another. Research for the Quartermaster Corps is concerned with the adaptation of troops and equipment and the maintenance of both under a variety of environmental conditions. This involves problems ranging from fit of clothing to psychological adjustment. At the Natick center, functions are suggested by division titles: Chemicals and plastics, environmental protection, mechanical engineering, textile, clothing and footwear, dispensing and han-dling equipment, and pioneer research. Examples are the development of an 8-pound armored vest that protects the modern soldier. The use of ultra-sonic waves for dishwashing and soil removal is being perfected, and studies in service equipment are carried forward.

Some of the contract research program of the Office of Naval Research is done by the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution where a new building was dedicated by the Navy June 16, 1954. Nuclear science, electronics, and other laboratories at Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology also carry on contract research for the Armed Forces. Some of the projects operate under contracts jointly with Navy and Army or the Atomic Energy Commission. Some large Navy contracts for basic research are with Brown University where projects in both chemistry and physics are going forward.

In these many ways New England's scientific resources are being utilized by the Armed Forces to improve our Nations de-fenses. At the same time, these labora-tories are training scientists and developing new products and processes, all of which may play an important role in New England's industrial future.

Troop Ships of the North African Invasion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, in asking for unanimous consent for the insertion in the RECORD of an article from the January-February Merchant Marine Bulletin of the American Legion, issued by the national security commission, I should like to pay well-merited tribute to the two organizations involved.

First, I believe the American Legion is performing a function of utmost value to all our people in its self-delegated task of publicizing the achievements and the problems of the American merchant marine.

Secondly, I welcome the opportunity to extend congratulations to the officials and the men and women employees of the Grace Line, one of our country's great shipping organizations, for the exploits of its vessels in World War II, as well as for the splendid contribution it is making to Western Hemisphere solidarity, through the operation of its four luxury liners and other vessels between the United States and ports in the Americas.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SISTER TROOPERS VETERANS OF NORTH AFRICAN INVASION

The Santa Paula, 1 of 4 Grace Line luxury liners, was one of America's most active transports of the last great war, according to Roland W. Charles' excellent book Troopships of World War II.

She made 28 overseas voyages from the east coast of America, including 3 trips to India, 2 of which were of over 3 months' duration. A 9,135-gross ton vessel, she was built in 1932 at Kearny, N. J., for passenger service to the Caribbean. As a peacetime liner she could carry some 200 passengers. As a trooper she lifted 2,209 men. Her 19knot speed and 12,000-mile cruising radius made her one of the most useful of Uncle Sam's auxiliaries.

The Santa Paula's raked bow, twin streamlined funnels, and cruiser stern gave her an appearance of speed and strength. It doubt-less impressed the Australians when she made her first voyage down under early in 1942. Her next trip took her to South Africa and India, and on November 2, 1942, she sailed from New York to participate in the historic invasion of north Africa.

By some strange coincidence her three sisterships sailed with her in this vast armada. It would have been a thrilling moment for Grace Line shoreside executives and personnel had they been able to see their four bravest and finest ships heading out to sea past the Statue of Liberty in defense of their homeland.

It would have been a sad moment, as well, had the onlookers been gifted with an awareness of the future, for two of these sleek beauties were not to return. Santa Elena and Santa Lucia were lost, the former off Algeria and the latter at Casablanca during the landings. The fourth, named Santa Rosa, survived and serves today in glistening peacetime colors with the Santa Paula between New York and Caribbean and South American ports.

Tribute to Alison Wysong

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the showing by the Democrats in the 1954 Oregon election was due to the fine support received by the party throughout the State. Alison Wysong, Democratic chairman for Lane County, Oregon's second county in population, played a leading role in Democratic Party successes. I regret to learn that Mr. Wysong has resigned as chairman, and I am pleased to place in the RECORD a tribute to him from the editorial columns of the Eugene Register-Guard.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous con-sent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Eugene Register-Guard of March 9, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DEMOCRATS' LOSS

Lane County Democrats suffered a real loss this week in the resignation of their county chairman, Alison Wysong. Although he was chairman only a year and a half, his influence on the local party organization was tremendous. Under his leadership the party, for the first time in many years, be-came something to be reckoned with. Lane became a "two-party county."

He was elected chairman after a behindthe-scenes scrap between the younger, more aggressive Democrats and the old horses" who bore so many scars that they could think in no terms save those of always being the "loyal opposition." He changed that line of thinking. Lane County Demo-crats in 1954 were out to win.

Probably his most significant contribu-tion was the setting up of district committees, groups of friends and neighbors who met in all parts of the county to talk politics and generate enthusiasm for the Democratic cause. From these groups came that large pool of volunteer workers who played so important a role in last fall's election.

Some of the internal strife remains. But if the Democrats can get together and pick another chairman of Mr. Wysong's ability and character, they'll keep the Republicans scared to death and thus on the ball. They may become the first party in the county in-stead of the "loyal opposition." And the public interest is served when both parties are active and vigorous. It is not served when either becomes moribund, tradition bound, or resigned to defeat.

Compulsory Medical Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, an excellent article on Sweden's new comprehensive health insurance plan, written by Waldemar Kaempffert, science editor of the New York Times, appeared Sunday, March 13, in the New York Times magazine. The author points up some parts of the plan that could be adapted to the United States, and he cogently discusses the American, Swedish, and British medical philosophies. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. There being no objection, the article

was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A NEW EXPERIMENT IN STATE MEDICINE (By Waldemar Kaempffert)

Since the beginning of this year, everybody in Sweden, including resident foreigners, is guaranteed medical care against illness under a new compulsory health insurance law. It is one of the most comprehensive social medical systems ever introduced anywhere.

The operation of this plan undoubtedly will have repercussions in the United States-Our own medical situation will be resurveyed in the light of Sweden's experiment. Some of the basic questions that have been the subject of debate in this country-such as the benefits or defects of compulsory health insurance, which organized medicine here opposes-will again be argued. Therefore, it is useful to examine the Swedish plan and to consider whether any of its principles can be applied in the United States.

In Sweden, there are few doubts that the plan, despite its detailed nature, is working smoothly. Although doctors, drug stores, and the staffs of health organizations have felt pressure under the initial rush of the medical care, reports on the early operation of the system indicate that everything in connection with it is going more or less in accordance with expectations.

This is due primarily to the traditional Swedish attitude toward what in America is called socialized medicine. "Compulsory, for example, expresses the American concept of the Swedish plan but not the Swedes.

For the Swedes, the new type of care represents an inclusion of everyone in "sickness societies" or "funds"—independent groups that have been heavily subsidized by the Government. Through them, about 70 percent of Sweden's population has long insured itself against illness. Under the new law. these societies or funds are retained and new ones will be established as the need arises. Members pay 44 percent of the cost, employers 27 percent, and the Government 29 percent.

The Swedes have none of the squeamishness about public medical care that many Americans have. Even before the new plan went into effect, no Swede, for example, hesitated to go to a public hospital. Indeed, he did so as a taxpayer exercising his right, just as he felt free to call on the fire department to save his house. He did not think of the public hospital as a place of last resort, an institution maintained chiefly for the benefit of the indigent sick. Rather, no matter what his social position or his financial circumstances, he went because he knew that the medical and surgical skill there is high, the diagnosis and therapeutic services so expert that he could find no better anywhere.

Nine out of ten Swedish bables are delivered in public hospitals or clines. Most infants receive care at free clinics. Swedish schoolchildren, regardless of their parents' ability to pay, have long been examined regularly free of charge by physicians. Free dental care and free lunches are also common in Swedish schools.

If a family cannot afford to send a child under 15 to the country once a year, the State pays the rallway fare or the fraction thereof beyond the family's means to get the youngster into fresh air. If the child is under 10, it is accompanied by its mother at state expense. Housewives in lower income brackets are entitled to virtually free vacation trips. No matter what the circumstances of the family, every mother is paid \$58 annually for every child under 16. Sweden prefers this method to allowing exemptions from income taxes for dependent children.

Why is the quality of medical care, whether rendered in a physician's office, at home, or in a hospital, so high—as high as and possibly higher on the average than ours? The reason is to be found in the Swedish system of medical education and in the insistence of the Royal Medical Board and the Swedish Medical Association (a counterpart of the American Medical Association) on the maintenance of rigorous standards.

The majority of physicians in Sweden serve as either full-time or part-time salaried public-health officials but are permitted to practice privately if they are on half-time. Few of the doctors derive their entire income from private practice. Their income averages \$5,000 to \$6,000 a year and they get

Government pensions.

The new system, like the old one, considers need rather than ability to pay, though income is not ignored as a factor. Everybody who is older than 16 and who has a taxable income of at least \$250 a year comes under the new law and pays a basic or minimum premium of somewhat less than \$5 a year for medical care. Another \$5 must be paid for basic or minimum sickness benefits that amount to 60 cents a day. Thus, for \$10 a year virtually everybody in Sweden is entitled to medical care plus a sickness benefit of 60 cents a day. Those who earn less than \$250 a year are public charges, yet receive exactly the same medical care as if they had

been faxed for it.

Everyone is cared for up to 2 years in a hospital ward, and care will continue after 2 years on the basis of social relief. Vitally essential drugs, such as insulin, are free; prescriptions that cost more than 80 cents are filled at half the regular price.

A patient is transported to and from a physician's office or hospital wholly or partly at public expense. If medical care is given by a private physician, three-fourths of the official fee is paid by the local or Federal Government. Anybody who wants a private room can have it for a few dollars a day—at less than one-third to one-half the actual cost.

Among the most important provisions of the new law are the benefits paid for lost earnings and for the extra expenses usually incurred in sickness. Every employed person who earns more than the almost trifling minimum of \$300 a year must pay insurance for supplementary sickness benefits, in addition to what he pays for the basic benefit of 60 cents a day. Housewives who are not employed are included. These extra benefits run from 21 cents to \$3.40 a day, depending on earned income.

Though maternal care is not specifically provided for in the compulsory health insurance plan, expectant mothers get it under a separate law on the same terms as those who

carry medical care and benefit insurance, but with some extras. That is, there is free prenatal and postnatal hospital care, daily basic and supplementary cash benefits, allowances for medicines, and for the fees of private physicians.

A working expectant mother receives from 65 to 70 percent of her normal earnings and a bonus of \$52.38 at childbirth—the equivalent of the basic stckness benefit (3 kroner daily) for a period of 3 months. If the expectant mother does not want obstetrical and other care in a hospital she can stay at home and engage a midwife at Government expense.

Sweden's population of 7 million, which is a little less than that of New York City, is served by some 5,500 physicians, or 7 for every 10,000 persons—about half of the prevalling ratio in the United States. On the other hand, the number of hospital beds per 10,000 population is about what it is in this country. Because compulsory health insurance includes the entire population with very few exceptions, it is estimated that by 1960 probably 8,000 physicians will be needed. There may have to be more hospitals, too, because on them much of the burden of medical care will fall.

The working of the Swedish health plan will, of course, be followed closely abroad, and it will inevitably be compared with the British system of compulsory health insurance. There are close resemblances and marked differences between the Swedish and the British plans. Under both, patients may choose their physicians freely. Approximately 18,500 British physicians have joined the National Health Service, leaving only about 500 in private practice. Some 47 million in the United Kingdom—97 percent of the population—consult Health Service physicians when they are sick. A Health Service physician is paid 16 shillings a year for each patient on his list, but he is not regarded as a public health officer, as he would be in Sweden, if part of his income came from the state or the community.

The cost of Britain's Health Service is met mainly by taxes, plus a weekly levy of 10 pence (about 12 cents) on employees and employers. There are small charges for prescriptions, dental care, surgical appliances, false teeth, and spectacles.

American physicians who have studied the British system say that examinations are hurried and that the number of patients on a subsidized physician's panel is much too large. On a busy day a heaith-service physician will examine 30 or 40 patients and call on 20 more. The average health-service physician makes £2.240 (\$6.272) a year, which is more than he made in the old days.

Would the Swedish plan work in the United States? Given present conditions and our present medical philosophy, it is highly improbable that it would.

In the first place, Sweden is a small country with a small homogeneous population. The United States sprawls over half a continent and its population is composed of many different ethnic stocks. The conditions that prevail in the arid Southwest and West are vastly different from those in the Middle West or New England. With 48 autonomous States and a heterogeneous population engaged in many different kinds of activities, we must work out our own formula for the integration of low-cost medical care with social security. This, however, does not rule out the adoption of features of the Swedish plan that could meet our needs.

Our medical philosophy stems from several basic concepts. One is that we do not want any further socialization—which we identify with Government-guaranteed medical care and compulsory health insurance. Another is that the patient must be free to choose his own doctor. A third is that we should heed the views of the medical profession on this matter, just as we take the medicines it

prescribes. Let us examine each of these concepts.

As to socialization, it is likely that one either believes the Government should take more part in public welfare activities or one does not. But in the field of public health it is not quite that simple. It is possible that some supervision of medical care by the Government or some further participation by the Government in health measures is justifiable on the ground of public good.

This need not interfere with free enterprise; nor would it abolish the private practice of medicine. We did not become Socialists when we provided free education in public schools, taxed income on a sliding scale, and established hospitals where at least some of the medically indigent can be cared for either free or at low cost to themselves. Further Government participation in certain areas of the medical and health fields could win acceptance, just as there has been acceptance of the basic principles of social security, which in their way contain an element of socialism.

When we examine the second concept, it should be noted, first, that under neither the Swedish nor the British plan is the patient deprived of the privilege of choosing his own physician. Even in Sweden political parties could not overcome the opposition to any system that would abolish that privilege. In the United States the opposition of organized medicine would be still more powerful.

There is, nevertheless, reason to question the necessity of free choice in the practice of medicine. How valid is this idea? The right of a patient to choose his own physician is based on the assumption that he knows how to weigh a physician's education, hospital connections, and standing in his profession. Any physician who has a license and who is a member in good standing of the county medical society is supposed to be a qualified practitioner, though he may be a medical medicarity or hopelessly antiquated in his diagnostic and therapeutic procedures. Actually, the physician chosen is usually one recommended to the patient by a friend.

There is no free choice of physicians in the Army or Navy, yet we were assured during and after the war that never in history were armed forces so well cared for medically and surgically as were ours. There is no free choice in the outpatient departments or free wards of our great voluntary hospitals; nor is there free choice when a patient goes to such an outstanding medical center as the Mayo Clinic. There he is assigned by the clinic authorities to the doctor they consider best qualified to handle whatever disease he may have or whatever surgery he may require. There is no hit or miss about it; he gets the specialist whose records show his knowledge and skill.

The third concept—that the views of the medical profession should prevail—is perhaps the root of the matter. Conceding the great good that the American Medical Association has done in exposing charlatans, raising medical standards and improving medical education, questions nevertheless have been raised about its opposition to efforts to improve medical and health conditions through Government participation and compulsory insurance.

The best that organized medicine now offers is voluntary insurance, which does nothing more than provide money to pay, or help pay, the doctors' bills and hospital bills for the period of illness. According to the deeprooted fee-for-service principle a surgeon may charge a wealthy man many times more for an operation than he would charge a poor man. This may seem equitable in theory, but in practice it often works hardship on the salaried or middle-income patient who may not have the reserves to meet a sudden crisis.

Sweden made no leap into the dark when it adopted compulsory health insurance. The country had behind it an excellent system of voluntary health insurance that could easily be made compulsory without in the slightest changing the pattern of medical care and sickness benefits. It has devised a formula which shows that a democratic federated state can have compulsory health insurance, combined with sickness benefits, yet guarantee the best kind of medical care.

We need not copy Sweden's formula, but in the light of the Swedish experience and the British experience questions are increasingly going to be raised about the American medical profession's attitude on this matter. For the sake of the profession itself and the attitudes of the public toward it, it might be useful to reconsider the questions.

The Plight of Guatemala

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the New York Herald Tribune of March 10, 1955, entitled "The Plight of Guatemala," written by Daniel James.

It is to be hoped that the appropriate committees of the Senate will survey this question and determine what steps should be taken to prevent the newly threatened loss of this American Re-public. Mr. James' article brings into focus the apprehension many of us have felt for some time, that after seeing the freedom-loving Guatemalans wrest their Government from control of the Communists, there may be some disposition on the part of some people in our own Government, which admittedly had such a stake in the outcome of the 1954 revolution in Guatemala, now to maintain a hands-off attitude.

Mr. President, I heard with a great deal of interest, as well as personal pleasure, last night the report of the Vice President on his findings in the Caribbean areas of Latin America on his recent tour. It was especially encouraging to hear the Vice President voice the cpinion that Guatemala is a monument to Communist failure in Latin America.

It may be well, if this is an official Government finding, to look further into this matter to determine the basis for reports that the situation is bad in Guatemala, and that great dangers of communism persist.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> THE PLIGHT OF GUATEMALA (By Daniel James)

United States policy in Guatemala is failing. That is the sad conclusion this reporter has reluctantly reached after a 4-week, onthe-spot survey.

The consequences, if we fall in Guatemala, will be disastrous. Our prestige in Latin America will practically vanish. Our programs in Asia will be compromised. Communists everywhere will have a field day as we argue over who lost Guatemala.

When Guatemala's Reds were overthrown last June. United States leaders from President Eisenhower on down swore to make the Central American Republic an anti-Communist showcase. They were solidly backed by both political parties and the public, Rarely has there been such unanimity as on the need for all-out aid to Red-ravaged Guatemala.

Now, 8 months later, how much aid have we given?

On paper, \$6,425,000. In fact, less than half that amount. Money is being doled out for certain projects only as, if, and when

Of the total aid authorized, \$4,425,000 will eventually go into roads-if Guatemala can match it with \$1.5 million of her own. Another \$500,000 will go to finish a hospitalif Guatemala can match it with \$500,000. Health, agricultural, and other projects like-wise depend on Guatemala's ability to match funds.

So far, then, our aid largely consists of putting up dollar for dollar in a situation where the matching party sorely lacks dol-

But even if we donated the entire \$6.5 million outright, that would be about as helpful as feeding aspirin to a man with appendicitis,

That sum, Guatemalans point out, represents exactly what their Government paid its employees in back wages last December. It about equals what the Government ex-

pects to lose in coffee taxes this year.

It is less than one-third of what the Reds

are known to have stolen.
"A fraud," is how one Guatemalan bitterly described our aid to me. He was echoed by others. Already, our policy of too little is breeding disillusionment in us,

Washington is relying upon United States private capital to give Guatemala what she This is sound general theory. The needs. trouble is, it does not apply to Guatemala's immediate problems.

United States businessmen are swarming into Guatemala seeking investment opportunities. Some are already building roads, exploring for oil, selling machinery, making

The Electric Co. of Guatamala, a United States subsidiary, is putting \$17 million into new hydroelectric facilities to increase the capital city's power capacity. Pan American World Alrways is about to join with local money to erect a big hotel. United Fruit reportedly awaits dispositions of a United States antitrust suit before investing \$25

President Carlos Castillo Armas deserves great credit for the improving business picture. His personal popularity, general policies, and practical measures such as a progressive petroleum code-have combined to assure United States business a warm welcome and fair treatment in Guatemala.

Backing up Castillo Armas is the most talented and dedicated team of United States officials this reporter has ever seen abroad. United States Embassy, Information Agency, and Poreign Operations Administration personnel deserve medals for their handling of a delicate task.

Owing to all these factors, Guatemala is acquiring a new look. Guatemala City streets, once deserted, are filled with busy and happy people. Stores are brimming with new merchandise. Hotels are full. New buildings are going up.

But overshadowing this bright picture is the dark legacy communism left behind. A looted treasury, a corn shortage, a jobless problem and a falling coffee market (for which the Reds cannot be blamed), all spell a major crisis. Neither the Guatemalan Government nor United States investors are Neither the Guatemalan equipped to tackle it.

An economic crisis in Guatemala just now would, as a matter of fact, slow down the flow of investment. It would destroy con-fidence in Castillo Armas, and perhaps cause his downfall. It would wreck United States plans for Guatemala and United States policy nearly everywhere in Latin America. must awaken to these dangers at once and realize that only swift and unstinting United States aid can ward them off.

The primary immediate job is to help Castillo Armas acquire sufficient funds to carry on the task of governing. Second, Guatemala may need emergency food and grain supplies. Third, we must expand and accelerate our technical assistance-and without requiring Guatemala to match funds. Fourth, coffee prices must be adjusted.

Further, we should announce a long-term program. Guatemala needs about \$50 million to build a decent road network-one of the keys to an expanding economy. She needs perhaps another \$50 million for such basic projects as modernizing her agricul-

For about \$20 million yearly spent over the next 5 years, Castillo Armas' chances of finishing his term in 1960 would be immeasurably enhanced and Guatemala's stability and prosperity practically underwritten.

Vice President Nixon, just back from the Caribbean and keenly aware of Guatemala's problems in particular, might well suggest that President Eisenhower ask Congress to enact a \$100 million, 5-year program for Guatemala. Only such a program will demonstrate that we are really trying to make the world's first anti-Communist revolution a

Inadequacy of the President's School Proposals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, a further indication of the inadequacy of the President's school proposals is given by the views expressed by the Republican-controlled House Education Committee of the Oregon State Legislature. The President's proposals, the legislators agreed, meant little money for Oregon and high interest rates on Federal money loaned. Oregon's need is pressing-namely, \$100 million worth of new schools in 5 years. The administration's answer provides little or nothing.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by the Associated Press, which appeared in the Eugene Register-Guard of March 8, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LITTLE FEDERAL AID FOR OREGON SCHOOLS SEEN

SALEM, OREC .- The House Education Committee of the Oregon Legislature docsn't think President Eisenhower's school building program would be of much help in solving Oregon's critical need for new schools.

So the committee will work out its own solution to the problem—Oregon's need for \$100 million worth of new school facilities in the next 5 years.

The committee, at a meeting Monday night, outlined 5 possible solutions aimed at solving the problems of the 34 school districts which can't take care of their needs because they would have to exceed the legal

bonding limits.

The building needs in these 34 districts are \$6 million more than their bonding limits. The rest of the new schoolhouses could be built by districts able to bond within the existing limit, which is 9 percent of true cash value.

The five possible solutions to be studied by the committee are: Increase the bonding limits of school districts, give more basic school support to the distressed districts. issue State bonds, provide money from State bonds, provide money from the State's general fund or finance on the county level.

The committee decided to make its decision after the House Taxation Committee makes up its mind on a bill to limit bonding powers of counties, cities, and school districts.

The committee agreed that the President's Plan would provide little money for Oregon. Members objected to what they called high interest rates on Federal money loaned to the States. But they agreed that if some Federal money happened to come along as outright grants, they would accept it.

DOUBLE SHIFTS

Committee members also suggested that districts might operate 2 daily school shifts, or might run 12 months a year. But these ideas were advanced only in case the people in the districts refused to vote new bonds. J. L. Turnbull, assistant superintendent

of public instruction, suggested an increase in the district bonding limits, which he admitted "would just make it possible for a Poor district to go further into debt." advocated State grants to the districts.

Turnbull said that of the total needs of the 34 districts, 65 percent of the money is needed in Portland's "bedroom" areas within 25 miles of the city.

This prompted Representative William Bradeen, Burns, to suggest that the people of Portland pay part of the cost of education in these areas.

CONSOLIDATION URGED

Representative W. R. Giesy, Monroe, said some districts should be forced to consolidate with other districts in order to cut down school costs.

The committee pointed out that since most of the \$100 million would be used for class-rooms for the first 8 grades, another crisis would develop in 5 years, when high schools become overcrowded.

Cecil Posey, secretary of the Oregon Education Association, advocated increasing the local bonding limits and also giving the districts more State aid.

TWO LOCAL SCHOOLS

Among the 34 school districts which the House Education Committee says are in critical need of new buildings are Elmira Union High and Creswell Union High in Lane

A Tribute to the Hungarian People on Their Day of Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the year 1843 was a year of revolution on the European Continent. Europe was in ferment. The forces of liberalism and

nationalism, turned loose by the Amencan Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789 and repressed in Europe during the post-Napoleonic period, burst forth with renewed vigor to shake the foundations of the European system. Hungary was one storm center in the struggle for national independence.

America has her Washington; Hungary has her Kossuth. In our War of Independence Washington came to the fore, and leading the forces of the Revolution carried the cause of American independence to final fulfillment. We are the beneficiaries of the efforts of this great man; we are the beneficiaries of the efforts of his heroic soldiers.

In the Hungarian revolution of 1848 Louis Kossuth, like Washington, came to the fore and led the forces of Hungarian independence. Unfortunately, Kossuth and his compatriots failed in their attempt to establish freedom and democracy in Hungary. Imperial Russia intervened in the war of independence, and joining the forces of the Hapsburg Empire, succeeded in destroying the independence that the Hungarian people had proclaimed.

The Hungarian cause was lost. But, even from failure there arises many wholesome things and from this great attempt at establishing independence in Hungary there emerged a great leader of Hungarian democracy: Louis Kossuth. A leader of inestimable quality and ability Louis Kossuth has rightly taken a place alongside of the world's great leaders of democracy and independence, men like Washington, Jefferson, O'Connell and Bolivar.

Probably one of the most galling aspects of the present regime in Hungary is the attitude it has taken toward Kossuth. Deceitfully, the Communists have attempted in their propaganda to depict Louis Kossuth as a precursor of their own so-called liberation regime. The Communists have used every propagandistic contrivance to make this great Hungarian leader appear as one of them. Indeed, this treacherous tactic is a prime example of the manner in which the Communists have used the good name of a great democratic leader to cloak their own tyranny and injustices. Thus, they have sought to create the impression that the Communist movement in Hungary is really a Hungarian nationalist movement, entirely unrelated to the Soviet Union and the international Communist conspiracy. Indeed, this is a vicious fraud that is being attempted upon the Hungarian people, for Louis Kossuth and his patriots of 1848 were motivated by the highest democratic ideals; they were men grounded firmly in the Christian tradition; they were above all else Hungarians loyal to the cause of their nation. In a word, these men represent everything that we profess to be, great and pure, everything that is fundamentally hostile to the concept of commu-

Today as Hungary lies enchained in a new tyranny, all Hungarians can look to Louis Kossuth and the patriots of 1848 for inspiration in their struggle for freedom. For them we in America pray, as indeed Kossuth himself had prayed, that Hungary will one day be free.

Tennessee Joint Resolution and United States Department of Agriculture's Response Thereto-Re Cotton, Tobacco Acreage Allotments Under Drought Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, recently I was pleased to submit to the Department of Agriculture a certified copy of the Tennessee Legislature house joint resolution relative to acreage allotments for drought-stricken counties in Tennessee. In response to this resolution, the Department of Agriculture has prepared an extended response. Under unanimous consent, I include both the resolution and the Department's reply in the Appendix of the RECORD. The resolution and the letter from the Department

House Joint Resolution 13

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the 79th General Assembly of the State of Tennessee (the Senate concurring). That the Department of Agriculture of the United States of America is hereby memorialized and requested to cut the allotment of no individual engaged in farming in countles classified as drought-stricken counties in this State by the Department during the year 1954, below the allotment which was made to such individual for the year 1954 upon any crop, allotment of acreage of which is made by said Department; be it further

Resolved, That upon the passage of this resolution and its signature by the chief executive, a copy thereof be duly certified and forwarded to the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, and to each Member of Congress from Tennessee, and that this resolution be spread on the Journal of the House of Representatives and Senate.

Adopted January 25, 1955.

JAMES L. FOMAR,
Speaker of the House of Representatives. JARED MADDUX, Speaker of the Senate. FRANK G. CLEMENT, Governor.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, Washington, D. C., March 3, 1955. Hon. JOE L. EVINS,

House of Representatives. DEAR CONGRESSMAN EVINS: This is in reference to your letter of February 21, together with Resolution No. 13 adopted by the House of Representatives of the State of Tennessee, the Tennessee State Senate concurring, on January 25, 1955, in regard to establishing certain minimum acreage allotments in counties classified as drought-stricken counties during 1954.

In regard to cotton acreage allotments, the enclosed statement sets forth the size of the 1955 national cotton allotment and the provisions governing the determination of State, county, and farm cotton acreage allotments. The law provides specific for-mulas for establishing the national allotment and its apportionment to States, and for apportioning the State allotment (less reserve) to counties. When the county committee has made its choice on the method for establishing farm allotments, the commit-tee is required to use a specific formula for apportioning the county allotment (less reserve) to farms. The law and regulations prescribe the uses of State and county reserves in accordance with certain factors as set forth in the statement.

The act does not authorize the Secretary to withhold any of the national allotment to allocate at his discretion. All of the national acreage allotment of 18,113,208 acres has been distributed to the States pursuant to the formula provided in the act.

The economic effect on farmers in the drought areas is recognized and their difficulties are sympathetically understood. It is the desire of this Department to alleviate, insofar as possible under applicable provisions of law, the conditions caused by drought and other adverse weather condi-tions in the areas affected. The law governing the determination of State, county, and farm cotton allotments is very specific. law and the regulations permit adjustment in State and county history acreages where it can be definitely established that plantings were reduced by abnormal weather conditions. This authority, however, is applicable only where plantings are prevented by abnormal weather conditions, and is not applicable in cases where normal plantings are made but production is reduced by abnormal weather conditions. We do not feel that the acreage allotment and marketing quota legislation is designed to accomplish such relief through increased farm allotments in subsequent years except where the weather condition adversely affected plantings.

We recognize that cotton farmers are being called on to make substantial adjustments in cotton acreage from plantings in recent years. This adjustment results from the very large stocks of cotton on hand. In October, when the 1955 national allotment was proclaimed, the 1954 cotton crop was estimated at 12,511,000 bales. The December report estimated the 1954 crop at 13,569,000 bales, or an increase of 1,058,000 bales over the October report. It now appears that our carryover of cotton on August 1, 1955, will at least equal, and may well exceed, the carryover on August 1, 1954. In view of our cotton supply and demand outlook situation, there is no apparent basis for increasing cotton allotments for 1955 above those now in

The carryover of burley tobacco as of October 1, 1954, the beginning of the current marketing year, was 1,198,200,000 pounds, the largest on record. It appears now that the 1954 crop, which has just been marketed, was approximately 670,000,000 pounds, the largest crop ever grown. Thus, supplies of burley tobacco have reached an all-time high. Likewise, supplies of fire-cured and dark air-cured tobacco are excessive in relation to current disappearance.

There were no rice allotments in 1954, so Resolution 13 would not be applicable to

that commodity.

Federal legislation pertaining to establishment of farm wheat and corn allotments does not provide for any minimum amount below which an allotment my not be reduced due to drought. It contemplates that the county allotment each year will be apportioned pro rata to all eligible farms according to their crop-rotation practices, tillable acres, type of soll and topography; and also past history in the case of wheat.

Corn allotments have been dropped altogether in six Tennessee counties for 1955. In the remaining nine corn-allotment counties, corn allotments will be larger than in 1954 on most farms. There are no market-ing quotas on corn. The corn allotment is used to determine eligibility for corn-price support and agricultural conservation program assistance.

Wheat allotments are used for similar purposes and, in addition, marketing quotas are in effect, but they apply only to farms hav-ing more than 15 acres of wheat. Normally, only about 17 percent of the wheat farms in Tennessee produce wheat above the 15acre level. Of course the wheat for 1955 has already been seeded, but any operator may comply with his allotment by using his excess wheat acreage while still green and prior to a date set by the State committee for hay, pasture, silage, or green manure.

Allotments and marketing quotas are primarily designed to adjust supplies to market demands. To make exceptions by establishing minimum farm allotments for any specific reason tends to defeat the intent and purposes of acreage allotment and marketing quota legislation.

Sincerely yours,

J. A. McConnell, Assistant Sccretary.

Impressions of Thailand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of the House membership I am today placing in the Congressional RECORD one of the most interesting letters I have ever received on an area of the Far East.

The letter I make reference to, Mr. Speaker, was written by Mrs. Edna Cohen, of Waterbury, Conn. Presently Mrs. Cohen is doing a TV show as a public service telecast. A combination of her travel experiences and natural ability as author and artist makes her show both educational and entertaining and one I highly recommended for both adults and children.

Mrs. Cohen, as author, is currently writing a book which will be both fictional and factual and surely of interest to those anticipating a world tour or specifically for educational purposes and good reading.

The letter follows:

WATERBURY, CONN., March 11, 1955. Hon. James T. Patterson, Member of Congress,

New House Office Building,

Washington, D.C. My DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The return of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles from the Far East, will undoubtedly motivate many conferences, bringing into focus the political, economic, and strategic viewpoints of the countries he visited.

As a Member of Congress the news, views, and information amassed by Mr. Dulles will be presented to you from the standpoint of a statesman, and rightfully so.

It would seem to me to be apropos at this time to also get the reaction of Mr. and Mrs. Average American Tourist.

Last year, in our trip around the world, we visited Bangkok, Thailand. Our first favorable impression was the ingenuity of the Thal. No loud speaker was necessary to announce our arrival to our assigned guide. She stood behind the Immigration Official and when we presented our passports, she introduced herself. A car being unavailable, she commandecred a bus to provide us with the private transportation to which we were entitled.

Further proof of their ingenuity is evidenced in the unique construction and decoration of their many temples, the shiny roofs of which are common, ordinary pieces of colored glass and mirrors, set in a manner to catch the rays of the sun and reflect

its brilliancy. On close examination we found the decorations of another temple to be of ordinary broken china and crockery, the pieces of which were set to form exquisite floral designs. The gay tinkling we heard at the approach of still another temple was caused by narrow slats of glass attached to bright colored ribbons, hung from the roofs of the temple, which gently bumped each other in the breeze, causing the pleasant bell-like tinkling.

The houses along the canals, which they call klongs, were crudely built and thickly populated by people in very scant clothes but very large hearts. Not one man, woman, or child failed to call out friendly greetings to the "foreigners" as we traversed the

klongs.

The hand that was extended to us on the street was in welcome, not in alms. We saw no beggars.

The numerous Buddhist priests we encountered were friendly and eager to converse. Giving them money would be considered an insult, our guide informed us.

Thailanders, our guide also said, resented the implication that they worshipped idols. They worship One Infinite Being, she said, the numerous Buddhas representing various phases and emotions in their tangible man-

Thai culture is manifest in their dancing. which is a syncronization of grace and beauty; in their nielloware jewelry, which embodies exquisite patterns with intricate etchings; in their production of bronze tableware, though manufactured under the crudest of methods by our standards, combine a delicate blending of caribou with bronze, patterned in a manner symbolic of their land.

Despite the lack of our type of good roads, automotive and other vehicles are plentiful and the traffic is heavy but controlled. Sidewalks are sorely in need of paving and re-pairs. The city at night is very poorly illuminated. This, we were informed, was due to the fact that Japan, after its occupation Thailand, removed and took with them power equipment, and which so many years later they have still been unable to fully replace and extend.

The sight of a shiny white truck, displaying a familiar seal in red, white, and blue, bearing the words United States Information Service, Mobile Film Unit brought tears to our eyes, lumps to our throats, and a prayer to our lips: "God Bless America!"

A country whose people are poor but clean. humble and friendly; whose ingenuity is used to best advantages; whole religious endeavors are manifest in their beautiful temples; whose placidity is evidenced by their even tempers and lack of haste; and whose strength is in their civic pride and national unity, is truly deserving of respect and consideration in the eyes of Mr. and Mrs. Average American Tourist.

Cordially yours, Mrs. Edward Cohen.

The Revision of U. N. Charter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the One Worlders are getting more bold and daring. Through a revision of the Charter of the United Nations proposed for sometime this year, the One Worlders or the World Association of Parliathe United World Federalists propose to make a start in taking this country over,

lock, stock, and barrel.

The United States is to be divided into four regions. The eastern section will include all of the United States from Maine to the Mississippi River and from the Mason and Dixon's line to Canada. The second section will include all the southern States from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains. The third section will take in the States of the Middle West from Canada to the Mason and Dixon's line and from the Mississippi River to the Rockies. The fourth section will include the extreme west coast. These sections will be governed by the office of a director or commissar appointed by the World Government and he will administer laws given him by the same one world organization. These laws Will be enforced by a corps of One World police, drawn from every country in the organization. There is no provision for the election of these directors or commissars and neither they nor the policemen used to enforce the laws can be residents of the district they control.

The resources of the world will be Pooled and the rich, natural resources of the United States will be distributed throughout the world to bring every class of person up to a common standard of living. Individual efforts and industry count for nothing—the same identical setup the Soviets have. The One Worlders see a golden opportunity to get their clutches on the immense natural resources of this republic and distribute it

to do two things:

First. To build up the potential

enemies of this country.

Second. To so deplete the United States that it will be an easy victim of the World Government.

Not enough people in the United States are aware of this One World movement, Which was once carried on secretly but is now promoted openly. Churches have joined in demanding this surrender on our part. These churches have been misled by thinking that world peace can be obtained if the United States will give up a part of its sovereignty. This is confused reasoning, because if we give up a part of our sovereignty it means that eventually we will be asked to give it all up if world peace cannot be established without it.

It is as impossible to subscribe to world beace with the Russian government, whose motive force is the destruction of capitalism, as it is to mix oil and water. We are not out to destroy communism, but Russia and China are out to utterly destroy capitalism. All we seek is to arrest communism and keep it from spreading ever outward as a threat to our own Government.

Since it is impossible to have perpetual Deace with the Soviets, what faulty reasoning is it to suggest we give up our own sovereignty, thereby making the world conquest of capitalism more certain. The Soviets and Red China will sign any World peace document, but will not keep a word of their promises. How much more evidence do these peacemakers need to convince them that the signature

mentarians for World Government and of the Reds to a treaty is no more valuable than a page out of a Sears and Roebuck catalog?

> These international One Worlders are heading this country into a lot of trouble here in the United States. Their plans include world citizenship, world legislation, world military control, world distribution of wealth and world management of economic and living conditions of all citizens, including the United States. We fought for our independence and freedom once, and will do it again. I do not believe the people of the United States want to give up, or will give up, any part of the sovereign rights of this republic. I think there are millions in this country who will, when the facts reach them, resist this One World Government, and brand its agitators for just what they are.

> Although the Senate was asleep when the Charter of the United Nations was approved, the Congress is now alive to the menace of the One Worlders' efforts to sabotage the Constitution of the United States. House Joint Resolution 184 was passed unanimously by the Judiciary Committee of the House on March 8th, and reads as follows:

> Resolved, etc., That the 1st day of May 1955 is hereby designated as Loyalty Day and is set aside as a special day for the reaffirmation of loyalty to the United States of America and for the recognition of the heritage of American freedom; and the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon officials of the Government to display the flag of the United States on all Government buildings on such day and inviting the people of the United States to observe such day, in schools and other suitable places, with appropriate ceremonies.

> While the UNESCO of the United Nations seeks to tear down loyalty to this Nation and destroy patriotic national spirit, the Judiciary Committee expressed the opposite view in no uncertain terms. Gradually, day by day, the people are finding out about the purposes and objects of this sinister organization. The bolder UNESCO becomes, the more its purposes will be disclosed, and the Judiciary Committee of the House is to be congratulated for meeting its pernicious aims head on.

Edward J. McGettigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Allentown (Pa.) Morning Call

of March 10, 1955: A GOOD LIFE IS CLOSED

There hasn't been an hour like it in more than half a century of the Morning Call to match the grief of her people upon the death of a fellow employee as when news of the death of Edward J. McGettigan reached us. In an instant the ties that had bound us

with this paper's city editor for almost 30 years were severed. One satisfaction did remain with us: He had been with us and was active as a newspaperman almost until the hour of his death.

There haven't been such distressing weeks as the staff of the Morning Call has passed through recently. The physical decline of Mr. McGettigan was noted with sadness by But all efforts on the part of his colleagues to have him take needed rest were unavailing with the man whose last 45 years had been devoted almost exclusively to newspaperdom. He just refused to quit. seemed he desired to die "in the saddle."

Today our hearts are sad at the passing of a tried and a true friend, for that in the final analysis was his finest relationship with us. However, in our grief we realize that all on the staffs of the Call-Chronicle newspapers share our sorrow. Upstairs and downstairs, in the front office, as well as in the newsroom of the Call, which Mr. McGettigan dominated every night for almost 35 years, there was universally high regard for this admirable newsman, this excellent citizen and this near and sincere friend of so very many persons both within and outside the profession to which he brought lustre and honor during all his newspaper years.

Humbly and haltingly any local newspaperman who knew Ned McGettigan would attempt to reach even partial appraisal of his virtues and determine his stature, first as a newspaperman and then as a man among

His formal education, by modern standards, was brief but thorough. His informal education, achieved almost exclusively from his reading of the best newspapers and magazines, was amazingly extensive. He was the best demonstration of the educational potentialities of American newspapers. Possessed of an unusually keen intellect and highly retentive memory, he brought the great asset—calm and ripe judgment—to the marshaling of dates, facts, and figures in an appreciation and presentation of news, especially that of the local field. A diamond in the rough had been brought to the highest polish and brilliancy by the public schools of the sixth ward and the inspiration that the very good teachers of his day had given to young men to read widely and wisely. If he was not entirely, he certainly closely approached the ideal of newspapermen as to what a good reporter should be and what a good city editor should be.

The spirit of the newsroom which he oversaw for so many years was the very anti-thesis of what the American public has been led to believe a newsroom is like. The Hollywood version furnished no parallel for an organization that had Ned McGettigan as its cool and calm leader and director.

A stickler for facts and for getting to the gist of a story, he imbued his colleagues with the desirability of stripping the husks from the grain, and getting down to facts in dispassionate and logical approach to the truth in the news. He demanded sound reporting. And he got it from men who today bespeak his praise for the practical training that they received while working with him.

It must not be assumed from the above that Mr. McGettigan lacked imagination or emotion. On the contrary he was a man of the most delicate sympathies. This fineness in his nature was a quality that was recognized by all who knew him. Though a city boy, born and bred, he loved nature in all its phases. Photographs of pastoral scenes, of birds and animals—particularly if wild appealed to him especially as items for the dolling up of news pages. Pictures of little children, if they told a story, were irresistible to him. In further exhibition of that trait, Mr. McGettigan's interest in children amounted almost to reverence for little people. Nothing brought greater brightness to his eye and softness to his voice than the arrival in the city room of some child. It might be the shoeshine boy, or an errand boy from some place of business or the child of a visitor to the office. Nothing seemed to cheer his heart and to gladden his soul so deeply as little children. Any story concerning children was likely to receive his closest attention and get the most-favored position possible in the paper.
But Mr. McGettigan's colleagues and as-

sociates are going to remember him more for other qualities for it can be said that

he was a paragon of virtue.

People who came to know the Morning Call's staff invariably were impressed with the high regard which unreservedly was manifested by all for a man who was in a position that has brought dislike and disregard and even stronger feeling against many men in corresponding position on other papers.

His associates knew him as a patient, humble, and serene person. He was quiet and more inclined to listen than to talk. He was friendly, cooperative, and generous to a fault. He could disagree without being disagreeable. He loved to note the little ironies in life and in the lives and activities of man. But he was generous and sympathetic in all his dealings

Never lusty, he had indomitable courage. As a young man he engaged in sports where his courage had to substitute for weight and strength. And in his newspaper work his mild manner and soft voice concealed strength of character that defied the bullies who, both from high and low position in life, frequently challenge the press and its publication of the news.

The mildness of his manner deceived those who did not guess the iron of his character. He had the highest principles and he adhered to them unflinchingly, although often required to employ the wisdom of ages that "a soft answer turneth away wrath."

He was a gentle man in that he did gentle More than any one can know, he deeds. aided friends and associates in difficult hours. He never permitted his left hand to know what his right hand was doing but the objects of his beneficences never can nor will forget his unsolicited aid, cheer, and sympathy in various ways in the hours when they most stood in need.

A brave and a generous man, a noble man, a gentleman in every sense of that term has closed his eyes and his abundant years have come to an end. There is sadness for all who knew him. But there is joy that favorable memory of him has no reservations.

Heaven will be the better for Ned Mc-Gettigan. May God receive his soul.

Congress Must Do Something Immediately to Alleviate the Unemployment Problem in Labor Surplus Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, March 14, 1955, I appeared before the so-called Neely subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in connection with the unemployment problem in the coal, railroad, and related industries and which exists in my congressional district. My statement follows:

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, MARCH 14, 1955, BEFORE THE NEELY SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

Mr. Chairman, I want to congratulate you and the members of this committee for making possible the appearance here of those of us in Congress who represent areas of the Nation with a substantial labor surplus.

These hearings are timely and of utmost importance because they focus the attention of Congress and the Nation on the evils of unemployment.

Furthermore, these hearings will reveal that thousands of good Americans are living today on unemployment insurance benefits, public assistance, and surplus commodities.

Mr. Chairman, I want it definitely under-

stood that I am not opposed to the principle of reciprocal trade. My votes on that subject since becoming a Member of Congress support that statement.

However, when it became apparent that reciprocal trade agreements were permitting cheaply manufactured foreign goods to destroy the jobs of American workmen I could not conscientiously continue my support of such a program.

Mr. Chairman, I supported the perli-point and the escape-clause amendments which were written into the reciprocal-trade laws

and which we were told would safeguard the jobs of American wage earners.

In addition, I looked upon the creation of the Randall committee with high hope that it would provide relief to certain American industries from unfair competition resulting from a flood of cheaply manufactured foreign goods.

Regardless of the peril point, the escape clause, or the recommendations of the Randall committee, no checkrein has been placed on foreign imports and especially the flood of foreign residual oil which has just about wrecked the economy of coal-producing areas in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Mary-

Because of the geographical location of the coal-producing areas in these three States, for years and years their mines supplied the eastern seaboard with coal.

However, since 1946 foreign residual oil from Venezuela began to flood the eastern seaboard with the result that it has displaced coal from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Maryland, thus destroying the jobs of thousands of coal miners, railroaders, and others in related industries.

The following chart fully describes the economic losses to American industry and labor from the importation of foreign residual oil for the period from 1946 through 1954:

Item	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Economic losses to American industry and labor occasioned by United States imports of residual oil 1946-54, inclusive: 1. United States imports of residual fuel oil	45	54	53	75 18	120	119	129	136	132
fuel ofi: 3. Coal producers	\$37 \$21 \$19 \$12 (1)	\$54 \$28 \$27 \$14 (¹)	\$64 \$30 \$31 \$15 (1)	\$87 \$45 \$43 \$23 (1)	\$139 \$74 \$68 \$36 (1)	\$141 \$75 \$72 \$38 (1)	\$151 \$86 \$77 \$43 (1)	\$160 \$92 \$81 \$46 \$41	\$153 \$84 \$74 \$44 \$10

1 Not available.

Mr. Chairman, this chart speaks for itself because it reveals the tremendous increase annually since 1946 in the importation of foreign residual oil.

In addition, it also discloses the millions of tons of coal displaced annually; the revenue lost to coal producers and the railroads; the loss in taxes to local, State, and the Federal Government; and more important than anything else the wages lost by coal miners and railroaders.

Mr. Chairman, I am not attempting to tell you or this committee that the unemployment in the coal, railroad, and related industries is wholly chargeable to foreign residual oil. It is, however, a powerful factor.

The following chart shows the decreased use of coal by the railroads of the Nation and by other domestic users:

> Consumption of bituminous coal [Thousands of net tons]

Year	Railroads (class 1)	Retail dealer deliveries	Total		
1946	110, 166	100, 586	500, 386		
1948	109, 296 94, 838	99, 163 89, 747	545, 891 519, 909		
1949	68, 123	90, 299	445, 538		
1950	60, 969	86, 604	454, 202		
1952	54, 005 37, 962	76, 531 68, 393	468, 904 418, 757		
1953	27, 735	61, 295	420, 285		
1964	17, 370	52, 616	362, 980		

Source: U. S. Bureau of Mines.

You will observe the drastic decrease in the amount of coal used by the railroads which is the result of the dieselization of their motive power.

The loss in domestic use or in retail deliveries is chargeable to the use of substitute

Mr. Chairman, from the information furnished in my testimony you have evidence as to the basis for the unemployment in the coal, railroad and related industries.

As you know, those of us in Congress from coal-producing areas have advocated a quota limitation on the importation of foreign residual oil, because we feel it is justified and the only way we can get relief.

Mr. Chairman, you have heard from spokesmen for the coal industry for the past week and there is nothing more I can add to their expert testimony.

For that reason, I want to talk about the unemployment situation in my own congressional district which comprises the counties of Blair, Centre, and Clearfield in central Pennsylvania.

When I first came to Congress in 1939 I opposed reciprocal trade agreements on the grounds that they were destroying the jobs of coal miners in my congressional district in Pennsylvania. At that time, imported Russian coal had captured some of the eastern seaboard coal markets from coal producers in my congressional district.

In voicing my opposition to the importation of slave-minded Russian coal and other cheaply manufactured foreign products, I predicted that such a reckless policy would create ghost towns out of many communities in my congressional district and throughout the Nation.

Mr. Chairman, my prediction in 1939 has become a reality.

Practically all of our deep mines in central Pennsylvania are closed and thousands of miners have been out of work for several years.

In fact, many mining towns have been abandoned and their empty and dilapidated rows of houses stand as a ghastly monument to the destructive effects of the importation of foreign residual oil.

Because they have nowhere to go, only a few of the unemployed in the coalfields of central Pennsylvania have left the area.

The result is that today, according to the United States Department of Labor, my congressional district is classified as a critical area because of a very substantial labor surplus.

In fact, over 18 percent of the civilian labor force is unemployed.

This unemployment is not confined to coal miners and railroaders but includes those employed in affected related industries.

The three countries that comprise my congressional district represent one of the most acute unemployment areas in the United States.

This unemployment problem that exists in my congressional district did not happen overnight. As I mentioned a moment ago, it started back in 1939 and were it not for World War II and the Korean war which stepped up the demand for coal the unemployment problem we have today would have been acute in the intervening years.

In a few words, World War II and the Korean war simply delayed the day of reckoning.

Mr. Chairman, these unemployed people in my congressional district have exhausted their rights to unemployment insurance, liquidated their savings accounts, borrowed on or have taken the cash value of their insurance policies and today are living on public assistance and surplus commodities.

In order to become eligible for public assistance many of these good Americans were required to permit the State to place a lien against their home for the amount they receive in public assistance benefits.

To give you some idea of the overall picture of unemployment in my congressional district let me call your attention to the following chart that describes the number of families and persons receiving surplus commodities:

Surplus commodities

County	Number of families	Percentage of all fam- ilies	Total number of persons	Percentage of county population
Blair Centre Clearfield	10, 801 2, 939 9, 988	26. 8 15. 9 42. 2	32, 561 9, 362 37, 179	23, 3 14, 2 43, 3
Total	23, 728	28.8	79, 402 1, 020, 963	27. 1 1 9. 7

⁴ Of State population of 10,498,012.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, before you receive coupons for surplus commodities you have to be certified as eligible by a local welfare agency.

Therefore, these figures are official and have been verified not only by the State of Pennsylvania but also by the county commissioners in each of the three counties in my congressional district.

Surplus commodities by carload lots to Mar. 1, 1955

County	Beans	Beef	Butter	Cheese	Dried milk	Rice	Short- enling
Blair	2 1/2 4	16 4 5	21 3 16	19 5 14	18 5 16	1,12	10
Total number of carloads	61.9	25	40	38	39	234	3
Grand total, 184 carload lots.		W - W			18.45		

Mr. Chairman, there is no denial of the fact that these figures are startling and are an answer to those who smugly insist that there is no acute unemployment problem in the labor surplus areas of the Nation.

Think of it, Mr. Chairman, in the great industrial State of Pennsylvania out of its 10½ million residents, nearly 10 percent, or 1,020,963, are living on surplus commodities.

In my congressional district out of a population of 292,000 nearly 28 percent, or 79,402 persons, are receiving surplus commodities.

Yes, Mr. Chairman, these figures are startling for they truly portary the extent of unemployment in Pennsylvania and in my congressional district.

To be more specific, in my home city of Altoona, Pa., out of a metropolitan area population of a little better than 100,000 nearly 10,000 persons are unemployed, 6,000 of whom are railroad employees, with 4,100 of them having exhausted their rights to railroad unemployment insurance benefits on January 10, 1955.

I regret that every member of this committee is unable to visit Altoona, Pa., and talk to these unemployed Americans as they stand in line to pick up their surplus food coupons.

If it were possible for you to talk to them, you would hear the tragic story of their plight as citizens of a nation that boasts of its high standard of living.

Mr. Chairman, the residents of my congressional district faced with this acute unemployment problem are not sitting idly by and doing nothing to help themselves. Almost every community has an active industrial committee, and thousands of dollars have been raised by public subscription in an all-out and long-range program of rehabilitating the industrial economy of the area by attracting new industries.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, in the effort to attract new industries to a community the competition is really keen.

While these various community industrial groups exert every possible effort to attract new industries, no stone is being left unturned to assist the unemployed in finding jobs. In this effort we have the cooperation of Federal and State employment services as well as the Railroad Retirement Board.

Regardless of this determined effort to relieve the unemployment situation, we are faced with the fact that only a handful have found employment elsewhere in central Pennsylvania; while several hundred having

despaired of getting employment in Altoona have migrated to other States. The bulk of the unemployed are still in central Pennsylvania and especially in the Altoona area where they are living in hope that employment conditions will improve.

Mr. Chairman, these unemployed who have remained in central Pennsylvania should not be criticized, for let us remember they represent the second and third generation of families that settled in the central Pennsylvania area years and years ago.

They have their family roots in central Pennsylvania, many owning their own homes or having nearly completed the purchase of them.

In plain words, these good American citizens who have helped build their community, State, and Nation through toil and taxes, should not be expected to leave the great industrial State of Pennsylvania and roam over the United States in gypsylike fashion seeking their daily bread.

To those who would suggest that these families be relocated at Government expense, I say to you that you are advocating the principles of state socialism which dictates when and where you may sow and reap.

Mr. Chairman, as the Representative of these people in the Congress of the United States, I have introduced a series of bills in this Congress designed to provide relief for the unemployment situation, not only in my congressional district but also in other labor surplus areas of the Nation.

There are two bills in particular in my series of legislative proposals that I would like to call to this committee's attention.

First is H. R. 860, a bill to provide for programs of public facilities construction which will stimulate employment in areas having a substantial labor surplus.

The other bill is H. R. 4628 which will authorize the Small Busines Administration to make loans to municipalities having a substantial labor surplus to assist them in their efforts to promote the establishment and location of new industries or to aid in expanding existing plants.

These two bills are pending before House committees and if approved by this Congress would help considerably to alleviate the unemployment problem and bolster the sagging economy of many areas of the Nation.

Mr. Chairman, while we attack this unemployment problem on all fronts almost daily the situation becomes more acute as our unemployment rolls increase because of the fact that as the day go by more of our deep shaft mines are being closed with the result that more miners, railroaders, and employees in related industries are thrown out of work.

The closing of our mines, Mr. Chairman, is traceable to the ever increasing imports of residual oil from Venezuela which started in 1946 with 45 million barrels and reached a total of nearly 132 million barrels in 1954.

In fact, from 1946 through 1954, inclusive, a total of 863 million barrels of foreign residual oil flooded the eastern seaboard of the United States displacing 209 million tons of bituminous coal resulting in the loss of \$492 million in miners' wages and \$271 million in railroader's wages.

We should add to this loss in income the loss in taxes to Federal, State, and local political subdivisions.

Mr. Chairman, you will remember that earlier in my discussion I talked of ghost towns and all through my remarks I have stressed the unemployment of thousands of good Americans who have exhausted their rights to unemployment-insurance benefits and are existing on public assistance and surplus commodities.

I repeat, this condition prevails in the United States where we boast of our high

standard of living.

Mr. Chairman, the principal benefactor from the flood of foreign residual oil is Venezuela whose residents are enjoying unbridled prosperity.

Let me read to you Hal Boyle's syndicated column of January 14, 1955, titled "Venezuela Seen as the Texas of South America."

"VENEZUELA SEEN AS TEXAS OF SOUTH AMERICA

"(By Hal Boyle)

"CARACAS, VENEZUELA.—Leaves from cruising notebook: Venezuela today is the Texas of South America.

"So much money is being made here that visiting Texans actually get an inferiority complex, and the United States dollar feels like 50 cents.

"Just to be sure he wouldn't be mistaken for an ordinary bum, one new millionaire from the interior of the country came to town with calling cards that bore this message printed after his name; 'Capital: 6 million bolivars.' That's nearly \$2 million.

There is so much wealth flowing around that even tourists get a break. If you kick a diamond out of a rock here, the Government lets you keep it tax free unless it is worth more than \$1,700. You can also go pearl diving and keep any pearls you find.

"The visitor has a dazed sensation he is caught in a midcentury Klondike gold rush. The atmosphere of quick money is overwhelming, and tales of riches made overnight

are a bolivar a dozen.

Venezuela is bigger than Texas and Oklahoma combined and larger than any European country except Germany. Its chief income is from cil-no land except the United States produces more—but it also has iron ore deposits rivaling the famed Minnesota Mesabi Range. It also has cowboys and Indians. 16,000-foot-tall mountains, jungles, beach resorts, and the world's highest waterfalls.

"Although the nation has a population of 5½ million, the government spent half a billion dollars in 1954 on vast public-works projects and still ended up with \$80 million left in the till. Its huge modernization program calls for the future expenditure of \$800 million alone for a new 2,640-mile railway network to open inland mineral and agricultural areas for further development.

"Foreign investors from the United States and Europe are pouring untold more millions into the industrialization of the country. It has taken in more than 100,000 immigrants from Europe the last 10 years.

"Caracas, the 388-year-old capital, is now one of the world's greatest boom cities. Fifty years ago milkmen herded cows through its ancient streets. Today they are jammed by thousands of new high-priced motor cars.

"You reach the city from the nearby port along recently completed 11-mile highway cost \$71 million, which Caraquenos that proudly boast is, mile for mile, the most expensive ever built.

"Nearly a million people live in the metropolitan area, and so many new buildings are going up construction workers have no time even to take Sundays off to go to the bull fights.

"Dominating the heart of the city is Centro Bolivar, Venezuela's 'Rockefeller Center,' which will cost \$300 million. Its twin 300foot towers, housing government offices, have four traffic levels beneath them.

"Caracas also has a baseball park the size of Yankee Stadium, the new \$8 million Hotel Tamanaco, a technicolored \$30 million polyclinic hospital, and a university as modern as any in the world.

"But the city has abysmal poverty as well as tremendous wealth. The shantles of the poor still crowd many of the raw red hills that stud Caracas. The government has torn down thousands of these eyesores and replaces them with forty 15-story apartment buildings at a cost of \$24 million. Workmen can rent the apartments for \$6 to \$30 a month, own them after a period of 20 years.

"In 1955 the government plans to tear down 6,500 more shacks, spend \$2 million more on apartment projects for low-income workers.

"Oddly, many uprooted workmen's familles are unhappy in their fine new apartments.

" 'The old shacks had a small yard in which families could raise a pig and a few chickens, explained our guide. 'It is all but impossible, of course, to raise a pig in an apartment, and many of the old people in particular get lonesome for their old way of life. They don't feel as free as they did.'

'Progress always has its price, and to some the price doesn't seem worth it."

L'r. Chairman, what a contrast it is to compare living conditions in Venezucla with the coal fields of Pennsylvania.

May I add that the prosperity enjoyed in Venezuela is to a great extent at the expense of the misery and suffering of residents of the coal-producing States of our Nation and especially of my congressional district.

At this very minute a quarter of a million ton tanker ship is tied up at an east coast dock carrying disaster to the coal, railroad, and related industries of this Nation, in much the same manner as rat-infested vessels brought disease into our port cities in years gone by.

This foreign tanker with its bunker space filled with residual oil is dumping it in violation of every American concept of fair com-

petition.

As a matter of fact, even if the miners of our Nation would work for nothing and the railroads transported the coal for practically nothing, the coal industry could not compete with this unfair competition from foreign residual oil because its price is continually manipulated downward in order to capture the eastern seaboard coal market.

Mr. Chairman, it is being said in defense of residual oil that the oil companies have been requested to restrict voluntarily the amount of residual oil imported quarterly. Those who have considered the possibility of voluntary cutbacks on imports of foreign residual oil insist that it is impractical and that the idea has been abandoned.

They further state that such voluntary control may be in violation of antitrust laws and thus the proposal presents a complicated legal problem.

It has also been said that if any restrictions are placed on the importation of foreign residual oil we will offend Venezuela.

Let me state, Mr. Chairman, that every time a coal miner loses his job because of unfair competition from foreign residual oil a railroader has also been added to the list of the unemployed.

As far as I am concerned, it is about time we start adopting some of the policies foreign nations apply against us in protecting the jobs of their industrial workers.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity accorded me this morning to appear before this committee and to tell you of the plight of the unemployed in my congressional district.

Your willingness to listen to an analysis of our problem renews our faith and confidence in our representative form of government.

I sincerely hope that as a result of these hearings remedial legislation will be enacted at the earliest possible date.

Another Freeze?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, on Sunday, March 13, 1955, I appeared on a

nationwide television program Face the Nation, to discuss the study and inquiry into the radio and television field currently being considered by the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Com-

One of the panel members of this program was Mr. Sol Taishoff, keen observer, and publisher of the authoritative magazine Broadcasting-Telecasting. who raised various questions concerning the so-called television freeze.

Because of the importance of this matter and the long experience Mr. Taishoff has had in this field, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Another Freeze?" which appeared in the March 14, 1955. issue of Broadcasting-Telecasting.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANOTHER FREEZE?

If the FCC falls for the scheme of its staff department heads for the imposition of a new freeze (called chill) on VHF authorizations, the individual members might as well head for the hills. They would never be able to withstand the wrath of an outraged public in the areas that would be "chilled," as expressed through their duly elected representatives in Congress.

The scheme, reported in this issue, is harebrained. Its proclaimed purpose is to maintain the status quo of the UHF situation during the interim period when the Commission is considering possible remedial ac-tion. And what is that action?

Commissioner Frieda B. Hennock proposes, and the staff supports, an eventual move of all TV to the UHF band. At the FCC session last Tuesday, when the staff proposal was smuggled in, the discussion covered a possible 10-year transition from VHF to UHF, with stations operating on both bands dur-

ing this transition period.

The discussion also covered possible "selective deintermixture", but obviously this would be from VHF to UHF, since the longrange plan contemplates giving VHF-the established service that got there firstback to the Government to allocate to other services. The FCC probably has the legal authority to deintermix, but it would find itself embroiled in the courts at the very outset by applicants who in good faith had applied for available assignments, spent their funds for hearings, only to have the allocations rug jerked from under them.

Five years ago-before the end of the great freeze, and when there were only 100odd stations on the air-the then FCC Chairman Wayne Coy sent up a trial balloon on a move of all TV to UHF. There were then about 3 million TV receivers in use. The project got nowhere. Even in those days it involved too great an upheaval to warrant serious consideration.

The FCC is under pressure from Congress to do something for UHF. But it can't pass miracles. It should be evident that neither UHF nor VHF, standing alone, can provide optimum, saturation service. VHF has the greater coverage, and can provide service to rural and remote areas which could not be served economically by UHF's situated in the larger cities. A transition to UHF would mean the loss of even fringe service to those who seek it most-the remote dweller.

The FCC should forget about schemes that would artificially curtail or eliminate service. The "public interest" yardstick should be reason enough. The FCC can't ordain an equitable allocation so that one or more services will be provided everywhere. There are many VHF assignments that are going begging. More than 2 dozen previously authorized have been turned back. The reasons are economic.

And so it is with UHF. There are quite a few UHF stations that not only are not complaining, but wish the breast-beating would cease. They are doing well, even with VHF competition. First Storer, and now NBC acquires its second UHF station, while CBS is surveying the field for its second. This certainly supports the view that UHF is technically adequate.

UHF could be helped substantially if manufacturers would produce all-band receivers. Chairman Magnuson of the Senate Commerce Committee, proposes to call in the leading manufacturers in the hope of working this out. We hope he does it soon.

Meanwhile, the FCC would be well-advised to stick to its assigned task of allocating channels, both VHF and UHF, consistent with the demad and with its rules. It is not the function of Government to wet-nurse citizens who venture into unfamiliar fields unprepared to weather the red-ink stretch, as did all of the pioneer VHF's. Broadcasting epitomizes free competitive enterprise and the risks it entails.

Sixteenth Anniversary of the Independence of Slovakia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, today, March 14, is the 16th anniversary of the independence of Slovakia. Throughout the world this anniversary will be celebrated by the Slovak people. On March 14, 1939, the Slovak Parliament in Bratislava proclaimed Slovakia an independent state. It was the climax to feelings of national consciousness which had their beginnings as early as the 16th century. Although for long centuries generations of Slovaks lived on their own land under foreign rule, they cherished the deep faith that the time would come when Slovakia would become an independent country and Slovaks might rule themselves.

The solemnity with which Slovaks everywhere greet this 16th anniversary of their independence springs from the fact that it must denote still another year during which the people of Slovakia have endured the material enslavement of their land under the mockery called by the Communists the people's democracy. However, that the years of independence were so few has only strengthened the age-old determination of this proud people to resist to the end the forces which now aim to stifle the very moral principles upon which democracy and freedom are based.

I know that I speak for the American people when I say that the people of Slovakia have our deepest sympathy and admiration in their heroic resistance to the regime of physical exploitation and the amoral ideology which the Soviet Union has attempted to force upon them. We join them on this anniversary of their independence in the fervent hope that their opposition will prevail, and achieve once again the establishment of a free and democratic nation.

Family of Lt. John Buck, of Armathwaite, Tenn., Imprisoned Airman, Hopefully Await Return of Son Now in the Hands of Reds—Neighbor of Cordell Hull and Sgt. Alvin C. York, Lieutenant Buck Is Heir to Heroic Tennessee Tradition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the hearts of the Nation are with the American boys who are being illegally held and imprisoned by the Chinese Reds—and with the families of these men, with whom our Nation prays and hopes that the happy moment of reunion will come soon.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, there recently appeared in the Sunday magazine of the Nashville Tennessean an excellent article by Mr. H. B. Teeter about the family of Lt. John W. Buck, of Armathwaite, Tenn., who is one of the American boys imprisoned by the Reds. Mr. and Mrs. Noah Buck, the parents of Lieutenant Buck, as this article states, have every faith that their son will return and that his fine character and American outlook will be unchanged. We believe with them that such will be the case, because Lieutenant Buck represents the finest in American manhood.

Under unanimous consent, I insert this article by Mr. Teeter, Family Prays and Hopes for Son, Prisoner of the Reds, along with my remarks in the Appendix of the Record.

The article follows:

TENNESSEE FAMILY PRAYS AND HOPES FOR SON (By H. B. Teeter)

Many times each day, an elderly man and woman glance down a winding road which disappears around the shoulder of an apple orchard in Fentress County.

Noah Buck and his wife believe their son will come walking down the road again, some day, back to his home in Armathwaite.

They will see him walking, head erect, chest thrown back—the way they remember him in boyhood and young manhood. Their confidence has not wavered since their son, Lt. John W. Buck, disappeared behind the bamboo curtain in January 1953. They remain confident today, even in face of knowledge he is held prisoner by the Chinese Reds.

"If we did not believe that, if it had not been for our prayers, we could not have lived through the past two years," said Mrs. Buck, now 73, a sweet-faced, smiling woman whose pioneer parents helped settle this rugged mountain country.

"He will be the same Woodie Buck he always was," said the father, now 77, who swears by the American principles his son learned as a boy.

Lieutenant Buck is heir to an heroic tradition, neighbor and friend of the great Sgt. Alvin C. York, relative of Tennessee's stalwart Cordell Hull. He is also from the line of famed Sam Houston.

He has been held prisoner of the Chinese Reds since his American B-29 was shot down near the Yalu River in North Korea. The Tennessean was 1 of 14 men aboard the plane. Three died.

He was not heard of for 18 months. Then last August the Chinese revealed he and the others were alive and being held as political prisoners. He received a 4-year sentence from a Red tribunal which recently sentenced 13 American airmen on espionage charges. Thus the Chinese play their cruel and patient game.

It has been 15 years since Buck enlisted in the Air Force. As a bombardier during World War II, he is credited with sinking two Nazi submarines. His mission over North Korea in January 1953 was to drop pamphlets—not bombs.

At their comfortable home in Armathwaite, Mr. and Mrs. Buck the other day told how their son grew straight as a pine tree on their farm.

"When he was no more than 3 years old, he liked to be out in the fields with me," the father said. "By the time he started to school, his ambition was to run faster, fight harder and play better than the other kids."

The Buck home was and is a religious home, neighbors told this reporter.

"Woodie Buck grew up with more stuff in him than anybody I know," said Junior Hicks of Armathwaite. "He was a fighter. I was afraid he had been killed by the Chinese after he was shot down. If he had anything to fight with, he'd have fought to the finish."

"He wanted to be big and strong," Noah Buck said. "He put up a sack full of sand and used it as a boxing bag. He was a fine swimmer, too."

Although Buck has been gone from Armathwaite for most of 15 years, his boyhood friends recall that he was an excellent pistol shot and probably the best amateur boxer in the section. He was a good student and a better-than-average baseball player, they say.

"He was as good a boy as there ever was," the mother said.

"And a good farmer, too," the father added.
"Why, I kept a mule just so Woodie would have something to plow with."

What may have happened to Buck during his long months of imprisonment by the Chinese is anybody's guess. Have the Chinese changed him from the clean-cut, friendly mountain boy whose main ambition in life was to serve his country?

Not according to Sgt. Alvin C. York, America's hero of World War I. York knew Buck when he attended the Alvin C. York Institute at nearby Jamestown, and he has known the Buck family all of his life.

"He was one of the finest boys in this part of the country," York said.

Mrs. Buck is a cousin of Cordell Hull, Tennessee's great Secretary of State. Noah Buck's grandmother was a niece of Sam Houston. John Buck grew up with 4 sisters and 1 brother. The brother, Clyde, is postmaster at Armathwaite. The sisters are Mrs. Ray Dunford of Armathwaite, Mrs. Lula Richardson of Morristown, Tenn., Mrs. Edna Range, and Mrs. Ann Berry of Dayton, Ohio.

Mr. and Mrs. Buck received the first letter from their son last September, after long months of anxious waiting and uncertainty. They had no way of knowing what he was enduring at the hands of the Chinese Reds, or even if he were alive.

Perhaps there were weeks on end when John Buck was put to severe tests by his captors. American prisoners who have returned tell terrifying tales of brainweshing by the Chinese Reds bent on obtaining false confessions.

The letters Mr. and Mrs. Noah Buck receive from their son are not in the language of the Chinese. They sound like an American boy who hasn't changed.

These letters do much to bolster their

In his first letter, received last September, Buck told his parents that he now weighs 190 pounds and is in good health.

"Ma, I want you and dad to live to a ripe old age. You are both in your 70's and shouldn't be working.

"Hire two good men to clean up the place. Clean up and reseed the pasture fields. Might want to raise cattle when I get home.

"Put a new lawn around the house. Clean out the fence rows and repair the fences. * * Don't worry about me for I will be all right."

Sounds just like the Woodle Buck we knew, the neighbors say. The old folks are confident it will be the same Woodle coming down that lane one day again.

Iowa State College—The First Educational Institution To Benefit From the Land-Grant College Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that this subject matter concerns an important educational institution in Iowa and, because of the national significance of this subject, the entire Iowa delegation—Representatives Cunningham, Dolliver, Gross, Hoeven, Jensen, Lecompte, and Talle—joins me in extending these remarks in the Record.

I wish to call the attention of the Congress to a very important fact of history which has been distorted recently. This misinterpretation is of particular concern to this body because it involves an act of Congress, the Morrill Act of 1862, popularly referred to as the Land-Grant College Act. This important legislation was initiated and implemented by the Congress of the United States and signed by President Lincoln on July 2, 1862.

On February 12, 1955, the Postmaster General of the United States issued a commemorative postage stamp bearing the names of Michigan State College and Pennsylvania State University and the dates of their founding, 1855 to 1955. I salute these two institutions on the occasion of their centennial celebrations and hope that their next hundred years will be as successful and as resourceful as the first hundred.

It also seems to me that the Postmaster General has established a fine precedent in issuing this 100th anniversary stamp for two of our outstanding institutions of higher education. Each of our State universities, in fact, should be so honored. This, I think, should be called to the attention of the great and noble State universities in order that they too can celebrate their 100th year with the issuance of a commemorative United States postage stamp.

There was a grave error and a distortion of historical fact, however, on this Michigan State College and Pennsylvania State University stamp. Across the top of this stamp runs the statement

"First of the Land Grant Colleges," but this is not true.

These two institutions were not first of the land-grant colleges. Iowa State College was the first educational institution to become an official land-grant college.

First, there was no such thing as a land-grant college in 1855 since the national legislation creating them was not enacted until 1862. Granted there were agricultural colleges which later were designated for the functions of the Morrill Act, but they were not land-grant colleges until the several State legislatures accepted the terms of the Morrill Act and officially specified which State educational institution was to be the agricultural and mechanical arts college.

Second, as you can verify by the accompanying documented table, the Iowa State Legislature accepted the terms of the 1862 act on September 11, 1862, and by this action became the first State to accept it. At the same time, Iowa State was designated as the State's landgrant institution, thereby becoming the first educational institution to benefit from the Morrill Act of 1862 which provided for the creation of our land-grant colleges.

If these institutions, which had the greatest democratizing influence on higher education in this country, are to be honored as they should be, this gross error of historical fact that appears at

the top of the Michigan State College and Pennsylvania State University commemorative stamp must be corrected.

I have pointed out that Iowa State College was the first educational institution to be a land-grant college because the State legislature accepted the 1862 act on September 11, 1862. When you study the accompanying documented table, you will also discover that Kansas State accepted the act on February 3, 1863, and created and designated Kansas State Agricultural College on February 16, 1863, to be its land-grant college. This was 10 days before the Michigan Legislature accepted the act and designated Michigan Agricultural College as its landgrant institution.

Also, you will notice that six State legislatures preceded the Pennsylvania State Legislature in designating their official land-grant colleges. Although Pennsylvania accepted the Morrill Act on April 1, 1863, Pennsylvania State College was not designated as the official land-grant college to receive the State's funds until February 19, 1867.

These are the facts of history and I ask that the Congress of the United States officially set the record straight and advise the Postmaster General of the inaccuracy that appears on the commemorative stamp issue of February 12, 1955.

See attached documented statement confirming above subject matter.

Land grant institutions-Sclected group

Institution	Date of organization	Date of opening for students	Date of re- ceipt of 1862 land-grant fund	Date of acceptance of 1862 act by legislature
Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanie Arts.	Mar. 22, 1858	School opened 1859; college, Mar. 17, 1839.	Sept. 11, 1862	Sept. 11, 1862
Kansas State Agricultural College Michigan Agricultural College University of Missouri Rutgers University, N. 7 Pennyal vania State College.	Feb. 16, 1863 Feb. 12, 1855 Feb. 11, 1839 Nov. 10, 1766 Feb. 22, 1855	February 1863 (16) May 13, 1857 Apr. 14, 1841 1771 Feb. 20, 1859; col-	Feb. 16, 1863 Feb. 25, 1863 Feb. 24, 1870 Mar. 21, 1863 Feb. 19, 1867	Feb. 3, 1863 Feb. 25, 1863 Mar. 10, 1863
University of Vermont University of Wisconsin	Nov. 2, 1791 July 26, 1848	lege, May 1, 1862. 1801. February 1849	Nov. 9, 1865 Apr. 12, 1866	Oct. 29, 1862 Apr. 2, 1863

Source: Benjamin F. The Land-Grant of 1862 and the Land-Grant Colleges. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1918, 62-63 p. Bureau of Education Bulletin 1918, No. 13. True, Alfred Charles. A History of Agricultural Education in the United States, 1785-1925. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1929.

Let's Stop Kidding About Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an editorial that appeared in the Newark (N. J.) Star-Ledger under date of March 13, 1955, entitled "Let's Stop Kidding About Civilian Defense":

Last month, the Atomic Energy Commission revealed the H-bomb's awesome capacity for destruction. One bomb can kill just about everybody in a 7,000-mile-square area, roughly the size of New Jersey—unless they are prepared for it.

What kind of preparation is the right kind?

Nobody's answered that question yet. And the answer must be detailed, definitive, and decisive.

President Eisenhower the other day suggested more and more realism in our CD tests. But how are we going to be realistic if we don't know what to do?

Val Peterson, the national CD boss, suggests that it might be a good idea for homeowners to dig shelters. What kind of shelters? Where? In the basement or in the yard? How big? What supplies should be stored in them?

Just think of a new homeowner. Should he incorporate shelter plans right in the blueprint? If it's really vital, the Government should encourage it. It might even offer a tax inducement to people who build shelters the way it offered a tax inducement to people who built factories during the war.

Remember, civil defense is not merely passive defense. Our entire military concept is based upon massive retaliation. We are going along on the assumption that no enemy will dare attack us, because our retaliation will be fearful and complete.

But retaliation is based on the idea that an enemy attack will not destroy us. must be able to rise from the first attack and strike back.
We will not be able to do this without

adequate civil defense.

If the Government wants the public to stop joking about CD, then it better get serious itself. Not just the people in the street are confused. The Governor of Massachusetts says that the States don't even know what to do with their National Guard units in case of attack.

Let's get going in Washington.

A Proposed Tax Credit Plan To Aid Students in Institutions of Higher Learning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD a very informative article dealing with a proposed tax credit plan to aid students in institutions of higher learning. Legislation in support of this proposal has been introduced by my colleagues, the Honorable Donald L. JACKSON, of California, and the Hon. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR., of New Jersey, and I want to associate myself with them in this proposed plan.

The article which I refer to was issued by the American Council on Education and contains facts and statistics which certainly should alert the members of the Congress to this very important problem with which many of us today are

confronted:

A Proposed Tax CREDIT PLAN TO AID STUDENTS IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING

The one fact concerning American manpower on which everybody agrees is that serious shortages exist in professions and vocations for which a college education is essential. The most comprehensive recent study, made by Dael Wolfle for the Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training, shows that the supply of college graduates to meet immediate needs is insufficient in the natural sciences, engineering, home economics, dentistry, medicine, nursing, school teaching, and college teaching, and that demands are increasing in social science and the humanities. Furthermore, it is noted that as the population increases the demand for professional workers increases at double the rate.

With national security resting in the balance, the United States is less strong than it might be, because, as Dr. Wolfie says, "it wastes the abilities of many of its most capable sons and daughters." His investigations show that of the students in the upper twofifths of high-school graduating classes—a group of approximately 342,000 a year-only 51 percent enroll in college. He cites evidence indicating that of the remaining 49 percent, half are probably prohibited from continuing their education by lack of funds. THE INCREASING COST OF COLLEGE EDUCATION

The financial hurdle to a college education grows higher each year, as colleges and unive.sitles, both publicly and privately sup-ported, increase tuition and fees in a detern 'ned but usually unsuccessful effort to keep pace with the rising costs of instruction in

the face of decreasing proportionate income from other sources. One recent study reported by Francis J. Brown in Educational Sociology shows an increase, in the decade 1942-43 to 1952-53, of 65 percent in tuition and fees of publicly supported institutions and 78 percent in privately supported institutions. Substantial further increases have been put into effect in many institutions since 1953.

It can easily be demonstrated that the added income from students has not permitted colleges and universities to be lavish in the expenditure of funds. A recent study by the National Education Association based on data for 1952-53 cites the average salary for beginning college teachers as \$3,000 a year and the average for full professors as approximately \$7,000. One of the reasons for the low salaries is that colleges and universities are still doing their utmost to assist needy students. A recent survey of 25 colleges with enrollments under 3,000. made by Treasurer John M. Schlegel, of La-fayette College, reports that total student aid increased from \$1,730,000 in 1948-49 to \$4 million in 1952-53. Only 36 percent of the aid was endowed. "This means," he says, "that these 25 institutions poured into student aid in 1952-53 from operating funds an average of \$102,000 per college." That money could have been used for faculty salaries or other purposes if those colleges had been content to serve only the children of those financially able to pay the full tuition fee.

THE EXTRAORDINARY EXPENSE TO FAMILIES DURING COLLEGE YEARS

In other words, through circumstances which the colleges and universities cannot control, the cost of their services to the youth of America has risen to a point where it is beyond the reach of many families and an extreme financial sacrifice to many others. The plight of thousands is described by Robert W. Murphy, general counsel of the Borg-Warner Corp., in an article in the March 1953 issue of College and University Business:

"If one heeds the voice of experience, he should consult the father of a boy or girl in college. * * * Multiply even \$1,500 by 4 years, and \$6,000 by 4 children (or select any number from 1 to 12), and it is obvious that a sizable minimum is required. This amount must be set aside after taxes.

"For example, with four children, assumthe minimum amount required is \$24,000, if the taxpayer should be in a 30percent tax bracket (which is certainly not unusual for a middle-income family), this would mean that in order to save \$24,000 for educational expenses, he must earn \$35,000; if he is in the 50-percent tax bracket, he must earn \$48,000-all in addition to his regular day-to-day living expenses. These amounts provide only the basic education leading to a bachelor's degree; the sum that a parent must set aside if he contemplates educating his children in the professions becomes astronomical."

Addison B. Clohosey, testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee in June 1953, on behalf of the Research Institute of America, stated:

"Unless something is done to give relief in the way of allowable deductions for college and educational expenses for children, we will surely kill the educational program in this country

"It costs between \$2,000 and \$2,500 per year to maintain a child at college away from You don't have to have a large income for this to mean that you must earn \$4,000 or \$5,000 per year for each child whom you want to give a college education.

"I firmly believe in balanced budgets, but I don't believe that you can unbalance the budgets of the private citizens for as long a period as we have without killing incentives and destroying the very structure we are fighting to saye."

Gerald W. Harrington, attorney, from Providence, R. I., testifying at the same hearing, stated:

"If we are interested as a community, as a government, as a society in preserving college education as we have known it, in preserving it as an opportunity for anybody to have an education no matter what strata of society he may come from, if we are interested in preserving college revenues, then we are interested in increasing the ability of the individuals to pay tuition. By the viduals I mean principally the parents of children who are going through the process of college education.

One way that we could at least help the individual parents to meet these tuition costs, it seems to me, is by granting a deduction to the individual parents for moneys expended on tuition for the education of

their children."

The Honorable Carl Elliott, Member of Congress from Alabama, testified at the hearing in support of his bill providing for the deductibility of tuition as follows:

"It is necessary for parents to begin saving at an early date if they are to be able to send their children to college. As costs skyrocket, it becomes increasingly difficult to save money. The small margin between that which is earned and that which is needed to meet the essentials in the average household today is approaching the vanishing point. The greatest portion of this margin evaporates in taxes."

GENERAL ADVANTAGES OF THE TAX CREDIT PROPOSAL

If substantial tax relief were given for student fees paid to tax-exempt public and private educational institutions, many parents would reappraise their financial ability to pay the costs of a child's education and more children would have the advantage of the opportunities which our country is dedicated to keep open. Parents in the \$8,000. \$10,000 and \$12,000 a year brackets, who now require partial scholarships to keep their children in college, would be able to forego these scholarship funds, thus making them available for those children coming from homes of lesser financial ability. Some institutions, without curtailing the support given to superior students from low-income homes, could conserve some of the operational funds now used for scholarships and make them available for faculty salaries and maintenance of plants, thus improving the quality of instruction.

The plan proposed, which has been studied, in several different forms, by numerous educational groups for more than a year, is based on a formula suggested by the resolutions committee of the taxation section of the American Bar Association at its 1954 convention. Briefly, the plan provides that 30 percent of student tuition and fees actually paid by the taxpayer be applied as a tax credit on the amount of income taxes otherwise payable. This means that all taxpayers who pay a given amount of tuition and fees would receive the same tax benefit in dollars, regardless of their income tax bracket.

There is now general agreement among those who have been involved in the study that this tax credit method is much suncrior to the previously suggested plan of making the cost of tuition and fees deductible from income. The tangible advantage to those in low-income brackets is evident.

The following will illustrate the relative effects of the two methods. If we assume a \$500 tuition, and such tuition were made deductible, then the taxpayer in the 20-percent bracket would save \$100 of taxes, while the taxpayer in the 50-percent bracket would have \$250 of taxes. If, on the other hand, 30 percent of the tultion were allowed as a tax credit, then both the parent in the 20percent bracket and the parent in the 50-percent bracket would deduct \$150 (30 percent of \$500) from his Federal tax bill.

The idea that the Federal income-tax laws should be amended to permit some tax relief for the cost of higher education is not new. In the 83d Congress alone, 10 bills were introduced by Members of the House and Senate, some of one political party and some of the other, from Alabama, Illinois, Kentucky, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York and Rhode Island, all advocating some form of such an amendment. The Ways and Means Committee named the subject, College and Educational Expenses, as 1 of the 40 topics included for formal presentation in its hearings during the summer of 1953 on the 1954 Revenue Act.

There is no uniformity to the bills heretofore introduced in Congress. Some proposals call for a deduction of all expenditures involved in education, including travel and subsistence. Others are limited to tuition, laboratory fees, and other direct university charges. Some permit the deduction without limit, others only that of expenditures in excess of the \$600 dependency exemption, and still others use a ceiling of \$2,000 per student. Some are limited to college and university education. Others would apply also to secondary schools. Some would be limited to professional or graduate schools, and still others to refresher courses and other postgraduate schooling for those already engaged in professions. All are in the form of deductions from income rather than in the leveling form of a partial tax

SPECIFIC OUTLINE OF THE PLAN

An attempt has been made to analyze the problem afresh and to draft a bill which will be sound in principle and detail. The proposed bill would have the following features:

- (a) It would be limited to payments made to the institutions themselves for educational services and facilities, and would avoid the complication and confusion of attempting to cover payments for travel, housing, and meals, even though these may be indirectly involved in education. These latter items are partially covered by the \$600 deduction already allowed for a dependent.
- (b) The payments involved would be only those made to educational institutions which meet the tests for special tax treatment under the present income-tax laws. These are set out in section 151 (e) (4) and section 170 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 defining tax-free educational institutions.
- (c) The bill would apply only to higher education—that above the 12th grade—including colleges, graduate schools, professional schools, junior colleges, technical institutes, teachers' summer courses, and the like.
- (d) In order to eliminate any possible feeling that the bill would discriminate in favor of taxpayers in higher brackets, it would provide that 30 percent of the student fees would be taken as a tax credit on the tax bill. Thereby the cost to the Government would be approximately the same as if the student fees were made deductible, but the relief to all taxpayers would be the same regardless of their tax bracket.
- (e) A ceiling of \$450 for each student would be placed on the amount of the tax credit. This would mean that that portion of any tuition above \$1,500 per year would not result in any further tax credit. It would be hoped that this ceiling would be sufficient to cover the tuition charges for graduate and professional education as well as those at the college level.
- (f) There would appear to be no occasion for limiting the taxpayer entitled to receive the tax credit to any particular relationships with the student. The neighbor or employer of a promising but financially poor boy or girl frequently proposes to pay his or her

tuition to make higher education possible, provided the tax payment can be made deductible, but this is difficult under present laws. It would be expected that the tax credit plan would bring out more funds in the nature of scholarships to those unrelated to the taxpayer but in whom the taxpayer has some phllanthropic interest.

(g) No tax credit would be allowed on amounts for tuition and fees supplied in the form of scholarships, fellowships, or grants from sources other than than the taxpayer himself. It would be assumed that payment of tuition and fees would be the first charge against such a scholarship, fellowship, or grant.

ESTIMATED LOSS OF REVENUE

The loss of revenue to the Treasury cannot be estimated with accuracy, partly because the statistics on which an up-to-date analysis must rest are unavailable. A rough approximation may be suggested, however, using as a base complete statistics for the academic year 1951-52, the latest compiled by the United States Office of Education. The plan, as explained above, would not permit credit to be taken by the taxpayer on any amount supplied by the Federal Government or any other outside agency. In other words, if part or all of a student's tuition and fees is paid in effect by the Federal Government, a State, an industrial concern, a foundation, or an educational institution itself, no tax credit would accrue to the taxpayer on the amount of such a payment. Hence a number of substantial deductions, some of which defy refined estimates, must be made from the gross income of the in-stitutions from tuition and fees.

In 1951-52 the total amount received by 1,851 institutions of higher education for tuition and fees was \$593,491,000. Of this, \$146,900,000 was received from the Federal Government on behalf of veterans. In the same year the institutions made cash contributions to students for scholarships, fellowships, and prizes of approximately \$39 million, of which at least 90 percent was probably applied toward tuition. A survey of industrial scholarships made in 1952 for the college entrance examination board, admittedly incomplete, gave a total of approximately \$5,500,000. The State of New York alone grants \$4,500,000 in scholarships annually. In addition, the Federal Government annually pays tuition and fees for up to 14,000 students in the Naval ROTC, offers fellowships through the National Science Foundation and other agencies, and so forth. Significant programs of scholarships and fellowships are also supported by philanthropic foundations. When all these deductions are made, it can confidently be estimated that in 1952 the total of tuition payments against which the 30-percent tax credit would be computed would have been less than \$400 million, making the revenue loss less than \$120 million as of that year, assuming that all families that paid tuition had net incomes sufficient to make them subject to income tax.

Several of the factors involved in the above computation have changed substantially since 1952. On the one hand, the number of veterans in college with support from the Federal Government has decreased; on the other, the amount of scholarship aid given by the colleges themselves and by industry has greatly increased. The idea that these opposing factors may not be far out of balance is supported by an increase in college enrollment this year roughly approximating that anticipated on the basis of college-age population studies.

RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER STUDENT-AID PLANS

In the future the proposed plan will afford partial assistance to thousands of veterans who, in accordance with President Eisenhower's recent proclamation, will be denied the educational benefits of Public Law 550

It is not claimed that the proposed tax relief will entirely solve the problem of opening the door of higher education to all qualified youth. Very special attention, for example, needs to be given to the children of families with incomes below the Federal in-come-tax brackets. The plan would, however, give immediate encouragement to thousands of families now doubtful of their ability to send their children to college, and would permit them to plan confidently for the future. Furthermore, it would make it possible for thousands of students now in college, who may be expected, under present circumstances, to drop out for financial reasons, to continue to graduation. The plan is so drawn that if a Federal scholarship program should be approved, to take effect 2 or 3 years hence, there would be an automatic adjustment to restore, in corresponding amounts, the income-tax liability of all affected taxpayers.

ENDORSEMENT BY EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

One obvious effect of the proposed studentald plan is that the taxpayer supporting a student in a high-tuition institution would receive a larger tax credit than one supporting a student in a low-tuition institution. The result, encouragement of increased student enrollment in all types of institutions, is considered to be in the public interest. It helps to preserve the balance between private and public colleges and universities. and thus to continue to call on private sources to supply funds for endowment and current operations of private institutions. It is clearly desirable in the interests of American democracy that children of lowand middle-income families, as well as children of the well to do, have the opportunity to attend both private and public colleges and universities. For that reason, as well as for others advanced above, the plan here proposed is supported in principle by the Association of State Universities, the Association of American Colleges, the American Alumni Council, and other educational groups; and it has been specifically endorsed in detail by three committees of the American Council on Education, which represents the entire range of public and private, low-tuition and high-tuition institutions existent in this country.

THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE

The following amendment to the Internal Revenue Code has been recommended for adoption by the 84th Congress:

"STUDENT AID BILL

"To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a partial tax credit for certain payments made to a public or private educational institution of higher education

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

"Section 1. Findings and policy: The cost of higher education has greatly increased because of inflation and other economic forces. As a result the charges to students have increased, and will of necessity continue to increase, since educational institutions in general find themselves in financial difficulties which have led to low faculty salaries, neglect of maintenance of plant, and curtailment of funds for other essential purposes. Under these circumstances it is in the national interest to accord income-tax relief to student charges for education. This would help open the opportunities for higher education for many students who would otherwise be financially unable to afford it; encourage teachers, members of the learned professions, and others, to refresh and improve their education for the greater service of the public; and facilitate the efforts of institutions of higher education to meet the growing demands made upon them.

"SEC. 2. The Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is hereby amended by the addition thereto of the following new section:

"'Src. 39. Educational expenses for higher education

" '(a) General rule: There shall be allowed to an individual, as a credit against the tax imposed by this subtitle for the taxable year, 30 percent of payments by the taxpayer to one or more educational institutions during the taxable year for the cost of education above the 12th grade of the taxpayer and of any other person or persons.

"'(b) Limitation on amount of credit:
"'(1) The credit allowed by subsection (a) shall not exceed \$450 on account of such cost of education paid by the taxpayer for the education of any one person, but the total credit allowed shall be the sum of the credits on account of the payments made by the taxpayer for the education of himself and for the education of other persons.

"'(2) For the purpose of calculating the credit allowed by subsection (a), the payments referred to therein made by the taxpayer for the education of each person shall be reduced by the amount of any scholar-ship or fellowship grant, as defined in section 117 (a) (1), which is received by such person during the taxable year and which is not includible as gross income of such person under section 117, and by the amount of any education and training allowance, as defined in part IV of the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952, which is received by such person during the taxable year: Provided, however, That if such scholarship, fellowship grant, or education and training allowance is applied in whole or in part to the payment of the cost of educa-tion of such person, the payment by the taxpayer of the remaining cost of educa-tion of such person shall not be reduced pursuant hereto by reason of that portion of such scholarship, fellowship grant, or education and training allowance so applied.

"'(c) Definitions-for purposes of this

section:

"'(1) The term "cost of education" means amounts paid to an educational institution for educational services and educational facilities (expressly excluding board and hous-

irg) furnished by such institution.
"'(2) The term "educational institution" means an institution as defined in section 151 (e) (4), contributions or gifts to or for the use of which are deductible under the provisions of section 170.'

"SEC. 3. The amendments made by this act shall apply only with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1954."

Americanization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Itecorp, I include the following editorial from the New York Daily Mirror of Tuesday, March 15, 1955, which is a fine statement on a continuously reoccurring subject of discussion:

AMERICANIZATION

New York City's population represents the fertilization of our people by wave upon wave of immigrants—pioneers who came into it bewildered, not a little frightened, not knowing the language, the customs, or the traditions of the place.

First came the Dutch, then the English, the Irish, the Germans, the Scandinavians, the Jews, the Italians, the Slavs, the Chinese-every race, color, religion, and nationality of man has found a home here, has created a family here that has enriched our city and has helped it to grow.

Each second and third generation became distinctively American. Some foreign languages ceased to be the mother tongue of the family and, if known at all, became a sec-

ondary language.

The principal instrument for Americaniza-

tion is the public school.

This truism in no way detracts from the Catholic, Episcopalian, Lutheran, or Jewish public schools which are numerous hereabouts, nor the many independent schools which are special and comparatively costly institutions.

That the school system in New York achieves excellent results can be measured by the college entrance scholastic aptitude tests, but even more by the fact that second and third generation Americans are so productive in business and professional activities and in public service.

Second generation Americans have done well in this city.

New York has, in recent years, been inundated by another wave of immigrants, the Puerto Ricans. These differ from previous newcomers in one respect: They are already American citizens; they come from American territory. They are a Spanish-speaking folk, of a generally lower economic standard than is current in New York but not lower than other immigrants at other periods.

Culturally they are not different from other immigrants; in fact, they might be regarded favorably in this respect because their literacy is higher than that of many of their predecessors.

Here enter the public schools. This huge population of Puerto Rican children needs to be educated as American children, as New York children. They are going to live and work here and they need to speak English. Their home conversation will be in English. In time, the second and third generations will adjust to our ways and contribute valuably to the life of our city and its growth. There is no reason to assume that their history will be different from any other immigrant group, if they are given a square deal.

This is no subject for petty politics or for partisan nonsense. It is a sociological question of mass absorption which has been wellhandled in the past, as the judges of our courts, many of them descendants of recent immigrants, attest. It should be well-handled now and the board of education is the best available public agency to do this job.

Pinchpenny policies of Albany, legislators who know little or nothing of our city, its special conditions and problems, can be very costly to the generations to come.

To avoid ambiguity, we have put this discussion not on humanitarian grounds but on the basis of practical, common sense and past experience-which is where it belongs.

Disposal of Synthetic Rubber Plants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by me

before the House Armed Services Committee, March 11, 1955:

Mr. Chairman and gentleman of the committee, I want to express my appreciation to the chairman and to the members of this committee for the opportunity to testify here today on this very important matter. I would not ordinarily presume to take up the time of this great committee if the matter under consideration were not so vital to the small-business community of the country and if I were not a member of the Select Committee on Small Business of the House. And lest there be any misapprehension as to why I have been selected to testify on behalf of the committee, let me say it is not because of any particular or even general expertness with the intricate problem you are considering, but rather it is because I happen to be chairman of the subcommittee of the Small Business Committee which has jurisdiction over the supply of raw materials, such as rubber.

I listened to Mr. Vinson's splendid state-

ment yesterday, in which he so ably recalled the history of the event's leading to the construction of the synthetic rubber plants and of the efforts to effect their disposition. There are very few Members of the House of Representatives who have the vast experience, background, and knowledge of the gentleman from Georgia, not only with respect to matters within the particular sphere of the Committee on Armed Services, but on almost all of the complex problems with which Members of the Congress must deal. It is difficult, therefore, to take issue with him on any subject, and it is with much trepidation that I face the task of having to do so in this complicated field. I am sure that if there is any disagreement between us, it is attributable to the difference in information furnished us or more probably to the unavailability of essential information.

Essentially, it was the lack of necessary information which troubled our committee, and which in great measure led to the action by our chairman, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas, in filing the resolution to disapprove the sales. There are many questions which have not yet been answered and which must be answered before we can say that the Commission has complied with the safeguards established by the basic law,
I should like to make it clear at the outset

that our committee does not disapprove of the fundamental policy requiring the sale of the rubber facilities. We favor their disposal to private ownership, but under such terms and conditions as will assure the use of the facilities for the continued security of our Nation, the reimbursement of our taxpayers for their investment in the rubber facilities, the protection of all segments of our free enterprise economy, including the small-business men, and resistance to further enhancing the dominating position in their industries of giant corporations who have regarded the antitrust laws of the United States as trifling obstacles in their economic progress. In short, Mr. Chairman, we believe that the guaranties and safeguards established by the criteria set forth in the basic legislation have not been adequately observed by the Rubber Disposal Commission. It is for that reason that we voice our objection to approval of the sales.

The chairman yesterday listed the standards imposed by the law on page 7 of his report. Determination of the question as to whether the disposal of the facilities is consistent with the national security is within the province of this committee and will receive your very capable consideration. There is no need, therefore, for our committee to touch on this point.

And while the attention of our committee technically should not be devoted to the criterion as to whether the full fair value for the facilities has been received, our grave doubt that the sales prices approved by the Commission reflects the fair value of the facilities compels us to ask you to give that matter your particular consideration. Ask yourselves this question: If the companies buying the facilities were the owners and wanted to sell the plants, would they accept for those plants the same price they are offering the Government? We doubt it. We think that rather than checking book value or reproduction cost as good, hardheaded businessmen, the companies would lock first to the carnings of the facilities. the profit-making potential of the business? What will it earn? As a matter of fact, that is exactly what Congress intended should be done. This was emphasized in the Senate hearings (p. 179-181) and in the report of the Disposal Commission. Presumably, this is what the Commission said it was going to do. On page 15 of their report they say: "A fundamental precept of the disposal program was that the sale of the facilities should return to the Government a price that would truly reflect the value of the facilities as a going industry."

Again, on page 17, the Commission says: "While other standards, such as original cost, replacement cost, depreciated values, and the precedent of previous Government surplus property sales were considered, it was the decision of the Commission that because the disposal program made possible the purchase of a going profitable business, for negotiating purposes potential earning power should be the prime factor in the establishment of an appropriate price. In its earning power studies, the Commission did not give usual weight to the past earnings of the facilities. These plants had been operated as one integrated program. For example, for reasons of economy and efficiency, many costs were averaged and pro-duction was scheduled, for program reasons, in a manner different from that a private owner will follow."

Why didn't the Commission discuss earnings? If earnings were the primary basis for the Commission's evaluation of the worth of the facilities, why did not the Commission furnish the Congress with the underlying data showing the earning potential of the facilities, rather than actual and reproduc-

tion costs?

Our committee had to make a special effort to obtain this information and received it only in part. I have attached to my state-ment as exhibit A, the Disposal Commission's estimates of the rates of return which the facilities' purchasers can expect, based upon the negotiated sales prices. We do not know what assumptions were taken by the Commission as to volume of production, sales prices of end products, the costs of production and distribution, the amortization of investment for tax purposes, the amount of the Federal income tax, and other factors significant to the estimated rate of return. Moreover, the Commission has not divulged the rate of depreciation which it used in reaching the percentage of return the companies would earn upon their purchase price. Under the new tax law the purchasers have the right to accelerate depreciation. example, if the Commission used a 20-year depreciation base, it is obvious that the 10.44-percent return to Petroleum Chemicals, Inc., the first company on the list, for the puchase of butadiene plant 706 will be increased substantially if a 10-year depreciation base or even a 5-year depreciation base is used. This is true, as well, of all the purchasers. Furthermore, if the companies increase the selling price of rubber from 23 cents to a competitive position with natural rubber around 30 cents a pound, the number of years for recovering their investment will again be substantially reduced. Mr. Chairman, isn't it optimistic to say the least, to assume as the Commission did that the purchasers will be satisfied to maintain the price of rubber at 23 cents?

Thus, the companies have not only 1 means of leverage to increase their profits, but 2: the depreciation base and the price of rubber. The Commission's reports are singularly silent with respect to the value of the facilities if the purchasers begin to vary these two factors from the levels assumed by the Commission. Mr. Chairman, the data showing such variations are perhaps the most vital and essential facts the Congress needs in order to determine whether the full fair value of the Government's rubber facilities has been received.

There are other questions about full fair value which may properly be asked by this committee for answers by the Commission:

1. Copolymer plant 1056 has the same capacity as copolymer 956; why did 1056 sell for \$233,000 less than 956, particularly when the book value of 956 is less than that of 1056 in both gross and net value?

2. Why did copolymer plant 983a sell for

2. Why did copolymer plant 983a sell for \$1.5 million less than copolymer plant 983, although both have approximately the same

capacity?

3. Why did copolymer plant 127 sell for approximately two-thirds of the sales price of copolymer plant 129, although 127 has approximately 130 percent of the capacity of 129?

4. Why did copolymer plant 1278 sell for approximately two-thirds of the sales price of copolymer plant 129, although 1278 has approximately 200 percent of the capacity of 129. Parenthetically, in this comparison it will be noted that the higher price was paid by one of the big four rubber companies. Was there an agreement between them not to bid on copolymer plant 1278?

5. Why were the initial bids on copolymer plants 129, 983, and 1278 acceptable as full fair value whereas the initial bids for other copolymer plants were considered to be too low? Why did the Commission establish acceptable bids of varying prices without regard to the capacities of the plants?

 Why did copolymer plant 1278 sell for approximately the same price as copolymer plant 127, although 1278 has 150 percent of

the capacity of 127?

7. Why did butadiene plant 1503 sell for approximately 17 percent of the price of butadiene plant 485, although the capacity of 1503 is slightly higher than 485?

8. Did greater competition for butadiene plant 1063 raise the sales price by \$9 million over the initial high bid? If so, did lack of competition for other plants depress

their sales prices?

9. Why did butyl rubber plants 572 and 1082 sell for exactly the amounts of the initial bids by the only bidder, since the other facility (butadiene plant 485) purchased by this bidder was sold after competition and resulted in a sales price 12 percent higher than the initial bid?

These are questions which in the opinion of the Committee on Small Business should be answered. Answers are not obtainable from the Commission's report.

So much for the question of fair value. Turning now to other criteria of the law with which the Committee on Small Business is more directly concerned, let us consider the safeguards in points 1 and 3 of Chairman Vinson's statement:

"1. The program had to be designed to best afford small-business enterprises and users, other than the purchaser of a facility, the opportunity to obtain a fair share of the end products of the facilities sold and at fair prices.

"3. The recommended sales must provide for the development within United States of a free, competitive synthetic rubber industry and not permit any person to possess unreasonable control over the manufacture of synthetic rubber or its component materials."

The Commission expresses confidence that a fair share of synthetic rubber will be made available to small business. The report says

(p. 14): "First, a large segment of GR-S capacity has been placed in the hands of Shell Chemical Corp. and Phillips Chemical Co., neither of which is a rubber fabricator. Consequently, they have no need for their GR-S output, and must sell to the market generally. Secondly, in each contract of sale for a copolymer plant, the Commission has required of the purchaser a commitment that he will make available to small-business enterprise a certain specified amount of his production."

On its surface, Mr. Chairman, this would appear to be a satisfactory assurance that GR-S would be supplied to small-business enterprises in even greater quantities than under present operation by the Government. The Commission apparently assumes that the total maximum capacity of Shell and Phillips, 152,000 long tons, would, because of the non-rubber-fabricating nature of these companies, be made available to an open market. Add to this the 90,000 long tons to be put on the open market by other prospective purchasers under contract commitments, and one arrives at a figure of 242,000 long tons annually to be sold in an open market under maximum capacity conditions, and presumably available for purchase by small business. The 242,000 long tons is approxi-mately 35 percent of the total annual maximum capacity of 689,000 long tons for all the facilities proposed for sale.

It takes only a brief glance at the facts to cast serious doubt upon the validity of the Commission's conclusions.

The first assumption is that of maximumcapacity operation, on the basis of which 35 percent of GR-S production is to be sold on the open market. What is maximum capacity, Mr. Chairman, and how is it determined? It has been alleged that the theoretical technical rating of several of the plants concerned is unattainable in practice. If this be so, the maximum-capacity concept is to that extent a fictitious measurement device. Moreover, while maximum-capacity production is estimated at 689,000 long tons annually, the plants in question actually produced only about 478,335 long tons during 1954. In estimating the amount to be sold on the open market after sale, is it not therefore more realistic to use 1954 production figures, rather than so-called maximum capacity as a base for calculation? Should we not have reasonably expected the Disposal Commission at the very least to attempt to forecast probable production and demand levels for the near future, rather than resorting to an ideal-type model which could have only theoretical significance to justify its position?

The second assumption of the Commission-that Shell and Phillips, both nonrubber fabricators, will place their entire output on sale in the open market, for purchase by small or large companies-takes on meaning only if viewed in terms of the probable marketing pattern which such openmarket sales will produce. Here one can prognosticate, to some extent, on the basis previous experience. This experience shows that for the California plants proposed to be sold to Shell, there has in the past been a 90-10 division of total production-90 percent of sale to the Big Four fabricators. and 10 percent to other users. A similar situation has prevailed at the facilities to be purchased by Phillips. How, then, can the Commission have us believe that these distribution patterns will not persist after sale is made? And how, given the likelihood that they will persist, can it be said that the full production of these two companies will be placed on an open market?

To complete this phase of the argument, Mr. Chairman, let me share with you what is certainly one of the most curious aspects of this whole quection. Let us assume that sale of the plants is to be consummated on March 25. Assume further that production for the next year continues at approximately

the level of 1954, that the distribution pattern of the Shell plants is a 90-10 between Big Four and other users, and that Phillips' production is divided 40-60 based on that company's statement that a "major portion" of its production will be made available to small business. It can then be shown, Mr. Chairman, that small business during the coming year, even in the expectation of a competitive situation, will have available for purchase less of the total market than in previous years. This may sound incredible, but if you will follow these calculations the point may become clear.

Under a condition of maximum capacity, there would be approximately 242,000 long tons available to all purchasers in the open market. Of this total, based on present distribution data, about 110,000 tons would be purchased from Shell and Phillips by the Big Four. This would leave a total of 132,000 available for all other users. But those conclusions are based upon operation at maximum capacity, a condition which has rarely existed-if ever-and certainly did not exist during 1954, the year to which the Commission should properly have turned for a realistic appraisal. However, if we take 19 percent of actual capacity during 1954, rather than of the maximum capacity concept of the Commission, we find that there will be available for the use of small-business enterprises only 88,000 tons. Thus we see that the rubber available for purchase by small business under the proposed sale would seem to be approximately a third less than was available during 1954 under Government operation. If these calculations be correctand they were made on the basis of the Commission's report-small business has indeed cause to fear the proposed sales.

The Commission makes a second basic assumption, which our committee is unwilling to accept. It states that the big oil purchasers will compete with the Big Four rubber purchasers. It says (p. 20) that its plan places "rubber-producing capacity in the hands of nonrubber fabricators-corporations with no captive demand which will have to look to the general market for the sale of their product." It cites both Shell and Phillips as examples. Yet, in the report of the Commission itself on page 158 of the supplement, Shell states that it "has contracts with the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. and with the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Inc., which provide for the payment of a commission to Shell Oil Co. as compensation for Shell's assistance in promoting the sale of their products to Shell dealers, commission distributors, and jobbers."

Does not the pattern of manufacture of synthetic rubber and its distribution as an end product under the disposal plan become clear in the light of the above statement by Shell Oil Co.? Shell will manufacture synthetic rubber which will be supplied to both Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. and the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. for manufacture into tires and inner tubes. Shell will then distribute through its retail gas stations and outlets the same Firestone and Goodyear tires. Shell, therefore, will have complete integration from the point of manufacture of styrene to the final point of sale to the consumer. Shell will have a captive demand and a captive market. Firestone and Goodyear, instead of competing with Shell, as is assumed by the Commission, are a part of this integrated unit.

The effect upon small business is twofold: The Shell dealer, commission distributor, and jobber will be policed by Shell to see that they sell no brands in competition to Firestone and Goodyear. For this Shell will receive a promotional fee. This means a squeeze at the point of distribution upon both the small manufacturer of rubber tires and the small distributor whose brands will not be handled. It also means a squeeze upon the so-called independent Shell leader.

If such a dealer were to attempt to exercise his true rights as an independent businessman to receive and sell whatever products he believed would bring him the most security and the best profits, his 1-year lease with Shell would be canceled and he would be driven out of business. Complaints of this nature have been persistent and voluminous before our House Select Committee on Small Business, and are now currently the subject matter of an investigation.

The pattern of integration and monopoly which has led to these complaints will be immeasurably strengthened if the present disposal plan is adopted without providing adequate safeguards to small business.

Under the Commission's program, as is so graphically shown in the case of the Shell Chemical Co., this pattern can be used for many other types of monopolistic and discriminatory practices aimed at the destruction of small business. First of all, the promotional fee which Shell receives from Firestone and Goodyear, is in the nature of a direct discriminatory rebate. With Shell as both the supplier of synthetic rubber and distributor of the tire manufactured from that rubber, the opportunities for such discriminatory rebate and discounts is increased many fold. Secondly, since there is a completely integrated unit from the time of the production of styrene to the distribution of the tire, there is no possibility that factors of free competition will have an effect upon the setting of prices. Instead both the price for, and the production of synthetic rubber and tires, is subject only to the will and whims of Shell, Firestone, and Goodyear.

The situation is strikingly similar to that found to exist by the Department of Justice in the ownership of petroleum pipelines by major oil companies. Independent oil companies by law were of course allowed to use the pipelines to distribute oil to their refineries or retail outlets. But, at the same time, through control of the pipelines, the major oil companies were able to charge exorbitant prices. The effect of such prices was twofold. First the independents were forced to increase their own cost through such high prices and thereby lower their margin of profit to virtually a nonexistent level. At the same time, although the oil company owners of the pipeline paid the same high price for rates, they received back as dividends or income from their ownership not only their own money paid for rates, but also the money pald by the independents. The Department of Justice, branding this practice a system of discriminatory rebates, filed suit. In the case of United States v. Atlantic Refining Company, the district court entered judgment enjoining the owners of the pipelines from receiving a return in excess of 7 percent of the valuation of the pipeline.

A similar discriminatory practice is possible if not inevitable under the Commission's disposal plan. The small rubber fabricator or user may be said to be free to purchase synthetic rubber from the large integrated companies. But such large integrated companies are likewise free to charge as high a price as they desire. A high price will have no effect upon them since they will receive it back in dividends or income. But the high price may very well drive out of competition those small fabricators and users who today are so desperately trying to survive.

This situation is not confined to Shell. Instead it is a general rule throughout the Disposal Commission's plan. The Commission points with pride, if without facts, to its statement that the Copolymer Corp. is representative of small business which will promote free competition in the rubber industry. Copolymer Corp. consists of Sears Roebuck, Armstrong Rubber Co., Armstrong Rubber & Manufacturing Co., Dayton Rubber Co., Gates Rubber Co., Mansfield Tire &

Rubber, Sieberling Rubber Co. The Armstrong Tire & Rubber Co. is owned 50 percent by Sears, Roebuck & Co. and 50 percent by the Armstrong Rubber Co. and is under contract to produce tires for Sears Roebuck. Dayton Rubber Co. is also under contract to produce tires for Sears Roebuck. Thus, again, the Copolymer Corp. brings into one integrated unit the manufacturers of synthetic rubber, the manufacturers of tires made from that synthetic rubber, and the distributor of the tires.

In the past discounts given to and demanded by Sears Roebuck & Co. have been declared illegal. Under the disposal plan, however, identical discount and rebate practices could be carried on which undoubtedly would be immune from law. It is not only small business but also the consumer who would suffer from such practices.

Similar conditions are found among the participating companies in the American Synthetic Rubber Corp. The great majority of such participating companies are representative of big, not small business; the great majority have a lengthy background of antitrust and FTC violations, as was pointed out by Congressman Celler yesterday. The great majority under the disposal plan will not only be the manufacturers of synthetic rubber but also the purchasers and distributors of the manufactured product.

There is again the likelihood that these integrated companies may discriminate against their competitors who must purchase the synthetic rubber at high prices and who will not receive back any of that price in the form of income or dividends.

The most naked combination between and integration of the oil distributors and the tire manufacturers are found in the proposed purchases of the copolymer plants by Goodrich-Gulf Chemicals, Inc., and Texas-United States Chemicals, Inc. Goodrich and Gulf together will manufacture synthetic The synthetic rubber will then be sold to Goodrich to manufacture tires. Under past contracts, Gulf will distribute the tires for Goodrich to the ultimate consumer at Gulf's service station outlets. Goodrich and Gulf are therefore fully combined and integrated in the manufacture of synthetic rubber to the final point of distribution at the Gulf service station. Gulf will of course allow its dealers to handle only tires ap-proved by Gulf. The vicious price squeeze and discriminatory practices which have already been mentioned in connection with integration of Shell Chemical Co. through Firestone and Goodyear are readily

The Commission's disposal program also allows United States Rubber and the Texas Co. to combine as a purchaser. Texas-United States Chemicals, Inc., the purchaser of the copolymer plant at Fort Neches, Tex., is 50 percent owned by the Texas Co., and 50 percent by the United States Rubber. United States Rubber in turn is owned and con-States Rubber III with its owner and trolled, together with General Motors, by the Du Pont Corp. owns the Ethyl Corp. in equal shares with Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey). In the past Standard and Du Pont, through the Ethyl Corp., maintained a system of nationwide price fixing of retail gasoline until stopped, at least temporarily, by the United States Government. The United States Rubber Corp. has in the past, and also still does, sell its tires to all of the Standard companies through the Atlas Supply Co.

Finally and almost unbelievably, the Disposal Commission's plan allows Goodrich, Guif, the Texas Co., and United States Rubber to combine together to purchase and operate the largest and most efficient Government-owned butadiene plant.

With these sales, the Government is turning over an entire industry to a few select companies. Can we say it will be a free, competitive, synthetic-rubber industry as the law requires? I don't believe so. With such interlocking and integrated patterns it is rather silly to talk about free competition. It is even more ridiculous to talk blandly about the protection of small business. The Commission's report makes crystal clear that no serious study or attention has been given to the problems of small business. One wonders whether by the bestowal of its blessing upon this merger movement the Congress will not participate in the economic demise of many small, now thriving, rubber fabricators. I have attached as exhibit B to this statement the letter I recently received from a small fabricator in Connecticut which reflects his fears about the proposed sales.

The small-business producers need protection in their procurement of rubber was graphically shown in hearings held by the Senate Select Small Business Committee in March and April of 1951. Because of the condition of short supply in that year, and because of an inequitable allocation formula by the United States Government, the plight of the small-rubber-business man became desperate. The chairman of the subcommittee issued a statement, reading in part:

"There are grounds for grave doubt that available supplies of rubber are being allocated equitably among small and large manufacturers of rubber products. I have personal knowledge of several small companies which are on the brink of bankruptcy because they cannot obtain sufficient rubber to operate at a mere break-even point. The larger companies, on the other hand, seem to be experiencing little difficulty in continuing operations. We intend to explore this situation fully."

The hardships suffered by small rubber users in 1951 because of the condition of short supply indicate the difficulties that small business may suffer in the future because of the predicted conditions of the long-range short supply of both natural and synthetic rubber. It is of great importance at this time, therefore, to provide adequate

safeguards for the small rubber users in the event our supplies of rubber become scarce. The only protections given under the present disposal program are the general statements by the proposed purchasers that they intend to give small users certain percentages of their total production. Such statements, even if made with the best of intentions, are entirely inadequate. As a matter of simple contract law they provide no effective remedy whatsoever for the small-business man in the event he fails to get his fair share of synthetic rubber in the future. He cannot sue the synthetic-rubber producers and even if he could, he would undoubt-edly be out of business before a final determination was ever made. He can complain to the Government, but it is open to ques-tion whether under the proposed contracts the Government will be able to help him.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion let me again express my appreciation for your patience and graciousness in listening to my long statement. Obviously, this is a most imporconsideration. In determining what we shall do, we are called upon to balance two desirable public policies: the first is that the Federal Government should not engage in this type of business; the second is that while we favor the disposal of such facilities to private ownership, we must be sure that the facilties will be operated under such terms and conditions as will enhance the security of our Nation, will reimburse our taxpayers for their investment, and protect all segments of our free enterprise economy, including small business.

These principles of public policy are not necessarily in conflict with each other. Both are desirable and can be achieved. As a matter of fact, the Disposal Act requires that both be observed. The Commission's plan, however, gives only token observance to the vital safeguards implicit in the second principle.

Disposal commission's estimates of return based on proposed sales prices

While it is true that the plan provides for a sale of the Federal Government's rubber facilities, it is equally true that it does so in a way which will not strengthen our free enterprise system but will actually place it in jeopardy. If we approve the proposed sales, we will be hurting our competitive free enterpise system, not helping it—and hurting it irretrievably, I fear.

There must be a better solution than that proposed by the Commission, one which will make possible the effective operation of both principles. Although this matter has been pending for some time there are too many unknowns—the risk is too great to dismiss it by saying: "This is the best we can get; let's take it." It is not the best we can get.

If the sales were not approved pending the determination of a more appropriate proposal, the Nation would not suffer and the industry would not suffer. The Government is now making a profit of \$50 million a year from the rubber plants. They are being operated by private enterprise for a fee, for the most part by their prospective purchasers, under what the Commission describes as "a partnership of industry and Government." Nobody would be hurt during the relatively brief period in which another plan could be formulated.

There is much more involved than the sale of a one-half-billion-dollar Government investment. We are dealing with the more pertinent question of protecting the freedom of our entire business community by preventing its economic strangulation through an undesirable concentration of industrial power and wealth. We must keep our free enterprise system free.

Mr. Chairman, the Select Committee on Small Business, for whom I have been designated to make this statement, recommends that this committee report the Patman resolution favorably to the House.

Thank you.

Exhibit A

Plancor No.	Location	Purchaser	Purchase price	Percent return	Amount of return
Butadiene plants:					
706	Lake Charles, La.	Petroleum Chemicals, Inc.	\$16,000,000	10.44	\$1,670,400
485	Baytown, Tex.	Humble Off & Refining Co.	8, 886, 000	7.37	654, 808
933	Port Neches, Tex	Goodrich-Gulf Chemicals, Inc	33,000,000	8, 68	4, 000, 400
		I + bags to the true true to the true to t		201/0000	
1063	Houston, Tex.	Food Machinery & Chemical Corp	24, 187, 000	9.47	2, 290, 508
1278	Louisville, Ky.	American Synthetic Rubber Co	2, 340, 000	10.46	045 004
127	Akron, Ohio	Firestone Tire & Rubber Co	2, 250, 000	14.97	245, 364 336, 825
1056	Lake Charles, La	dodo	11, 650, 000	11.90	1, 386, 350
983	L'ort Neches, Tex	Goodrich-Gulf Chemicals, Inc	13,000,000	9.10	1, 183, 000
126	AKTOR, Onto	Goodyear Synthetic Rubber Corp	2,075,000	14.97	310, 627
956	. Houston, Tex	do	11, 889, 000	10, 11	1, 201, 977
983-A	Port Neches, Tex	Texas-United States Chemical Co	11, 500, 000	10.00	1, 150, 000
129	Naugatuck, Conn	United States Rubber Co	3, 200, 000	7.67	245, 440
Butyl plants:	Baton Rouge, La	THE CONTRACT OF THE PARTY OF TH			
1082	Baytown, Tex		14, 857, 000	6.69	993, 933
Integrated plants:	Day town, 104	Humble Oil & Refining Co	17, 500, 000	10.77	1, 884, 750
152 (hutadiene)	1	Agreement of the second of the	-21 200 200	20100	
876 (GR-S)	Buton Rouge, La.	Copolymer Corp	10,000,000	9. 35	935,000
484 (butadiene)	In m	71 m - m - t + d	00 cor 000	20 20	
982 (GR-S)	Borger, 1ex.	Phillips Chemical Co	23, 625, 000	13.16	3, 109, 050
				1000	
929 (styrene)	Los Angeles, Calli	Shell Chemical Corp.	30,000,000	8.76	2, 628, 000
611 (GR-S)				100	
Total		Annual Control of the	255 250 200		04 000 000
Total		***************************************	255, 950, 000		24, 826, 519

EXHIBIT B

FAIRFIELD RUBBER Co., INC., Norwalk, Conn., March 7, 1955. Representative Suner Yares, New House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Yates: I had the pleasure of talking with your Mr. Gibbons this morning and asked him to convey to you my opposition to the sale of the rubber plants to the large rubber manufacturers. The small rubber manufacturer has built his business on the

fact that he could purchase his rubber just as cheap as the large manufacturer—for there was a free rubber market for natural rubber and a fixed price to all by the Government for synthetic rubber. Now the several hundred small manufacturers will be at the mercy of a very few large manufacturers.

The small manufacturer must now purchase his rubber in a market where the price is set by his large competitor. If the latter chooses to raise the price of rubber and then take only a profit on the rubber

and not on the finished product he forces the little fellow out of business—for the little fellow must necessarily raise his prices when rubber price is raised in order to maintain his profit. But the large manufacturer is making his profit on the rubber and need not raise the price on his finished product.

The fact that 20 percent of the rubber manufactured will be in the hands of other than large rubber manufacturers has little bearing on the matter for this 20 percent would doubtless go along with any raise in

rubber price for it would mean more profit to them.

We are utterly opposed to the sale of these plans to rubber manufacturers. Your assistance would be greatly appreciated. Very truly yours.

FARRIELD RUBBER CO., INC., GEO W. WINCHESTER, Sr., President.

Resolution on Postal Salaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert herewith a resolution unanimously endorsed by 2,000 postal employees, at a public meeting held on March 13, 1955, at the Central Commercial High School in New York City, sponsored by the joint conference of Affiliated Postal Employees:

Whereas there has been introduced in the United States Senate, S. 1 by Senator Olin D. Johnston, and in the House of Representatives, H. R. 1592 by Representative James H. Morrison, bills which provide for a 10 percent increase for postal employees with a minimum of \$430, retroactive to August 23, 1954; and

Whereas S. 1 with amendments has been reported favorably by the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee; and

Whereas the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee has reported H. R. 4644 which provides for a 6 percent increase together with a job reclassification schedule to which we are strongly opposed; and

Whereas the New York Joint Conference has clearly stated that it will not support any increase less than the 10 percent-\$430 figure and is opposed to the job reclassification plan contained in the bill reported out by the House committee; and

Whereas it is of the utmost importance at this time to rally the strongest support in both Houses of Congress for the 10 percent \$430 bills and against job reclassification; Be it therefore

Resolved, That 2,000 postal employees assembled at a public meeting sponsored by the joint conference of Affiliated Postal Employees of Great New York and northern New Jersey at the Central Commercial High School, 214 East 42d Street, New York City, on Sunday, March 13, do piedge their active support for the enactment of S. 1 and H. R. 1592, and determined opposition to H. R. 4644; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon our United States Senators to pass S. I as reported out by the committee without further amendment, and we call upon our Representatives to substitute H. R. 1592 or S. I for the report of the House committee; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon the Government Employees Council and the national officers of the various affiliated postal unions to work for the enactment of this program; and be it further

Resolved, That we endorse and support the legislative conferences called in Washington by the affiliated groups; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the United States Senators representing the States of New Jersey and New York, to the Congressmen of the Greater New York and northern New Jersey area, to the president of the American Federation of Labor, to the Government Employees Council (AFL), to the national officers of all affiliated postal unions, and to the public press.

Lake Diversion as an Irrigation Measure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, proponents of increased lake diversion from Lake Michigan are noticing that the drive for passage of H. R. 3210 is rapidly picking up momentum. This measure, introduced by Congressman Thomas O'Brien, of Chicago, proposes an additional diversion of 2,500 cubic feet per second of water from Lake Michigan down through the Chicago Sanitary District Canal. It is supported by like bills introduced by all the Republican and Democrat Members of Congress from the Cook County area.

For many years there has been opposition on the part of certain groups to diversion of water from Lake Michigan by the city of Chicago for sanitary purposes. Yet, it was readily brought out in hearings held over the past several years on proposals for additional diversion, that the high levels of Lake Michigan, coupled with the reversal of the flow of several Canadian rivers, has flooded Great Lakes shore areas and caused serious property damage.

Recently, new factors have given strength to the cause of increased diversion as proposed in the O'Brien bill, not the least of which is the growing interest of other people in the use of Great Lakes

The following article written by Chester Manly, which appeared in the Chicago Tribune for March 6, clearly points up the new look which is being given the potentialities of Great Lakes diversion, one of which is the use of this excess water for crop irrigation. The article is as follows:

URGE DIVERSION FROM LAKES TO IRRIGATE
CROPS—EXPERTS CITE BENEFITS IN DRY

(By Chesly Manly)

Leading agriculturalists and water conservationists of the Great Lakes region, one of the world's richest farming areas, are advocating the diversion of water from the lakes for supplemental irrigation in dry periods when crop yields are reduced.

Industrial development and population growth in this region, already the most productive on earth, will be accelerated when the St. Lawrence seaway opens the Great Lakes ports to the world's ocean commerce. This in turn will increase demands for water, not only along the lake shores, but in inland areas where the ground water supply already is inadequate.

RELY ON IRRIGATION

Although the normal rainfall in the middle west varies from about 30 to 48 inches a year, 8 years out of 10 have one or more periods of moisture deficiency affecting crop yields. Many farmers rely upon irrigation

to increase yields in normal years and to prevent failures in time of drought.

In doing this the farmers of the Great Lakes region are resorting to a practice as old as agriculture itself.

Concern about means of increasing crop production may seem paradoxical at a time when the United States has \$7 billion invested in agricultural surpluses, but there is no assurance this country will always produce more food than it needs.

WEAPONS OF WAR

Moreover, in its struggle for supremacy with world communism, the United States will be fortunate if it continues to produce a surplus of food, which the Communists use as a weapon of war. The population of the world, now estimated at 2.5 billion and expected to reach 4 billion by 1980, is increasing far more rapidly than the food supply.

With a total land area of 5.5 billion acres, Russia harvested from 386 million acres in 1952. This is only a little more than the acreage harvested in the United States, which has a smaller population and a much larger yield per acre. The United States has about 20 percent of its land area in cultivation.

When Georgi Malenkov toppled from the seat of power in Moscow, he confessed guilt and responsibility for the unsatisfactory state of affairs that has arisen in agriculture. Nikita Khrushchev, who appears to be the new No. 1 man in the Soviet hierarchy, recently acknowledged that Communist Russia, in 1953, had fewer cattle than czarist Russia in 1916, despite an increase of 50 million in the number of mouths to feed.

These basic facts of the world situation emphasize the importance of irrigation, not only in the Far West, where it is necessary to produce anything at all, but also in the Middle West, where artificial watering when needed during the growing season greatly increases yields.

WATER IS ABUNDANT

H. B. Tukey, head of the department of horticulture at Michigan State College, told a water conference at Elyria, Ohlo, last November that the possibility of an abundant water supply exists throughout the Great Lakes region. "We need only imagination, coupled with ability and energy, to develop a population center and civilization unlike anything the world has yet seen," Tukey said.

He advocated construction of a canal across northern Michigan, to connect Lake Michigan and Lake Huron and tap their waters for distribution to most of the State. "No strawberry grower would embark in growing strawberries in southwestern Michigan without first arranging for supplemental irrigation," he said.

R. E. Weingert, who grows 200 acres of sweet corn and 100 acres of potatoes near Kent, Ohio, in Portage County, told the Elyria conference supplemental irrigation last season increased his gross income \$70,-000. "To accomplish this, it took an investment of \$20,000 in equipment, plus \$7,500 in operating expense, including fuel and depreciation," Weingert said.

Weingert obtains part of his water from a 12-inch well 70 feet deep and part from the Cuyahoga River. He applied the equivalent of 3 inches of rainfall last season. Many other farmers would like to install irrigation systems, but are handicapped by a lack of water, he said.

CITES SEWAGE VALUE

Strawberries as large as tomatoes and tomatoes the size of grapefruit could be raised on farms near the Chicago drainage canal in Cook, Du Page, and Will Counties if the effluent of the sanitary district's sewagetreatment plants were used for supplemental irrigation and fertilizer. This treated effluent, averaging 1.1 billion gallons a day, is rich in nitrogen, an essential ingredient of plant life. It would provide supplemental irrigation equal to 3 inches of rainfall, as well as growth-stimulating nitrogen, for 13,503 acres a day.

NATURAL AQUEDUCT

The drainage canal and Illinois River, running diagonally across the State to the Mississippi River, would be a ready-made aqueduct from which water could be widely distributed in Illinois if the Great Lakes States and Canada should agree upon a controlled diversion program for supplemental irrigation and other water uses.

The diversion of water for irrigation in downstate Illinois, outside the Great Lakes watershed, would be opposed by Canada and the other Lake States now, but this opposition might be overcome under a regional control system for the maximum use of Great Lakes water.

The lake levels could be permanently regulated, within a range of about 2.5 feet between high and low stages, if their outlet capacities were increased and control works were installed, at a cost of \$75 million to \$100 million, as part of the St. Lawrence seaway program.

LARGE LAKE AREA

The surface area of the lakes, approximately 95,000 square miles, is 32 percent of their total drainage area of 298,000 square miles. If the entire land area of 202,900 square miles in the watershed should be supplied with 3 inches of water from the lakes it would be equal to about 6 inches from their surface. Thus, there is no question about the adequacy of the water supply.

Irrigation is far less extensive in Illinois than in Michigan and Ohio. A survey made by W. J. Roberts, of the State water survey division, in 1951 indicated that the land receiving supplemental irrigation in Illinois, estimated at 9,000 acres, was not more than 5 percent of the acreage artificially watered in the Midwest.

Roberts found that 164 systems, with a total pumping capacity of 25,000 gallons a minute, were in operation, and further information indicated that 40 additional systems were operated. Ground water supplied 45 percent of the pumpage, the remainder coming from rivers, ditches, lakes, and ponds.

USE WELL WATER

Forty-ive percent of the irrigated acreage was in Cook and Kankakee Counties. Gladioll growers in eastern Kankakee County have been supplementing rainfall with well water since 1923.

There are more than 30 irrigation systems in the area east and north of Chicago Hzights, where onion and potato growers have invested heavily in sprinkler systems. They depend upon drainage ditches and ponds for their water supply, which is insufficient in dry spells. Some Illinois hybrid seed corn producers have found irrigation profitable.

According to the Roberts report, a manufacturer's representative estimated the average cost of an irrigation system in 1951 was \$72 an acre, although some elaborate installations cost much more.

PROFITABLE INVESTMENT

"Use of irrigation systems in Illinois has been limited to farmers who have seen that supplemental moisture would materially increase the cash return from their land," the report stated. "They look upon irrigation systems as instruments for increasing their yields rather than insuring them.

"Obviously a farmer growing hybrid seed corn at \$7 to \$12 per bushel can afford to invest several thousand dollars per field in a modern sprinkling system. With care he may double his yield and pay off his investment in 1 or 2 normal years. "Truck farmers show a great appreciation for supplemental irrigation. Critical deficiencies in rainfall can arise at any time during the growing season, and the application of one-half inch of moisture at a critical point during the growing season may forestall a complete crop loss."

Small Business Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. R. WALTER RIEHLMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. RIEHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Recond, I include the following statement of Mr. George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business before Subcommittee No. 2—Small Business Administration and Problems Related to Procurement, Loans, Disposal—of the Select Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives on March 8, 1955.

I have served as a member of the Small Business Committee during my entire tenure in the Congress, and I have known Mr. Burger to be an effective and sincere spokesman for many of our small-business men in the United States over these

Without either concurring in or dissenting from the substantive views expressed by Mr. Burger on behalf of the National Federation of Independent Business, I submit for the information of the Members these most interesting and constructive remarks:

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

I am George J. Burger, vice president in charge of legislative activities, National Federation of Independent Business, 740 Washington Building, Washington, D. C. Our national headquarters are located in Burlingame, Calif. We also maintain division offices at New York City, Cincinnati, and Chicago.

It must be understood by Members of Congress that no officer or group of officers is permitted to speak for the federation as to its position on any legislative or economic problems unless so directed by a nationwide poll of our members. The entire membership is polled and the results of these polls give the executive officers the authority to act in behalf of the members,

The federation has a vital stake in the successful administration of the Small Business Administration Act. It will be found from the record of the hearings before the House and Senate Banking and Currency Committees in May 1953, that the federation's position was in full support of the proposed legislation with only one exception. We recommend that full control of the agency rest with the Administrator and that he be subject only to control of the Congress of the United States. Our position today, through nationwide vote, remains the same as it was in May 1953.

The federation has in its employ approximately 200 field representatives who are calling on small-business men every day of the business week and they are in a position to get first-hand information on the success or failure of the Small Business Administration in carrying out the will of

Congress. Further, the federation, through its head offices at Burlingame, Calif., and its Washington office, reecives considerable numbers of requests for information from our membership as to procedure under the Small Business Admiinstration Act as to loans. In fact it can be safely said that better than 80 percent of the inquiries as they apply to SBA from all sections of the Nation rest on the needs for financial assistance. Washington office alone, during the life of the act, has assisted many hundreds in giving them the necessary information on procedure to follow in their contacts with SBA. At the same time, we have kept the Members of Congress acquainted with information coming from their districts on such inquiries.

We have a very vital stake in the success of the Small Business Administration Act. We are not unmindful of the fact that if there are deficiencies in the administration of the Act, it would act as a boomerang to the federation. Consequently, we are watching developments to bring about a successful administration of the Act, and let it be understood for the record that the closest liaison and cooperation has existed between our office and the head office of SBA for a year or more.

Our interest in the act itself began shortly after its approval by Congress. As is my custom every year, I visited the head office at Burlingame, Calif., in September 1953, and made it my business to confer with the regional director of SBA in Los Angeles, and in October 1953, with the regional office at Kansas City, Mo. In both of these visits, to be certain we had the story correct, I insisted that a third party be present at the conferences. At the completion of the conference, I directed the third party to make his report on the conference and then I made my own individual report. The comparison was then made. We found a wretched situation existing in the administration of the act which we believed was far from the intent of the Congress.

Upon my return to Washington, I immediately contacted the Administrator, Mr. Mitchell, and arranged for a conference, which took place in his office on October 23, 1953. His various assistants were present during the 2-hour conference and I believe the present Administrator, Mr. Barnes, who was then general counsel, was also there.

I advised Mr. Mitchell of our findings,

I advised Mr. Mitchell of our findings, namely that the great majority of small-business institutions could not qualify for loans due to the regulations instituted by the Policy Board. The regulations provided for loans only for those institutions in essential war work or essential industries. We found that the formal application which was presented to the applicant for completion brought about a situation where the applicant would attempt to answer the questions in the form and would finally throw it up in disgust.

At the conference I put the question to Mr. Mitchell as to who was setting the loan policy and was any policy he proposed vetoed by Treasury or Commerce Department heads. He asked me to give him the privilege of reserving an answer until a later date.

His assistants urged, because of the importance of my findings, that a joint conference be arranged for with Treasury and Commerce officials and the SBA, at which time I could relate again the story I had told on October 23, 1953. This conference took place on the afternoon of October 26, 1953, in the office of Mr. Randolph Burgess, who, I believe, is Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury. I also believe that Mr. Lothair Teetor, of the Department of Commerce, was present at this conference. I brought out in this conference two particular cases, one of a small battery manufacturer in the State of Minnesota and the other, a small furniture producer in the State of Georgia. In

the first instance, applications for loans were denied because it was ruled they were not in essential business.

The outcome of these joint conferences was that a few days later a change was made in the management of SBA and then on November 16, 1953, the entire policy was changed to permit all small business to participate in financial aid through the Small Business Administration Act.

Shortly thereafter, Mr. Wendell Barnes was appointed administrator and up to this very moment, we have had no reason to register any objections to the present policy being carried out by the Small Business Administration insofar as financial aid to small business is concerned. The federation makes no recommendations one way or the other on any application for a loan. The application must stand on its own merits.

I believe it was just about a year ago that the present chairman of the subcommittee, as a members of the Subcommittee on Small Business, held hearings on the west coast, one in San Francisco and another in Los Angeles. In both instances, federation offi-cials appeared and gave testimony, and at one of these hearings the committee ques-tioned the federation witness on the advisability of raising the SBA loan ceiling to a higher bracket than the \$150,000 limit. Following up the committee's suggestion, we polled our nationwide membership and the vote was in the negative. Knowing of our obligation to our members as to a successful administration of the act, again in one of my annual visits to the head office, in 1954, I held conferences with the directors of the regional offices in Los Angeles and San Francisco. At the conferences in these areas, federation president, C. Wilson Harder, accompanied me. I also conferred later with the regional director in Portland, Oreg. that time, a federation man was also with Then again, before returning to Washington, I conferred with the regional office in Minneapolis.

In these recent conferences, not alone with the regional directors of SBA but also with small-business people en route, we found two serious situations we hope have since been corrected. One was the rejuctance of banks in certain areas to look with favor on the Small Business Administration Act. In some areas it was reported that correspondent banks were afraid to step in because they were fearful of antagonizing the larger banking institutions. The second was the failure of the regional offices of SBA to have enough available material such as Government specifications or blueprints of specifications. There was a limited number available and when they were gone, that was the end of it. In some areas, arrangements were made with the public libraries where these documents were available. However, it was most difficult sometimes for a small-business institution to have to go down and look up copies and make analyses of them, etc.

It is our hope that the committee will make certain that all available information as to Government bids, forms, specifications, blueprints, and so on are available at all regional offices so that those small-business institutions who are interested in participating in Government contracts may have such information in advance to permit them to qualify.

I have been present at all the hearings of this subcommittee and the subcommittee is to be commended for the careful study it is making of the proposition so that the act will deliver to small business what Congress intended.

We are not satisfied with the share that small business is receiving from the Defense Department. It is our belief that the administration should take a more aggressive stand in its demand for an equal share—and we mean equal—to be allocated to small business of this Nation. During the present

hearing, we particularly noted the splendid statement of Congressman Riehlman, where he warned the Defense Department of the advisability of recognizing small business and giving it the necessary share of business. As he put it, this important segment of our economy should be maintained from the standpoint of security. I recall a similar warning issued by the late William Jeffers in 1943, when he was Rubber Administrator. He made the suggestion before a Senate committee, that from a security standpoint, there was an increasing need to keep small business functioning in that industry. I am glad to note also that Mr. Riehlman made the comment that all members of the committee concurred in his observation.

I was more than pleased to note the statement presented by Mr. Robbins, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, in which he said: "The Treasury believes that under the provision of the act, and under existing policies, SBA has established an excellent record since its lending machinery went into operation. The Treasury believes that in the light of that record, the life of the agency should be extended for a further period of 2 years."

It is also to be noted in the statement made by Mr. Hamlin, Small Business Adviser for the Department of Defense, that he stated: "It is our view that the Small Business Administration is presently serving the best interests of the Nation in this way and that it can continue to do so. For these reasons, we recommend the continuation of the Small Business Administration beyond June 30, 1955."

We also note with considerable interest the statement of Mr. Teetor of the Commerce Department before the committee, taking no position on the agency except, as he stated: "The ultimate responsibility for the execution of this program rests with the President. Congressional investigations of the RFC make clear the potential danger of abuse of discretion and authority inherent in a governmental-loan program. The establishment of policy to govern the agency's action by the Administrator and two officials of Cabinet rank provides a workable and effective channel to keep the President informed and a safeguard to assure that the general program reflects the views of the Executive, always, of course, within the framework set by Congress in the enabling legislation." Does this mean that the Department of Commerce believes the SBA is a good agency just so long as the Department can keep its fingers in the pie? In our opinion this would be no good for a successful administration of the act. Control should rest with the Administrator and the Congress itself.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, the federation makes certain recommendations for the committee's consideration:

1. We believe that any and all top employees of SEA should have full and thorough knowledge of the basic problems of small business. They should have a human feeling for the problems facing small business. This should be a requisite before they go into a position.

2. The regional advisory boards appointed by the agency should meet more often with the regional directors so that the directors will have more direct information on what is going on in their areas.

3. We believe the committee should reexamine the appointments made to the national advisory board as it may be found that some of the members of that board are a long way from an understanding of small business or being representative of small business.

4. A more aggressive action on the part of SBA to secure a greater share of Government business, and particularly to exercise its right to take prime contracts where same can be channelled through groups of small business

in the respective industries. We found in many areas that competent small engineering firms, for example, would be able to handle effectively prime contracts, singly or in groups, and possibly at lower cost to the Government. We urge special action by the committee in its direction to the agency on this.

5. We believe that the committee should explore the privilege extended to the regional offices in making loans up to \$50,000 without consulting Washington. We would like to have the committee satisfy itself that in this permission there are no impediments and that it means just what it says.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, on a recent nation-wide poll of our membership presenting the question pro and con on the continuance of the Small Business Administration, the results of the poll were 76 percent for, 22 percent against, and 2 percent no vote. This poll further disclosed that the membership wanted the agency's control to rest entirely in the hands of the Administrator with no control being exercised by the Treasury or Commerce Departments.

Thank you for the opportunity, Mr. Chairman, to appear before your committee and express our views in behalf of small business of this Nation.

Federal Aid for Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of March 14, 1955:

FEDERAL AID FOR HOUSING

As required by the Federal Housing Act of 1954 Mayor Wagner, in a detailed presentation forwarded to Washington and made public here yesterday, has documented New York City's need of further assistance on slumclearance, its proof of having a "workable" program, and its competence to advance such a program.

We support this argument, as presented by Mr. Wagner. We shall go beyond it: We believe that, because New York is the favorite port of entry and residence of the large Puerto Rican migration—which, as the mayor says, has "sorely emphasized and accentuated our acute shortage of adequate low-rent housing"—this city has a special claim on the Federal Government for help.

Mr. Wagner states as the record of Federal, State-, and city-helped housing since 1946 the provision of decent apartment units for 60,000 families in public-housing projects and 24,000 families in quasi-public projects. Now under construction or scheduled under approved programs are 34,600 public-housing apartments and 18,900 quasi-public, mostly under title I of the Housing Act, the redevelopment projects for which Governmentpurchased land can be written down in price for private-enterprise housing and business use after clearance. But the end of need is not in sight. A rock-bottom estimate, by the mayor's report, is about 440,000 apartment units.

While there has been, as the mayor admits, considerable criticism of various phases of the city's handling of the housing problem from local sources, it must be admitted too, we believe, that a better-rounded, more competent, more forceful attack within the areas criticized is being made or is taking

form. The relocation of tenants displaced by new building and the overcrowding permitted in old buildings are among these areas subject to criticism. The mayor's estimate that more than 250,000 families face future displacement from stepped-up enforcement of existing and proposed housing codes gives a clue not only to the wretched conditions in which thousands of families are living here but also to the grave, baffling question that lies ahead, of where these families will go.

Consoli lation and Improvement in Post
Office Department Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. NOAH M. MASON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, a bulletin prepared by Mr. Paul O. Peters, a well-known economist and research consultant, should be of interest to the Members of Congress and to the Nation at large. This bulletin points up the fact that the Post Office Department has been losing millions of dollars each year by operating post offices that serve no real need—post offices that can and should be abolished entirely, and the mail delivered by extending present rural mail delivery routes.

The Post Office Department is now in the process of making surveys looking toward the abolishment of unnecessary post offices scattered all over the United States in order to provide mail service both efficiently and economically. This should have been done years ago.

Mr. Peter's bulletin of Monday, March 14, 1955, follows:

IMPENDING PAY RAISES FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES RECALLS SALARIES PAID IN 1822 AND STRANGE PHILOSOPHIES THAT HAVE ARISEN—MANY POST OFFICES DO LESS THAN \$100 VOLUME A YEAR

With general agreement on the part of the Eisenhower administration and the Congress that postal employees are entitled to some salary adjustment at this time it is interesting to recall that back in the year 1822, the official register of the United States listed the salaries of deputy postmasters, which was the title of local postmasters at that time.

In New York City the salary and compensation was \$2,000 a year. At present the New York City postmaster draws \$13,770 which is very moderate considering the business of the New York office reached a volume of \$194,092,577 in postal receipts in fiscal 1953.

While there are more than 40,000 post offices in the United States and the Territories and island possessions there are many fourth-class offices in which the postal receipts total less than \$100 a year.

Efforts to close such offices usually run into trouble because the Congress back in 1851 enacted legislation stating: 'No post office now in existence shall be discontinued, nor shall the mail service on any mail route in any of the States or Territories be discontinued or diminished in consequence of any diminution of the revenue that may result from this act and it shall be the duty of the Postmaster General to establish new offices and place the mail service on any new mail routes, established, or that may hereafter

be established, in the same manner as though this act had not passed." The act, which sponsored a reduction in postal rates, was thereafter taken as a policy declaration by Congress.

Of the 40,000 post offices in the United States about 400 take in less than \$100 a year. In Kentucky there were 98 offices with receipts of less than \$100 in 1953; two other offices at Omaha and Tygarts Valley had receipts of \$100 even, and Portersburg and Rexville took in \$101 each.

The Postmaster at Barrys Lick, Ky., deserves a medal from Congress because he is easily the most honest postmaster in the United States, or the most stupid, whichever way the facts are considered.

In 1953 this particular postmaster reported total receipts from his office of \$99. At that figure his salary was \$326.40. By buying and destroying just \$1 in postage stamps, this particular postmaster could have raised his salary from \$326.40 to \$522.24, a gain in salary of \$195.84 for a \$1 investment, which could be interpreted as a minor swindle. But what of that. Bigger men than small fourthclass postmasters have been known to do much worse things to Uncle Sam's Treasury.

PAUL O. PETERS.

Bonner Plan for FMB to Have Regulation of Domestic Shipping Deserves Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the Marine Digest, a weekly magazine with a wide circulation in maritime circles of the Pacific Northwest, supports the position of our distinguished colleague from North Carolina, Mr. Bonner, that regulation of coastwise and intercoastal shipping properly should be under the legal jurisdiction of the Federal Maritime Board:

BONNER PLAN FOR FMB TO HAVE REGULATION OF DOMESTIC SHIPPING DESERVES SUPPORT

Waterborne commerce officials from coast to coast will hall with enthusiasm, Representative Herrezer C. Bonner's recommendations that the regulations of coastwize and intercoastal shipping be transferred from the Interstate Commerce Commission back to the Federal Maritime Board, Congressman Bonner should be given the support of the entire shipping industry.

Under the dominance of railroad interests, the Interstate Commerce Commission has, either purposely or unintentionally, succeeded in wrecking the coastwise and intercoastal shipping industries.

intercoastal shipping industry.

As chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, Congressman Bonnes is in a position to put his recommendation into action. From the standpoint of waterborne commerce, the sooner this is done the better.

Fourteen years of Interstate Commerce Commission regulation of intercoastal and coastwise shipping has produced a record that speaks for itself and certainly paved the way to again give the Federal Maritime Board jurisdiction over this important phase of American shipping.

No doubt there are many factors which have contributed to the sorry con-

dition of our domestic shipping industry. As chairman of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, the gentleman from North Caroline, Mr. Bonner, is to be commended for urging a change which would seem to me to be the first step toward the solution of a most complicated and difficult problem.

Playing Politics With the Tax Structure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. CSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Record an editorial from the Times-Union, of Rochester, N. Y., for March 11, entitled "Playing Politics With the Tax Structure." Carefully pinpointing the flaws and booby traps in the tax-cut proposal now before the other body, it describes succinctly the difference between constructive and reckless tax legislation. Lincoln once said that you cannot fool all of the people all of the time, but the pending tax cut proposal has not fooled anyone any of the time. It is plain, unadulterated politics of a kind this great Nation cannot afford and should not

The editorial follows:

indulge.

PLAYING POLITICS WITH THE TAX STRUCTURE

Some day Democratic leaders are going to have to take a look at two of their prime subjects for partisan oratory and see if they hang together.

One theme is an ever-expanding, evergrowing, ever-buoyant economy to provide jobs and goods for an ever-growing population.

The other is that every tax bill must soak the big fellow and let the little fellow off as nearly scot free as the coming election—and there's always a coming election—permits.

The two things just simply don't hang together. Either the tax structure will be such as to permit and encourage an ever-expanding economy, or we're all in trouble, big and little.

There are some who play the little fellow for a sucher by ignoring what the experts call the incidence of taxation; that is, legislators may levy a tax at a certain point—say, on corporations—but if the tax can be passed along, as it usually can in prices, it falls on the little fellow anyway. But the soak-the-big-fellow taxers go on hoping they can continue to fool the little fellow by cutting his personal tax.

The new Democratic compromise tax-cut plan is a case in point. It appears to grant a personal income tax cut while raising more total revenue through repealing two items in last year's tax-revision bill.

in last year's tax-revision bill.

The word "appears" is used advisedly. It would allow family heads to pay \$20 less for themselves and \$10 for each dependent except the wife (or husband). But the catch is that to claim the allowance the family head would have to renounce the existing split-income provision under which a husband and wife file a joint return, putting each in a lower bracket.

To get more income, the plan repeals the new depreciation allowance for plant owners and the exemption from double taxation of the first \$50 of a shareholder's income from dividends. Both these provisions relate directly to the economy's ability to expand. The depreciation rate is a direct aid to plant expansion and modernization. Last year's formula was not pulled out of a hat. It was the consensus in a 20-year study of the influence of this tax factor on economic growth.

Double taxation on dividends implies that investment should be penalized. On the contrary, the staff of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report estimates that in 10 years investment in plant and equipment must increase to \$60 billion a year to keep pace with population growth. Kelta Funston says that to finance this new stock issues at a rate of five to six billion dollars a year will be required.

Rather than penalize investment, the tax structure should encourage doubling the 20 million Americans who now own shares in their country's productive enterprises.

The times comes when a choice has to be made between economic health and playing politics with the tax structure.

Income-Tax Exemption to Taxpayers Who Support Aged Dependents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JAMES C. MURRAY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. MURRAY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to bring to the attention of the House the need for an amendment to the dependency provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide taxpayers who support aged dependents with the same treatment as taxpayers who presently support children under the age of 19 years of age or children who are students. I have introduced bill H. R. 4316, which will effectuate this

end

Under the present dependency provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, dependents must receive over one-half of their support in the calendar year from the taxpayer before they may be counted in computing the taxpayer's exemption from income tax. Additional tests, beyond that of half of their support, also are provided. The tests are, that the dependent receive less than \$600 per year gross income, or that, no matter what his income, he is less than 19 years of age or is a student—with no age limit specified.

The amendment which I have proposed would allow a taxpayer to claim a dependency deduction for an aged or blind or disabled parent, without regard to the parent's income, if the taxpayer contributed over one-half of the parent's support for the year. The amendment also would allow the same treatment for the blind, without regard to age. The treatment of children and students as dependents would be paralleled by treatment of the aged, the blind, and the disabled.

In computing their own income tax, the aged and the blind are given larger exemptions under present law than are allowed to children or students on their earnings.

But, in turn, students who hold scholarships which in fact provide support are allowed to exclude the amount of that support in determining their dependency status. It is only reasonable that the additional living costs of the aged, the blind, and the restricted market for their services which they face. be recognized as it is now in the tax law in determining the exemption allowed to them on their own income. With respect to their own income, they cught to be treated, as they are, more liberally than children and students who are in preparation for entry into their years of broad opportunity for earning. The more liberal tax treatment of the income of the aged and the blind ought not stand in the way of giving those who support them as good treatment as that given to taxpayers who support their children.

If a taxpayer now is supporting an aged parent who receives OASI payments of, say, \$700 per year, he may claim the parent as an exemption because OASI benefits are not gross income for tax purposes. Similarly, if the income is from railroad retirement, from certain military pensions, or from taxexempt securities, it is not included in gross income. It can be received in amounts above \$600 by the parent and the parent can continue to be counted as a dependent of the taxpayer. But, if the income is from work, from rentals of property, or from interest on savings bonds or corporate bonds, or dividends, or a civil-service annuity, and amounts to \$600 or more, the taxpayer under present law cannot claim as a dependent the parent who receives the income. The results to which the present law leads may be seen in the following instance. A parent begins at age 65 to receive an annuity to which he and his employer have contributed. The annuity is, say \$600 per year. During a period of, say, 3 years, the annuity is a return of capital and is not included in the parent's gross income. At the end of the 3 years the annuity continues in the same amount as before, but now becomes entirely income, since all capital has been returned. The recipient is not taxable by reason of his \$1,200 personal exemption at age 65 or older. But the son who is supporting him loses an exemption of \$600, and his taxes are potentially increased by at least \$120.

The proposed amendment would correct this situation, so that the taxpayer who supports his parents who have no income, or whose income is from wages, dividends, rents, taxable interest, and so on, will be given the same treatment as the taxpayers whose parents have OASI benefits, tax-exempt interest, or other sources of income which the tax law excludes from gross income. And it will make the income tax of the taxpayer who supports his aged parents no heavier than the tax of the taxpayer whose children work or go to school.

The revenue loss resulting from this amendment probably would be some millions of dollars each year. No estimate of the amount is attempted because we lack information about the number of persons who support their parents as

well as information about the sources of income of the aged.

The loss of revenue is justified because it is a result of allowing taxpayers to keep money which they use for a public purpose. The Government considers the support of the aged to be a purpose of such high rank that it has established both a tax and trust fund arrangementthe OASI-and a contractual arrangement with the States-the old-age assistance program-to seek this purpose. The extension of Government programs to help the aged will be somewhat less urgent as a result of this amendment. The expense of collecting taxes and paying them out to the aged will be somewhat reduced by exempting from tax those who are using their own resources to meet the problem directly.

This amendment will ease the problem of supporting dependents when that support becomes most costly, and when it is more essential that financial worries be minimized. It will also remove the conflicts about working that arise when a few dollars additional from occasional work will cost the person providing the support as much as \$120 per parent.

The proposed amendment is less liberal than many would desire. What reason is there for making it applicable at age 65 rather than 64, or 60? A more liberal—lower—age limit could be justified, because the possibilities of staying in the labor force and being independent taper off sharply long before age 65. The age 65 is chosen only because it is commonly used in other sections of the Internal Revenue Code, the retirement income credit, for example; and in OASI and civil-service retirement legislation.

I hope that this body will give serious consideration either to the amendment that I have proposed or some other legislation which will correct this patent inequity in our income-tax structure.

Banking Legislation in Albany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of March 14, 1955, is deserving of the attention of the Congress:

BANKING LEGISLATION IN ALBANY

For the third consecutive year, the senate and assembly at Albany have before them bills which would permit savings banks to open branches in the growing suburban areas of cities in New York State. This year, both the New York State Federation of Labor and the New York Home Builders Association favor the proposed legislation.

The New York State Banking Department has supported the measure in the past and there is no indication of any change from that direction. More than 11,000 individuals in Nassau County responded in favor of the spirit of the proposal as a result of one bank's public information campaign.

Opposition to the bill this year, as in preceding ones, has come from the smaller commercial banks upstate which are apprehensive of losing deposits if savings banks were able to compete in their areas. There is also the difference of taxation between commercial and savings banks which has kept the controversy alive for so long.

The question of public interest would seem to be the overriding consideration of the legislators concerned with this issue. It hardly seems fair to deny savings banks the right to take part of the business which may be had in the ever-growing suburbs, while supermarkets, department stores, and an innumerable array of merchandising and service organizations may cash in on the bonanza.

Historical Pageant Proposed for Trenton, N. J., Rich in History and in Knowledge of Its History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the city of Trenton, N. J., and the area surrounding it was the site of many stirring happenings in connection with the American Revolution and the Hessian barracks are maintained today on their original location just a short block from the State House. I have often thought that this area would surely provide as fine and moving a historical drama as that carried on at the national park at Roanoke Island, or the Paul Green drama Faith of Our Fathers, which marked the sesquicentennial of the Nation's Capital, both of which were arranged and sponsored by the National Park Service. National interest has been aroused by St. John Terrell in the Trenton area through his yearly reenactment of the drama of Washington Crossing the Delaware.

Conrad L. Wirth, director, of the National Park Service, in response to my inquiry on the matter replied in part as follows:

I am pleased to learn of your interest, that of the city of Trenton and of the State, in the possibilities of producing a community patriotic pageant in this area which would be similar to other such pageants being pre-sented with success in the East and other parts of the Nation. It has been the experience of the National Park Service that these outstanding dramas have been sponsored and presented by communities and local patriotic organizations, which have frequently received State support. The Lost Colony is given within the boundaries of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site by the Roanoka Island Historical Association, formed primarily to present this pegeant, and under a cooperative agreement with this service. The other Paul Green dream which you mentioned, Faith of Our Fathers, was presented by the National Capital Sesquicentennial Commission by agreement with National Capital Parks. In another instance, an interesting historical pageant is being presented by a local organization on a permit basis at Kings Mountain National Military Park, in South Carolina.

Mr. Wirth goes on to advise me as follows:

In the case of the Revolutionary pageant which you propose for the city of Trenton, the Service would like to suggest that, since the proposed site at the old Hessian barracks appears to be in State ownership, the city and State would undoubtedly be interested in acting as joint sponsors of the undertaking. We shall be glad to send them the names of officials sponsoring pageants in Service areas. Should the city and State officials wish to explore this project further, I suggest that they communicate with Mr. Elbert Cox, regional director, of our region one office, 900 North Lombary Street, Richmond, Va., and arrange a meeting. Your interest in writing me about this proposal is appreciated.

I include here an article from the Trentonian by that newspaper's very capable Washington correspondent, Cyril J. O'Brien, as well as a letter from a constituent, Mrs. M. P. Shuman, a teacher of history and social science in the Trenton Public Schools:

TRENTON GOES TO WASHINGTON—THOMPY PLUGS THIS AREA FOR HISTORICAL PAGEANT

(By Cyril J. O'Brien)

Washington, March 2.—The historic light that promises untold opportunity for Trenton peeked brightly this week from under the bushel that has been clamped tightly over it by more than a hundred years of indifference.

The break in the bushel was a letter from Congressman FRANK THOMPSON, of New Jersey, to the National Park Service of the De-

partment of the Interior.

At Roanoke Island, Va., a pageant, Lost Colony, is attracting thousands upon thousands of visitors each year, and at Willamsburg, Va., the historic pageant has become so nationally famous it is now a must for any sightseer in the east.

But Trentonians who sit on the powder keg of all pageants continue to sit, or go to Williamsburg to watch a pageant. Even their own Hessian Barracks—site of the very turning point of the War of Independence—draws a pitiful handful of visitors each month, who look, chat, go home, and perhaps forget it. And around Trenton, there are names like Monmouth, Princeton, Molly Pitcher's Well, the Iwo Jimas and Normandies of the Revolution. There is enough history, legend, romance a few minutes from the statehouse to arouse as much patriotic fervor as a Russian bomber.

CITES AREA'S HISTORICAL ASPECTS

"The city of Trenton, N. J." Representative Thompson wrote the Interior Department, "and the area surrounding it was the site of many stirring happenings in connection with the American Revolution, and the Hessian Barracks are maintained today on their original location just a short block from the statehouse. I have often thought that this area would surely provide as fine and moving a historical drama as that carried on at the national park at Roanoke Island, or the Paul Green drama, Faith of Our Fathers, which marked the sesquicentennial of the city of Washington.

"National interest has been aroused by St. John Terrell through his yearly reenactment of the drama of Washington crossing the Delaware. Another important factor to be considered is the heavily populated metropolitan areas of Trenton, Philadelphia, and New York, which would undoubtedly be a strong financial basis on which to base an undertaking of this kind."

The Congressman asked for assistance in the form of studies which would be a real help in planning a pagcant and a program for the Trenton area.

Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the National Park Service, made it clear that his service could not sponsor such a program, but it was ready to give some help, and to advise sponsors. Wirth also suggested that this might well be a joint State-city undertaking.

The query of the Congressman made it clear that the help and the opportunities are there for opening to the world a pageant of history, romance, legend, and reality unmatched in the Nation. The people of Trenton would reap the harvest, but it will be up to someone or some group in Trenton to pick up the ball and carry it.

Hightstown, N. J., March 3, 1955.
Congressman Frank Thompson, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Frank: I started out to write to tell you that the entry in the Freedom's Foundation contest that won our school (Junior One) the recent prize (George Washington gold medal) at Valley Forge on February 22 contained your voice on a record that was made from our Story of Trenton broadcasts last spring. I wanted to thank you again for your help and interest.

This morning, in the Trentonian I noticed in Cyrii O'Brien's column an article about your interest in renewing interest in historical—particularly Revolutionary—Trenton.

Because I have been cochairman of the Committee on Historic Sites in Trenton, I have become well acquainted with an active committee that is interested not only in erecting historic markers but in preserving our history in general. It occurred to me that this committee might be very helpful to you in the development of your pageant idea.

I think we should go farther than having the pageant. I think we should erect an historical museum for the city in Stacy Park near the Douglass House and get a group of industrialists to finance it and use it as a resource for study, guide service, and coordinated classroom activity.

My book on the history of Trenton is being printed at the Rutgers Press at present and may help us considerably.

Sincerely,

ELEANORE NOLAN SHUMAN Mrs. M. P. Shuman,

Slovak Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, yesterday was celebrated throughout the world as Slovak Independence Day. On this day it is fitting and proper that we Americans pay due tribute to the gallant Slovak people for their brave resistance to godless communism and their loyalty to traditions of true democracy and freedom. On this day we also express our words of hope and faith that their desperate struggle for liberty and national independence will ultimately bring victory and that justice will prevail for that oppressed nation.

At the conclusion of World War I, President Woodrow Wilson announced the principle of the right of self-determination of every nation. The preamble of the Charter of the United Nations restates that principle by reaffirming faith in "the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small."

Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Committee on Communist Aggression I have had occasion to hear shocking testimony of the betrayal of the Slovak nation by the Communists. I have heard evidence of the brutality of the Soviet bolshevization of Slovakia. thousands of Slovaks were deported to Siberia and died there, innumerable Slovaks perished in prisons and concentration camps or while in forced labor in the uranium mines of Joachimstal. Four bishops and some 800 priests, nearly 30 percent of their total number in Slovakia, have been placed in prisons and forced labor camps, many without even a trial or sentence. Freedom and human rights have been almost completely abolished, and most of the living population are being gradually starved to

The Slovak people have earned a better and a more just fate. They look today with confidence to the great American Nation, in whom they see their greatest hope as well as the guaranty that international communism will be defeated and that the Slovaks will regain freedom and national independence with a free democratic and unified Europe.

On this Slovak Independence Day I express the hope and prayer that the day of freedom and justice for the Slovak people may be near at hand.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the terrific fight made in the House against extension of the reciprocal-trade agreements is bearing much fruit throughout the country. The people are beginning to see as never before the fraud that has been pulled off on the American people under the high-sounding phrase "reciprocal trade." Under the administration of reciprocal trade, farm exports have fallen off. Our farmers are no longer fooled by this hoax.

I received a letter this morning which I quote in part:

Surely, we have made the Congressmen understand that the wage differential between the American mills and foreign mills is so great that we cannot exist under the American standards and have to compete with foreign standards, particularly with Japan.

The thing that does not seem to have penetrated, however, is the fact that the cotton farmer does not have to rely on a tariff but can sell his cotton to the American milis behind an embargo wall which is 100 percent tariff, with the exception of a limited amount of special cotton that comes in. It is only just and right that the American mills should use American cotton to produce goods; and as you say in your statement, the American mills use about 70 percent of the American raw cotton. How the farmer falls to understand that if foreign goods come in he is breaking down his quota

or embargo on raw cotton, because every bale of goods that comes in is the same thing as a bale of cotton coming in, I do not know.

Some internationalists and shippers who cater to the foreign trade try to blind the farmer with the idea that he will get a bigger export market. The truth of the matter is that the foreign mills usually buy 25 percent American cotton. If we accept foreign goods, we are accepting 75 percent of cotton grown outside of the United States which comes in here and competes not only with the cotton textile employee but with the cotton farmer, ginner, American shipper, etc.

I am genuinely alarmed at the prospects of the GATT and reciprocal-trade results if they go through as it now looks they will.

Mr. Speaker, as further indication of dissatisfaction among our people, both workers and farmers, I commend to the House the following editorial from the Edgefield Advertiser, of Edgefield, S. C. Edgefield is the county seat of Edgefield County, a great cotton-producing region for over 150 years:

FOREIGN INFLUENCES COMING CLOSER HOME

The steadily growing influence of foreign countries over the affairs of American people is to be seen in far too much of our national legislation, court rulings, and trends that reach into every American community. It is almost startling how much the States and the people in the communities have given up in way of governing their own destiny.

Of late we note the United States foreign trade and tariff program steadily shaping up according to the demands of foreign countries.

It should be remembered that continued lowering of the tariffs, for example, will have far-reaching effects on local industries operating here in South Carolina and in Edge-field County. Textiles imported into the United States at low prices, textiles that are produced under sweatshop conditions in foreign industrial plants, will of course gain a ready market here because of their lower prices. The consequence will be a drying up of the American domestic market. Cotton and other textiles produced here in South Carolina and in Edgefield County will face such competition as to cause the lowering of wages and a depression in the raw-materials market, including cotton.

The United States tariff is the basic protection of American textile wages and largely of our standard of living; for here in South Carolina all of us are now largely dependent on our manufacturing plants. The farm families, in many cases, have members working in these plants; town people working in textile plants, and business depend heavily on the payrolls of these industries.

The American Legion Post, No. 77, brought this issue to the fore last week when it passed resolutions calling everyone in this textile-industry area to contact Members of Congress in an endeavor to hold the line against the flooding of American markets with foreign-produced textiles.

Alaska Air Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. William Schulze, aviation writer for the

Seattle (Wash.) Post-Intelligencer, had some questions to ask in his February 23 column which are very pertinent to the States-Alaska case now pending before the Civil Aeronauitcs Board. Here is what Mr. Schulze wrote:

Believe it or not, one branch of the Federal Government is preparing to increase States-Alaska air service, while another branch of the same Government is reported about to decrease it.

Reports from Washington, D. C., continue to indicate that the Civil Aeronautics Board will order elimination of 1 or 2 of the 4 commercial scheduled airline services between Seattle and Alaskan cities. But the Air Force finds air transportation so vital to defense that it will launch new military air-freight service to Alaska on or about March 1.

I was tipped off at Ladd Air Force Base, Fairbanks, a week ago that the Military Air Transport Service will begin daily freightonly flights north from McChord Air Force Base, Washington State.

SERVICE NECESSARY

It was indicated to me that the Air Force finds necessary this new air-freight service, in addition to that provided by the four scheduled airlines. We can't believe that the Elsenhower administration really wants to increase Government competition with private industry, but. * * * Well, you figure it out.

Too Much War Talk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker. I agree with an editorial that appeared in the Janesville (Wis.) Gazette under date of March 11, in which the writer stated that there is too much war talk in high places. Certainly our people are being frightened by the constant reference to the possibility of war. To me this is a strange coincidence and comes at a time of the year when the Congress is considering appropriations for defense purposes. If these reports are designed to scare our people and Congress into appropriating vast sums for military purposes, a good job is being done. However, I do not believe it is in the national interest to do so.

Mr. Speaker, I am including as part of my remarks, the editorial in question and I commend it to all Members of the House:

TOO MUCH WAR TALK IN HIGH PLACES

For the past several weeks it has been apparent that the United States is headed toward a showdown with Red China because of the strong position taken on protection of Formosa. Even that stand is well understood in the light of the broader policy of resisting any expansion of Communist influence into new areas.

In his nationwide broadcast this week, Secretary of State Dulles made it clear that armed conflict with the Chinese may not be far off. The situation could be saved if the Reds refrain from making military movements against the Nationalists. Otherwise, it is quite plain, invaders will run head-on into American military forces.

Dulles went a step further, however, and told the Chinese that air and sea forces of the United States are ready and waiting "with weapons of precision which can utterly

destroy military targets."

Such warnings to a potential enemy may have an influence, or be a part of a grand strategy. Apparently Dulles and the administration believe that they may have an effect. As citizens, however, there is some feeling that too much "big talk" by officials in high places is unlikely to produce any such result. There is fairly good reason to believe that the Red Chinese have some information along the lines contained in Dulles' warning. If their own intelligence services fail to back up these warnings, they are unlikely to be influenced, even though they are making a wrong guess.

Most Americans are fully aware of the war dangers, and accept the claims of Dulles and others that we have at hand the means to carry out the defense policies which we have set out for ourselves. These same claims, however, seem likely to scare potential enemies who may be determined to put them to the test. Meanwhile, it serves little to plug the war theme to the extent that it leaves neither side any choice but conflict.

If we are prepared for any emergency, the Chinese probably know it, and if they don't, oral claims from Washington are unlikely to convince them. It is one thing to be ready at the trigger and another to repeat threats about shooting. The question now is whether we can avoid shooting by talking, or by talking make sure that we shall be shooting. We may be firm today, but certainly we are not quiet. Our intentions are fully known, and we can only wait to know what we must do. Meanwhile perhaps the less fussing and threatening the better the chances for peace.

Four Hundred and Fifty Colleges and Universities Operating at a Deficit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Wilson Compton, president of the Council for Financial Aid to Education, recently reported that just about half of the Nation's 900 private colleges and universities are operating in the red. Some 200 of them are "wobbly" and are afraid that unless they obtain substantial and immediate financial help, they will be in serious trouble. Inflation has doubled and even tripled the expenses that the educational institutions must

Today it costs the student from \$2,000 to \$3,000 a year to go to some of the better private institutions. Some 200,000 of the superior high-school students, in the upper half of their graduating classes, do not go to college. Half of these, it has been estimated, do not attend because they are unable to meet the high costs of education.

Fortunately, private sources, such as business and industrial concerns, are now giving more to the colleges. General Foods, General Electric, Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, Westinghouse, are giving generously. The Ford Foundation's grant of \$50 million will help greatly.

I have introduced in the Congress a bill, H. R. 2211, developed about 2 years ago by the United States Office of Education in cooperation with some 30 leading national organizations in the field of education to establish a program of financial aid to students in higher education. I have sponsored this bill because of my conviction that the minimum need for this Nation in the world of today is to hold its own in all ways against Russian communism and to attempt to win friends in other countries. It is very important that we develop ways and means to bring to the hundreds of millions of people who are still free and who look to us for leadership a true picture of our form of government so that in the struggle that is going on for the loyalty, the minds, the hearts, and the souls of men throughout the world they will turn to us rather than to the Russians. Strong and courageous leadership is needed. My bill will assist in the development of the kind of leadership without which we may well lose the cold war.

I include here an article by Dr. Benjamin Fine, education editor of the New York Times, entitled "Financial Problems of Private Colleges Are Pointed Up by Ford Foundation Grant." In this article Dr. Fine ably discusses some of the problems our private colleges and universities are facing today:

EDUCATION IN REVIEW-FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF PRIVATE COLLEGES ARE POINTED UP BY FORD FOUNDATION GRANT

(By Benjamin Fine)

The Ford Foundation's grant of \$50 million to raise college teachers' salaries again has focused attention on the financial plight of our colleges and universities.

The Ford plan is to operate on a contingent basis; that is, each college will be expected at least to match the money that the Ford Foundation is to give. Some colleges will put up 2 or 3 times as much as their Ford grant. It is expected that between 50 and 100 colleges and universities will be in the program at the start.

College and university presidents last week were greatly heartened by the Ford an-nouncement. They suggested that this action would stimulate the institutions to seek more funds from other sources, would help maintain academic standards, and improve morale on the campus.

LIBERAL ARTS GROUP PRESSED

For several years the colleges and universities, particularly the independent liberal arts institutions, have been hard hit financially. Some 40 to 50 percent of them are operating at a deficit.

The colleges recognize that their financial problems are tied in rather closely with factors beyond their own campuses. There is general agreement on the major causes behind the plight of the colleges. These include:

1. The cost of everything has gone up. The colleges need more buildings, laboratories, classrooms, libraries, administration facilities. Inflation has doubled and even tripled the expenses that the colleges must

The colleges estimate that it would cost \$6 billion to construct the buildings that will be needed in the next half dozen years. That kind of money simply is not available.

2. Fewer veterans are now going to college. After World War II the veterans flocked to the campuses, literally swamping the classrooms and almost driving out the civilian

students. But that has not taken place after the release of the Korean veterans. To begin with, the numbers were much smaller. many Korean veterans had completed their college work before being drafted. The draft law permitted the superior students to postpone their service until after college graduation. Also, the method of financing the veterans has been changed. Instead of giving the tuition fees to the colleges, the Government, under the GI bill. makes monthly grants directly to the student-vet-Some educators believe that this favors the public colleges that do not charge high tuition fees.

3. More students are looking for scholarships. Because the cost of going to college has jumped so drastically-by more than 100 percent in the last 15 years-many students need financial help. Some colleges report that from 30 to 50 percent of their

students receive scholarship aid.

4. Research projects are becoming more numerous and more costly. Although the Federal Government or private industrial concerns give money for research, too often the grants do not cover the cost of operating these projects. While the colleges are ready to continue with the many research contracts that they carry, they are now worried lest the projects eat away some of the money that is so badly needed for operating ex-In some instances the concerns that award research grants to the colleges now also make additional allowances for the adequate maintenance of these programs.

WHAT RELIEF IS SOUGHT?

What is being done to ease these problems? Many things. Colleges are increasing tui-tion fees. The Ivy League colleges have jumped their fees during the year, and now charge from \$800 to \$1,000 for tuition alone. When room, board, incidentals, and general fees are added it will cost the student from \$2,000 to \$3,000 a year to go to some of the better private institutions.

Educators fear that if tuition rates go up any higher many college-caliber students will simply be priced out of the college

market.

We know that now 200,000 of the superior high-school students, in the upper half of their graduating classes, do not go to col-Half of these, it has been reliably estimated, do not attend because they are unable to meet the high costs.

In addition to raising their fees, colleges have been looking to industry and to the

foundations for help.

The Council for Financial Aid to Education was set up not long ago to help coordinate the efforts of the colleges to raise money. Headed by Frank W. Abrams, former chairman of the board, Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, the council has taken an active part in focusing attention to the financial problems that beset the colleges.

In more than 30 States the private colleges have banded together to seek funds from corporations and foundations. joint effort, unique in educational circles, is now in full stride. Although the total sums raised to date have not been large, the 500 or so colleges in these groups have learned to work together in the raising of funds.

Dr. Wilson Compton, president of the council for financial aid to education, in a recent survey, reported that just about half of the Nation's 900 private colleges and universities are operating in the red. Some 200 of them, according to recent reports, are wobbly and are afraid that unless they obtain substantial and immediate financial help, they will be in serious trouble.

MILLIONS NEEDED NOW

The council president pointed out that at least \$30 million is needed right now to overcome the operating deficits of the private colleges in financial trouble. The head of

the Rockefeller Foundation, Dean Rusk, said further that colleges and universities need a minimum of \$300 million to \$400 million of new money, if they are to keep going and maintain adequate teaching standards.

More and more colleges have been turning toward their own alumni for financial assistance. Dr. Compton pointed to the need of self-help when he told the colleges: "The success of our common effort to strengthen and fortify our American higher education will depend substantially on what the colleges and universities do for themselves. What they do for themselves depends substantially on what their alumni do."

The 1953 Fund Survey of the American Alumni Council showed 685,263 alumni giving to their colleges and universities. These alumni contributed a total of \$16,443,756 to the 302 college funds reached in a survey by the council. Nevertheless, college officials feel that still more help can come from the alumni.

Private sources, such as business and industrial concerns, are now giving more to the colleges than ever before. For example, General Foods Fund has given \$270,000 to higher education. The Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey gave \$450,000 to 138 private institutions. General Electric is providing funds, matching the money given by its employees to the colleges. It is estimated that last year business concerns and corporations gave \$350 million to higher education, compared with \$250 million in 1950. In 1936 business gave about \$30 million.

THE OUTLOOK AT A GLANCE

What is the outlook? The colleges and universities believe that they will get the support to continue to function adequately. They are worried by what may happen if the enrollment doubles by 1970. Will the public colleges and universities become the dominant force in higher education? Already the swing is in that direction. More students are entering public institutions, proportionately, than ever before. A dozen years ago the ratio was 48 to 52 percent in favor of the private colleges.

Today it is just the opposite. Significantly, of the entering students last year, about 65 percent went to public colleges, 35 percent to private. In the long run that trend may be the most important development in the field of higher education in this country.

Tribute to Miss Margaret L. Keefe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article which appeared in the Dial, a newspaper published by the Hamden High School, Hamden, Conn. It pays tribute to an outstanding superintendent of schools, Miss Margaret L. Keefe, and truly exemplifies her tireless efforts and devotion to the Hamden school system, as well as her contribution to many other civic and educational organizations.

Miss Keefe, in her 42 years of service to her community, has played a magnificent part in the progress, pride and public spirit of Hamden. Her contribution will remain as a monument to her tireless efforts. She has been an inspiration to the youth of that town and if the country was privileged to have more like her, I am sure we would have a better America.

I am indeed pleased to submit this article and add my respects to those of her many friends of Hamden, Conn., one of the outstanding towns of my district:

MISS KEEFE ENDS 42 YEARS' SERVICE

Margaret L. Keefe, superintendent of schools in Hamden for 42 years, handed in her resignation on Tuesday night, December 7, 1954, to the board of education. David Wyllie, Jr., who is a veteran of some 19 years in the Hamden school system, was named her successor. Miss Keefe's resignation became effective on January 15. She has been ill since the start of the current school year in September. Her failing health was given as the reason for her resignation.

To give you some idea of the progress that has been made in the Hamden school system under the able direction of Miss Keefe, at the time she came into office. Hamden had 13 small schoolhouses, a total of 23 classrooms, and an enrollment of 116 students. Since that time 10 new grade schools were opened, additions to several were made. Hamden High was constructed, and plans for the adoption of the junior high-school program are well under way.

Today, as she steps down as head of the school system, Hamden has 170 school class-rooms, nearly 6,500 students, and almost 250 teachers. Mr. Wyllle, our new superintendent, has played an important role in the planning and adoption of the K-6-3-3 plan of education set down for September of 1956.

of education set down for September of 1956.

Miss Keefe, a graduate of New Britain Normal School, taught at Berlin Junction for a year before her appointment as principal of Centerville School in 1911. The following year, when Tobin accepted a position in Derby, she became superintendent of schools.

Miss Keefe did postgraduate work at Yale, Trinity, and Rhode Island College of Education. She received an honorary degree in 1936 from Albertus Magnus. Both Miss Keefe and Mr. Wyllie have been active in civic affairs. Miss Keefe is an ex-officio member of the board of directors of the Visiting Nurse Public Health Association, an honorary member of the Teachers' League, a member of the advisory council of PTA, of the chamber of commerce, Connecticut Education Association, National Education Association, Connecticut Association of School Superintendents, Civil Defense Committee, Albertus Magnus Circle, director of American Red Cross, Hamden Chapter, Delta Gamma Kappa (honor society of women who are recognized leaders in the profession of teaching), and in 1953 she received an award from the Exchange Club for crime prevention.

Immigration and Nationality Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the transcript of Mr. Edward R. Murrow's television show of March 8, 1955, See It Now:

Mr. Mussow. Good evening, this is See It Now produced by the partnership of Friendly and Murrow, and presented each week at this time by Alcoa, the Aluminum Co., of This 120-page document is called Public Law 414. It was passed by the 82d Congress over President Truman's veto. Legally, it is called the Immigration and Nationality Act. It is generally referred to as the McCarran-Walter Act because it was sponsored by the late Senator Pat McCarran and Representative Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania. This act determines who can and who cannot enter this country and also who can be deported. It is complex and controversial and this is an attempt to illuminate it a little bit. Representative Walter is watching in Washington and he will respond at the close of this report. This was candidate Eisenhower on October 31, 1952.

Mr. EISENHOWER. I believe also that we need to rewrite the unfair provisions of the McCarran Immigration Act to get the bigotry out of it, and don't forget that a vote for my opponent is a vote to continue the Democrat author of that bill as chairman of the Senate Immigration Subcommittee and also chairman of the powerful Senate Judiciary

Committee.

Mr. Murrow. And after the candidate became the President, he continued his opposition to the McCarran-Walter Act in his first state of the Union message.

President EISENHOWER. We are one and all immigrants or the sons and daughters of immigrants. Existing legislation contains injustices. It does, in fact, discriminate. I am informed by Members of the Congress that it was realized at the time of its enactment that future study of the proper basis of determining quotas would be necessary. I am, therefore, requesting the Congress to review this legislation and to enact a statute which will at one and the same time guard our legitimate national interest and be faithful to our basic ideas of freedom and fairness to all.

Mr. Morrow. Again, in this year's state of the Union message, President Eisenhower called for revision of the McCarran-Waiter Act. Now, as chairman of the House Immigration and Nationality Subcommittee, Representative Walter continues as its staunchest defender. CBS reporter Dan Schorr interviewed him in his office.

Mr. Schore. Congressman Walter, you and Senator McCarran are the authors of our current Immigration Act. Senator McCarran is now dead. You survive as a spokesman for Congress on this act. Has it accomplished what you expected it to?

Congressman Walter. It has accomplished much that we hoped would be accomplished, but Dan, remember this. This code came as the result of nearly 5 years of work. There was expended on it over a half a million dollars. The joint committee-and the code was prepared by a joint committee of Representatives and Senators and the technicians that worked on it were the best people we could find and the best people anybody could recommend. It wasn't lightly considered, and I am quite certain that when recommendations for changes are made, if they are, and usually most of the criticism comes around election time, but if there are any criticisms of the law, I am quite certain that they will be of things that we have considered-that is, a joint committee has considered and rejected. Interestingly enough, I'll give you a beat, Dan. There was submitted to me this morning the galley proofs of a staff report just completed by our experts on the operation of this act and it's quite revealing.

It contradicts many of the statements made about this much maligned law. For example, we were told that the enactment of the McCarran-Walter Act would result in the drying up of all immigration. Well, interestingly enough, that did not happen but just the contrary is the fact. The over-all number of immigrants admitted to the United States exceeds by 22 percent the numbers admitted proviously under general law.

Mr. SCHORR. And yet, President Eisenhower, in both of his state of the Union messages, referred to inequities and injus-

tices in this act. How can you explain that? Congressman WALTER. Well, I am certain that when the President made that statement, if there was any basis for it, he would have made concrete recommendations for changes. I've heard a great deal of name-calling and actually that's the sum total of the criticisms of the law. I would like to have somebody point out to me what the inequities are. I am sure that if the President is sincere in his charges, he will have the Attorney General of the United States submit specific legislation.

Mr. Schore. Congressman, you said at one time that you favor the present act because it tends to arrest the tendency toward a change in the composition of the American stock. What did you mean by that and how

would you justify that?
Congressman Walter. No; that is not en-What I was saying at that tirely my view. What I was saying at that time—I think it was a speech I made in Philadelphia a couple of years ago-what I was saying was this—that when this formula of national origins was devised, the men who agreed on it felt that the thing to do. in order to reduce conflicts to a minimum, was to bring into this country people who might become more easily assimilated.

After all, it's been intended that this be a great melting pot. I don't know how well that theory has succeeded because I do see evidence on all hands of hyphenated Americanism. There is no place in America for hyphenated Americanism, and all I was saying was that if people of one racial group were given preferences they would become quicker assimilated according to the size of

that group.

Mr. Schore. Then your act does, in fact, tend to prefer people of one racial group

over another? Congressman Walter. No; it doesn't prefer one group over another. It merely states that according to the percentages, the Anglo-Saxons were given a larger percentage because there was a larger percentage of the type of people who came during that time, and that is only accidental. It is notthe formula is not rigged but it just happens that when the law was enacted in 1924, there was the predominance of these particular

groups. Mr. SCHORR. But one criticism of the act has been that while it is very effective in excluding Communists, it is not equally effective in excluding those of other totali-tarian beliefs such as Nazis and Fascists.

Congressman Walter. Well, that, of course is not true. If they have been a member of any proscribed organization, then of course they are excludable, and it applies to Nazis and Fascists just as it does to Communists. Of course, there is a big difference, too, between the two forms of totalitarianism. I never heard of the Fascists trying to overthrow the Government of the United States through force and violence, There has never been a movement in the United States except a very inept movement by some German groups before the war to accomplish that.

Mr. Schore. May I point out that leaders of the three major denominations in this country-Catholics, Protestants, and Jewshave criticized and attacked your act as being unfair. On what grounds do you think?

Congressman Walter. I don't know what religious leaders are criticizing this law who know anything about it. However, a lot of the old pros, the old immigrant movers whose job it is to move people, and of course they don't like to see any limit placed on their work, find that it isn't as easy to bring people into the United States as they would like it to be. Now, there was a charge made that the law was anti-Semitic. At a hearing on another act, Congressman Javits, the present attorney general of the State of New York, a great American and a distinguished man, who is in my judgment as well qualified to speak for any group of people as anybody who could be selected, because he is not only fair and honest but he knows the problem, when I asked him wherein this law was anti-Semitic, he laughed and said, "Nowhere is there anything in the law that is anti-Semitic."

Attorney General JACOB K. JAVITS. As I recall it, Congressman Walter asked me this question at a hearing upon the proposition of moving to liberalize the immigration policy of the United States which I have advocated for a very long time.

At that time I said obviously there was nothing in the law which was specifically anti-Semitic, but I hastened to add that the law, in my opinion, discriminated against minorities like Negroes and those with Asiatic blood in their veins, and also perpetuated the quota system which discriminates against those who were born in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, and in that respect the law is anti-all people who come from those areas, which have traditionally included a good many Jewish people as well as a very great many people of Italian extraction, Greek extraction, Polish and Russian ex-traction, regardless of where—where they may be living now, and in that sense I have been opposed to the McCarran-Walter Act, and I still am opposed to it. We are anxious to attract good people from behind the Iron Curtain into the free world. There is an enormous influx of those people which comes into western areas like West Berlin. The great attraction to coming into those areas is that they can find a new life in the free world, and if the great leader of the free world, the United States, keeps them out of its own country, obviously it is a disastrous setback to what we hope will be the magnetic attraction to bring them out. And finally, there are very heavy disabilities in the law against citizens who are naturalized as contrasted with citizens who were born in the United States.

This is very much contrary to the whole spirit of this country, and yet it exists and we have the strange situation of where a person might be picked up 20 and 30 years after he is legally immigrated into the United States and shipped out because there is no limitation upon the fact that if he was found to have been guilty of-of some small crime before he came here, which somehow or other didn't get disclosed, or under some summary procedures get into difficulty about having joined some organization quite unwittingly which then turns up on the Attorney General's subversive list. We're not talking about Communists and even fellow We're just talking about ordinary people who have no intention to do anything but be loyal Americans who get themselves in some small scrape and find after building a life here for years that under the McCarran-Walter Act they have to be sent back now, I don't think that's fair and I don't think it's consistent with the spirit of our country.

Mr. Murrow. One of the religious leaders who oppose the McCarran-Walter Act is Archbishop Richard J. Cushing, of Boston.

Archbishop RICHARD J. CUSHING. I feel that our present restrictive immigration policy as reflected in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 is outmoded and out of harmony with the humanitarian, democratic aim of our current domestic and foreign policies. It is an immigration policy based on fear, insecurity, and I also believe on racial prejudice. It is a denial and a reversal of the policy which brought about the creation, growth, and strength of our great democratic country. Most everyone agrees that the most detrimental feature of our present law and the one that is of paramount importance

as far as revision is concerned, is the socalled national origins quota system. It is this system which says in effect that one race is superior to another and that we must therefore limit the admission of the inferior regardless of their individual qualifications or interests or needs, regardless of their refugee or surplus situation, and re-gardless of any family relationships which may be involved. We can and should establish a higher annual quota of admission to somewhere around 250,000, and an equitable substitute for the national origins quota system can be created for the allocathese numbers. This new policy would eliminate, I believe, all discriminations and be flexible enough to take care of special problems and to insure that in any one year the entire quota will be utilized. This problem, like many others as I see it. is identified with the United States of America as the hope of a bewildered world.

Mr. Murrow. From Bishop Cushing, we move to Rabbi Israel Goldstein, president of the American Jewish Congress.

Rabbi ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN. I might say, in passing, that the Jewish stake, numerically speaking, is not very large in this particular matter owing to the unfortunate fact that 6 million Jews have been exterminated by Hitler and 21/2 million Jews are now sealed off in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, and owing to the fortunate fact that hundreds of thousands of Jews have come from European countries into Israel where have found their homes and their freedom. But, nevertheless, our opposition to the Mc-Carran-Walter Act is just as strong and just as vehement as that of any other group, because we condemn the grounds on which it is based. The whole approach to immigration is sort of hostile and the slogan seems to be: "Nothing that is alien is human to The McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, moreover, is hypocritical because while purporting to rectify the exclusion of Asians it actually puts a ceiling of 100 immigrants per year for countries such as Japan, with its 70 millions of population, or India with its 300 millions, and it adds injury to insult by counting against these absurd quotas, someone let us say, born in England of half-Asian parentage, who is not given the privilege of being counted for the English quota but is counted for the Asian quota. If that isn't racist, I don't know what is.

Mr. MURROW, Senator HERBERT LEHMAN was one of the 26 Senators who voted against the bill in 1952. We asked him to comment on Representative WALTER's statement that immigration was up 22 percent since the McCarran-Walter Act.

Senator LEITMAN. Well, Mr. Schorr, in claiming that immigration under the Mc-Carran-Walter Act increased by 22 percent, Congressman Walter is playing with figures—a very dangerous game. that the total legal immigration in the fiscal year 1954 was lower than in any preceding year since 1947 with the sole exception of fiscal year 1953, the year Congressman Wal-TER used as his only basis of comparison. In the 2-year period during which the Mc-Carran-Walter Act has been on our statute books, fiscal year 1953 and fiscal year 1954; total legal immigration was 378,000. during the 2 years preceding the passage of the McCarran-Walter Act, fiscal years 1951 and 1952, total immigration was 471,000. In other words, total immigration was 25 percent greater during the 2 years before the McCarran Act than after. Moreover, over half of the so-called increase in immigration in 1954 over 1953 is accounted for by the increased immigration from Mexico which is not under the quota system at all. I think actually this bill which is claimed to be an immigration and naturalization law is not that at all, but an exclusion, a denaturalization and a deportation law.

You know the McCarran-Walter Act is based on the so-called national origins quota which goes back to 1924. At that time, they drafted a law which permitted a certain percentage of the people in this country who were of certain national origins to come in, and that, in turn, was based on the population, on the census of 1920, where there were thirty or forty million fewer people than there are today. Now, under that-under that quota system which I am very much opposed to, the national origins quota, a certain-number of people were given to England and Italy and Poland and Greece, and the other countries. England and Northern Ireland were given 65,000. Only a very small percentage of those people come in here be-cause the English don't immigrate. They want to stay at home to a great extent, so that these-they're unused quotas which cannot be used by any other country under the present law. On the other hand, a country like Greece has a quota of only 308, most of which are already mortgaged under provisions of the McCarran Act. Italy has a quota of less than 4,000. Poland has a small quota. All the-all the countries of southern and eastern Europe were very greatly discriminated against, and that's one of my very real strong objections to the present act, and why I am proposing to change that in the bill which I've introduced.

Mr. Murrow. Congressman Francis Walter has been watching in Washington. He will make certain concluding comments immediately after this word from Alcoa, the Aluminum Co. of America.

Congressman Walter opened this discussion of the McCarran-Walter Act and he has now agreed to make some comments upon what some of its critics have said. Will you

go ahead, sir, please? Congressman, WALTER. In the very brief time allotted to me to reply to the state-ments made by Mr. Javits and the others who spoke this evening. I shall attempt to take the statements each made and look at the notes that I prepared as they were making them. Now, Mr. Javits was fair in his statement but he is entirely incorrect when he states that a person could be deported for a trivial offense. Actually, a person can be denaturalized only after a verdict of a Federal court. An alien can be deported only for the commission of a felony within 5 years after the alien had been in the United States, or two felonies committed after this alien has come to the United States. As a matter of fact, there are two important cases now in the Supreme Court of the United States that go into this question of the procedures on denaturalization-one from Attorney General Javits' own State of New York. an opinion handed down by Judge Harold Medina, who knows as much about com-munism as anybody, he stated, "It's worthy of note that the act of 1952 was not hastily thrown together. On the contrary, it's a result of years of patient study," and so on. Now, then, we get to the statements made by Archbishop Cushing.

He said that the act is discriminatory and the national origins system is antiquated, and there is nothing in the law that will enable us to deal with surplus populations. After all, when the Congress of the United States enacted the Immigration and Nationality Act, it was legislating in the interest of the United States and not in the interest of other nations. As far as family ties are concerned, it has been the policy of the Committee on the Judiciary, ever since I have been a member of it, to endeavor to reunite families, and I am sure that the record will show that, Rabbi Goldstein seemed to stress the fact that there were nations with large populations who want to send immigrants to the United States. Well, that demonstrates the fallacy of attempting to depart from the national origins system. I certainly don't believe that it would be in

the best interest of the United States to fix quotas according to the size of populations of other countries. Rabbi Goldstein talked about the population of Japan being but 70 million, and they had only a hundred quota—they actually have 185; India, population of 300 million, and only a hundred quota. Well, what about China with a much greater population than either of those countries? Getting to Senator Lehman's statement about juggling figures. He is entirely wrong, because he omitted to say that the years of 1949 to 1952 were the years when the displaced persons program was in effect. Of course immigration was high then under special emergency legislation. The last charge I think that ought to be answered and was not made tonight is with respect to permitting visitors to come to this country.

On tomorrow I am sure an announcement will be made that these Soviet school newspaper editors will be able to come to the United States under the very generous and liberal discretionary provisions of the present law—something that was impossible under the old law.

Mr. MURROW. Thank you very much, indeed, Congressman Walter, for contributing to a degree to the clarification of this complex and controversial issue. Thank you, sir, very much indeed. Good night and good luck.

Buy It Back?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under the above title the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner, the farthest north daily newspaper in the United States, printed on February 12 an editorial which I am very pleased to share here:

A suggestion has been made in Juneau that the Alaska Legislature appropriate \$7 million and offer to "buy back" our Territory from the United States. Of course, this suggestion is made with tongue in cheek. Actually, it is only designed to call further attention to the plight of Alaska with regard to the rights of citizenship which residents here do not possess.

We feel that this suggestion has merits, We do not take it seriously, but, it certainly illustrates the feelings of many Alaskans who are dismayed with the neglect our Nation

is showing the people of Alaska.

We suggest that the legislature go right ahead and make an offer to "buy back" Alaska. Offer the United States 7 million and ask for our freedom. At the same time, point out that we would be a much more prosperous land if we existed as a sovereign nation.

First of all, no one can say that our defense spending income would be cut off, because the United States must defend Alaska to defend itself.

Furthermore, we would enjoy these immediate gains:

1. As a sovereign nation we would be ellgible to obtain money under the "foreign
aid" program. No doubt, if we weren't a
Territory, the United States would be more
willing to finance highways, new schools, and
a quart of milk per day for each citizen. We
are strategically located here in Alaska, and
the United States would be forced to seek
our friendship.

2. As a foreign nation, we could send an ambassador to the United States. If he

issued a protest, no doubt it would arouse much more interest in Washington than anything our delegate to Congress can say or do. Our delegate to Congress hasn't got a vote to cast or trade, but in this day and age, an ambassador is a real important terson.

3. As a foreign nation, no doubt we would be eligible for special assistance to build our badly needed roads. The United States has enacted a law which extends to South American nations financial assistance in constructing highways. However, Congress has been steadily reducing the funds that are appropriated to enable Alaska to expand its road system. We'd like to have some of those super highways that South American nations are building with United States funds.

These are the advantages that would accrue to Alaska if we became independent of the United States. Of course, the move would have certain drawbacks. We would have to go through immigration to get into the United States, we wouldn't be able to vote for the President, we wouldn't have a vote in Congress, and we would have no voice in the affairs of our Nation.

in the affairs of our Nation.

But, wait a minute. We have to go through an immigration inspector right now, when entering the United States from Alaska. We can't vote for our President, and we do not have a vote in Congress. Naturally, under such conditions, we have no voice in the affairs of the United States.

So, Alaska has everything to gain and very little to lose by becoming a sovereign nation. Obviously, our Government is so busy taking care of the underprivileged people all over this world that America has forgotten about our own loyal citizens in Alaska.

The legislature should pass a bill offering the United States \$7 million for a clear title to our own homeland. This move would be advantageous to Alaska and to the Nation. After we were a sovereign nation for a few years and industry has sprung up here because it was not taxed on a frontier at crushing levels designed for America proper, and after we'd had a little assistance in building highways to tap our rich resources, and after we'd run our own "show" for a few years and took steps to correct the Interior Department's mistakes, and after we'd elected our own governor and all our public officials, we could rejoin the United States.

Then Alaska would be a prosperous, productive adjunct to America, and no doubt we would be completely ready for statehood.

We feel the legislature should appropriate that money. It might be the most valuable \$7 million Alaska ever spent.

New Insight Given as Death Approaches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON, BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, so much has been said lately about heartless business and the exploitation of the workingman, I felt my colleagues would find interest in a recent letter written by a dying workman about his company. This appeared in a Letters to the Editor column in the San Diego Union last week. It was written by a young man named William Neary, an Army veteran, with a wife whom he had met in Italy, and two small daughters.

Bill Neary wrote this as a sort of last service to labor-management relations. In the past, he had served on a union negotiations committee at his plant, the Kelco Co., which processes seaweed into

gelatin and other products.

Bill showed his typically American courage and frankness in discussing his problem. He wrote the letter to set things straight, not to get publicity. He even asked that his name not be printed. The world deserves to know Bill's story. Under unanimous consent, I include his letter as a portion of these remarks:

NEW INSIGHT GIVEN AS DEATH APPROACHES

EDITOR, THE UNION.

A few weeks ago my family and I received the shattering news that I had 2 months to live. The doctors advised me to stop working and conserve my strength, in order to last a little longer maybe.

But, being the bread-winner for a lovely, wonderful wife, and two small children, my problem was now to keep winning that bread

and still conserve my strength.

Now comes the reason for my story

For the last 5 years I have worked for a local company which has always treated me very well and with respect. I didn't know whether to keep my sad news a secret from the company or to be fair and square as it had always been with me in the past.

Well, I told the company my complete

problem.

It came through true blue. I was put on 3-weeks sick leave, with pay, and was told that if I wanted to come back to work, there would be a position for me which would require no expending of energy but would keep my mind off my worries. I would be paid top wages.

Companies are accused of many things, sometimes rightly but all too often unjustly. My company has been called cold-blooded and has been wrongly accused of spreading

kelp along the beaches.

But the point I have tried to bring out is this: My experience convinces me that companies are not run by cold-blooded capitalists squeezing every drop of energy out of us for their dollar paid. I think that if we looked fairly we would find usually that we are working for honest, warm-hearted people, who are willing to pay an honest dollar for an honest effort.

Don't let my experience influence you. Think it over. I can only say thank God for putting a big heart in a local company.

W. Neary.

NATIONAL CITY.

Security Council Sparkplug

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tucsday, March 15, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, a dinner was held at the White House last Saturday, March 12, in honor of Gen. Robert Cutler, who recently resigned as President Eisenhower's special assistant for national security affairs. Although not a well-known public figure, General Cutler has held a highly sensitive and important position. All who worked with him will agree, I feel sure, that he has discharged his heavy responsibilities in a most capable and

highly commendable way. Our congratulations go to him for a job well done.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I should like also to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial regarding General Cutler which appeared in the Washington Post on March 11, 1955:

SECURITY COUNCIL SPARKPLUG

Robert Cutler has been one of the most important and least-known men in Washington. As Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, he has had a preeminent part in giving the National Security Council the new meaning and prestige which Mr. Eisenhower has sought for it. curity Council has all but eclipsed the Cabinet on questions of broad strategy. This shy, witty Boston banker has been the ideal staff agent for the President-quiet, unobtrusive, and completely dedicated, and with a singular ability to cut through nonessentials in keeping attention focused on the major problems and in following through on decisions. Through his own choice he has led a virtually monastic existence in the capital, shunning social engagements and contacts even though previously in private life he had been known as the life of the party. Whether this self-enforced seclusion has helped build proper appreciation of the work of the Security Council is debatable, but it certainly has served to keep the Council staff out of embarrassing controversy. Even less is known here publicly of Mr. Cutler's successor, Dillon Anderson, a Houston attorney who has served as a consultant to the Security Council since 1953. We wish him well-and for Mr. Cutler a well-deserved release when he returns to his post as chairman of the board of Boston's Old Colony Trust Co.

The Good Old Hoover Days

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to do so I include herewith an editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald:

THE GOOD OLD DAYS

Former President Hoover's passion for criticizing the programs of his successors has carried him to such an extreme in the report on governmental lending activities that it is difficult to escape Representative HOLIFIELD'S conclusion that the report is faulty in concept and method. Mr. Holi-FIELD is a Democrat and a member of the Hoover Commission. But two Republican members-Attorney General Herbert Brownell. Jr., and Mobilization Director Arthur 3. Flemming-also dissented, as did Joseph P. Kennedy, former Ambassador to Great Brit-ain, and James A. Farley, former Postmaster General. Mr. Hoover and the Commission majority, in their laudable zest to save the Government money, apparently forgot that one of the reasons for government is to protect the health and welfare of the people who support it. Many of the lending agen-cles which the Hoover Commission would liquidate are performing valuable services for the people without injury to private enterprise.

Considerable money could be saved if the Government ceased making crop loans to farmers, rural electrification loans, Export-Import Bank loans, and housing loans. Money also could be saved if the Govern-

ment raised the interest rate on loans it continued to underwrite. There may be an argument that this should be done selectively. But a sweeping curtailment such as the Commission advocates would not serve the national interest, the business interests of the country, or the groups that have helped expand the economy through use of such loans. Unquestionably there are subsidies in governmental lending activities, but they need to be related to the whole complex of indirect subsidies in which the Government is engaged. The Hoover Commission seems merely to consider the overall cost of Government and conclude that it is prohibitive.

When the Hoover Commission makes such extreme proposals it does damage to its own reputation and to the proposals it has made on other governmental problems. No Congress, whether Democratic or Republican, would ever seriously consider the proposal to abolish the agencies which the Commission criticizes. The report, therefore, can be put down as an unfortunate academic exercise. It strays too far from reality to be of any real value to Congress or the administration.

Keenotes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include copy of my weekly column Keenotes of March 11, 1955, which refers to the recommendations of the Hoover Commission dealing with veterans' hospitalization and disability benefits:

KEENOTES

(By Hon. ELIZABETH KEE, of West Virginia)

In this fast-moving civilization of ours, yesterday is sometimes so very, very long

ago. And so easy to forget.

It is particularly easy, it seems to me, to forget "yesterday's hero"—our war veterans—especially when, as right now, we are not engaged in a shooting war. The upsurge of gratitude felt by a whole nation for the sacrifices these boys made for us—the solemn pledges we in turn made them in those yesterdays—all of these can become so cloudy in memory, so easily forgotten now.

As one of the ranking members of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs of the House of Representatives, I have seen this forget-fulness of the veteran show itself many times in many different ways. Whenever it happens, I think of Lear's classic characterization of ingratitude as "how sharper than a

serpent's tooth."

Lear was berating a thankless child. But nations can be ungrateful, too.

This Nation certainly would be ungrateful, I feel, if it were to adopt some of the latest recommendations of the Hoover Commission dealing with veterans' hospitalization and disability benefits.

The new Hoover group, officially known as the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, put a task force to work surveying all of the Government's \$4 billion a year health activities, of which veterans' care is only a part. The group indicated a possibility of saving up to \$400 million a year through reorganization of the Government's various health functions, including modification of some and elimination or drastic curtailment of others.

Significantly, however, more than threefourths of all of these estimated-or hopedfor-savings would come out of curtailment of hospitalization benefits and tightening of disability-allowance procedures for veterans, including the closing of some veterans' hospitals.

On their face, some of the Commission statements on veterans' hospitalization benefits sound somewhat reasonable until a more thorough analysis shows that they are based on what appears to be an implication not merely of widespread but of wholesale and one would almost say general cheating by our war veterans in exercising their rights to hospitalization for nonservice-connected cases.

I cannot subscribe to any such blanket charge or wholesale condemnation of the men who fought to keep freedom alive in

this world.

Perhaps there is one bright side to this

newest attack on veterans' rights.

When the winds blow with freezing fury and life is grim and we are cold and miserable and full of winter weariness, and then, suddenly, we see an undaunted crocus has pushed its way right through the hardcrusted ground, doesn't the heart warm quickly in the happy knowledge that spring is soon at hand? The crocus is always a sure sign.

Similarly, when I saw this official report from the Hoover Commission on veterans' benefits, I suddenly felt as if it was an omen Even though the experimental nuof peace. clear explosions, both here and behind the Iron Curtain, are getting bigger and more awesome day by day, and the situation off Formosa is looking quite menacing, it sud-denly struck me: wasn't it a sign of an upswing in the prospects for peace when in-fluential groups in this country start looking with outright hostility at the tremendous cost of veterans' hospitalization and disability benefits?

Nevertheless, we dare not repudlate the promises we have made to our veterans.

Professional Soldiers Plus Incentives Equal Top Morale

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OP

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States depend upon professional soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen to protect and defend our Nation.

The officers and noncoms are the backbone of our Military Establishment.

They have the special knowledge and experience and steadiness that cannot be drafted suddenly from civilian life in time of emergency.

We need them every day and every hour to handle complex equipment in farflung stations.

Devoted to honor, duty, country. ways faithful. Ready to give their lives if need be, and asking so little in return.

Only respect and consideration.

The disciplined pride of a military man suffers severely when he and his dependents are not reimbursed for the sacrifices that they make by volunteering to serve their country.

At a time when pay and fringe benefits are increasing for civilians, we have

seen the status of our service personnel slip farther and farther behind the average standard of living.

Before this pay-raise bill was passed, a master sergeant with over 18 years of service, received only \$275.18 per month.

Only \$3,300 a year for the highest noncom.

Short rations, at best.

Small wonder that the military service has ceased to be attractive.

We have made it so because of our neglect-our failure to consider the human factors.

The most effective and costly military equipment in the world will not buy us protection if the men to operate the equipment are amateurs, or if their hearts are not in their jobs.

A military pay increase bill will serve to keep the best-trained men in uniform. That is, if it is supplemented by further legislation to increase dependent medical care, survivors' benefits, and to provide.for adequate housing.

The wives and children of professional military men also serve their country in ways that merit our understanding and our gratitude.

The vote in the House-399 for and only 1 against-reflects the overwhelming opinion in Congress that our career men in uniform are deserving of much better treatment than we have accorded them in the past.

We take this action not only for compelling economic reasons, but as a means of expressing to the men and women who have sacrificed the freedoms, the comforts, and the moneymaking opportunities of civilian life in order to dedicate themselves to the protection of all-our admiration and our deep respect.

Those who serve their country before themselves earn the highest honor and consideration.

It is a privilege for Congress to passwith flying colors-the Career Incentive Act of 1955.

Forty-seventh Annual Order Day Dinner of B'nai Zion in Honor of Hon. Abraham J. Multer

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, on March 6, 1955, on the occasion of the 47th annual order day dinner of B'nai Zion in honor of our colleague, the Honorable ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, there were many outstanding speakers. A citation was awarded to Congressman MULTER by the Honorable Arthur Markewich, a justice of the supreme court of the State of New York, and nassi-grandmaster of B'nai Zion.

Among the outstanding personalities present to do honor to our colleague were the Honorable HENRY M. JACKSON, United States Senator from the State of

Washington, and the Honorable Carmine G. De Sapio, secretary of state of the State of New York and Democratic national committeeman from New York. Their addresses to the dinner guests and Congressman Multer's acceptance speech were so outstanding and interesting that under unanimous consent I include them herewith. Also included is a copy of the citation presented to Congressman Multer:

CITATION TO CONGRESSMAN ABRAHAM J. MUL-TER: LAWYER, LEGISLATOR, STATESMAN

In grateful recognition of the manifold historic services he has rendered to the American people in their fight for freedom.

In high appreciation of the unflinching loyalty and devotion he has brought to the cause of the State of Israel and his great efforts on behalf of the redemption of land of Israel and the Jewish National Fund, exemplifying the high ideals of social justice set forth in the Bible by the prophets of

Presented on the occasion of the 47th annual B'nai Zion order day dinner, marking the tercentenary of Jewish settlement in the United States, Sunday, March 6, Hotel Commodore, New York.

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND OF America, Harris J. Levine, President. MENDEL N. FISHER, Executive Director.

B'NAI ZION, ARTHUR MARKEWICH, Nassi. HERMAN Z. QUITTMAN, Mazkir. NATHANIEL S. ROTHENBERG, Chairman, Order Day Dinner Committee.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR JACKSON

It is highly appropriate that this B'nai Zion dinner is designed both to mark the tercentenary of Jewish settlement in America and to honor Congressman Abraham MULTER for his impressive service to the American people. I do not know if ABE MUL-TER can trace his ancestry back to these 23 pioneer settlers but I do know that his record in Congress, where I had the privilege of serving with him for 6 years in the House, has been in the finest tradition of American

B'nai Zion, through its great contributions to the Jewish National Fund, has fostered the pioneer point 4 program in the Middle As stockholders, so to speak, in the thriving young State of Israel, you may be proud of the record your investment has helped to make. In land reclamation, re-forestation, and agricultural settlement Israel has made tremendous progress through your efforts.

I wish I could be as optimistic about other areas of the Middle East.

Ironically enough, it is just this phe-nomenal political and economic growth of Israel that has contributed to the present unrest and tension in the Middle East. is no question in my mind but that the success of Israel has been a thorn in the side of the Arab States. Jealous of the progress of their youthful neighbor, the Arab leaders have sought to divert attention from their own shortcomings by the fanning of ancient religious hostilities.

We have seen just last week an unfortunate renewal of this conflict. I want to digress for a moment now and go back a few years to a time when Israel's future was far less certain, to tell you of an incident involving our guest of honor tonight.

You will recall that, following the assassination of Count Bernadotte, certain forces within and outside our State Department took that opportunity to press for a with-drawal of recognition of the new state. A critical situation resulted. Congressman MULTER was in Israel at the time and, at the request of our Ambassador there, flew home to deliver a message to the President which the Ambassador did not feel would reach the White House through normal channels. Without fanfare, ABE MULTER returned to the States and flew to Oklahoma City for a midnight conference with Mr. Truman on the latter's campaign train. His firsthand report resulted in a strengthening of American support for Israel at a time when Israeli morale was at a low ebb.

Economically and politically Israel is far more ready to weather this latest crisis than

she was in 1948.

Having spoken of the attitude of the Arab leaders, I want to emphasize my belief that the Arab peoples have much the same hopes, needs, and aspirations as the people of Israel. As long as these hopes are unfulfilled, the Arab leaders will turn to Israel as a scape-

goat and diversion.

For this reason, it is just as important for Israel to realize that her stability and security depend on the realization of national economic and social needs by the Arabs as it is for the Arabs, in their turn, to understand that poverty, inequality, and back-wardness—not Israel—comprise their greatest enemy.

The nations of the Middle East, many of whom have recently acquired independence, must come to realize that their new-found freedoms are at stake in the struggle between communism and the free world. haps they cannot be united on a positive basis at the present. But they may at least join together in opposition to the threat of Soviet domination. I think that the defense pact between Iraq and Turkey, rati-fied late last month, is the first evidence of this awareness on their part. I hope this may represent a chink in the armor of the Arab League, the influence of which has hardly helped the growth of the Middle East in recent years.

In our preoccupation with the Far East and Europe, we are only beginning to awake to the needs of the Middle East. There is a very real danger, however, in our approaching this area on a purely military basis. We cannot judge the Middle East on the same basis as Western Europe when seeking means to strengthen individual nations against Communist aggression. We are operating on two different levels of economic and social development and must act accordingly.

In short, if we attempt to build a Middle Eastern military fortress without first meet-ing the economic and social issues, we will create a dangerous sense of false securitylike building a fort with walls but no insides.

Our primary aim, before we can consider a serious military buildup, must be to achieve political and social stability. To place arms in the hands of people who are badly housed. underfed, and badly governed is to invite disaster. If communism moves into these areas, it will be primarily because of unhealthy social and economic conditions-not for any lack of guns or grenades. Only through the building of strong economic and social foundations can we develop the will to resist.

The most obvious way to implement this approach is through economic and technicalald programs. I regret to say that our programs of this kind have been diminishing in recent months-a reduction that is closely linked to our increased emphasis on military aims.

As a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, I am particularly well acquainted with the tremendous possibilities of peacetime atomic energy for the future growth and security of the Middle East.

I believe that the construction of nuclear reactors in the Middle East will do more for the progress and stability of this region than shiploads of military hardware.

A nuclear reactor is nothing more than an atomic furnace, using uranium as a fuel to produce heat, energy, and ultimately elec-tricity. It does not depend on vast stores of natural resources or extensive supply lines for its successful operation. You will understand why when I tell you that I pound of uranium has the energy equivalent of 3,600,000 pounds of coal.

We cannot, of course, work economic and social miracles overnight but the peacetime reactor can come as close to a miracle as anything ever devised by man. These atomic furnaces will produce overnight energy to pump water over arid fields, turn the wheels of new industry, and lay the groundwork for increased productivity in areas where dire want is a round-the-clock reality.

I am not speaking of any dream for the future. We have already built at Oak Ridge an experimental reactor powerplant that has generated roughly 200 kilowatts of electric power-enough to satisfy the needs of a good-sized commercial building. The task from here on out is essentially an engineering and industrial undertaking. With our tremendously superior industrial system, I am convinced we can soon overcome the problems that block the road to commercial

In short, while there is little doubt that our military atomic race with the Russians is a neck-and-neck affair, I firmly believe that we have the present capability of instituting an overwhelming lead in the development and exploitation of the peaceful atom. If we give this effort the all-out crash priority we gave the hydrogen bomb, we will give the lie to the charge that we have given lip service to the peaceful atom. Not only would such a program prove our peaceful intentions, it would also provide a great economic shot in the arm for areas such as the Middle East.

Each American-built atomic reactor shipped overseas will be packaged progress carrying with it the seeds of productivity for an increased standard of living to areas where even the slightest increase in living standards is revolutionary.

I sincerely hope that the administration will consider making this effort on nuclear reactors the keystone of an increased program of technical aid in the Middle East and elsewhere.

The brightest future of this region lies in growing together rather than fighting each other. As you carry on your valuable work in Israel, I hope you will keep this general principle in mind: With the proper moderation, commonsense, and perspective, the Middle East can become the most dynamic region of our time rather than, as it is now, one of the most serious trouble spots of our

ADDRESS OF HON. CARMINE DE SAPIO, SECRETARY OF STATE OF NEW YORK

Chairman, Your Excellency, Congressman, Senator Jackson, Judge Markewich, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen; Senator Jackson stated that it was difficult for him to land here this evening due to the fog over New York City; but that there is no fog in this hall this evening. I agree with you. Senator. There is indeed no fog here tonight; and this is due in great measure to ABE MULTER and the thousands of ABE MUL-TERS who spread sunshine and hope for their fellow men. In fact, Senator, since January 1 of this year, our Democratic weather bureau has dispelled a great deal of fog after 12 years of density.

I am very happy to be here tonight to join with you in paying tribute to a great American and a great son of Israel-my very good friend, Congressman ABRAHAM J. MULTER.

I do not think it necessary for me to remind you, his coworkers and associates in B'nai Zion, of his zeal and dedication in seeking to strengthen Israel and the cau-e of Jewry in America and throughout the world.

It is fitting that this celebration of the tercentenary of Jewish settlement in the United States should be in honor of this distinguished leader of our community.

Congressman MULTER's career has been marked by achievement and success, and yet you know as well as I, that he will never content himself to sit back on his laurels. plously proclaim that he has done enough, and elect to take it easy from here on in.

His vigor, his vision, and his determination keep him going all the time-always driving for new service; for new help to render to those persons and movements

which he considers deserving.

In every sense ABE MULTER typifies the highest ideals of American citizenship and of the fraternal spirit which Bnai Zion represents. His devotion to Israel is founded upon his firm belief that that republic represents not only a haven for the oppressed, but also a bulwark for freedom in the Middle East. His devotion to our country is clearly evidenced by his dedicated public service and by his untiring efforts-both in Congress and in the community-in the causes of fustice and right.

ABE MULTER is held in the highest esteem by people of all faiths who recognize in him those qualities of leadership which make our country and the world a better place in which to live. He epitomizes the best in Judaism and the best in Americanism because he works unselfishly for both, always in the cause of his fellow man.

I am proud to join with you on this occasion and to congratulate you on your noble work and your guest of honor on his high character and great achievements.

Thank you very much.

REMARKS OF HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER AT THE DINNER TENDERED TO HIM BY B'NAI ZION AT THE HOTEL COMMODORE IN NEW YORK CITY ON SUNDAY, MARCH 6, 1955

Mr. Toastmaster, distinguished guests, and friends, I am grateful beyond the expression of words for the honor you have bestowed upon me this evening. That so many of you should give up a Sunday night for me is indeed a grand tribute. The fact that these very busy public officials and other distinguished members of our community take the time to grace this dais tonight, makes it more difficult for me to express my appreciation. I owe a special word of thanks to Miss Esther Herlitz, Consul of Israel in New York, to the Honorable Henry M. Jackson, United States Senator from the State of Washington. to our Secretary of State, the Honorable Carmine De Sapio, to the Honorable Arthur Markewich, New York State Supreme Court Justice, to the Honorable Emanuel Celler, Member of Congress who spoke not only for himself but for each of my other distin-guished colleagues from the House of Representatives who joined us here this evening, to your genial chairman Nathaniel S. Rothenberg, to Dr. Harris J. Levine, president of the Jewish national fund, to our good friend Harry Hershileld, and to Rabbi I. Usher Kirshblum.

This lovely bible which you presented to me this evening will be a constant reminder of this event, and I can assure you that modesty will not prevent me from many times reading the beautiful inscription which you have placed therein.

To the many nice things you have said about me this evening may I respond with an old quotation from an unknown author: "There is no limit to what can be accomplished if it doesn't matter who gets the credit."

None of the things ascribed to me could have been accomplished except for the inspiration and the cooperation of you who

are assembled here tonight and of thousands of others who are not with us tonight. The hardest tasks become easy of accomplishment when many willing workers cheerfully lend their help. Any small measure of suc-cess that has been mine as a leader is due

to the many willing followers.

I am particularly touched by the fact that this dinner in my honor is dedicated to the tercentenary of Jewish settlement on this

continent.

Most people overlook the true significance of the settlement of the Jews in this country in September of 1654. It would probably have been of no great historical importance if that small band of J. ws had arrived on this continent to settle down unmolested and pursue their occupations and to worship freely. What makes the event important to our country and to the world is the fact that the then Governor of New Amsterdam refused to allow them to stay. solely because of their religious persuasions, coupled with the fact that the Dutch Government promptly overruled him, and directed that they were to be permitted to remain and to worship their God in accordance with the dictates of their conscience. That was the beginning of the writing of our Declaration of Independence and of our Constitution, which guaranteed religious freedom to all.

I am sure that you will all agree that without freedom of worship there could be no freedom of speech, there could be no freedom of press, there could be no freedom of assembly, and what we too often overlook today is the fact that there can be no freedom of thought without freedom of worship. The danger of conformity is that it necessarily destroys all of these freedoms.

If we agree that an attack upon the liberties of free people anywhere is an attack upon the liberties of free people everywhere then we must of necessity in these trying days turn our thoughts to what is happening

in the Middle East. We wonder why the ceaseless efforts on the part of Israel to bring about peace in that area have thus far been frustrated.

Despite the fact that the initial attack was by the Arab States, and all of the fighting that has continued down through the years has been instigated by the Arabs, Israel has constantly not only offered to negotiate peace directly and offered to permit others to negotiate the peace, but she has continually done things against her own best interest in order to promote better feeling between the Arabs and the Israelis. First she allowed Arabs to return to rejoin their families within her boundaries. Then she allowed Arab infiltrators who had no right to enter the country, to remain there. Then she released to Arabs moneys and properties which Israel had a right to hold as indemnity against the damages caused by Arabs. She has continually offered to cooperate eco-nomically with her Arab neighbors.

The Arabs have repeatedly answered by more killings and more robberies, by armed invasion, by guerrilla warfare.

There is only one way to stop the fighting in the Middle East, and it is not by sending arms to any of the Arab States. The attacks by Egyptians on the United Nations, and the destruction by the Egyptians of United Nations supplies intended for their own use, clearly show that even if the Arab leaders want to prevent violence they cannot control their own people.

The time has come when the United Nations not only must protect itself by the use of force, but it must send armed troops into that area to keep the peace. It will have no difficulty in the State of Israel, or from the Israelis. I am inclined to think, although I have not discussed this matter with any Israeli official, that Israel would welcome such armed intervention by the United Nations. It certainly would relieve

her of the tremendous burden of constant military preparedness.

Such armed intervention by the United Nations forces will keep the Arabs away from Irraeli borders and out of the State of Israel.

Met with such a situation the Arabs will

have nowhere to go except to the peace table. The last few days the papers have given considerable space to the Gaza incident coupled with some condemnation of an attack by Israel upon an Egyptian military installation within Egypt's borders.

Let me briefly review the situation leading

up to this incident. Between August 1954 and February 1955, Egypt invaded Israel's borders with military units resulting in 34 armed clashes. As to 7 of these the United Nations officials said there was insufficient evidence on which to base a finding.

As to 27 of them the Mixed Armistice Commission found that Egypt violated the armistice agreement and each time warned Egypt to cease and desist from future violations. Every warning was ignored.

On January 13, 1955, our United States delegate to the United Nations, Amba sador Lodge, said: "These acts are inconsistent with the spirit and intent of the Egyptian-Israeli general armistice agreement, contrary to the Security Council resolution and a retrogression from the stated objectives to which both sides committed themselves."

This was said immediately after the illegal and wholly unwarranted selzure of the Israell ship, Bat Galim. The ship has not yet been released.

On January 24, 1955, the Mixed Armistice Commission said of the conduct of Egypt: "This aggressive action carried out by a unit of the Egyptian Army is in flagrant violation of the general armistice agreement with Egypt" and "notes with extremely grave concern this aggressive action and calls upon the Egyptian authorities to terminate these aggressive acts against Israel."

Egypt, as one would expect of a civilized nation, bent upon peace, immediately responded. That very night armed Egyptians crossed the Israeli border to Haslosha, 3 miles within Israel, and attacked and pillaged the village and committed wanton murder.

On January 27, 1955, Egypt was again condemned by the Commission, saying that it 'notes with grave concern the serious situation resulting from repeated attacks" and "notes once again with extremely grave concern, that despite obligations imposed upon Egypt by the general armistice agreement and a number of mixed armistice commission resolutions, these penetrations and killings of Israel citizens have not terminated" and "calls upon the Egyptian authorities to put an immediate end to such aggressive acts.

Of course, Egypt complied. Less than a week later she attacked with an armed force Rehovot, 18 miles inside Israel and continued the onslaught for several days.

But Egypt had ample explanation and excuse for these deliberate and well planned incursions and killings. Let me read a few brief excerpts: December 27, 1954, Maj. Saleh Salem, Egyptian Minister of National Guidance, said: "Egypt's policy has not ceased to rest on the principle of 'no peace with Israel' in any form and at any time. Egypt will not make peace with Israel, even if Israel were to implement the United Nations resolutions on Palestine." January 9, 1955, he said: "Egypt will strive to erase the shame of the Palestine war even if Israel should fulfill the United Nations resolutions. It will not sign a peace with her. Even if Israel should consist only of Tel Aviv, we should never put up with that."

An interesting sidelight is that the major's name translates from the Arabic to the English as Prince of Peace.

Two other answers came from the Egyptian press, as follows:

From Al Gomhouri (an official publica-tion): "Egypt and the Arabs must turn, in the name of humanity and its culture, to all nations of the world who will aid in wiping Israel off the face of the map." And from Saut El-Arab (the Voice of the Arabs): Egypt sees Israel as a cancer endangering the Arab people. Egypt is the physician who can uproot this cancer. Egypt does not for-get that it is her obligation to take revenge, and she is mobilizing all her forces in anticipation of the hoped-for day."

Statesmen can sit calmly in their secluded debating chambers and say they condemn Israel's massive retaliation or her hot pursuit. Sitting with them, you and I might do lil-ewise.

But transplant any of us to Israel's soil and under similar trying circumstances not a man, nor even a woman, would sit idly by and watch our neighbors, even less our families, set upon by barbarians attempting their annihilation.

You can't stop that kind of dreadful business by arming the Arabs.

Words, warnings, and condemnations have not done so.

Only a strong police force can do so. I apologize for striking so serious a note this evening, but I am genuinely alarmed.

Wherever the Jews have been driven, wherever they have wandered, they have carried in their hearts and on their lips they have taught by word and by deed—the key word of their Torah, their Bible: Sho-

lom-peace. They are being answered again by fire and

by sword.
Unless the free world does something about it, and at once, our entire civilization will come tumbling down around us like the Temple of old around Samson.

Thank you for listening to me, and, again, thanks from the bottom of my heart for the great honor you have bestowed upon me tonight.

The Right To Work Versus the Closed Shop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WINT SMITH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of comment in the last month in regard to the merging of the AFL and CIO. There is also underway in many States legislation with regard to the so-called right-towork bill.

Labor bosses have been loud in their abuse of these laws. Many advertisements have been circulated in many papers over this highly controversial issue. Much pressure is being exerted on Congress to repeal that section of the Taft-Hartley law which permits the States to pass right-to-work laws.

There recently appeared in the Christian Democrat, a monthly which is published by the Catholic Social Guild of Oxford, England, an article about the Right To Work Versus the Closed Shop.

I deem that it is most timely to present this point of view. This article is reprinted from a report by the National Economic Council, of New York, and reads as follows:

The thorny question of the closed shop or union shop is again to the fore. Father Charles Pridgeon, S. J., dealing with the closed shop in his book Opportunity for Trade Unionists, says that a moral issue of first importance is raised, namely, the freedom of the individual, which is intimately bound up with his freedom to join or not to join a particular trade union.

One is struck at the very outset by the fact that, though the unions, like the Catholic Church, desire 100 percent membership, the church would never try to force people to become Christians; yet the unions themselves, by following a closed-shop policy in certain areas, are doing exactly that—forcing people who do not wish to be trade unionists into a position of having to become so if they want employment.

One of the arguments put forward in support of the closed shop is that, since all workers benefit from union activities, therefore it is only right and proper that all should pay union contributions.

This argument, however, is fallacious for only union membership can provide full union benefits; those who are not union members do not in fact receive these benefits.

Moreover, the argument in favor of the closed shop, flowing from the fact that nonunion members receive increases of pay and better working conditions as a result of union activity, is of purely secondary importance.

The job of the union is the welfare of its members and if, in the process of improving pay and conditions for its members, others benefit as well, then that is quite incidental to the aims of the union. Many people benefit from the activities of the various political parties, but who would support compulsory membership of a political party?

Further, we all benefit from the Armed Forces in peace and war, yet many trade unionists firmly believe conscription to be wrong and unnecessary today, whilst agree-

ing to its need in time of war.

The same argument can be used with regard to the closed shop. In some areas and on some occasions its enforcement may be necessary and justifiable, but, surely, the taking away of the liberty of the individual which this implies is a very serious matter and, therefore, a particular situation must be urgant and grave to warrant such a demand. It may indeed be warranted in a particular industry or area at a particular time; but as a general rule binding all workers irrespective of circumstances, the closed shop would seem to be quite uncalled for.

And who can say that conditions today in this country justify the existence of the closed shop? Unions have greater prestige and strength today than ever before in their history. Agreements between unions and employers are honored on the whole and, if some small firm falls to do so, both sides of industry can now bring pressure to bear on the delinquent.

The main danger of the closed shop is not so much the added power it places in the hands of the union, but, rather, that which is given thereby to the shop steward; for, in a factory, it is the shop steward, not the branch official of the union, who is the holder of real power. Under such circumstances, once the closed shop is enforced, the union member is left with little safeguard against shop steward victimization.

This can be illustrated from many occurrences in closed-shop factories in this country today. In one such factory a man started work at 7:30; at 10 o'clock a shop steward discovered that he was a branch secretary of another union; at 11 o'clock he was informed he as unsuitable and given a week's pay in lieu of notice.

At another factory a man was discovered in possession of propaganda leaflets for another union. He "left" the factory next day. Again, a man who had been in a department of a factory longer than anyone else felt he was not getting his fair share of piecework and complained to his shop steward and foreman about it. As nothing was done, he exceeded the unofficial union level of earnings when on piecework in order to maintain his own earnings. His shop then refused to work with him and pressure was successfully brought against the management for his transfer. Within a fortnight he had left the factory.

Undermining the authority of the convenor or shop steward, which can be interpreted in many ways, has resulted in at least two men being "branched" (that is expelled from the union) and then as nonunion members being forced to leave their place of employment. It might be argued that these men could always appeal to the branch meeting, but what chance of a fair hearing have they when so few turn up to it in view of the fact the shop steward or convenor has so much influence with union district officials and, moreover, is able to pack a branch meeting with his supporters,

Those who are so ready to advocate a closed-shop policy should realize that they are putting into the hands of men, untrained and ill-equipped, the power to deny to another the right of employment.

Neither the unions nor the shop stewards are part of this country's judiciary, yet they have given to them, once the closed shop is enforced, the equivalent of great judicial power.

It is a power which, in the hands of unscrupulous men, can be abused most easily to the point of tyranny.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1933).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, scc. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congerssional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodle is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 63 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable). 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which I shall be delivered at his residence, I at his office, and I at the Capitol.

COVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity pur-chasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the dally RECORD at \$1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

SENATORS WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: Senate Office Building. Washington, D. C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated] Vice President, Richard Nixon

Alken, George D., Vt.____Carroll Arms.
Allott, Gordon, Colo____
Anderson, Clinton P., 6 Wesley Circle.

Barkley, Alben W., Ky_____ Barrett, Frank A., Wyo____The Woodner, Beall, J. Glenn, Md_____ Bender, George H., Ohio___The Mayflower Bennett, Wallace F., Utah__

Butler, John Marshall, Md_{-} Byrd, Harry Flood, Va_{-} The Shoreham.

Capehart, Homer E., Ind .__ The Westchester.

Ave.

Clements, Earle C., Ky____2800 Woodley Rd.

Cotton, Norris, N. H. Curtis, Carl T., Nebr. Daniel, Price, Tex_

Duff, James H., Pa______ Dworshak, Henry C., Idaho_

Eastland, James O., Miss___5101 Macomb St. Ellender, Allen J., La____Ervin, Samuel J., Jr., N. C__ Flanders, Ralph E., Vt

Frear, J. Allen, Jr., Del____ Fulbright, J. William, Ark__

... The Mayflower.

Green, Theodore Francis, University Club.

Hickenlooper, Bourke B., 5511 Cedar Park-Iowa. way, Chevy Chase, Md.

Hill, Lister, Ala_____ Holland, Spessard L., Fla__Sheraton-Park Hruska, Roman L., Nebr____

Humphrey, Hubert H., Minn.

Ives, Irving M., N. Y Jackson, Henry M., Wash__ Jenner, William E., Ind____ Johnson, Lyndon B., Tex__ Johnston, Olin D., S. C____

Kefauver, Estes, Tenn____4848 Upton St.

Kennedy, John F., Mass.... Kerr, Robert S., Okla.... Kilgore, Harley M., W. Va. 3834 Macomb St. Knowland, William F.

Calif.
Kuchel, Thomas H., Calif.

Langer, William, N. Dak___The Roosevelt. Lehman, Herbert H., N. Y_Sheraton-Park

Long, Russell B., La ... McCarthy, Joseph R., Wis ... McClellan, John L., Ark..... McNamara, Pat, Mich.....

Magnuson, Warren G., The Shoreham.

Wash.

Wash.

Malone, George W., Nev.... The Mayflower.

Mansfield, Mike, Mont.....

Martin, Edward, Pa......

Martin, Thomas E., Iowa...

Millikin, Eugene D., Colo...

Monroney, A. S. Mike,

Okla. Morse, Wayne, Oreg... Worl E. S. Do ____5020 Lowell St. Mundt, Karl E., S. Dak ___ The Capitol Towers.

Murray, James E., Mont___The Shoreham.

Neely, Matthew M., W. Va__ Neuberger, Richard L., Oreg.

O'Mahoney, Joseph C., Sheraton-Park

Pastore, John O., R. I.——Payne, Frederick G., Maine_Potter, Charles E., Mich——Purtell, William A., Conn—

Robertson, A. Willis, Va___ Russell, Richard B., Ga

Saltonstall, Leverett, Mass_2320 Tracy Pl. Schoeppel, Andrew F.,

Kans. Scott, W. Kerr, N. C ...

Smathers, George A., Fid...
Smith, H. Alexander, N. J. Sheraton-Park
Smith, Margaret Chase,
(Mrs.), Maine.
Sparkman, John J., Ala...4920 Upton St.

Stennis, John, Miss_____

Symington, Stuart, Mo-Thurmond, Strom. S. C Thye, Edward J., Minn__

Watkins, Arthur V., Utah... Welker, Herman, Idaho....4823 Tilden St. Wiley, Alexander, Wis....2122 Mass. Ave. Williams, John J., Del.....

Young, Milton R., N. Dak__Quebec House So.

OFFICERS OF THE SENATE

Secretary—Felton M. Johnston. Chief Clerk—Emery L. Frazier. Sergeant at Arms—Joseph C. Duke. Secretary for the Majority—Robert G. Baker. Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice. Chaplain-Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D.

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

Messrs. Ellender (chairman), Johnston of South Carolina, Holland, Anderson, Eastland, Clements, Humphrey, Scott, Alken, Young, Thye, Hickenlooper, Mundt, Williams, and Schoeppel.

Committee on Appropriations

Messrs. Hayden (chairman), Russell, Chavez, Ellender, Hill, Kilgore, McClellan, Robertson, Magnuson, Holland, Stennis, Clements, Bridges, Saltonstall, Young, Knowland, Thye, McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Dworshak, Dirksen, and Potter.

Committee on Armed Services

Messrs. Russell (chairman), Byrd, Johnson of Texas, Kefauver, Stennis, Symington, Jackson, Ervin, Bridges, Saitonstall, Flanders, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Mesars. Case of South Dakota, Duff, and Welker.

Committee on Banking and Currency

Messrs. Fulbright (chairman), Robertson, Sparkman, Frear, Douglas, Lehman, Mon-roney, Capehart, Bricker, Ives, Bennett, Bush, Beall, Payne, and Morse.

Committee on the District of Columbia Messrs Neely (chairman), Gore, Bible, Mc-Namara, Beall, Hruska, Case of New Jersey, Allott, and Morse.

Committee on Finance

Messrs. Byrd (chairman), George, Kerr, Frear, Long, Smathers, Johnson of Texas, Barkley, Milikin, Martin of Pennsylvania, Williams, Flanders, Malone, Carlson, and

Committee on Foreign Relations

Messrs. George (chairman), Green, Fulbright, Sparkman, Humphrey, Mansfield, Barkley, Wiley, Smith of New Jersey, Hicken-looper, Langer, Knowland, Aiken, Capehart, and Morse.

Committee on Government Operations

Messrs. McClellan (chairman), Jackson, Kennedy, Symington, Ervin, Humphrey, Thurmond, McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Cotton, Bender, and Martin of Iowa.

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs Messrs. Murray (chairman), Anderson, Long, Jackson, O'Mahoney, Scott, Bible, Neu-berger, Millkin, Malone, Watkins, Dworshak,

Kuchel, Barrett, and Goldwater. Committee on Interstate and Foreign

Commerce

Messrs, Magnuson (chairman), Pastore, Monroney, Smathers, Daniel, Ervin, Bible,

Thurmond, Bricker, Schoeppel, Butler, Potter, Duff, Purtell, and Payne.

Committee on the Judiciary

Messrs. Kilgore (chairman), Eastland, Kefauver, Johnston of South Carolina, Hennings, McClellan, Daniel, O'Mahoney, Wiley, Langer, Jenner, Watkins, Dirksen, Welker,

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Messrs. Hill (chairman), Murray, Neely, Douglas, Lehman, Kennedy, McNamara, Smith of New Jersey, Ives, Purtell, Gold-water, Bender, and Allott.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

Messrs. Johnston of South Carolina (chairman), Neely, Pastore, Monroney, Hennings, Scott, Neuberger, Carlson, Jenner, Langer, Curtis, Martin of Iowa, and Case of New

Committee on Public Works

Messrs. Chavez (chairman), Kerr, Gore, Symington, Thurmond, McNamara, Neu-berger, Martin of Pennsylvania, Case of South Dakota, Bush, Kuchel, Cotton, and Hruska.

Committee on Rules and Administration

Messrs. Green (chairman), Hayden, Hennings, Gore, Mansfield, Jenner, Barrett, Mc-Carthy, and Curtis.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel

Sheraton-Park, Washington, D. C. Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.

Mr. Justice Reed, of Kentucky, the Mayflower. Mr. Justice Frankfurter, of Massachusetts, 3018 Dumbarton Ave.

Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 3701 Connecticut Ave.

Mr. Justice Burton, of Ohio, the Dodge. Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.

Mr. Justice Minton, of Indiana, the Methodist Building.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Clerk-Harold B. Willey, 3214 N. Wakefield St., Arlington, Va.

Deputy Clerk—Reginald C. Dilli, 1329 Hem-lock St. Deputy Clerk-Hugh W. Barr, 4701 Connecti-

cut Ave.
Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Road.

Reporter—Walter Wyatt, 1702 Kalmia Rd. Librarian—Helen Newman, 126 3d St. SE.

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS JUSTICES ASSIGNED TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frank-furter. Maine, New Hampshire, Massachu-setts, Rhode Island, Puerto Rico.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frankfurter (temporary appointment). Vermont, Connecticut, New York.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Burton. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Virgin Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Canal Zone.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Reed.

Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, Tennessee.

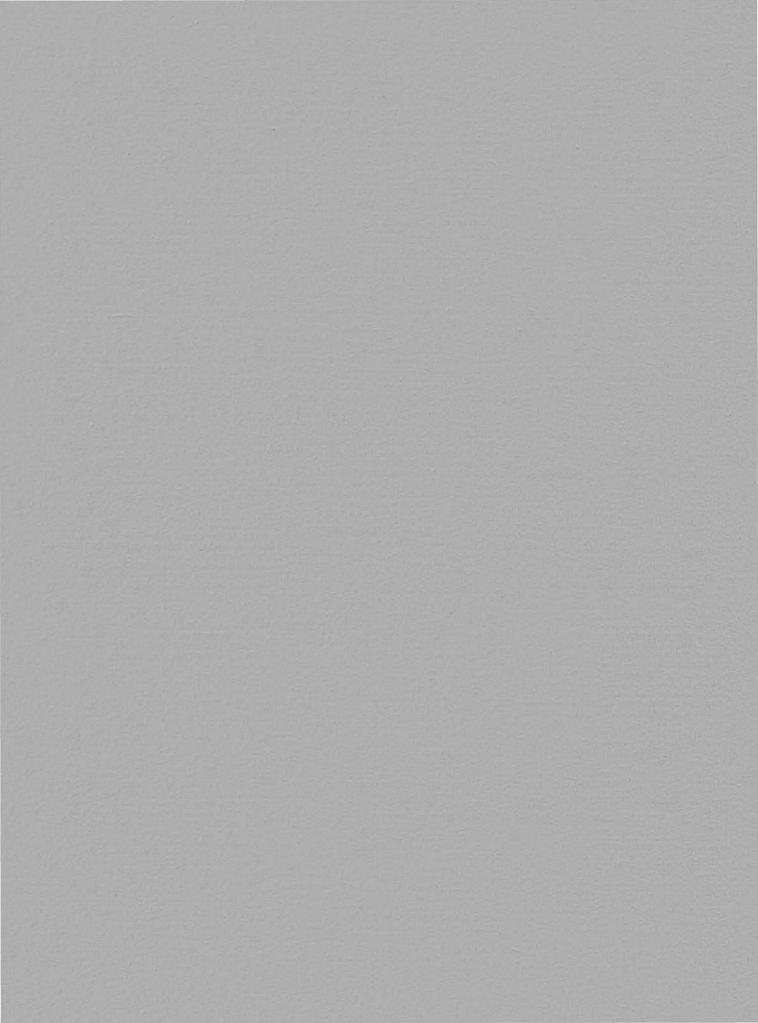
Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Minton. Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark.

Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Arkansas.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Washington, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, Cali-fornia, Nevada, Arizona, Alaska, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Colorado, Wyoming, Utan, Kansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico.



Appendix

Centennial Founders' Day Dinner, Michigan State College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CHARLES E. POTTER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address on the occasion of the centennial founders' day awards dinner of Michigan State College, February 12, 1955. The address was delivered by the Honorable John A. Hannah, president of the college, and formerly Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel. Dr. Hannah is one of our Nation's leading educators.

I have been informed by the Public Printer that the cost of printing the speech will be \$180. Notwithstanding this fact, I ask unanimous consent that the speech be printed.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNFINISHED WORK

Let me begin by expressing the appreciation of all of us at Michigan State College to those who have helped us celebrate the most important anniversary in the history of our university. We extend our grateful thanks to all of you—to our convocation speaker and his charming wife, who have come so far to be with us; to those who have done us the honor of accepting degrees; to those who are to receive awards here this evening; to the representatives of our sister universities and colleges and the learned societies; to our other honored guests from government, business, industry, agriculture, education, the press and radio; and to those of our own staff and faculty who have worked and planned to make this a memorable occasion for everyone.

The gathering of this large group of distinguished persons is bound to have a stimulating effect upon those of us who have participated in these ceremonies honoring the man who originated and the men who have perpetuated a great new force for good in American society.

This event has an importance far transcending that normally attached to the celebration of a university's centennial. Despite our pride in our institution, and much significance as we attach to this date we recognize that many of you were impelled to come to East Lansing and take part in today's events by emotions besides your respect for Michigan State College. trying to make this whole centennial year more than a prolonged celebration of an institutional centenary; we recognize that we are observing, not the 100th birthday of Michigan State alone, but the centennial of putting into practice of a great, a new, a revolutionary idea in higher education. honor the pioneers of Michigan who conceived the idea of a new kind of education

and founded this college in the woods near the State capitol, but at that time 27 miles from the nearest railroad as the working embodiment of their hopes and ambitions for a better tomorrow and a better world. We recognize that they were but the intellectual and spiritual heirs of hundreds and thousands of men and women who had been thinking and working over many decades to devise an effective educational instrument with which to accomplish widespread and increasing good for marking

increasing good for mankind.

We revere men like John C. Holmes, and Bela Hubbard, and Joseph Williams, and Kinsley S. Bingham, and the other stalwarts of early Michigan. An eternal debt of gratitude is owed to them for their courage and foresight in establishing the Michigan Agricultural College as the first of the people's colleges. But on this Founders' Day we honor a much larger company, including both men with names distinguished in English and American history, and men whose

names are now forgotten.

Fortune chanced to favor Michigan as the place in which the seeds scattered so widely in the years before 1855 were to germinate and to take root first. Conditions were favorable in many other places as witness the number of basically similar colleges established elsewhere within a few short years. The best evidence is in the fact that only 7 years after the Michigan experiment has been undertaken, the Morrill Act creating the national system of land-grant colleges was passed by a Congress preoccupied with the problems of a terrible civil war, and signed by a President weighed down by burdens such as no other President has ever been called when to been

called upon to bear.

On this occasion it seems appropriate to cite a few of those from whom our Michigan pioneers must certainly have acquired inspiration and encouragement, men like John Milton who, writing about education more than 3 centuries ago, gave a definition of education which remains one of the best ever proposed. His definition, you will recall, was

this:

"I call, therefore, a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war."

Modern educators—or some of them—might criticize education as Milton conceived of it because it would not be pupil-centered, but I think we must give credit to Milton as one of the founders because he was interested in preparing men for full participation in the society in which they lived, which certainly is a traditional objective of education at the land-grant colleges and universities.

There are many others deserving of mention: The leaders of the dissident religious sects in colonial days which looked upon widespread literacy as a barrier against retreat into narrow dogmatism; the founders of Harvard and other early universities with their concern that the colonies have an educated clergy; Jefferson with his broad liberal ideas of education, and his labor of love in establishing the University of Virginia as an institution far advanced for its day; the unrecorded thinkers and doers who brought William E. Channing, an outstanding pulpit orator of his day, to declare in a sermon:

"The grand doctrine, that every human being should have the means of self-culture, of progress in knowledge and virtue, of

health, of comfort, and happiness, of exercising the powers and affections of a man, this is slowly taking place as the highest social truth."

Men such as these deserve to be honored as Founders of the new kind of education which became practically available just a century ago. There are many others, including Justin Morrill, the son of a Vermont blacksmith who was determined to make available to the children of other poor men the education he had been denied; Abraham Lincoln, the son of a restless backwoods farmer, who knew from his own bitter experience the shortcomings of our educational system from the viewpoint of the common people; these and many more deserve their place on the list of Founders to whom we pay tribute tonight.

I am sure you agree that it is by the happiest of coincidences that the day of this celebration should fall upon the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, the man of the people, who must have taken deep personal satisfaction in setting his pen to the Morrill Act, knowing full well that he was performing a great act of emancipation for the common people from which he had come.

It is one of the strengths, and one of the glories, of the land-grant college tradition that this new kind of education was developed and made available in response to a persistent public demand. We have in history no comparable example of an educational agency deliberately designed, created, and put into use specifically to do the will of the American people, to serve them as they wanted to be served. We in the landgrant colleges and universities would do well to remember that our institutions are the creatures of the people in the most specific sense, and I believe that history records that they have prospered and retained the affection of the people in direct proportion to their success interpreting the changing needs of the common people of America, and in serving those needs as the people themselves want them to be served.

The temptation on an occasion such as this is to recount the achievements of the century now passed into history, and to revel in the satisfaction which comes from association with a successful enterprise. But a prolonged review would be out of place to this audience which knows as well as, or better than I, the many magnificent accomplish-ments of higher education in America. But perhaps it would not be out of place to mention briefly some of the accomplishments of our society toward which higher education in general, and the land-grant colleges in particular, have contributed heavily in the century since 1855. We would not all agree in every particular in preparing such a list but I think we could single out at least three achievements upon which we would

I am sure no one would quarrel with the first, which is the achievement of spectacular material gains, a higher standard of living than man has ever known. We would all agree that these sectacular gains came within our grasp as a people only when we decided to make the advantages of education available on the broadest possible scale. Thereby, we multiplied the native skills of the American people and made possible the miracles of invention and mass production with which we constantly astound the rest of the world. We could not have achieved

these every-day miracles had we not opened the doors of educational opoprtunity wide, thereby creating not alone the trained working force required, but also the desire for the goods and services produced. This we have done by broadening perspectives and stimulating the ambitions of millions of people.

The application of science to the art of agriculture has been an underlying factor in our industrial growth. As long as the great majority of our people had to be employed in the production of food and fiber we could spare few hands for the mills and shops. A century ago, something like 85 out of every 100 workers were necessarily engaged in agriculture, leaving only 15 to do the rest of the Nation's work. Today, thanks to the application of science, only 12 workers out of each 100 are needed on the farms to grow the food and fiber for the rest of our people. The other 88 are free to man the machine and sell the goods and provide the services which spell prosperity, comfort, and even luxury by standards elsewhere, for the people of the United States.

How great has been the contribution of the land-grant colleges I leave to your own estimation. Certainly they deserve of the credit in the field of agriculture, and a good share in the field of engineering and

the associated industrial arts.

A second achievement to be claimed for the century just ended is the achievement of a high degree of social mobility. In appraising this contribution of education, we must remember that, as President Conant pointed out this afternoon, an outstanding feature of the American system has been its insistence upon equality of opportunity. was to achieve that equality that the founders established here the revolutionary college which was to grow into this university. They, and others of like mind, were determined that the sons and daughters of the well-to-do were not to have the advantages of higher education to themselves alone: they established as a major goal the affording of equal opportunities to the children of the industrial worker and the farmer as well.

As a result, for decade after decade, the children of the poor and the well-to-do have attended primary schools, secondary schools, and colleges and universities together; they have studied together, recited together, played together. Day after day, they have participated in repeated demonstrations that good marks and diplomas do not depend on wealth or social position, but depend upon the ability and the ambition of the individual. Generation after generation of young Americans have grown up with the certain knowledge that they need not remain in the economic or social classes to which they were born; they could climb upward as far as their intelligence and initiative could carry them, and by the same token could fall as far as their sloth and irre-sponsibility allowed. There has been no artificial traditional limit upon opportunity; the transition from rags to riches has long been commonplace in America.

In this healthy climate we Americans have nurtured and developed a unique way of life. Almost unnoticed either here abroad, we have come closer to achieving the classless society of broad equality among people than have those nations which have sought to build such a society by law and dictatorial decree. For this magnificent achievement, the American system of edu-

cation deserves much credit.

A companion achievement, closely associated with that of social mobility but deserving mention as the third to be singled out this evening, is that of political stability. We have demonstrated, by millions of examples, that our political and social system does make it possible for a man or woman to achieve a full and happy life. We have examples by the millions that caste and class and sect are meaningless terms for those with intelligence and ambition, and in the fullness of time, we will be able to say with equal pride that color, too, has ceased to be an unfair handicap for the able man. This has kept us remarkably loyal to our basic political and economic system.

Here in these facts we have our strongest defense against the subversives of either extreme who would pervert our system of living together to suit their twisted minds and unholy desires.

We dare not claim that more and more education is the only cure for the ills of the world. We can, however, say with pride that by our consistent efforts to insure equality through education, we have woven unequaled strength and stability into the fabric of American society.

But enough of looking to the past. It is all too easy to take too seriously the flattering things we say about ourselves, and about the accomplishments of education in general, and the land-grant philosophy in particular. The coins of yesterday will not pay the bills of tomorrow; indeed, we need to find out whether they will still be legal It is in the future that we must do the unfinished work to which our centennial theme dedicates our efforts.

Peering as best we can into the cloudy future, what are likely to be the needs of the society which education is pledged to serve? Does the fundamental philosophy of the past as it has been molded and reshaped by events of a century still qualify as the rule by which to guide our actions?

In assaying the ability of our fundamental

philosophy to meet the needs of the future. let us apply the tests suggested by the three major achievements we have claimed for

higher education in America.

First, will we continue to need trained people, and an ever-increasing proportion of trained people in our population? The answer is most assuredly "Yes." We are in a bitter struggle for survival with a politicaleconomic system which has placed high stakes on education as a major device with which to gain its nefarious ends. We have been warned repeatedly that Communist Russia is training more scientists than we in the hope of eventually reversing our relative positions in the scientific fields, and thus gaining mastery over us through utilization of horrible engines of war. Our very will to survive dictates that we keep the lead in this nightmarish race until such time as mankind's good sense works out a scheme to outlaw aggression, war, and this constant flirting with mass destruction.

Moreover, our society grows steadily more complex and complicated. There have never been too many educated people; now we face the challenge to train enough merely to keep this ponderous and complicated machine moving efficiently. Certainly our expanding economy, judging from past experience, will impose a demand for increasing numbers of young people trained in the tra-ditional professions and vocations, and in many of which we do not even dream today,

Yes; we certainly can expect that the fu-ture will find use for the young people trained by our colleges and universities to serve in a wide variety of fields; here we are on sure ground.

Next, will we need to continue to strengthen our social structure to give it still more mobility and adaptability to meet changing conditions? Here there is much to be done; not yet have we achieved all that we should achieve, not so long as we have a single person in need of medical care beyond his resources, a single mistreated child, a single family deprived the the heritage of hope. As yet, equality of opportunity is still no more than the goal toward which we have taken tremendous strides. As yet, too many qualified young men and women find educations and the choice of life work beyond the possibility of realization; too many barriers of race and creed remain; intolerance and bigotry have not been banished from the Here, there is much for education to do; it is for us to hope that the record of the past will persuade the future to entrust to our institutions the responsibility of completing the work thus far advanced.

It is essential that the movement go forward, for now not our eyes alone are focused on our work; throughout the world, eyes are turned upon America to see if she is qualified for the role of leadership to which she has fallen heir. Alien eyes watch closely to see whether we make steady progress in solving our own social problems. What other nations see will go far in determining whether they finally accept our leadership, or reject the philosophy of freedom and opportunity we offer to them, and turn elsewhere for leadership. Only people with an educated understanding of our strengths and weaknesses and with a will to make the improvements we need, can guide America through this critical period. I am sure you agree that such people can best be produced in large numbers in our colleges and universities: the question for us is whether we can produce

them in the numbers required.

In the area of political stability, we are not as sure of our position. We must honestly face up to the fact that there has been some loss of confidence in colleges and universities in recent years. I feel that this results in part from our colleges and universities losing confidence in themselves, in their fundamental aims and purposes. If this were not true, we would not hear so much talk about the "climate of fear" in which some faculty members profess to find themselves. From my observation, this condition about which they complain has been grossly exaggerated. True, there have been attempts at political intimidation. But on the other hand, there have been some embarrassing examples of bad judgment and headstrong insistence on academic rights without much thought about academic responsibility, and the two have just about balanced each other, the only net result being that there has been planted in the public mind some suspicion about the essential integrity of colleges and universities.

Actually, this suspicion, if it does exist. might be attributed in part to a misguided attempt to blame someone for the feeling of insecurity which seems to be widely prevalent. The psychologists may not agree, but it appears to me that American people have been caught up in a net of frustration out of which they cannot find their way easily. Perhaps hurt bewilderment would be a more accurate description of their emotional condition. At any rate, they look at the tremendous expenditures in blood and treasure in two world wars and a localized but bitter war in Korea, at the billions they have sent overseas to help friendly and erstwhile enemy countries alike restore their economies, at the experts they have commissioned to help other countries move a little faster along the road to the good society, and what do they have to show for their efforts?

After making all of these expenditures, what do they see in return? The avowed enmity of a large portion of the world, the reluctant friendship of a much smaller portion, the close alliance of a still smaller portion, and the true understanding friendship of only a very few of the world's people. Knowing their own motives to be primarily altruistic, no wonder the American people are frustrated or bewildered. To be hated, pitied, tolerated—this, for Americans, is poor return on a colossal investment.

They have found, in short, that our wonderful shiny machines have not won for us the respect and affection of the world. They have learned that all of our wealth cannot buy us the peace and security we crave. Having devoted so much of our time and energy to the development of our great industrial system and the improvement of our standard of living, it is no wonder that we feel insecure when we find that we cannot depend on material possessions alone to give us our hearts fondest desires.

Who is to blame if Americans have been led to place too much importance on material possessions, to depend too much upon science to solve all the problems of the world? is not the time or place to assess blame, except to say that colleges and universities, as the source of many of our scientific miracles, and as pretenders to intellectual leadership, must accept their share. It is axiomatic that he who claims the credit for a particular plan or process is liable for blame if the plan fails or the process goes awry. It should not surprise us when those who sang the praises of the scientists for making all of our industrial and agricultural wonders possible are quick to say that those same scientists are to blame when they find that with all our worldly goods, we are still discontented and insecure.

The national malady of insecurity should be a matter of concern for our colleges and universities. We have as our responsibility the training of the leaders of this country; it is we who have encouraged them to take the materialistic view of life. As an example, it is we who have countenanced the stripping of the cultural subjects from the scientific curricula and graduated engineers who knew engineering and little else, biologists who knew biology and little else, chemists who knew chemistry and little else, and narrow specialists in many fields. The landgrant colleges, with their strong technological traditions, have been as guilty as any in this distortion of education.

If our national feeling of insecurity can be attributed to a slackening of national reliance upon material things, then there is great hope for America, because our churches and our educational system can do something to remedy the situation. In these times when we find that material advantages do not automatically bring peace and security in their wake, perhaps we can bring the American people to agree with Emerson that "a rush of thoughts is the only conceivable prosperity that can come to us."

In view of the conditions of the day and the prospects for the future we are forced to the conclusion that a considerable revamping of our educational machinery and a revision of our attitudes are desirable if we are to meet successfully the challenges that press upon us. We must come back to the realization that colleges and universities, public and private alike, are operated and supported, not alone for the benefit of the students, as individuals, but for the good society will reap from having those students trained for lives of greater usefulness.

To accomplish this end, it is essential that the devotees of the liberal arts tradition and the protagonists of the practical compose their differences once and for all, each conceding that the other has something good to offer, and that education cannot be complete without both.

My plea is for a definition of education to fit the times. Let me suggest that an educated man in today's world is one who is trained and conditioned to be an effective citizen. He need not necessarily be a man who has attained wealth, or outstanding professional distinction, or high public office. Indeed, he may not be known beyond the borders of his own community.

But he will have been educated to contribute to the economic well-being to the limit of his creative and productive skills; he will have been educated to contribute to social stability by his understanding of the world around him and by his tolerance for the rights and opinions of others; he will have been educated to contribute to the moral stability of his Nation by his acceptance and practice of such fundamental principles as personal honor and integrity, belief in a good God, and government by law instead of by men; and he will have been educated to contribute to the political stability by his reasoned, thinking approach to public issues, his rejection of demagogic appeals, and his ability to lead or to follow with equal intelligence.

If we keep some such definition in mind, we as educators will not think so much in terms of graduating engineers, or accountants, or doctors, or agriculturists, or lawyers, or teachers, as of graduating educated men and women, trained to be effective citizens of our democracy and of the world, men and women ready and willing to assume leadership in a Nation crying for more intelligent direction and guidance in a world full of confusion, insecurity, and doubt.

It is both disconcerting and humbling to realize that the founders we honor on this occasion saw clearly the need for education of this kind, and spoke plainly to those who would heed. From the numberless pages of reference I draw but three abbreviated examples of their wisdom in charting the course of American education.

The first is the familiar injunction from the Ordinance of 1787 establishing the Northwest Territory, of which Michigan was once a part;

"Schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged as a means of preserving the lasting values on which successful popular government are built."

The second is the equally familiar statement from the Morrill Act providing for the liberal and practical education of the common people in the several pursuits and professions of life.

The third is from a source less familiar to most of you. It comes from the writings of Bela Hubbard, one of the Michigan farmers who worked successfully to establish the first agricultural college here just 100 years ago. After describing the technical courses which should be offered in this new kind of college, that backwoods farmer added this significant word of caution: "Nor should the claims of literature and the fine arts be wholly neglected, as tending to polish the mind and manner, and add greater luster and dignity to life."

How wisely they thought. How plainly they spoke. How well advised we of this sophisticated modern age would be to take their counsel as we move into the second century of service to the American people. We could pay these Founding Fathers no greater honor than to acknowledge the wisdom of their words and the clarity of their vision. Armed with such wisdom, warmed by such understanding, we can march unafraid to meet the challenges of the unknown future, sustained by the faith that as we serve God's children we perform the will of God.

Civil Trials for Soldier Crimes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on February 12, 1955, there appeared in the Christian Science Monitor an article entitled "Civil Trials for Soldier Crimes," written by Neal Stanford. It is an enlightening article, especially in view of widespread misrepresentations which

have been made regarding the status of forces agreement. This article might well be read by all of us with profit.

Also, there was published an article entitled "Pity the Poor Facts," written by Roscoe Drummond, in the New York Herald Tribune of March 6, 1955, in which he discusses clearly the misrepresentations in relation to the case of Pvt. Richard T. Keefe, which has been heralded all over the country. The facts about the case are clearly stated in the activation. I say again both of these articles can be read with profit by those who want the truth and the facts.

I ask unanimous consent that both articles be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor]

CIVIL TRIALS FOR SOLDIER CRIMES

(By Neal Stanford)

Washington.—This is a report on the Status of Forces Agreement and the most celebrated case to arise from it—the Richard T. Keefe trial. It comes from the judge advocate's office of the Army and is essentially a verbatim report of the trial. It is reported in detail because of the considerable publicity of this particular case and frequent charges that the treaty legislates away the rights of American citizens.

The treaty is a product of the cold war, of a situation that calls for the stationing of American military personnel abroad in so-called peacetime. One article of the agreement covers the question of criminal jurisdiction over troops. In substance it provides that when a soldier commits a crime in the performance of duty, he is triable by the courts-martial of his own country, but that for any crimes committed when off duty he is subject to the jurisdiction of the courts of the country where he is stationed.

This agreement is reciprocal—that is, the rights which one of the NATO nations secures for its troops abroad, it must give to foreign troops on its own soil.

The Keefe case came before the Assize

The Keefe case came before the Assize court in Orleans, France. The substance of the case, which Private Keefe admitted as true, follows:

"Private Keefe and Private Scaletti arrived in Orleans together, coming from a period of confinement in a United States guardhouse in Germany. They went to the center of Orleans without permission. After drinking various alcoholic beverages, Keefe lost all but 2,000 francs of his money in a dice game. It was then after dark, and both decided to go to Paris.

"They entered a taxicab with the purpose of getting out on the main highways to hitchhike a ride to Paris. About 1 mile out they had the cabdriver, Fernand Henault, stop the cab. Scaletti then got in the back seat and removed two shirts from their baggage. Scaletti placed his shirt around the driver's neck and Keefe placed his in the driver's mouth. Keefe struck the cab driver. Keefe and the driver rolled out onto the ground.

"Scaletti started the cab and both got away. They then drove to Paris where they abandoned the taxi. After several days in Paris they started hitchhiking south. They were arrested at Nogent-le-Rotrou by the French police.

"The victim, a 65-year-old taxicab driver, was incapacitated from work for 30 days. He had an injured nose, his false teeth were broken, and he had numerous cuts and bruises."

"The jurors deliberated for an hour. Under the French penal code the important questions were: Was the crime committed at night? On a public highway with violence? With violence that left injuries? The answers to all the questions were in the affirmative. The penalty was set at 5 years' seclusion—the minimum sentence for such a crime. The maximum could have been life imprisonment."

This is the case that is being widely advertised as an example of the American Government's sacrificing the constitutional rights of its soldiers abroad by treaty. The fact, however, is that, if there were no treaty. American troops abroad would be subject to foreign courts for crimes committed when on duty as well as when off duty.

Actually what has happened even under this Status of Forces Treaty is that nearly 9 times out of 10, even in cases of American service personnel abroad committing crimes when off duty or AWOL, the local authorities have turned the accused over to American

military authorities for trial.

During the first year of the treaty there were roughly some 2,000 American soldiers accused of crimes over which local courts in NATO countries had jurisdiction. Of these nearly 1,800 were surrendered to United States jurisdiction. Of the remaining 200 only 42 were sentenced to imprisonment. Of those 42 sentenced 33 got suspended sentences. Thus only 9 American soldiers out of some 2,000 were actually imprisoned abroad after trial by local courts—and none for more than 5 years—which was the sentence in the Keefe case.

The Status of Forces Treaty passed the Senate 72 to 15. It was supported by President Eisenhower, Gen. Omar Bradley, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, by Adm. Arthur W. Radford, current Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and by such Senators as William F. Knowland, Republican, of California; Alexander Wiley, Republican, of Wisconsin; Leverett Saltonstall, Republican, of Massachusetts. But it was attacked then, and also during the Keefe case, as a miscarriage of justice, a denial to American soldiers of their constitutional rights.

Generally it can be said that the local foreign courts are more lenient in their sentences of American service personnel than a United States court-martial would be. In the Keefe case, the 5-year sentence was less severe than usually handed down by United States courts-martial for comparable of-

fenses.

[From the New York Herald Tribune] PITY THE POOR FACTS

(By Roscoe Drummond)

The Supreme Court decision in the case of Pvt. Richard T. Keefe, an AWOL soldier convicted in a French court of assault and theft, will probably not silence the extremist advocates of the Bricker amendment to restrict the treatymaking powers of the President and the Senate.

For several months these advocates have been recklessly using the Keefe affair to try to whip up public opinion to believe that the Government has given away through treaty, personal rights guaranteed by the Constitution. A typical Bricker-amendment argument went this way:

"The question is: Can a foreign government—in this case France—arrest an American GI, try him before a French court and give him the works (solitary confinement, 5 years of hard labor and possible exile to a French penal colony) for what would be a

minor offense under American law?"

Actually the French court did none of

these things.

A facet of this case reached the Supreme Court because Mrs. Gladys Keefe appealed to the American courts to hold that the Status of Forces Treaty, recognizing the right of France to try in peacetime an American soldier for a crime committed against French law, deprived her husband of his constitu-

tional protection. The Federal court of appeals ruled that Private Keefe's constitutional rights had not been infiringed, and the Supreme Court has now upheld this verdict.

The purpose of this column is to try to set out, as faithfully as possible, the facts which have been distorted with such abandon by those who use the case to bolster their argument that the Senate cannot be trusted to use its treatymaking powers wisely.

The offense: The assertion is repeatedly made that Private Keefe committed only a minor crime; that he simply purloined a French taxicab; that, as one writer put it, he was engaged in a bit of "high jinks." The evidence, which the soldier admitted in court, was that Keefe and another American soldier entered Orleans after completing a period of confinement in an American guardhouse in Germany. They got drunk and lost most of their money in a dice game. At about midnight they went to a railroad station, hired a taxi driven by a 65-year-old Frenchman, and when they were several miles from town, they attacked the driver, beat him until he was unconscious, dumped him on the road, and drove to Paris, where they left the cab.

The trial was observed by a representative of the United States Army, who reported that the accused "enjoyed every safeguard of a fair trial."

The sentence: The French criminal code provides that if a theft is committed (1) at night, (2) by more than one person, (3) on a public highway, and (4) with violence that leaves injuries (the French taxi driver sustained a badly damaged nose, broken false teeth, cute, and bruises requiring hospitalization and was incapacitated 30 days), the minimum penalty is 5 years, the maximum life imprisonment. Private Keefe and his colleague were given the minimum sentence. Recent sentences against French persons for similar offenses have ranged from 10 years

The treaty: When NATO was created the 14 member nations had to determine the status of foreign military forces in friendly territory in time of peace. The United States agreed that if an American soldier commits a crime in the performance of duty, he is tryable by his own courts-martial, but that for crimes committed off duty and off post, he is subject to the courts of the country in which he is stationed. The same applies to foreign troops in the United States.

The NATO countries have applied this provision of the Status of Forces Treaty with great tact and restraint. In a recent 6-month period there were 1,987 American soldiers accused of crimes over which the local courts in NATO countries had jurisdiction. Of these, 1,787 were surrendered to United States military jurisdiction. Only 200 were retained in the local courts and, of these, only 42 were sentenced to imprisonment, sentences on 33 of the 42 were suspended, and only 9 American soldiers were actually imprisoned.

These are the facts. They do not seem to me to support the proposition that the Constitution needs to be changed to keep the President and the Senate from giving away American rights,

Red Indoctrination of American Troops

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. SCHOEPPEL, Mr. President, there was published in the Saturday Evening Post of February 26, 1955, an article entitled "This Was Queer Stuff To Give the Troops." I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS WAS QUEER STUFF TO GIVE THE TROOPS

It is a grimly ironical fact that many of the Communist Party's members, fellow travelers, and sympathizers were led toward communism by their own Government during the Second World War. They fell victims to indoctrination by Reds who infiltrated the Army's Information and Education Division and then dosed the troops with pro-Communist pamphlets and lectures.

The Information and Education Division was meant to enlighten the GI's and bolster their morale. But Communists could not be kept out of the I. and E., despite the efforts of some of its personnel who tried to check the danger. The White House insisted that Reds were harmless and must be treated by the Armed Forces as if they were liberals. As a result, some of the weekly Fact Sheets or Army Talks, issued to discussion leaders, were dripping with propaganda in praise of Stalin and the Chinese Communists.

Is it any wonder that many of our soldiers, having been sold this bill of goods, found it hard later on to get unsold? Most of the harm was done to the troops who were guided by discussion leaders in the weekly orientation sessions. But some noncommunist discussion leaders were themselves victimized. one of them, Benjamin H. Haddock, now an ex-communist, has testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee: "I became interested in the Communist Party through men who were in the Information and Education Section of the Army."

Haddock, a college graduate, took part in the invasion of the Gilbert Islands, and afterward volunteered to do I. and E. work because life there was so boring. Other I. and E. men there and later in Hawaii converted him to communism. So, on the day after his discharge from the Army, Haddock "walked into the (Communist) party office in San Diego and asked for an application form and signed it." Later he woke up and quit the Reds.

At Camp Upton, N. Y., a prominent Communist Party official, Simon W. Gerson, came back from overseas service and was made the "administrative noncom" in charge of I. and E. work. Mind you, this wasn't a case of concealment. The Army knew that Gerson was a Communist leader. He had been arrested repeatedly in the previous 17 years. He had been city hall reporter for the Daily Worker and later had become the center of a long dispute in New York, when the president of the Borough of Manhattan-Stanley M. Isaacs, a Republican—appointed him his confidential assistant and press secretary. Yet after all this notoriety, the responsible officers at Camp Upton picked Gerson as their boy.

In Washington a psychiatrist, Lt. Col. Julius Schreiber, was Chief of the Programs Section of the I. and E.'s Orientation Branch. He had charge of planning orientation programs for camps, ports of embarkation, transports, and overseas Army installations.

From 1933 till the war, Dr. Schreiber was a medical officer in the Army Reserve. Besides, from 1933 to 1936 he was the doctor at a Civilian Conservation Corps camp. Yet he refuses to say whether he was a Communist Party member from 1933 to 1941. He says he has not been a member since 1941, but as Chief of the Programs Section in I and E, he lectured weekly to 93 officers.

Among the officers whom Lieutenant Colonel Schrieber personally brought into I. and E. was Stephen M. Fischer, a San Francisco

newspaperman. Fischer told the Jenner committee that he joined the Communist Party in 1940, but left it in the fall of 1941. The Army described Fischer's duties as follows: "He recommends and initiates subject matter, directs and conducts research work, and does actual writing of weekly Army Talk fact sheets and orientation discussion guides for distribution to all Army units in continental United States and to all overseas theaters, * * * This officer's duties carry great responsibility because of the global use to which the materials are put. And this great responsibility was entrusted to a former Communist.

Despite the official excuse that the Kremlin was our ally, there could never have been such a flow of poison from the I. and E. if the Reds had not had a large hand in perparing the stuff and distributing it to the GI's.

Restriction of Imports of Certain Commodities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, on the 2d of March 1955, I joined with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY], and other Senators in offering an amendment to House Resolution 1. The Governor of Illinois addressed a letter to me on the subject, and I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., March 10, 1955. The Honorable Everett M. DIRKSEN, The United States Senate,

Washington, D. C. DEAR SENATOR: It has come to my attention that you have joined with Senator NEELY, of West Virginia, and others in offering, under date of March 2, 1955, an amendment to House Resolution 1, having as its purpose the restriction of imports of commodities whenever such imports threaten to retard the domestic development and expansion or maintenance of domestic production of natural resource commodities or other commodities which the President shall determine to be essential to the national security, and also to establish specific limitations upon the importation of crude petroleum and petroleum products and residual fuel oil.

The people of the State of Illinois are vitally concerned by the subject matter of this proposed amendment, inasmuch as large segments of our population and industrial areas are vitally interested in the production of oil, coal, and fluorspar. It cannot be questioned that the production of each of these resources is essential to the national

At the December 1954 meeting of the Interstate Oil Compact Commission, held in Chicago, December 2, 3, and 4, I made this statement, which I desire to quote:

"It is further in the public interest that we consider at least two of the vital problems now confronting the oil-and-gas industry in the United States. I say it is in the public interest because I know of no other industry which is more vital to our national security and constantly expanding economy. Further, I know of no industry which, in the past, has surpassed this industry in discharging its duties and obligations in supplying the requirements of our Nation, both in times of peace and in war. Yes; even to the extent of providing adequate producible reserves to meet any foreseeable emergency. All of this has been accomplished by a competitive industry, under a free economy and subject only to reasonable regulation under the provisions of the conservation laws of the several States. This great accomplishment has been realized by a financially sound industry, sufficient in itself to absorb the tremendous risks incident to discovery and development of additional reserves. fundamental premises underlying the success of the oil-and-gas industry in discharging its duties and obligations in the public interest are now threatened.

"In order that the industry continue to find, develop, and place in production re-serves adequate to meet the requirements for our national security and our growing civilian economy, it must be able to sell the petroleum which it discovers and is able to produce.

"It has only been a few years since the United States was a net exporter of petroleum and its products. Today we are importing over a million barrels of crude oil and its products daily. To meet this tremendous dumping of petroleum and its products on our markets, those States having market demand pro ration laws have been forced to repeatedly reduce their allowables and in other States, such as our own, we have been subjected to pipeline pro ration-

"The Independent Petroleum Association of America and the National Petroleum Council have gone on record in establishing a national policy that importation of oil shall only supplement and not supplant our domestic production. With a shut-in capacity in the United States exceeding the amount of current importation of petroleum and its products I cannot come to any other conclusion than that importation is supplanting domestic production. There are many evidences within the industry that this conclusion can only be true."

Development in Illinois is being retarded by excessive oil imports and tremendous secondary recovery programs are being indefinitely postponed pending proper stabilization of adequate markets for domestically produced oil.

Likewise there are many evidences within the great coal industry of the State of Illinois that this industry has suffered greatly from policies in force in the past.

Without burdening you with a great deal of available statistical information, I would like to point out that from the year 1945, with a total of 73,446,930 tons of coal mined within our State, we have from year to year progressively declined to the point that in our production only amounted to the total of 41,775,752 tons. During the same period the number of employees in this industry has progressively declined from a total of 31,109 to 16,665.

Coal is produced in 37 counties in the State of Illinois. During the years 1951 to 1954, both inclusive, a total of 33 strip mines employing 381 persons were abandoned. During this same period of time 77 under-ground mines, with a total of 11,649 employees, were abandoned.

There have been many indirect impacts from this on the general economy. To illustrate: in 1953, 38,544,560 tons of coal were shipped by railroad. In 1954 only 34,805,136 tons were handled by the railroads. Formerly prosperous mining towns are now ghost towns with consequent repercussions upon general business in the mining areas.

Two counties in southern Illinois, namely, Hardin and Pope Counties, are almost solely dependent, industrywise, upon the production of fluorspar. These two coun-

ties heretofore have accounted for 55.2 percent of the domestic production of this important ore. Heretofore approximately 90 percent of the total available workers in Hardin County were directly employed in the fluorspar industry, and recent figures disclose that over 50 percent of the fluorspar miners in this county are now unemployed. There are only 35 to 40 mines of all types operating in Hardin and Pope Counties

Fluorspar is an essential raw material in the metallurgical, ceramic, and chemical industries, and I am advised that it is an important factor in the manufacture of atomic bombs. Such critical materials must be adequately protected so that this important industry shall not be destroyed.

I want to assure you of my deep appreciation of your interest and effort in this matter and sincerely trust you and your associates will be most successful in your en-

Sincerely,
WILLIAM G. STRATTON,
GODET Governor.

Reclamation Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GORDON ALLOTT

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the following news items and editorial comment from the Rocky Mountain News, of Denver, Colo., a daily newspaper which is widely circulated. It is edited by Mr. Jack Foster, who has distinguished himself in the field of journalism.

The items are:

First. A Black Day for Reclamation. which is made up of two parts: (A) The Colorado Story, by Mr. James Daniel, Washington correspondent for the Rocky Mountain News, and other Scripps-Howard papers, and formerly city editor of the Washington Daily News; (B) the California Story, which is a United Press dispatch that does not carry a byline. Both items datelined Washington, March 10.

Second. An Associated Press dispatch. datelined Washington, March 10, headlined "Let's Not Be Stiff-Necked," and expresses a statement attributed to California's attorney general, Edmund G. (Pat) Brown.

Third. An editorial entitled "Hysterical Sharpshooting: It Can Kill Reclamation," from the Rocky Mountain News of March 12, written by Mr. Foster.

I commend the reading of these items to my colleagues in the Congress.

While I cannot endorse all that former Commissioner Straus is reported to have said, he does furnish material for serious reflection. I challenge immediately any inference that the Republicans are out to destroy reclamation, and I point out that, as these items show, reclamation projects proposed by the Administration have been stopped not by party rivalry, but by sectional disagreements and misunderstanding.

It might be pointed out to Mr. Straus that perhaps much of the unwillingness

on the part of the Congress to embark on further reclamation projects now is caused by suspicion created in many minds by the past handling of projects already authorized. Congress should not, and will not, in my opinion, vote a blank check for any purpose.

But the record of the Congress is clear as to their intention to further reclamation projects found necessary to the utilization of natural resources and the creating of necessary power for development. There are many of us here today, and there have been many Members in past sessions of the Congress, who believe and have fought for the principle that it is not a governmental sin for the United States to sell power to tax-paying entities, individual or corporate, so that legitimate business enterprises might merchandise the energy to the consumer, as well as bear the cost of distribution and services.

The President made it very clear in his state of the Union message, on January 6 of this year, when he elaborated on the principle of partnership when he said:

This policy of partnership and cooperation is producing good results most immediately noticeable in respect to water resources. First, it has encouraged local public bodies and private citizens to plan their own power sources. Increasing numbers of applications to the Federal Power Commission to conduct surveys and prepare plans for power development, notably in the Columbia River Basin, are evidence of local response.

Second, the Federal Government and local and private organizations have been encouraged to coordinate their developments. This is important because Federal hydroelectric developments supply but a small fraction of the Nation's power needs. Such partnership projects as Priest Rapids in Washington, the Coosa River development in Alabama, and Markham Ferry in Oklahoma already have the approval of the Congress. This year justifiable projects of a similar nature will again have administration support.

Third, the Federal Government must shoulder its own partnership obligations by undertaking projects of such complexity and size that their success requires Federal development. In keeping with this principle, I again urge the Congress to approve the development of the upper Colorado River Basin to conserve and assure better use of precious water essential to the future of the West.

The budget recommends funds for the Bureau of Reclamation to start five irrigation and water-supply projects.

There being no objection, the news comments were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A BLACK DAY FOR RECLAMATION—QUARRELING MAY WRECK ALL RIVER PROJECTS

(By James Daniel)
THE COLORADO STORY

Washington, March 10.—Michael W. Straus, the Democrats controversial Reclamation Commissioner, Thursday pleaded for unity of the eastern and western slopes of Colorado and of the upper and lower basins of the Colorado River.

Mike Straus, a storm center in the Rooseveit and Truman administrations, who was often accused of trying to build a Federal empire with his reclamation projects, said present disunity is destroying the West.

"The reclamation program is being liquidated," he said. "Reclamation has never gone forward as a whole except with a united West supporting

it.
"When you engage in hysterical sharp-shooting, as the eastern and western slopes and the upper and lower basin States are doing, reclamation stops.

"The upper States and California, too, have not got a single new project, and they won't get one as long as they engage in political war under the disguise of talking about confused water rights."

Mike was interviewed outside the House Interior Committee hearings on the upper basin bill project, at which he has been an occasional, unhappy spectator.

Digs at Ike

"I recommend the upper basin project," he said.

Good Democrat that he is, Mike put in his digs aplenty at the Eisenhower administration.

He said that the White House is for the upper basin bill only because it senses that a day of reckoning is at hand. The West, he said, is waking up to the fact that no new starts have been made in reclamation under the Republicans.

"They're just carrying forward what they found started when they came in. In the 8 years before 1953 the average national expenditure for reclamation was \$300 million a year. Since then it has been around \$150 million a year.

Getting backlash

"The Republicans are now getting the political backlash of this from the West, which believes in and to my way of thinking must have these resources development projects. "Half a century of reclamation experience

is being liquidated."

To the private power industry, Mike Straus was a particular affliction. Thursday in discussing the gloomy prospects for the \$1.5 billion upper basin development plan on account of sectional quarrels, Mike gave the private power group another twist.

Law is nullified

"The reclamation law is a public power law. That is written into it. Everybody knows that it is a public power law and has to be.

"The present administration disbelieves in public power and considers it creeping socialism and has so said in many instances. "The law isn't being repealed. It is just

being nullified."

As long as those in the West who realize the harm disunity is doing "sit on their can and do nothing." Mike said, "you can't blame Congress for not passing anything."

THE CALIFORNIA STORY

WASHINGTON, March 10.—Chairman Clair ENGLE, of the House Interior Committee, Thursday warned opponents of the upper Colorado River project their tactics could bring to an end all reclamation in the West.

The California Democrat spoke out during subcommittee hearings on the proposed billion-dollar power and irrigation project in five Western States.

He objected particularly to a leaflet—Representative William A. Dawson, Republican, of Utah, called it a propaganda sheet—claiming taxpayers will have to put up \$5,000 for each acre of land to be irrigated by the project.

Told by Dawson that the leaflet was prepared and distributed by the Colorado River Association of Los Angeles, Engle replied:

"As a Californian, I vigorously disapprove of it."

Unity progress

Meanwhile Attorney General Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, of California, said he had made progress in his efforts to unify the fight against the upper Colorado project. He ended a 4-day visit after conferring with the California congressional delegation and Government officials.

Government officials.

Dawson produced the leaffet during cross-examination of Wilbur A. Dexheimer, United States Commissioner of Reclamation, and O. E. Larson, regional commissioner from Denver.

Dawson called the \$5,000 figure fantastic. He asked if Dexheimer had any idea how the association arrived at the figure.

The Commissioner said he could not understand either the association's method or logic.

The leaflet, printed in red and white, noted in big red type:

"See what this will cost. It's your money."

Typical propaganda
Representative A. L. Miller (Republican,
Nebraska) said it was "typical of the prop-

aganda being put out that reclamation is bleeding the country white." Turning to Representative John P. Saylon (Republican, Pennsylvania), a leader in the

(Republican, Pennsylvania), a leader in the fight against the Colorado project, Miller added:

"We spent \$7,245,000,000 on flood control up to 1952 and flood control doesn't pay back one cent of interest, even in Pennsylvania * * without the reclamation projects in the West, many easterners would be starving to death because we could not have produced the food."

ENGLE said he thought MILLER'S remarks were excellent, and added some of his own.

In the past 5 years, he said, the Nation has spent as much in Europe under the Marshall plan as has been invested in reclamation in the last half century.

No returns

In contrast to the reclamation projects which returned money from their power features, he said, the Treasury did not get back "one plugged nickel" from the money it poured into Europe.

Waving an arm in the direction of Dawson and the leaflet, ENGLE said people who sponsor that kind of thinking are endangering the whole reclamation program and could bring an end to all reclamation in the West.

LET'S NOT BE STIFF-NECKED

Washington, March 10.—California's Attorney General, Edmund G. (Pat) Brown expressed apprehension over the opposition of southern California interests to the upper Colorado project.

Brown told a news conference he is a little afraid if we take too stiff-necked attitude it may prejudice our own projects.

The attorney general came to Washington to discuss water development problems with Members of Congress.

Brown said he was told by Senator CLINTON ANDERSON, Democrat, of New Mexico, that if California continues opposition to the upper Colorado development there will not be another project started in California so long as he remains chairman of the Senate Reclamation Subcommittee.

Brown said he plans to discuss the matter with Gov. Goodwin J. Knight upon his return to California.

He said he plans to review the status of Northcutt Ely, Washington attorney who is acting as a special assistant California attorney general and attorney for the Colorado River Board, a southern California group.

The attorney general said there has been a question as to whether Ely, who is opposing the upper Colorado project before congressional committees, should be speaking for the whole State or for the Colorado River Board only.

Brown also said he will press for early decision by the Supreme Court in the

Arizona-California dispute over Colorado The President's Proposed Road Program River water rights.

HYSTERICAL SHARPSHOOTING: IT CAN KILL RECLAMATION

The future of Federal reclamation-and with it development of the West-hangs in the balance.

Immediately at issue is the great upper Colorado Basin development project, logical and orderly outgrowth of the river development which began with the Colorado River Compact more than 30 years ago.

Disunity in the West itself is giving oppo-

nents of reclamation a field day.

Hysterical sharpshooting, Michael Straus, former reclamation Commissioner, had called

Disunity in Colorado, pitting western slope against eastern slope in a senseless quarrel over division of water resources, is a factor.

Disunity in the river basin, pitting upper basin against lower basin in a senseless quarrel over water resources, is another factor.

Opponents of reclamation and of development of the West, especially with Federal assistance, leap with unconcealed glee into the fracases built on these disunities.

And the blunt truth is that they fly at any details-major or minor-by which they hope to throw a block against such developments as those contemplated in the lifesaving upper Colorado project.

It must be remembered that the water resources in the Colorado River rise in large measure right here in Colorado, even as the reclamation works by which these and other waters are harnessed in the service of mankind are born and nurtured in the reclamation headquarters right here in Denver.

It was only logical and proper that the massive Hoover Dam and other important projects should be built in the lower basin and put to vital uses the waters allocated to that area.

There never could have been a Hoover Dam had Colorado and Wyoming and Utah and New Mexico undermined and undercut the whole idea in a rage of disunity such as has been marking the upper basin proposals.

It is crystal clear at this moment that only in unity and common purpose can the West

continue to march forward.

"When you engage in hysterical sharpshooting, as the eastern and western slopes and the upper and lower basin States are doing, reclamation stops," Straus warned.

"We spent \$7.245 million on flood control up to 1952 and flood control doesn't pay back cent of interest-even in Pennsylvania," said Representative A. L. MILLER, Republican, Nebraska, in a barb obviously intended for Representative John P. Saylor, Republican, Pennsylvania, who has been a leader in the fight against the Colorado projects.

Even to California-bitter opponent of upper basin hopes and aspirations-the

future is becoming clear.

Attorney General Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, of that State, put his finger squarely on the issue when he told a news conference in Washington this week that a "too-stiff-necked attitude" on the part of his own State may well sound the doom of further projects for California.

There is no question about that.

The mere fact that Federal assistance is necessary to carry out the gigantic reclamation projects is evidence enough that they are too big for any State-too big for any region.

The upper Colorado River Basin development is vital to the future of Colorado and the other upper basin States.

But this is just as clearly on the record: The principle involved is every bit as important to California, to Pennsylvania, and to the rest of the Nation, which also must look to flood control and to development.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GEORGE A. DONDERO

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therein the following statement made by me on America's Town Meeting of the Air on a national broadcast at Wilmington, N. C., March 13, 1955:

The United States has the world's finest road system. It consists of approximately 3 million miles of roads and streets, on which more than 58 million motor vehicles are operated. This means that we have 1 motor vehicle for every 700 feet of roadway. have practically the same road system today that we had in 1930, when we had only half the number of vehicles on our highways. At present, we are adding 3 million cars to the highways each year. Automobiles are no longer a luxury but an absolute necessity; therefore, better roads on which the cars must travel are also an absolute necessity. Because of present congestion, it is estimated that 25 percent of the gasoline consumed in metropolitan areas is burned waiting for traffic to move.

I come from the Detroit, Mich., area—the automobile capital of the world. Naturally, the growth, use, and dependence of the American people on the motor vehicle is well known to me. Today our entire economy and way of life is patterned around our automobile.

The motor and allied industries now furnish one-seventh of our gross national product. We must find a way to finance additional adequate highways to accommodate the increased use of motor vehicles and increase in population, or this one-seventh contribution will decrease.

The all-important question is how to finance a greatly expanded highway program. The highway user now pays the bill. That the American people are willing to pay the extra expense for a good road and an adequate road is evidenced by the fact that people are using toll roads in ever-increasing number. Road building is expensive. There are two ways in which we can pay for roads. First, pay as you go-that is the method we are now The other-to use credit financing. The latter method is simply buying something we need and paying for it on the installment plan. This applies in large measure to the sale of automobiles, of which I in every 3 Americans is now the owner.

One of the methods of credit financing can be illustrated by the toll roads. The other is for some level of Government to use the income from the use of highways to secure service borrowings to build the needed improvement for highways and pay for it as it is being used. Such income is the tax on gasoline, oil, and excise taxes. A bill, H. R. 4261, introduced by me, proposes to make use of the latter type of financing at the Federal level. This will encourage and speed the construction of the interstate highway system, estimated to cost \$27 billion, and which system is proposed to become the sole responsibility of the Federal Government. This system of nearly 40,000 miles of roads represents only 1.2 percent of the total roads and streets of the Nation, but carries 20 percent of all rural traffic and connects 90 percent of our cities having a population of 50,000 or more. The proposal to build this interstate system over a period of 10 years, and to make such system adequate for traffic over the next 30 years.

The proposal to borrow \$21 to \$27 billion to construct the interstate system and to issue bonds to run 30 years has caused some concern as to whether or not such a program is feasible and practical. However, we are now paying more car insurance than we are paying for construction of highways, and it should be noted that 38,000 people lost their lives in traffic accidents last year and nearly \$4 billion was lost in property damage through accidents on our highways. When these facts are taken into consideration, I believe we could well save, in the long run, in addition to the excessive operating costs occasioned by present conditions. by going into debt for improved and safer highways.

The \$11 or \$12 billion in interest which would accumulate over the 30-year period amounts to less than one-fourth of a cent per mile of travel by the average vehicle, and the savings in having this new type of road system would amount to at least 1 cent a mile in operating costs alone. When we understand this situation, I think it can be plainly seen that the American people would gain by financing our much-needed highway system.

The balance of the \$101 billion estimate of highway needs set forth in the Clay report is for financing accumulated and accruing deficiencies on our other roads and streets during the next 10 years, and represents the of construction expenditure which should be paid for as we go.

In my bill, H. R. 4261, Federal funds are provided to those systems at the same level as provided in the Federal Highway Act of 1954, and the bill provides for paying the Federal share of these classes of roads from current revenues on a pay-as-you-go basis. In my opinion, this is the only way by which this Nation will ever connect its population centers by a modern and safe nationwide system of highways and have it done within a reasonable period of time. I am certain that when our people understand this program, which is designed for their convenience, their comfort, and their safety, and when they realize the savings on these modern highways, they will decide to provide for these roads and this highway system, and we will all enjoy the satisfaction of seeing a new era in road building in this Nation, which will be the greatest since the invention of the automobile.

"The easy conveyance of men and goods from place to place" has always been and always will be one of the three essentials "which make a nation great and strong."

Tobacco Allotments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. M. G. BURNSIDE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. BURNSIDE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks into the RECORD, I should like to include the following letter from Mr. R. F. Forth, publisher of the Hurricane Breeze, Hurricane, W. Va.:

MARCH 15, 1955.

DEAR DR. BURNSIDE: The people of this community seem to be greatly pleased with what you are doing to help them to increase their meager tobacco allotments. This action of yours will help the farmers of the Fourth Congressional District, as all of the counties in this district are mainly tobaccoproducing counties.

Your words concerning the desperate straits most farmers are in certainly were true. We know of hundreds of farmers who have to depend entirely upon their tobacco money for clothing, medical expenses, and the education of their children. In fact, we would say conservatively that 95 percent of the farmers in this and surrounding communities have no other cash crop, and are practically reduced to a state of poverty already, because of their small incomes, and we do not know what they will do if their tobacco crops are further lessened. There is nowhere else they can turn, because, as you know, there is no great field of other employment they can seek in this State.

On January 21, 1955, after the tobacco allotments had been sent to the farmers by our county committee, we published a pretty strong article against same. * * *

We feel so strongly about this matter because we know that the economy of this whole section of the State is affected by the farmers' incomes. When the farmers suffer, all other business suffers. We also are in a position to know practically all the farmers in this county, and honestly feel that everything humanly possible should be done for them, instead of against them.

We sincerely appreciate your efforts in this matter and know that you will work diligently to help better this deplorable condition. We know that 100 percent of the farmers are standing squarely behind you.

Respectfully,
THE HURRICANE BREEZE,
R. F. FORTH,

Colorado River Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from the Railroad Brotherhoods California legislative board and an editorial from the newspaper, the Sacramento Union, in opposition to any diversion of the flow of the Colorado River which would adversely affect the flow of that river to the State of California:

RAILROAD BROTHERHOODS CALIFORNIA LEGISLATIVE BOARD, March 7, 1955.

Hon. James Roosevelt,

Member of Congress, House Office
Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROOSEVELT: This will advise that the officers and members of the brotherhoods throughout the State are concerned with the threat to California water rights as contained in the so-called Federal Colorado River storage project bills, H. R. 270 and S. 500, and the Frying Pan-Arkansas project bills, H. R. 412 and S. 300.

We understand that hearings are now in progress on these bills and that, further, they will require the unified opposition of all of our congressional delegation in order to defeat the efforts of those who seek to take away some of California's legal share of Colorado River water, reduce the power output of Hoover Dam, destroy the honest and legal intent of the Colorado River compact, while at the same time seeking to saddle California taxpayers with an additional tax burden for so doing.

We have full confidence that our legislature will move toward solving our non-frederal and immediate water problems this session. In the meantime, we must cooperate and safeguard all of our most valuable water resources on which our economy depends.

It is hoped that you will do your utmost in opposing the measures above referred to and that you will consider them as dangerous to our welfare as we do. Our members throughout the State will be grateful to you for your efforts.

Very truly yours,
G. W. BALLARD, Chairman.
WILLIAM V. ELLIS, Secretary.

[From the Sacramento Union of March 7, 1955]

COLORADO WATER

We are asked by the editor of the editorial page of the Deseret News of Salt Lake City to support the Colorado River storage project, which citizens of Colorado, New Mexico, Wyoming, and Utah regard as their "last water hole." We're opposed to the project. It would cost a billion and a half dollars, half of which would be spent on a dozen irrigation projects, at an average cost of \$1,000 per acre, and half to build 6 large reservoirs which would store 48 million acre-feet, or over 3 years' flow of the river.

DISASTER FOR ALL OF CALIFORNIA

The novel feature of this scheme, aside from its cost (twice that of TVA and 8 times that of the Boulder Canyon project), is that, unlike any other project, the 6 power reservoirs are to be built below, not above, the irrigation projects, and none of the stored water will be used in the upper basin for irrigation. They are power dams.

This is a serious challenge to California, whose people have invested \$750 million in works which are dependent upon the waters of the Colorado River system. These include the Hoover Dam, Parker Dam, the Colorado River aqueduct; the Palo Verde Irrigation District, and the All-American Canal.

More than 5 million people live within the areas served by the Colorado River in California. The assessed valuation exceeds \$12 billion. Two and a half million acres are under irrigation. The economy of southern California is dependent on the permanent availability of those waters.

availability of those waters.

The Metropolitan Water District will outgrow its present Colorado River supply, which is 1,212,000 acre-feet per year, in about 25 years on present forcasts, and must look to the Feather River or elsewhere for additional water.

The proposed Colorado River storage project implies the destruction of about a third of the value of the Boulder Canyon project, to enable construction of a new project in the upper basin which will generate power at twice the cost and irrigate lands at many times the cost of the power and irrigation furnished by Boulder Dam.

Our Strength for Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, Adm. Arthur Radford, United States Navy, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, delivered the following address, March 15, 1955, before the Committee of One Hundred, Miami Beach, Fla.:

OUR STRENGTH FOR DEFENSE

In spite of widespread gloomy forebodings which have been expressed so often, I believe that world events have been steadily forcing America into a position of greater strength. Our defensive capabilities now are greater than ever before.

One matter of greatest importance, forcing us into this stronger position of which I speak, is the nature of the Communist threat against us. That there is need for continuing vigilance and military readiness on our part is readily apparent from a glance at the world situation. Almost every week there is fresh evidence of the unchanged fundamental objective of the Kremlin.

From the military viewpoint, there seems little reason to doubt the magnitude of Communist military capabilities in terms of manpower, weapons, and fighting qualities. Particularly have they been making great strides in the development of their air forces and nuclear weapons.

This in no way, however, describes the full scope of the Communist threat. The struggle is not one of military power only. In many respects, the other more sinister and devious techniques in the political, economic, scientific, and psychological fields of human endeavor are more dangerous. Such techniques include war by propaganda and subversion, by proxy, and by infiltration.

And, those techniques have been supported by the largest, most callous military power in the world. Communist military strength has given impact to infiltration and subversion, terrifying into submission those who lacked the strength and the will to resist. The capture of satellite countries, the dragging of whole nations behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, the maintenance of puppet regimes, and the high degree of Soviet influence in world affairs—all have been made possible in great measure by Soviet military power.

Usually down through history, we have had a reasonably clear understanding of an enemy's capabilities, but a less clear understanding of his intentions.

Today the easiest question to answer concerns Soviet long-range intentions. Here it is abundantly clear that Moscow schemes to create one Communist world with all that it means—one giant Red World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This is a clear and flat assessment of Communist intentions. It is a total menace.

And with Red China, there is a parallel. Red China wants one completely Red Asia—one which includes Formosa and the Pescadores. They have so stated—not once, but many times. This, too, is a clear statement of Communists intentions.

But Communist short-range intentions are not always so clear. In fact, they are subject to quite a bit of change. They are flexible and often fitted to the particular opposition they expect to encounter.

Right now, our eyes are focused a good deal of the time on the tensions around Formosa and off the China coast. But this is an old familiar pattern. In the past, in similar fashion, our eyes have been focused on other sensitive areas—areas like Czechoslovakia, Greece, Berlin, Iran, Korea, and Indochina—usually quite cleverly—first one and then another.

The result is that, today, the creeping expansion of communism backed by guns and bombs and several millions of troops—unrestrained by solemn agreement, or moral restraint—is a long-term challenge to everyone of us.

Accordingly, the bonds with our allies are being strengthened—in NATO, in the London and Paris Accords, in the Manila and Rio Pacts, and in our mutual defense treaties. These bonds reflect our concern for Soviet military capabilities. More than 40 free nations, including our own, have

allied themselves in regional defense arrangements.

I think we all know the basic policy of the United States. Our object is peace, not war, We want a real and lasting peace, and we are working for it. No country has demonstrated more restraint or more sincere willingness to explore, discuss, and study possible courses of action to prevent war from starting than has the United States

Until the Communists emphasize by deeds and actions, and not just by words and promises, that they really believe in peace, too, then we have no alternative but to keep ourselves strong and in a high state of preparedness.

Now, I do not hold with those persons who contend war is inevitable, or that it is instinctive to mankind. If we despair in the hope of averting war, we could become accessories in the events that lead to another.

Nor do I hold with those who think war can be prevented simply by the renunciation of war on the part of those of us who hate it.

In fact there is little to choose between those who would transform the world into warlike garrison states and those who would put all their trust in the semantics of peace. Both are unwitting apostles of war. Historically their divergent paths have led again and again to disaster.

Our best assurance against the inevitability of another war being forced upon us lies in the collective combination of free nations always working for peace, but maintaining constantly a strong defensive posture. That calls for allied unity, firm resolution, and a willingness to make sacrifices and share in the risks.

So there may be no misunderstanding I want to make it clear that while the Joint Chiefs of Staff are charged with giving military advice on national security matters, and for preparing plans for war in whatever form it might take, our fundamental objective is to discourage war and to maintain national security. Our efforts are aimed at making military aggression so prohibitive that no one logically can choose it as a course of action

Reality requires us to face the Communist There are no real grounds for bethreat. lieving that the threat has materially diminished. War could come almost any place any time. It could be a big war or a limited war. It could be initiated secretly by a small handful of men whose only allegiance is to themselves-men who are contemptuous of religion and who owe no accounting to world opinion.

Under such circumstances, it is my earnest conviction that the President has asked for the proper security program, one in which the dangers we face are reduced to an acceptable degree.

In general terms, the President has recommended a defense structure which will serve the needs of national security over an indefinite period. He has suggested an Armed Forces strength on the order of 2,850,-000 at an annual budget cost of approximately \$34 billion. Within this framework, he has put emphasis on the development and maintenance of those forces and facilities for which the United States, uniquely among free nations, is best suited.

The proposed strength levels are based upon world conditions as they are now. They are based on the improved military preparedness of other free countries of the world, the end of active fighting in Korea and Indochina, improved weapons systems, better utilization of manpower, expected improvements in the future, the continuing Communist threat, and a whole host of other factors.

At this point I would like to interpose a few words about figures. In determining our required force levels, there are naturally a number of intangibles with which planners must reckon. One of the greatest intangibles

is just exactly where, when, or how the next

shooting war might be forced upon us.

If we knew we were going to face a major onslaught in the next 6 months, then we would need additional manpower and appropriations

On the other hand, if we were guaranteed that we were not going to be forced into a war for the next 20-25 years, then I would say our force levels could be reduced.

But, of course, we cannot guarantee such a course of events and therefore must be prepared for the possibility of war. Of one thing we can be certain: The provision of adequate military strength is indispensable to our future safety.

Moreover, it is imperative that from here on out, our country have a defense program that is reasonably stable-one that is not materially disturbed by every hot and cold effort of an unfriendly nation, or wishful thinking on the part of ourselves or a friendly nation.

Large upswings or downswings in force levels have disastrous effects upon our defense planning, just as they do on business. The services have been plagued over the years by sharp inclines and declines where we increase in size rapidly and tremendously, and then decrease even more rapidly. Not only has it been wasteful but it also has involved serious risks which militarily, I do not be-lieve we can afford to take at this time.

The stability in overall numbers is, course, only the first step. Our next step must be to achieve stability of personnel within these numbers. It is not good enough to level off at 2,850,000 if we continue to have an inordinate personnel turnover rate. For this reason, several measures now before the Congress-measures like the proposed Career Incentive Act-are designed to induce larger numbers of qualified officers and men to accept and want the service as

As a matter of fact, the stability in all the Armed Forces-stability which is being made possible by the President's program—is probably the most important single defense policy we want to see adopted. It will permit planning, orderly procurement, and efficient operation. It will give us a defensive posture which will be readily appreciated and understood by the rest of the world.

And, should important changes in the world situation make it necessary, the Joint Chiefs of Staff would step forward with recommended changes in our force levels. You can count on that.

Let me list for you just a few of the key strengths which go into the makeup of our defense program.

First. We have a strong retaliatory capability, and we are going to keep it strong. We have a long-range Strategic Air Command without peer in the world, and carrier task forces unmatched by any other nation. Our country is particularly well suited for providing these two vital elements of the free world's capacity to counter an aggression.

Second. We have strong land, sea, and air forces which can be used in a variey of situations whenever and wherever required.

I have often pointed out that we are not placing undue reliance upon any one weapon, or one service, nor are we anticipating just one kind of war. We have modern jet tactical air forces which can carry either high explosives or atomic bombs, depending upon what the target requires. We have naval forces which can clear the sea lanes, and Army forces which can do their part toward the accomplishment of military decisions when and where required. We have armored, airborne, amphibious, and other modern forces, all of which are important to our national defense.

In fact, the United States forces we plan to maintain are the most powerful—the most potent—forces, individually by service and

collectively as a team, that our Nation has ever undertaken to maintain during a period when we were not actually engaged in a shooting war

In this connection, the proposed National Reserve plan will go a long way toward helping to provide the right structure for building an adequate Reserve strength to complement and reinforce our forces in

Third. We have allies. Collectively, our allies are stronger than ever. United States Armed Forces are a part of the allied team. It is not easy for any single nation to match the power that can be marshaled by Communists and their resources. Therefore, we have to think of using our power in a way and in the place which will provide maximum safety to free nations as a whole.

To meet local aggressions, a growing reliance can be placed on those allied forces now being strengthened in many areas of the world. At the same time, we stand ready with our forces to continue military assistance and cooperation with our Thus, within limits, the pattern of our own forces conforms to that of a member in several great alliances.

Fourth. We are continuing to improve our continental defense system. Due to the nature of the Communist beast, and due to the destructiveness of modern weapons now available to the Communist bloc, the United States could be seriously damaged by sudden attacks upon us.

Therefore, we have been hard at work, in conjunction with our Canadian friends to the north, pushing the program with all practicable sped at a rate consistent with our developing technology. We will continue to improve our air defenses, and our radar, communications, and computing systems which will provide increased effectiveness against attack. Both Canada and the United States are making invaluable contributions to this important undertak-

Fifth. We have an industry-science-military team which, in my opinion, presents an unbeatable combination. In my present position, I derive a great personal satisfaction from this teamwork, and the national strength which it builds.

The threat of modern war calls for constant modernization. Because of their compexity, the time taken to put newer weapons systems through the various stages of research and development into production tends to be longer than in the past. Here science and industry give us a big hand.

Today, the services are organized to utilize our national scientific, technological, and productive abilities. Science helps us to devise new weapons and new techniques. Industry helps us to get them. In this endeavor, we are very much in need of your continued teamwork.

With all that we have, we cannot let ourselves become complacement, or tend to rest upon past laurels. We need to remain steadfast and determined that our weapons systems will be kept ahead of our competitors. It is vital to our seceurity and world peace that we do so.

In this, you and I are partners in defense. Our product is national security.

Gentlemen, those are some of our more important military strengths. We can review this defensive power we have with mixed feelings. We can derive satisfaction and confidence from its built-in strengths to protect our way of life. We can also be sobered by the contemplation of modern weapons systems in the hands of callous and ruthless enemy in the years which lie ahead.

Yes, there are inescapable difficulties and dangers posed by Communist powers whose aims and policies are so diametrically opposed to our own. In a lawless world, we must be prepared for a fight at any timeand we must be prepared with weapons and other means better than those which are likely to be used against us.

Thus, our Armed Forces today are situated in many parts of the world, representing the strength of this Nation in defense of human justice and freedom. Our capabilities serve to prevent war through their deterrent effect. They are also the foundations of an effective defense if the aggressors should strike.

In essence our Armed Forces are geared to the preservation of our way of life. We must never forget that our most precious possessions are the lives of our citizens and the principles for which they stand.

In my judgment we have an adequate, properly proportioned defense program—one in which you can place your confidence. We have a good strong defense team. We can and will continue to improve it. And in all cases you can count on our Armed Forces team to carry out their tasks and missions with skill, determination, and a complete loyalty to the American people.

Will Congress Repudiate Forced Repatriation?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, on February 8, 1955, I introduced House Resolution 137 calling for the creation of a select committee to investigate the forced repatriation of millions of anti-Communist prisoners of war and civilians by American military and civilian authorities from 1945 to 1947. I have been very gratified at the response I have received as a result of this action.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article by Julius Epstein, entitled "Will Congress Repudiate Forced Repatriation?" which appeared in the Tablet, Brooklyn, N. Y., March 12, 1955:

WILL CONGRESS REPUDIATE FORCED REPATRIA-TION?

(By Julius Epstein)

Ten years after the conclusion of the Yaita agreement—almost to the day—on February 8, 1955, Congressman Albert H. Bosch, of New York, introduced House Resolution 137, calling for the creation of a select committee to investigate the forced repatriation of millions of anti-Communist prisoners of war and civilians by American military and civilian authorities.

There can be no doubt that—from an ethical point of view—House Resolution 137 should be considered as one of the most important resolutions ever introduced in the American Congress.

Our Government vigorously fought against the principle of forced repatriation of prisoners of war in Korea. Together with its allies, it won this battle after both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations had declared forced repatriation to be "a crime against humanity" and a "violation of international law and custom."

But we have never purged ourselves of the very same crime, committed by our own military and civilian (UNRRA and IRO) authorities right after the war in Germany, Austria, and even on our own soil. Hardly one of those forced back by our authorities to Soviet-controlled countries escaped death or the slave-labor camp.

CARDINAL FIRST TO PROTEST

It is to the everlasting credit of Eugene Cardinal Tisserant that he was the first to protest forced repatriation. He did it as early as March 5, 1946, in an interview granted the Rome correspondent of the New York Times. Cardinal Tisserant also protested against the UNRRA practice of refusing aid to those anti-Communist displaced persons who violently refused to be forcibly repatriated.

Cardinal Tisserant's protests—as those of other prominent people—were in vain.

To give one more example of those unsucessful protests: On January 31, 1946, Gen. A. Denikin, former commander in chief of the Russian armies (1917-20) wrote a six-page letter to the then General Eisenhower, a historical document, the last two paragraphs of which read as follows:

"General, there are the provisions and paragraphs of the Yalta Treaty, but there are the traditions of free and democratic people—the right of asylum—there are military ethics, which prohibit the use of violence even on the defeated enemy, and finally there exist the Christian morals which call for justice and pity.

"I take the liberty to address myself to you, General, as a soldier to a soldier, with the hope that my voice will be heard."

Neither Cardinal Tisserant's nor General Denikin's voice was heard. Forced repatriation went on for another year and a half.

Thousands preferred death to forced repatriation. A wave of suicides accompanied the shameful policy of our military and civilian authorities who insisted on forced repatriation of those who had only to expect death or slave-labor camps behind the Iron Curtain.

SEES ETHICAL OBLIGATION

Now, at last, Congressman Bosch, a man of great moral courage, undertook to carry out an ethical obligation of the first order: To purge ourselves of a genocidal crime and therefore to reestablish new spiritual and moral relations to all the anti-Communist peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

In the remarks Congressman Bosch made on the floor of the House before he introduced his resolution, he said:

"Recently there appeared in the December 14, 1954, issue of the American Legion magazine an article entitled 'How We Served as Partners in a Purge,' which appears in the Appendix of the Congressional Record of January 10, 1955, at page A83, inserted by my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois, Hon. Timothy Sheehan. This article clearly demonstrates the need for a clarification of the wherefor of such a program.

"Repatriation, in and of itself, is a question of deep concern and distress. It is in the interest of our Nation that we determine this issue and cleanse the national record for all time.

"It is for that reason that I am today introducing a resolution for the creation of a committee of the Congress to conduct an investigation and study of the forced repatriation program carried out by our military and civilian authorities in the years 1945-47. I sincerely trust that this resolution will be favorably reported and a committee appointed at the earliest possible moment in the interest of justice."

QUOTES RESOLUTION

Among the reasons for the creation of a select committee to investigate forced repatriation, as listed in the preamble of Congressman Bosch's resolution, are the following:

"Whereas the forced repatriation to Sovietcontrolled countries of millions of anti-Communist prisoners of war and civilians by American military and civilian authorities in the years 1945-47 in Germany, and in other countries, brought death and misery to untold thousands of these anti-Communists before Soviet firing squads, on Soviet gallows, and in the Siberian slave-labor camps; and

"Whereas this forced repatriation of prisoners of war and civilians cannot be justified by the agreement on prisoners of war signed at Yalta on February 11, 1945; and "Whereas this forced repatriation was in

"Whereas this forced repatriation was in violation of the rulings in implementation of the Yalta agreement on prisoners of war, made public by the Department of State on March 8, 1946; and

"Whereas the forced repatriation of prisoners of war who had enlisted in the enemy's army was in contradiction to the opinions of The Judge Advocate General of the Army, as expressed during the last 40 years; and

"Whereas the forced repatriation of millions of anti-Communist prisoners of war and civilians represents an indelibie blot on the American tradition of ready asylum for political exiles; and

"Whereas the forced repatriation and annihilation of millions of anti-Communist prisoners of war and civilians of Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarian, Baltic, and other origin is still poisoning our spiritual relations with the vigorously anti-Communist peoples behind the Iron Curtain, and is therefore impeding our foreign policy: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That there is hereby created a a select committee * * *."

URGES POPULAR SUPPORT

There can be no doubt that millions of former and present displaced persons in this country as well as all over the world will enthusiastically welcome such investigation as proposed by Congressman Bosch.

That goes especially for those 20,000 to 30,000 former displaced persons, now living under false identities and documents in this country, who are still threatened by deportation. These displaced persons had to change their documents, especially their names and places of birth while in German and Austrian displaced-persons camps in order to avoid forced repatriation to Soviet-controlled countries where only death or deportation to slave-labor camps would have been their fate. Only a new law or an amendment to the McCarran-Walter bill could clear them and make their entry into the United States legal. They now hope that an investigation of the forced-repatriation program will also lead to such legislation.

A mysterious conspiracy of silence has so far prevented the American press from taking any notice of the momentous Bosch resolution.

It is all the more important that those readers of this article who are in favor of the Bosch resolution express their opinion in wires and letters to Congressman Bosch and to their own Congressmen.

Among the Members of Congress who have already expressed, in different degrees, their interest in an investigation of the forced-repatriation program are Congressmen Madden, Sheehan, Flood, Dondero, Gwinn, Feighan, Machrowicz, Kluczynski, and Bentley, as well as Senators Wiley, Eastland, Kilgore, and Hruska.

The Secretary of Everything

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AIME J. FORAND

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me I offer for printing in the Record, as a part of my remarks, an article written by Thomas L. Stokes that appeared in the Washington, D. C., Sunday Star of March 13, 1955. The article follows:

THE SECRETARY OF EVERYTHING: TREASURY CHIEF HUMPHREY HAS BECOME DEMOCRATS' No. 1 TARGET IN EISENHOWER ADMINISTRA-TION

It was coincidence that the Democratic Digest appeared on the stands with the cover of its new number a picture of Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey, labeled "Secretary of Everything" at the time that the same Secretary Humphrey was exchanging blows with Democrats in Congress over their bills to grant tax relief to persons of small income.

For this issue of the Democratic National Committee's pocket-sized magazine had been planned before Speaker of the House Ray-BURN sprang his 20-bucks-a-head tax cut scheme and before Mr. Humphrey had accepted the gage of battle with his countercharge of fiscal irresponsibility.

But it all added up to this:

Democrats have singled out the Treasury Secretary as their No. 1 target in the Eisenhower administration. This is for the very practical political reason that, being a bigbusiness man himself and being active in so many areas of this administration that he deserves the "Secretary of Everything" title, he lends himself to the big-business background that Democrats are trying to paint in for this administration.

As for the Secretary, he has accepted the role of chief administration gladiator and

seems to enjoy it.

From experience with him in the tax battle, during which he has appeared before both House and Senate tax committees, Democrats have discovered something in his personality which they hope to exploit to their advantage. This is the Secretary's somewhat elevated, schoolteacher, doctrinaire attitude toward Members of Congress which is coupled with a twin propensity to belittle the ideas of others as "silly," "foolish," "irre-sponsible," "political," and such, as he did in appearing before the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee.

Anybody who knows Congress well knows that its Members don't appreciate lecturers, nor do they like to be looked down the nose This was illustrated by the gleeful way an aide of Senate Democratic Leader LYN-DON JOHNSON was dashing about the Senate showing an account of Secretary Humphrey's latest "silly-political-irresponsible" outburst. This he had sputtered angrily when, during his appearance before the House Ways and Means Committee to testify about an error in last year's revision of the tax laws, he had been asked about a compromise on the Rayburn \$20-a-head tax cut that had been worked out by Senator Johnson and other Senate Democratic leaders. Democratic needlers on the House committee had angled for just that reaction.

"That blowup by the Secretary ought to stiffen Democratic ranks in the Senate and make some votes for the compromise," was the comment among Senate Democratic promoters of the Johnson proposal. The latter, along with providing modified tax cuts for small taxpayers, would repeal two provisions in last year's law sponsored by the Eisenhower administration to help wealthy stock-owners and business. Thus Democrats would make up revenue lost by tax cuts on small incomes. It is these provisions, one a tax credit for dividends and the other embodying more liberal depreciation allowances, which Democrats have harped on constantly in their claims that the administration's 1954 tax law was chiefly to aid the big taxpayers.

Secretary Humphrey stood However. stanchly by them, saying they were responsible for providing jobs and bringing about business improvement.

When the Treasury head was before the House Ways and Means Committee, which was the occasion of his second silly-irresponsible political outcry, he was on the defensive from the moment he sat down before the committee. He had come to confess a serious mistake by his Treasury experts in a section they recommended for last year's comprehensive overhaul of our revenue laws, which Congress had adopted, by which businesses could get a windfall that he conceded would amount to a sizable loss in revenue. Representative MILLS, Democrat, of Arkansas, quoted tax-expert estimates of losses up to a billion dollars. The Secretary also had to admit that he did not know of this windfall loophole until Mr. Mn.Ls had told him about it a few days ago, though his own Treasury aids had found it some time before and were checking to see what its effect might be. The Secretary also admitted that there were 40 other loopholes in which revenue might be lost. He will submit an explanation of them in a few days so the committee can correct them as it is correcting the other two.

Nor did it help the Secretary's state of mind to be reminded by Democratic committee members that they had warned in a statement last year about the haste with which the committee, then Republican-controlled, was rushing through highly technical changes. Their statement said: "We fear that, in the hasty manner in which this most complicated legislation has been handled, we will have to spend many weeks straightening out the law in the future, if

the bill becomes law."

That is exactly what the committee has got to do now.

After FOA What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, as the Foreign Operations Administration is scheduled to go out of existence this coming June 30, the question of how its functions are to be carried on will receive increasing attention from the Congress. In studying this question, I have found an article by Mr. Marquis Childs in the Washington Post of March 15 to be a cogent analysis of the many factors involved. I think it is appro-priate to call the attention of the Congress to Mr. Childs' excellent discussion:

WASHINGTON CALLING (By Marquis Childs) AFTER FOA WHAT?

At a closed session of the recent SEATO conference in Thailand, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles held forth on the scope of America's military strength in the Pacific. Given the potential of modern weaponsthat is to say nuclear weapons—the United States has in the area today, according to Dulles, greater armed might than at the peak of the Pacific buildup in World War II.

The question, which he did not go into, is: How much of this potential strength can be brought to focus for purposes short of all-out war? In the field of economic aid and cooperation the same question is pertinent.

The United States has the greatest industrial plant, technology, and know-how in the world. But how to share this develop-

ment on any meaningful scale is a problem that has not yet been met except in the most limited fashion. Dulles could talk about economic assistance for Asia at the SEATO Conference only in general terms, since on that front in the cold war there is a new upheaval, with all plans temporarily in abeyance.

This is another illustration of the stopand-start approach which not only wastes money and effort but raises doubts about America's determination to stay the course to the end. The Foreign Operations Administration, which has charge of technical assistance, refugee aid, and other obligations, is due to go out of business on June 30.

Since economic aid is to continue, FOA's functions will have to be put somewhere else in Government. Unless, it should be added, Congress votes to keep the agency in business. It was created by the Eisenhower administration. Although time is running out, not even a tentative plan seems as yet to have been worked out. It will not be easy, since FOA has a total of 6,731 employees 1,657 in Washington and the balance, 2,770 Americans, and 2,304 foreign nationals, in offices overseas.

Dark congressional suspicions center on FOA. There is a general distrust of economic aid among conservative Republicans and Democrats alike. Congress always suspects a new agency of seeking to perpetuate itself. And FOA's Administrator, Harold Stassen, is not exactly popular on Capitol Hill.

But it is not merely a bureaucratic snafu that cuts across the aid program. Both Dulles and Stassen last fall projected a greatly expanded program for Asia which got oversimplified in the headlines as an Asian Marshall plan. This was repudiated on the insistence of Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey, who is firmly opposed to giving away American dollars on any sizable scale and thereby throwing the budget further out of balance. Thus the impression was of marching up the hill and then marching right back down again.

American motives and intentions are also at issue in the aid program, as an analysis of current and proposed expenditures makes plain. In the budget for the next fiscal year is \$3.5 billion for "mutual security." Of this sum, \$1.4 billion is for direct military assistance—guns and planes for America's military partners—administered by the Defense Department. Six hundred million dollars is for direct-forces support which FOA administers.

The remaining \$1.5 billion is for economic aid in various forms. Included are the relatively small sums that the United States contributes to several United Nations agencies in the assistance field. The balance goes for various forms of economic help, and it is here that Congress is likely to cut.

More and more the stress has been on giving our military allies what they need to fight communism at America's side. Dulles put this frankly in his recent speech on returning from Asia. It is reflected, too, in the allocations of aid for the current Government year.

To Members of Congress increasingly reluctant to vote big sums for foreign outlay it seems perfectly logical to help those who are standing with us. But to Asians in the uncommitted countries-India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, who take literally what we say about wanting to help all free countries—this has the look of rank discrimination. Is your aid really to help underde-veloped peoples raise their standard of living, they ask, or is it a carrot held out to persuade us to go along with your system of alliances?

To most Asians, America is a land of incredible power and prosperity; a power that sometimes seems menacing and sometimes beneficent. We live, in Asian eyes, on a lofty plateau. It is a lonely plateau, too, and that is the root of the matter, since it is a peril to live so far above the rest of the world. Some far more imaginative means of sharing—perhaps through a combination of private investment and Government cooperation—must be found and soon.



It's 10 Years Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, it has been 10 years since the Sudetan Germans were expelled from their homeland, but they have not given up the desire and hope to return. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article entitled "It's 10 Years Today," taken from the January 17, 1955, Sudetanland issue of the Suedost-Echo, newspaper of the Germans from southeast Europe. This article was translated from the German language by the Library of Congress:

IT'S 10 YEARS TODAY

(H. H.) This year marks the decennium of our expulsion. Millions of East and Southeast Germans who, robbed of everything but the shirt on their backs, were expelled from their homeland and who suffered the most outrageous injustice and deepest humiliation of our century, will again raise their voices to demand the return to them of the homeland of which they were robbed. They will be joined by the many hundreds of thousands of refugees and emigrants who fied to safety in the west for fear of physical destruction.

Ten years is along time. They have alleviated pain and closed many wounds. They have also buried many a hope. But they have not rendered void the crimes committed against innocent human beings, nor have they been able to shake their right to restitution and return to them of their homeland, which is an inalienable and inviolable right. The expellees will stand by it, even if they have to wait another 10 or 20 years. They will pass it on by way of heritage to their children and children's children if they themselves should die before justice is

Those who see evidence of lust for revenge in this determination to maintain a legal claim and who imply the existence of agressive intentions, on the part of the expellees, distort or simply don't know the facts. For at stake are not plans for reconquest or nationalist intransigence, but elemental human rights. And lack of respect for human rights, one of which—probably the most sacred—is the right to a person's homeland, would mean corruption of the moral conscience of the world.

The horrors of war were visited upon the expellees in their most terrifying form. The expellees don't want another war; they know that such a war would cause uncontrollable disaster. However, this does not make them pacifists in the sense of spiritual and political capitulation of the West to Soviet imperialism. When they were driven from their homeland in 1945 and squeezed into the warravaged and impoverished territory of Western Germany, the expellees did not fulfill the expectations of the Kremlin: They did not become Communists, in spite of the despair which filled their hearts. The fact that Western Germany and the rest of Western Europe have not succumbed to communism is partly due to the expellees.

The full significance of this fact as concerns the free world must be duly recognized, as it involves the moral and political right of millions of refugees to the restoration of their former legal status, and as it encourages the expellees to demand the return of homeland. The free world is confronted with a responsibility which must be met: It is up to the free world to support the cause of the expellees-not by unleashing another war, but by becoming strong enough in order to prevent it and, by virtue of such strength, forcing the restoration of the former legal Coexistence of the free world with the Soviet Union should not become a principle underlying the foreign policy of the free world, until and unless the oppressed peoples have had their freedom restored to them. Otherwise, coexistence would mean the approval and perpetuation of gross violations of the law.

Ten years have passed since that dark year of 1945. No wonder that people here and there lose heart. How long should they wait? Isn't their hope of returning to their own country a mirage, which confuses their thoughts and keeps the pain alive, without anything being done toward removing the cause, once and for all, by fulfilling their desire? Wouldn't it be better if, in order to find inner peace, they were to turn their backs to and forget their homeland?

Nobody denies that similar thoughts are alive also in the minds of the refugees and expellees. For it is not easy to lead two lives: one in the present, with all its mental and physical demands; and the other, an imaginary one, in the past and future. The post is still aglow; the memories are still alive; home and farm, scenery, towns and cities, and the peaceful world of our homeland—those are things we can still see it with our mind's eye. But we do not see the future of our homeland, nor do we see the road which will lead us back—when?—to it. It is hard to be patient and not to lose hope; the more so because the 10 years—now lying behind us—have not brought us closer to our goal.

Everyone of us is tempted to give up, at one time or another. But it is also the duty of everyone of us to fight that temptation. Duty—in the sense of inner responsibility, and in the sense of a right which we must not give up because, by doing so, we would be giving our approval to an act of enormous injustice. Unless we insist on the recognition of our legal claim, and unless we constantly remind the world of it—who else would be doing so?

It is even more difficult for us southeast Germans to keep our hopes up than for the large numbers of East Germans whose claim for their homeland is identical with Germany's right to restoration of its Eastern frontiers which were crippled by force. The Soviet masters have wrought extensive structural changes in our countries of origin. Economic, agricultural and sociological revamping has taken place which has radically changed the areas in which we used to live—changes which may not be possible of correction. Will it be possible to restore the southeast German (language) island groups and to assure them an existence in the future as organic "tribal" communities?

We don't know. But that does not release us from the obligation to search for solutions, and the law is on our side in this respect. This right to return to our homeland has not been jeopardized by our becoming citizens of Germany. No committee-inexile has the right to berate us for accepting German citizenship on the basis of legislation enacted by Bonn. We are finding ourselves in an emergency which calls for our acceptance of German citizenship. Nobody, not even a committee-in-exile, can tell us how long the emergency of our homelessness will last; in order to overcome this period of homelessness we have a right to avail ourselves of the legal relief offered us by Ger-

many. The point was made, explicitly, that this (German citizenship) does not jeopardize our right to return to our homeland. We were expelled from our homeland against our will—which is and remains the deciding factor.

We are sticking to our claim to our homeland. And, together with millions of other refugees and expellees, we shall not abandon hope. No matter how long we'll have to wait.

Reaffirmation by Michigan State College of Its Historical Heritage as First Agricultural College in the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES E. POTTER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a press release dated March 11, 1955, issued by the department of information services, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich., reaffirming the historical heritage of Michigan State College as the first agricultural college in the Nation and pioneer for the entire land-grant college system established under the Morrill Act of 1862.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Michigan State College Friday issued an official statement reaffirming its historical heritage as the first agricultural college in the Nation and pioneer for the entire landgrant college system established under the Morrill Act of 1862.

The statement was in answer to charges by Representative Schwerger, Republican, of Iowa, that the United States Post Office Department had made "a gross error of historical fact" in issuing a commemorative stamp honoring Michigan State and Pennsylvania State University as "first of the land-grant colleges." Both institutions are celebrating their centennials this year.

Alvie L. Smith, centennial director at Michigan State, expressed surprise at the statement by Representative Schwenger, and termed it "regrettable." It is unfortunate, he added, that Iowa State questions could not have been raised in October 1954, when the issuance of this stamp was first announced.

Michigan Agricultural College was founded February 12, 1855, as the first agricultural college in America, and the pattern for the land-grant college system established 7 years later under the Morrill Act. Not only was MAC the first agricultural college founded in the United States, but as other States created land-grant colleges from 1862 on in the image of the East Lansing institution, they drew heavily on the faculty and graduates of Michigan Agricultural College for their teachers and presidents. These are historical facts, not claims, Smith said.

Iowa State claims to have been the "first land-grant college" because they were the first to accept the provisions of the Morrill Act in September 1882, even though they did not open their doors until 1869.

The commemorative stamp was issued by the United States Post Office Department to honor the founders of the new concept of higher education, Smith pointed out, even though the later institutions made significant contributions in the development of this educational philosophy.

The clearest and most authoritative statement on this matter was given in 1950 by Russell I. Thackrey, long-time executive secretary of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities. Here are pertinent excerpts from his statement:

"The question of the oldest land-grant college might be debatable in a strict sense, but here are the facts: Michigan State College, established in 1855, is unquestionably the oldest agricultural college, and thus was the prototype of the land-grant institutions. It was closely followed by the Maryland Agricultural College (now the University of Maryland) which was chartered in 1856 and Iowa Agricultural College (Iowa State College) in 1858.

The picture is complicated a little by the fact that six State legislatures acted to accept the provisions of the Land Grant Act before Michigan did, the first being Iowa in September 1862. Thus, Iowa State was the first to be designated by its legislature as a land-grant institution but I think it is generally recognized that Mich-Igan State as the first agricultural college of its type actually in operation deserves the distinction of being called the first landgrant institution."

Michigan State takes great pride not only in its pioneering role with respect to the entire land-grant college system but in its equally important role in the establishment

of Iowa Agricultural College. When Iowa Agricultural College began its classes in 1869, it was on the pattern of Michigan Agricultural College and with a president imported directly from the East Lansing campus, according to Dr. Madison Kuhn, Michigan State College historian and author of the forthcoming book Michigan State:

The First Hundred Years. In 1868, Kuhn points out, the governing board of Iowa Agricultural College sent a committee to visit several of the then operating land-grant colleges. The published report of this group, as quoted in E. A. Ross'

A History of Iowa State College, 1942, read:
"Of these, the Michigan exhibit was found to be the agricultural college par excellence in aim, organization, course of study, and apparent results. A large portion of the report was devoted to this institution."

First president of Iowa Agricultural College was A. S. Welch, member of the governing board of Michigan Agricultural College for several years, and who was recommended for the post by Dr. T. C. Abbot, third president of the East Lansing college.

Kuhn adds another interesting footnote Auth adds another interesting locations to this discussion by pointing out that the Michigan legislature actually accepted the provisions of the Morrill Act in 1859 when it was approved for the first time by the United by Presi-United States Congress but vetoed by President Buchanan. In effect, then, the State of Michigan was the first to approve the provisions of the Morrill Act-even though it repeated its action in 1863 to make it completely official.

On Second Look, It Isn't a Bogey Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I have been requested to insert the following editorial from the Palo Alto Times in the Congressional Record, and I am happy to comply:

ON SECOND LOOK, IT ISN'T A BOGEY MAN

A flurry of alarm has been stirred up by the move to get representatives of North Atlantic Treaty nations together to talk about how they can collaborate more closely for the good of all.

The alarm is not justified. No "one world" organization can be forced on us by this meeting. No trick can be brought out of the bag to reduce the sovereignty of the United

The resolution introduced in Congress last month by Senator KEFAUVER calls merely for a meeting "to explore and to report" on ways in which nations now bound by the North Atlantic Treaty might further unite—"federally or otherwise"—against common dan-

Common dangers include the resurgence of Germany as a military power, Communist ag-gression, and distrust in many parts of the The democratic nations are capable of meeting the world situation effectively.

If we are afraid to apply the democratic process to the search for more efficient methods of working with our free North Atlantic neighbors, we seem to justify this distrust.

That the proposed exploratory convention will be democratic there can be no doubt, The delegates are not to be diplomats directed by governments, but citizens. These citizens will explore, come to conclusions, make recommendations, and report to their own people and the parliamentary bodies of their own countries.

These duly elected bodies and the people will make the decisions.

The New Orleans Conference on Inter-American Investment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have in my hand the text of a notable address which was delivered by Dr. Milton Eisenhower at the recent historic Conference on Inter-American Investment at New Orleans. I had previously referred to this very important conference on the floor of the Senate on February 9 as recorded on pages 1161-1163 of the Record. I also have in hand several splendid editorials on the Conference's work.

As regards this particular New Orleans speech, may I mention that Dr. Eisenhower has rendered important services to our Nation in many fields, not the least of which is his worthy contributions to the strengthening of inter-American relations, His memorable mission throughout the hemisphere was an impressive aid to Pan-American solidarity and understanding. As senior Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, may I say that naturally it is Dr. Eisenhower's Inter-American work which has come particularly to my attention, but I have observed with interest his significant efforts in education and other areas.

The Eisenhower family is a great family-and it was great even before its most famous son came to occupy the highest office in our land. All America wishes it well-wishes well of all the dear ones of

the President of the United States and of course our Chief Executive himself.

Each of the Eisenhowers and the relatives of the Eisenhowers have stood on their own feet independently making their own fine careers, and America is deeply aware of that fact.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Dr. Eisenhower's splendid and forthright New Orleans address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, to be followed by the text of editorials from the New York Times and the Christian Science Monitor, which were carried while the New Orleans conference was underway.

There being no objection, the address and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY DR. MILTON S. EISENHOWER AT INTER-AMERICAN INVESTMENT CONFERENCE, NEW ORLEANS, FEBRUARY 28, 1955

On one thing all participants in this conference must be agreed: Good relations between the United States and the nations of Latin America are imperative as we seek to build a cooperative peace characterized by freedom and rising levels of well-being.

Most of us would agree, too, that in this hemisphere economic cooperation is the key to better relations.

Fortunately, we are making considerable progress in this regard. But in my judgment more individuals and agencies, both public and private, must be made aware of the problems involved, the pace of progress must be accelerated, and the rules of the game must

be made more stable and certain. The trade of the United States with the Republics of Latin America is now about \$3.5 billion in each direction each year. As a market for our exports, Latin America is as important to us as all of Europe, and more important than Asia, Africa, and Oceania combined. As a source of our imports, the other American Republics have greater importance than Europe or the other continents. And of course the United States is just as essential to the Latin American States as a market for their products, and as a source of their imports.

Such trade is mutually advantageous. All

Almost 30 percent of all United States private, long-term investment is in Latin Amer-This investment of some \$6 billion is larger than the amount invested in any other part of the world except Canada.

Loans to Latin American nations by the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank total about \$1.5 billion.

These investments are also mutually advantageous. While one can cite instances in which such capital has been mistreated, on the whole it has earned a good return. At the same time it has helped develop the jungle and the desert, provided work at good wages, carried with it technical and managerial skills and, by increasing the output of minerals, foods, and manufactured goods, helped build prosperity in our sister republics.

If these facts are as obvious as I assert them to be, why aren't economic relations essentially perfect? Why must we meet to discuss possible methods of improvement?

One might as well ask why all citizens within a single country are not wholly agreed on the basic elements of an on-going economic program. Whenever human beings work together, and particularly when the elements involved are as manifold and complex as they are in hemispheric economic relations, there are bound to be differences and difficulties.

Thus, in the United States there is little knowledge of Latin American needs, attitudes, and capabilities, and in Latin America serious misunderstandings of the economic policy and capacity of the United States.

Some of this later misunderstanding is a natural consequence of our assistance programs in Europe and other parts of the world. While leaders in Latin America understand that much of our aid to other areas has been to help rebuild resources which were destroyed at the very time that Latin American nations were enjoying an unprecedented prosperity; that our economic and military aid to other areas has benefited Latin America as much as it has the United States; and that the American people during the past 15 years have made unprecedented sacrifices for the welfare of all free nations-while these facts are usually recognized, nonetheless our assistance to other areas has coincided with the need for tremendous sums of new capital in Latin America, and loans to them, though sub-stantial, have not satisfied their aspirations. Unsatisfied aspirations can cause many persons to be critical, even though the facts do not justify that criticism.

A tremendous social ferment exists today throughout Latin America. The population is increasing at a rate double that of the world increase. Productivity is also increasing. The net situation is that production per person is increasing about 2.5 percent a year. That, too, is a world record.

But this praiseworthy rate of improvement is beginning at a low level. It is therefore understandable that the peoples of Latin America want to make still more rapid

They want to overcome illiteracy, to improve and expand their agriculture, to industrialize, to diversify their export trade and thus become less dependent on the sale abroad of 1 or 2 commodities. The need for highway, rall, water, and air transportation is critical in many regions. Insufficient productive energy is a serious impediment.

A high share of the essential improvements calls for capital—great quantities of it. It is difficult to exaggerate the need for investment funds.

Much of the capital must come from local savings. A good deal must come from the United States.

Unhappily, the need for foreign capital is accompanied in some areas by a rising tide of nationalism.

In some respects, this surge of nationalism is commendable, for it indicates a growing pride in achievement and an impatient desire to raise standards of living dramatically and immediately.

But ultranationalism, with its blindness to true long-time interests, is a major retrogressive influence in some countries, often closing the door to the very help and cooperation which are so desperately needed. It leads to laws and practices which prevent the entrance of foreign capital so essential to development.

Ultranationalism is being fostered by Communist agitators. These conspirators persistently chant the theme that foreign investment, private or public, is in reality a form of imperialism.

The situation in Latin America is uneven: In some countries the attitude toward investment of United States capital is wholly favorable. In a few, there is mild resentment with respect to the withdrawal of earnings or original capital. In other areas, Communist propaganda has convinced a good many persons that the use of foreign capital for productive purposes somehow impinges upon the sovereignty of the nation in which the capital is invested.

But in all this there is a great inconsistency: While some condemn foreign investment as an actual or potential evil, while others adopt practices and legislation that frighten or make almost impossible the entrance of foreign capital, and while still others want capital but only on unattractively restrictive terms, nearly all but the avowed Communists insist that an incoming flood of private and public capital is essential if they are to meet their just aspirations.

Two things are abundantly clear: First, foreign capital, properly handled, does not compromise the sovereignty of the host country. The United States used unbelievable quantities of European capital from its founding to about 1918. That capital did not impinge upon our sovereignty. And we repaid it all, with interest.

Second, foreign private capital cannot be driven. It must be attracted by conditions conducive to private investment.

Attracting foreign private investment does not mean the granting of special privileges—that is, privileges not extended to domestic investors (other than those pertaining to remittance of earnings from countries having exchange controls). Rather, attracting foreign investment involves primarily the avoidance of unnecessary restraints or discriminations which have the effect of repelling investment, and the establishment of stable financial and political climates which permit, if not encourage, both domestic and foreign investment under conditions of normal business risk.

Each country in Latin America must compete for foreign private capital with applicants from all over the world, including applicants within the United States. Success in such a highly competitive field requires adequate assurances of fair treatment, security, and a reasonable return in relation to alternative investment opportunities.

With multiple opportunities open to them, investors naturally give attention to such factors as unstable financial policies. In several countries, such policies have resulted in serious inflation, severe exchange restrictions, currency devaluations, and even the peacetime imposition of price ceilings—all of which have hindered balanced economic growth.

Inflationary policies not only discourage private investment from abroad; they also greatly affect the management of local funds—encouraging speculation in real estate and in inventories as a hedge against further declines in the purchasing power of money, and thus dissipating resources which otherwise might be used for productive development.

Internal financial stability is basic to a solution of exchange problems and to the maintenance of conditions which are conducive to economic growth.

There is now a strong trend toward financial stability in many other areas of the world. Hence, a renewed emphasis on achieving stability in the Latin American countries appears to be imperative if capital, competitively sought, is going to flow in the desired direction.

Because conditions vary so widely country by country, many thoughtful persons have reasoned that a bilateral treaty between the United States and each government of Latin America is the best approach to establishing conditions conducive to investment. feel this is true because, first, each treaty can deal with the uniquely individual problems of a particular country; second, the treaty can be in force for a long period of time and thus can reduce the risks of changing political policies; third, the country desiring to obtain private funds may be willing to give assurances or preferences to the United States that it might not be willing to grant to other countries, such as Russia; fourth, the foreign country can retain control over such local problems as partnership interest in the enterprise, and, fifth, the United States could, if it seemed wise to do so, grant preferential treatment to a particular country.

These arguments seem compelling, and yet only two Latin American countries now have treaties of this type with the United States.

treaties of this type with the United States.

Many contend that if a treaty is to encourage the flow of private capital, it must, as a minimum, provide for nondiscrimination against United States investors, and for just compensation in case of expropriation or confiscation. They realize that several countries have constitutional provisions which those countries believe make it impossible for them to enter into agreements without such serious qualifications as actually to nullify the compensation provisions treaties, but contend that this legal point has been overemphasized. They also feel that some nations wish to restrict unduly, by treaty, the fields into which United States capital may enter, or want to limit too greatly the manner in which United States companies may conduct their opera-

Other individuals who are also intimately familiar with the sweep of problems involved in the economic relations of the American nations, argue that too much attention has been given to such things as treaty assurances against confiscation. They argue persuasively that the one thing which would help most to stimulate the flow of capital would be a mechanism for guaranteeing the convertibility of currencles—that the fear of not being able to withdraw capital or earnings because of nonconvertibility is the great impediment.

All these ideas merit exploration. Certainly, I would like to see several additional Latin American nations open negotiations with the United States in the immediate future with the avowed purpose of finding sufficient areas of agreement as to make bilateral treaties truly valuable.

But the further exploration of the efficacy of bilateral treaties should not detract from what the nations desiring capital must generally do to attract capital, or from what the United States might generally do to encourage investment in Latin America.

During the past year, the United States has in manifold ways recognized that both private and public lending for sound development projects in Latin America should go forward on a substantial scale. Thus the Government announced new policies designed to encourage more activity by private investors, and to make possible an expanded program of Government lending.

Primary emphasis has been placed, as it should be, on measures to encourage private investment. Of course, the best incentive the United States can give to private investment in Latin America is the maintenance of stable trade relations and a high level of economic activity in our own country, thus halping to assure similar conditions in those countries—and in a moment I shall return to this point. Another opportunity to encourage private investment has to do with tax policies. * * *

But we cannot be content with encouraging an increased flow of United States private capital. Public loans should finance those sound projects for which private financing is not available.

In a report of November 1953 to the President I recommended that lending by the Export-Import Bank be intensified. That has been done. Our Government has assured the nations of Latin America that we will do our utmost to satisfy all applications for sound economic development loans for which capital is not reasonably available from private sources or from the International Bank.

This change in policy is more important than most seem to realize. Public lending, intelligently managed, can stimulate the development of certain key enterprises—such as transportaion—which will make possible the growth of private industries and businesses, and for those private capital should be found. In such situations, public lending can initiate chain reactions.

The new Export-Import Bank policy was announced in the middle of 1954. Since then, the bank has authorized 22 loans in 10 Latin American countries, for a total of more than \$158 million. These included loans to private, governmental, and mixed borrowers. They involved agriculture, aviation, railways, highways, power production, municipal water systems, mining, steel production and a variety of industrial enterprises.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, also active during the past year, authorized loans to 6 countries, totaling more than \$111 million.

These figures show that substantial public credits are now being extended. At present, interestingly enough, both the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank, with ample funds to lend, are prepared to process applications greatly in excess of those now on hand.

The President has announced that, as agreed at the Rio Conference, the administration will support the creation of a new international financing agency. He has asked approval of Congress for the United States to participate in an International Finance Corporation, as an affiliate to the International Bank. The new corporation will stimulate private investment abroad by making loans without governmental guaranties. Its proposed capital of \$100 million will enable it to undertake operations greatly exceeding that amount by participating with private capital in jointly financing productive enterprises.

I said a moment ago that no other single thing would contribute so much to economic stability in Latin America and thus to the flow of private capital for new enterprises as stable trade relations with the United States. In my report to the President on this whole problem, I recommended as strongly as I could that the United States adopt and adhere to trade policies with Latin America which possess stability and a minimum of mechanisms permitting the imposition of increased tariffs or quotas.

A policy of reduced tariff barriers and expanded trade will contribute more toward the strengthening of the economies of all American Republics than any other single measure which could be adopted. Assurance of access to the great market of the United States is the most effective guaranty of economic stability in Latin America. Similar assurance that the other nations of this hemisphere can continue to buy much of our surplus production is one essential of economic prosperity in the United States.

Economic development is just as dependent upon access to technical knowledge and experience as it is upon access to capital and markets. Our technical-cooperation programs have been effective in Latin America. This is true of the programs we have undertaken directly with many Latin American governments, and of those conducted by the Organization of American States and the United Nations.

In 1953 I urged that United States participation in these programs be expanded. I am happy to say that United States funds for direct help in Latin America were increased from \$20.4 million last year to \$26 million this year and will likely be increased still more next year. Our contribution to the technical program of the Organization of American States has been increased from \$1 million to \$1.5 million annually.

The United States has recently gone to the aid of several Latin American neighbors when they faced economic emergencies. * * *

Frankly, I think we can take considerable satisfaction in the steps our Government has taken during the past year to help our sister republics and to improve permanently the economic relations among the nations of this hemisphere.

These steps have made the investment of private and public funds in Latin America more attractive.

And these steps have been exhaustively analyzed in two historic inter-American conferences. They appear to be acceptable to the overwhelming majority of Latin American leaders. At the conclusion of the Rio Economic Conference, a statement, unanimously issued by the heads of the 21 delegations, said:

"We leave this Conference with the satisfaction of having proved that the American nations here represented are in complete agreement as regards their great objectives in the economic field. These may be summarized as a determination to speed up the progress of each and every one of them within framework of freedom and justice, through substantial intensification of our inter-American economic, financial and technical cooperation."

Finally, may I say that the new United States policies have the enthusiastic, bipartisan support of all our people. The things we have said we will do are being done.

Let no man, no leader, here or anywhere in the hemisphere doubt the sincerity, the intention, the determination of our Government and our people to do all that is feasible to promote good economic relations and thus build a stronger family of nations in this hemisphere.

The President has underscored this determination. In his message to the delegates of the Rio Conference he said that, in the American family of nations, the United States will seek to be more than a good neighbor. It will be a good partner

good neighbor. It will be a good partner. This signifies more than a difference of words. It emphasizes a new approach to the problems with which we and our friends in the hemisphere are wrestling. This new approach is a logical evolution of the good neighbor relationship. As good neighbors each American republic tried in the economic field to adopt policies and pursue courses which would not prejudice the interests of the other members of the total community. Each sought in good faith to respond constructively to requests for cooperation and assistance from the others. In our own country this bipartisan policy gave meaningful direction to our hemisphéric relations.

That policy has logically carried us to the relationship that exists between us today, one which is so close that it can no longer accurately be described as that of neighbors. So interdependent are our destinles today that each American republic must recognize its direct, continuing and even selfish interest in the solution of the critical problems of every other member of the family. We must now be dependable partners in a great and lasting enterprise—the peaceful independence, the prosperity, and the happiness of all our peoples—peoples with great cultural diversity but with interdependent common goals.

This partnership concept is, I believe, shared by our neighbors. It found expression last year at two conferences involving all members of the Organization of American States, and also in regional conferences in which interdependence and mutuality were the keynotes.

It was almost historic accident, so far as I personally am concerned, that less than 2 years ago I should have represented the Government and people of the United States on a mission designed to improve relations, and especially cooperative economic relations, among some 20 interdependent nations, I knew upon my return that whether mutually helpful cooperation perceptibly improved would depend upon attitudes yet to be formed, actions yet to be taken. Fortunately, most developments since my trip and report have exceeded my fondest hopes.

As I said in concluding my 1953 report, "Working together, the nations of this hemisphere can, if history should so decree, stand firmly against any enemy in war, and prosper mightily together in times of peace."

[From the New York Times of March 2, 1955] STAKES IN LATIN AMERICA

The Inter-American Investment Conference now being held in New Orleans has importance far beyond the business deals it stimulates. It will help assuage the feelings of Latin Americans from the Rio Grande to Patagonia who think their self-appointed good neighbor is neglecting them for nations both more favored and more remote. The conference also marks a refreshing departure from the usual conference procedure. Instead of generating high-sounding official programs and pronouncements which, fettered with redtape, bog down in budgets and appropriations, this conference aims at specific agreements between practical businessmen free to act without political by-your-leaves and consequent delays.

Political instability, of course, has been one of the main deterrents to United States investment in Latin American countries. But much can be—and is being done already—by enlightened United States concerns to insulate their investments from the shocks of such disturbances. Most effective is a policy aimed not to compete with local interests in a preempted static market but to expand the existing market by creating new demands—and, through increased native employment; creating the wherewithal to satisfy those needs.

Such a program may neglect the quick gain, but it makes for a continuing, even though smaller, rate of profit and one that is guaranteed by local gratitude for local benefits received. Furthermore, a demonstration of the fruitful North American formula for economic progress—high productivity through more efficient methods, lower unit costs and higher wages—stimulates native interests to follow suit, thus widening the circle of local prosperity and trade with us.

[From the Christian Science Monitor of March 2, 1955]

INVESTING IN LATIN AMERICA

When 400 businessmen with capital to invest meet 400 others with projects needing financial sponsorship, something constructive is bound to happen. Such is the theory behind a 4-day meeting now taking place in New Orleans. In that trade-wise city businessmen from the United States are joining some of their opposite numbers from Latin America in an attempt to bring demand and supply together. Both groups have given evidence of being aware of the large political and social significance of the gap that exists between Latin America's need for fresh capital and the volume of it that she has been able to muster or attract. Their present task is to start trying to close that gap by concentrated bargaining on specific projects.

The United States Government is giving the conferees strong support. Their efforts conform to the Eisenhower administration's policy of encouraging private capital to carry as much as possible of the international work of country-by-country development. In a special message to the conferees, President Eisenhower has stressed this Nation's intention to maintain a program of direct and indirect governmental help, while emphasizing that one of its greatest aims is to create an atmosphere conducive to self-help and private development.

The countries seeking capital will gain by making their own contributions to an atmosphere friendly to private investment. Private capital will voluntarily leave the United States in increased volume when

foreign opportunities seem relatively more profitable than domestic opportunities. Domestic projects enjoy many advantages in attracting capital. Capital invested at home does not face the risks of expropriation, of tax discrimination, of being frozen into illiquidity by government fiat or of inadequate legal protection that capital invested abroad has often confronted. Foreign projects have to offer advantages correspondingly great.

Among the most beneficial results of the New Orleans conference may well be a demonstration to our own businessmen that discouragements to private capital have been eliminated in more cases than is generally understood and a demonstration to Latin-American businessmen that more work needs to be done to abate the discouragements that remain.

Statement of AMVETS' National Commander Rufus H. Wilson, Regarding Hoover Commission's Recommendations Concerning Veterans' Administration's Medical Activities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the following interesting letter from the pen of Rufus H. Wilson, national commander of the AMVETS, appeared in the March 10, 1955, issue of the Washington Evening Star, Washington, D. C., concerning the so-called Hoover Commission's recommendations on Veterans' Administrations medical activities.

National Commander Wilson speaking as he does, for the veterans of World War II, reveals some interesting discrepancies in the findings of the Hoover Commission.

The letter follows:

RETORT TO HOOVER REPORT

Neither the cartoon nor the editorial in the Star of March 2 relating to the "hot off the press" Hoover Commission recommendations concerning Veterans' Administration medical activities add to your historic policy of fair play and commonsense.

Never in history has so important a commission said so much with so few facts to back it up, and all in the name of economy. Of course, I realize it isn't important that I, as the national commander of one veterans' organization, feel this way. But I suggest that it is important that my view is shared by some pretty fairminded people, including the executive and legislative personnel in Government whose objections will come to light in the very near future.

light in the very near future.

The Hoover Commission's recommendations on VA medicine are, in our opinion, doomed to failure—a deserving fate. They are doomed because they fail to tell the whole truth. When you consider the following, we

hope you will agree:

1. The Hoover Commission distorts the truth when it implies that disability compensation is a \$2 billion part of the cost of Federal medical care. Disability compensation is paid as a result of impaired earning power caused by disability incurred in military service. Thousands of recipients of dis-

ability compensation have never even seen a Veterans' Administration hospital, let alone having been a patient in one.

2. The Hoover Commission falsely alleges that there is gross abuse of the VA medical system. The House Veterans' Affairs Committee and the Veterans' Administration itself have definite proof as a result of exhaustive surveys and studies that present regulations have almost eliminated abuse.

3. The Hoover Commission implies half truths when it talks about 20 million veterans who are entitled to hospitalization in VA hospitals. It conveniently glosses over the fact that only 109,000 VA beds were available last year. And it doesn't explain how all of those 20 million veterans who they say were so grossly abusing this program could have possibly squeezed into those 109,000 beds.

4. The Hoover Commission either deliberately, or with ignorance, indicates that only nonmedical VA personnel determine how much compensation or pension a veteran is entitled to. The basic truth known to every one interested in veterans' affairs is that doctors are an integral part of every Veterans' Administration disability determination.

5. The Hoover Commission blandly recommends investigation of every non-service-connected hospitalization case to see if the veteran applying for such hospitalization can afford to pay for it. It purposely, or with ignorance, overlooks a 2-year old policy of the Veterans' Administration that has almost entirely done the very thing it recommends. And this policy, incidentally, was recommended by AMVETS over 3 years ago.

6. The Hoover Commission inhumanely ignores the fact that of the 65,000 non-service-connected cases in VA hospitals, 40,000 are neuropsychiatric cases, 13,000 are TB cases, and the vast majority of others are chronic cases such as cancer, heart trouble, sugar diabetes, etc. And the Hoover Commission had this information right before it when it wrote its report.

7. The Hoover Commission extensively refers to isolated quotes from a General Accounting Office report of 1952 which is detrimental to the VA medical program. It then deliberately fails to quote likewise from a more recent report of the House Veterans Affairs Committee which showed the GAO report to be fallacious in almost every extent.

8. The Hoover Commission says that national veterans' organizations are opposed to goldbricking. It fails to say that extensive surveys by those same organizations conclusively proved that goldbricking is almost nonexistent in VA hospitals.

The Hoover Commission recommends periodic review of veterans' disability compensation claims, leaving the erroneous impression that such reviews are not now made.

10. The Hoover Commission recommends the closing of some Veterans' Administration hospitals. It also recommends no new construction. It falls to even humanely indicate where this Nation should place the veteran patients, service connected and non-service connected alike, presently in those hospitals.

RUFUS H. WILSON, National Commander, AMVETS.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Star has confidence in the findings of two Hoover Commissions and their task forces regarding needed reforms in the veterans' health and hospitalization programs. Its editorial and cartoon were based largely on those findings. After further inquiry as to points raised in Mr. Wilson's letter, the Star stands on its editorial position that the Hoover Commission has revealed "much that needs correction" in the field of Federal health and medical services.)

A Highly Successful Kansas Farm Family

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MYRON V. GEORGE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD an article published in the Sunday, March 13, Kansas City Star.

The Kansas delegation had the privilege the fore part of this week of entertaining their 10 master farmers selected by the Kansas Farm Bureau. I wish to call attention to the accomplishments of Roy Neher, Oswego, Kans., and his family. They typify the high standard of farm families with which Kansas is blessed. This story from the Star briefly outlines some of the accomplishments of this highly successful family:

Joins Sons as Winner—Oswego, Kans. Man Takes Share of Honor as Farm Expert— As Result, Roy Neher, Who Has Been Successful Leader of Young People, Gets Trip to Capital

Osweco, Kans., March 12.—Because he had helped his four sons and many neighbor boys win outstanding recognition for themselves, Roy Neher of Oswego is enjoying a prize—a trip to Washington.

It began 13 years ago when Mr. Neher's oldest son, Dean, brought home a pure bred Guernsey helfer as a 4-H project. Soon Roy Neher had stocked his farm with pure bred Guernsey cattle, and had become an active 4-H club leader. His wife was a coleader and the four sons active members.

ALL TO M'PHERSON

Mr. and Mrs. Neher had become acquainted as students at McPherson college, so the sons attended there. Dean graduated, spent 1 year in Europe as an agricultural adviser, and now is working toward a Ph. D. degree in physics at the University of Chicago on a Danforth Foundation fellowship.

Gerald, the Neher's second son, graduated from McPherson, did advanced work in agriculture at Cornell, and in Bible at the seminary of the Church of the Brethren in Chicago. He is now serving as a missionary in Nigeria, Africa. Both Dean and Gerald are licensed ministers.

THIRD SON IN TURKEY

Lyle completed 2 years at McPherson, and is now spending a year as an agricultural adviser in Turkey. He has won local honors as a cattle judge and is recognized as an authority on Guernsey cattle.

Doyle will graduate from the Oswego high school this spring and will enter McPherson next fall. He, too, is an expert cattle judge.

While his sons were getting advanced training and winning honors for themselves, Mr. Neher was getting more training and winning honors for himself, such as Labette County dairyman of the year; president of the Kansas Guernsey Breeders Association, 1953 and 1954; member of the Labette County extension board; and owner of the cow ranking first in dairy production in Kansas.

THREE PHASES OF HONOR

Mr. Neher's trip was won on three units of work: family life, community activities, and farm management. His community work included 4-H club leadership, member of the Oswego school board, and an elder in

the Church of the Brethren at McCune, Kans

His farm accomplishments were soil improvement, livestock improvement in quality and production, improvement in poultry, improved buildings and work in artificial insemination of dairy cattle.

During his trip to Washington, Neher will

During his trip to Washington, Neher will visit with his Congressmen and hopes to visit with President Eisenhower.

Those U. N. Awards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, the question was raised in this body earlier this week as to what funds were used by the United Nations to pay indemnities, amounting to approximately \$180,000, to a group of former American employees of the U. N. who were fired after they invoked the fifth amendment on questions concerning their loyalty to the United States.

I have made a rather extensive investigation of this matter, Mr. Speaker, not only to determine how and why these awards were made, but also to determine how they were paid and whether the indemnities would be regarded by the Internal Revenue Service as damages, in which case they would be tax free, or as income, in which case they would be taxable. Finally, I made inquiries to determine whether, if the indemnities were regarded as income, the United Nations would then pay the State and Federal taxes due on them. As members of this body know, United States employees of the U. N. are reimbursed for all income taxes they pay to the United States Government, and to the New York State government, so that, for all practical purposes, their salaries are tax free. In lieu of taxes to our own Government, however, they contribute to the U. N. Staff Assessment Fund, and it was from this fund that these awards were paid. Since the awards range from \$6,000 to \$40,000, the State and Federal taxes on them would be substantial. My inquiries have established, in brief, that first, the Internal Revenue Service has held that the awards are income, and therefore taxable; and secondly, that the United Nations will not pay the taxes thereon.

I should like to add this further word, Mr. Speaker. In my judgment, the disposition of these loyalty cases constitutes a shabby blot on the U. N. escutcheon. In firing, and then rewarding these individuals, the U. N. pursued completely contradictory courses. It could not have been right on both counts. Either these people were loyal, in which case a great injustice has been done to them; or they were disloyal, in which case they should never have received these handsome indemnities.

The size of the awards is, of course, unimportant. The principles involved go to the very foundations of our concepts of equity and justice.

I am certain the Members of this body will be interested in the exchange of correspondence I have had on this matter with our Ambassador to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., and with Commissioner T. Coleman Andrews, of the Internal Revenue Service. It is appended herewith:

DECEMBER 6, 1954.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, Jr.,

United States Ambassador to the United Nations, New York, N. Y.

Nations, New York, N. Y. DEAR CABOT: I note in the press that our Government has agreed to pay the awards made by the United Nations Administrative Tribunal to 11 United States citizens who were former employees, and that the awards will be paid from the staff assessment fund. This letter is to request further data with respect to this matter; namely, (1) a copy of the statement made by Senator FULBRIGHT agreeing to the awards; (2) a copy of the resolution jointly sponsored by the United States and Argentina with respect to the creation of a board of judicial review, with, presumably, appellate jurisdiction over the Administrative Tribunal; (3) a report on the status of the resolution and the steps through which it will have to pass before such a board is actually established; (4) data about the staff assessment fund-what it is; who contributes to it; how contributions are made; is it voluntary or compulsory; and what the fund is used for. press reports that the fund is a United Nations tax levied on all employees' salaries in lieu of the national income taxes, and that the special indemnity fund is to be carved out of this, and maintained at a level of \$250,000. Have the U. N. employees agreed to this, and if so, what contingencies other than the dismissal of the 11 Americans have persuaded them to the creation and maintenance of such a fund? Finally, I should be grateful for a clarification of the tax status of U. N. employees, vis-a-vis their respective countries. It was my understanding that their income taxes were remitted to them by the U. N., but the press reference to U. N. taxes in lieu of national income taxes raises some question in my mind about the status of these employees.

This is rather a large order, but I know you agree that the matter is rather far-reaching in its implications, and I am therefore anxious to secure as much data as possible with respect to it.

With kindest personal regards to your good self. I am

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,

Member of Congress.

NEW YORK, N. Y., December 22, 1954. Hon. Harold C. Osteriag,

United States House of Representatives.

Dear Harold: This is in further reply to your letter of December 6 concerning the United Nations Administrative Tribunal awards question which was before the United Nations General Assembly.

Final action on the matter was completed by the General Assembly at its closing plenary session on December 17, and I am now in a position to give you a full report on it.

The resolution passed by the Assembly on this matter on December 17 (copy enclosed) represents the culmination of vigorous efforts made in compliance with House Concurrent Resolution 262, which (a) called upon the United States delegation to "take all possible steps to prevent the General Assembly of the United Nations from authorizing or approving the payment" of awards made 2 years ago to 11 Americans, and (b) provided that the United States "should not be compelled to contribute any of its funds" in payment of these awards and "that no part of the funds heretofore

appropriated, or hereafter appropriated by the Congress for the United Nations shall be used for the payment of such awards."

The record is clear that all possible steps were taken within existing legal procedures to prevent the payment of these awards. These steps commenced, of course, long before the passage of the House concurrent resolution. The United States delegation fought against the payment of the awards throughout the eighth session of the General Assembly. The State Department's Legal Adviser fought before the International Court of Justice to establish the legal right of the Assembly to refuse to pay the awards. Finally, after the International Court denied that right in its opinion of July 13, 1954, so that payment became inevitable, the United States delegation to the ninth session of the Assembly continued to maintain the position that the awards were unjust and indeed outrageous and that the opinion of the International Court of Justice, though it should be respected, was erroneous

Thus, all possible means of opposition to the awards—except outright defiance of the opinion of the International Court—were used in a fight carried on over 2 years. Outright defiance of the opinion of the International Court would clearly have left the United States standing almost alone on the issue and would have resulted in the payment of the awards from appropriated funds contrary to the intent of the House concurrent resolution.

With reference to that intent, the majority leader of the Senate speaking on August 20, 1954, said that the resolution "does not go to the point that United Nations funds from other sources should not be used for such payment of damages, but that funds appropriated by the American Congress, from the American taxpayers, should not be used in this particular type of situation."

Accordingly, the United States delegation, having exhausted all efforts to defeat payment of the awards completely, made certain that the awards would not be financed from funds heretofore or hereafter appropriated by the Congress. It saw to it that a special fund was set up financed from staff assessment—the internal United Nations tax on its employees—from which past and future awards would be paid. The creation of this fund was bitterly attacked by the Soviet bloc, which alone opposed it in the plenary session.

The United States delegation then went further-beyond the directive of the House resolution-to assure that in the future the administrative tribunal would not have the last word in making awards such as those made to the 11 Americans. It carried on a long and difficult, but finally successful, fight to establish the principle that awards of the tribunal should be subject to judicial review. Though this principle was defeated in committee, it finally won acceptance in the plenary, and action to establish the review procedure will be taken by the next session of the Assembly after thorough study is given to the matter by a special committee. Of course, the United States will be represented on this committee.

The General Assembly resolution of December 17 as a whole—including the establishment of the special fund and the provisions for judicial review—represents a real victory for the United States and a defeat for the Soviet bloc. The resolution as a whole was approved 52 to 5, with only the Soviet bloc opposed.

An important element in this victory was the fact that the United States was able to make clear its opposition to the opinion of the International Court of Justice and at the same time avoid the necessity of insisting that the Assembly disregard it. As you know, one of our strongest weapons in exploiting Soviet propaganda and motives is,

from time to time, to challenge them to submit specific issues to the International Court for decision. Their inability to accept such a challenge constantly exposes to the world the true nature of their charges and actions. Had we not been able to secure the adoption of the resolution of December 17 and had we found it necessary to insist that the Assembly refuse to comply with the opinion of the Court, we would have lost this very important weapon against the Soviets.

Now, let me reply to your requests for

specific data:

(1) I am enclosing copies of three statements made by Senator FULBRIGHT on this matter. The first was made in committee on December 3, when the original United States-Argentine resolution was introduced. The second was made in committee on December 9 after the committee voted to accept an amendment to the United States cosponsored resolution which struck out the acceptance of the principle of judicial review. The third was made in the plenary on December 17 in support of the United States cosponsored amendment to restore the judicial review principle. This amendment carried and is embodied in the final resolution.

Also enclosed is a copy of the statement made by Senator SMITH on December 9 in support of the United States cosponsored

resolution.

(2) I am enclosing copies of the original United States-Argentine proposal (A/C.5/L. 317), the resolution adopted by the committee on December 16, and the resolution voted by the plenary on December 17.

(3) I have already covered the question of the status of the resolution. The steps provided for the creation of the judicial review machinery are spelled out in the resolution of December 17.

(4) The provisions for the creation of a new special indemnity fund from staff assessment proceeds are contained in part "O" of the enclosed resolution of Decem-

The staff assessment fund is derived from an internal income tax levied by the United Nations on its employees. Payment of the assessment is compulsory. The plan was adopted some years ago by the Assembly for two reasons. The first was to avoid the inequality of take-home pay of Secretariat employees which would result if they were subject to varying systems of national income taxation. To meet this situation, it was recommonded to governments that they exempt their citizens employed by the United Nations from national taxation; and, in anticipation that this would be done, it was provided that there be substituted an internal income tax applying equally to all Secretariat employees. The second reason for the establishment of a staff assessment plan was the recognition that it was undesirable for United Nations employees to be a tax-free group of individuals, a situation which would result if they were exempted from national taxation.

The proceeds of staff assessment have been treated as miscellaneous income of the Organization and are at the disposal of the General Assembly to meet expenses of the Organization. Thus, the consent of the staff is not required. The Secretary General has proposed for study by member governments a plan whereby staff assessment proceeds would be placed in a special fund from which credits would be given only to those governments which have exempted their citizens from national taxation.

Of the governments whose nationals are employed by the United Nations within the boundaries of their home countries, the United States is the only one which has failed to provide exemption from national taxation. To avoid a situation in which Americans employed by the United Nations

would be subject to double taxatlon—staff assessment plus United States income tax—the United Nations has each year reimbursed to these Americans the income tax paid by them to the United States. Other member governments have, of course, been most unhappy about this situation because it has resulted in their contributing to the payment of United States income taxes. It is for this reason that the Secretary General has made the proposal mentioned above concerning the handling of staff assessment proceeds in the future.

I hope I have covered all the various questions you had in mind. If not, please do not hesitate to call upon me for further infor-

mation.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Jr.,

United States Representative
to the United Nations,

United States Treasury Department,
Washington, D. C., February 8, 1955.
Hon. Harold C. Ostertag,
House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Osterrac: This is in reply to your letter of January 5, 1955, in which you request information concerning the treatment, for Federal income tax purposes, of amounts approved by the United Nations General Assembly for payment to a group of 11 Americans whose employment with the United Nations was terminated after they refused to answer questions concerning their lovalty.

Information available to us indicates that in each case a claim was presented for salary, remedial relief, and reimbursement of legal costs. In making the awards consideration was given to the extent to which each applicant had expectation of continued employment by taking into account the terms and nature of the contract of employment and evaluating the applicant's chances of earning a livelihood after separation from the United Nations.

Section 61 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 provides a general definition of gross income which states that except as otherwise provided in the Internal Revenue Code, gross income means all income from whatever source derived, including, but not limited to, compensation for services, fees, commissions, and similar items. Section 22 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1939 was to the same effect.

It is our opinion that the awards are compensatory in nature and that the amount thereof, in each case, is includible in the gross income of the recipient for the year in which such amount was received.

The legal fees expended by each of the individuals concerned are deductible in the year in which such fees are paid in accordance with the provisions of section 212 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 and section 23 (a) (2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1939.

Very truly yours,
T. Coleman Andrews,
Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

New York, N. Y., February 14, 1955. Hon. Harold C. Osterrag,

House of Representatives.

DEAR HAROLD: Thank you for your letter of February 9 and the enclosure.

I have looked into the question which you raise and can assure you that the United Nations will not pay the Federal income tax on the awards.

With best wishes and kind personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Jr., United States Representative to the United Nations. Pan Americanism and Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I should like to include the following address by Arthur E. Tarantino, Esq., at American Legion Club, Seat Pleasant, Md., February 21, 1955:

PAN AMERICANISM AND THE PART PLAYED BY THE MERCHANT MARINE IN THE DEVELOP-MENT OF IT

(Address by Arthur E. Tarantino, counsel in the Office of General Counsel, U. S. Maritime Administration, Washington, D. C.)

When the invitation to talk before you was extended to me by Mrs. Plumley, I accepted it gratefully, because I could see no better way to thank the American Legion for the public support it has given to the American merchant marine than to come here before you and acknowledge it publicly.

No other group of citizens who have been so closely tied by experience to the national defense demands of the Nation has ever appreciated and acknowledged the dependence of the Armed Forces of the United States upon the American merchant marine as has the Amercan Legion. To my mind and recollection, the American Legion has been most vocal and articulate in bringing before the American public the complete dependence of our armed services upon the merchant marine. After all, who is more qualified to express an opinion in this regard than the men of the American Legion: we fought two major wars on foreign soil and you know how our men and supplies got there.

The topic selected for my talk this evening is pan Americanism and the part played by the merchant marine in the development of it. This might well have been changed to the American merchant marine and the part played by pan Americanism in the development of it, since more than 90 percent of the foreign commerce of the Americas is carried by sea.

With every step in the advancement of pan Americanism there has been corresponding progress in the solution of the problems concerning marine transportation between the countries involved.

The first efforts toward setting up an understanding among the American Republics were made by Simón Bolivar. The first conference of independent American countries was held in 1826. Originally, the most important concern of the countries taking part was to find some kind of common defense in case of war. The first practical application of the theory of western hemispherical integrity of international consequence was issued by President Monroe when he uttered the theory of the Monroe Doctrine and proclaimed that the American Continents were "henceforth not to be considered as subject for future colonization by European powers."

After the 1864 conference, members devoted most of their efforts to simplifying the rules of international law. However, it wasn't until 1889 that real progress commenced to be made. At that time, the first conference to include all the independent nations of the Western Hemisphere was held in Washington, D. C.

One of the chief accomplishments of the 1839 conference was the creation of the Pan American Union. From that time on, most of the discussions were about trade and commerce.

The Pan American Union is the permanent body of the International Conferences of the American States. As such, it prepares the program and regulations of conferences, helps to get treaties and other agreements ratified, and carries out resolutions passed by the conferences.

The Pan American Conferences have done a great deal toward promoting understanding and cooperation among the American Republics. For quite some time, the South American countries had looked upon Uncle Sam with suspicion. They felt that the "giant from the north" wanted only to win profits and economic advantages from the countries of the south.

However, in 1933, with the announcement of the good-neighbor policy, this attitude was changed considerably and events subsequent to that showed that the United States really believed in the good-neighbor policy.

The first Inter-American Maritime Conference was held in the Pan American Union, in the city of Washington, in 1940 for the purpose of bringing about a better understanding on the part of all the delegates concerning the nature and scope of the maritime and related problems of the Western Hemisphere, and the factual considerations underlying such problems. That conference was not only successful in bringing about such an understanding but it also succeeded in promulgating practical proposals for continued cooperative study of the existing and future problems of the maritime industry.

Recommendations coming out of the Inter-American Conferences not only advanced the interest of international relations but also promoted the cause of maritime transportation.

For example, with respect to tourist travel—it was the manifest feeling on the part of many of the delegates that, in the interest of international relations, everything practicable should be done by the various Governments to bring about a more widespread acquaintance of the peoples of the various nations with each other, especially by promoting tourist travel. How better can tourist travel be promoted than by encouraging the construction and operation of more passenger vessels in such quantities and at such cost as would make ocean travel available to all citizens?

With respect to ocean freight rates—proposals submitted by the delegates, in the main, had as their objective the bringing about a reduction of rates on particular routes or in particular areas, the fixation of rates on prescribed bases, or the regulation of rates by national or international governmental agencies.

Although it is recognized that any commission on maritime services of an international character could possess no direct authority over rates and fares, how better could the United States accept the proposals than to give impetus to the maritime conference systems as approved by the Shipping Act of 1916, as amended? This act did not bar maritime conferences; it affirmatively established their legality and gave to the then Shipping Board the power to exempt such conferences from the antitrust laws of the United States. Steamship agreements and conferences are not confined to the lines engaging in the foreign trade of the United They are as universally used in the foreign trade of other countries as in our own.

Maritime conferences were conceived not for the purpose of enabling a group of lines to dominate a trade but in order that steamship lines might not destroy each other.

Conferences are not solely for the benefit of the shipowner. To the merchant the conference means stability of rates and assurance of regular, frequent, and dependable service; it also means equality of treatment

for all shippers, large and small, to a degree which could not be accomplished by legislation.

Conferences undeniably act as a brake upon rates. However, it must be borne in mind that this brake acts not only to prevent the decline of rates to ruinous levels during times of shipping depressions but also checks the rise of freight rates during emergency periods. A review of the freight rates shows that nonconference carriers who previous to the war were cutting the rates of conference lines charged rates much higher than the conference shipowners at the first available opportunity. Further, charter rates which were not subject to conference control were advance proportionately many times greater than the conference rates.

Experience since World War II, immediately before the Korean War, and immediately after the Korean War, had indicated that it is the nonconference carrier who is the cause for high and low fluctuations in ocean-freight rates.

ocean-freight rates.

The principle of the conference system as it exists in the United States foreign trade, briefly, is that through conferences shipowners of many nationalities are permitted to take common or join action in order to prevent destructive competition which would destroy their services and stability of rates which are so essential to the orderly conduct of trade. This principle is not applicable to nonconference members and as a result they are exposed to destructive competition which cannot be prevented. The Federal Maritime Board, as successor to the United States Shipping Board, supervises the activities of the conferences to see that the powers which they are permitted to use are not abused, and as a result the public interest is protected.

Ocean shipping is an integral part of foreign relations, since it is essential to the international exchange of goods. The desirability of maintaining adequate ocean transportation facilities for the implementation of the cultural, economic, and political contacts between the American Republics is axiomatic.

The impact of the use of the mercantile marine as a means of carrying American prestige abroad was brought home to the United States in 1936 when President Roosevelt, in the midst of his good-neighbor policy, attended an inter-American conference in Buenos Aires and was literally shocked to see the poor quality of United States flagships serving South America's east coast, and on his return to Washington he ordered the then Maritime Commission to place at the head of its program the establishment of a first-class liner service between our Atlantic coast and South America's east coast. The President realized the meaning of United States prestige as reflected in its ocean ship-We were trying to impress our Latin-American friends, yet we were showing ships far behind those of other nations. Our ships are our ambassadors and throughout the world, not only in South America, we impress, or we fail to impress, as we show ourselves.

The result of President Roosevelt's order was the establishment of our good-neighbor fleet in 1938, and it was fortunate we started that service because the war came and the need of the solidifying action of the Americas was tremendous. We should have been in a sorry position if we had not had good friends south of the border. Europe was cut off as a travel center, so our South American ships carried thousands of travelers to Latin America.

Residents of the United States travel extensively, and through travel gain much from the contacts they make with the people of other nations. Travel, like trade, is based upon mutual gain, whether the gain is material or cultural in essence. Travel brings

people together, permitting the interchange of ideas, and helps promote understanding between different cultures. It enables the residents of one nation to appreciate much more fully and to understand more completely the psychological factors that tend to differentiate the ideas and the customs of other people as compared with their own.

The main artery to the pan-American trade and travel lies in the Republic of Panama, to whom we are indebted for that strip of land 10 miles wide in which we have built the Panama Canal.

Panama is the youngest republic in the Western Hemisphere. It is the Isthmus of Panama which joins the Americas. Panama has been a thoroughfare for many hundreds of years. It is not only the crossroad of ocean traffic, but is a center of air travel as well. Although it is about the size of the State of Maine, it contains the greatest canal ever built by man.

The Panama Canal is the great factor in the economic life of Panama. It brings substantial revenue to the republic through purchases made by people connected with the canal, and it draws tourists from all parts of the world. It saves every ship going from the Atlantic to the Pacific at least the 7,873 extra miles which it would have to sail if it went from ocean to ocean by the usual route around the Strait of Magellan.

Some interesting statements concerning the Panama Canal are as follows:

1. The canal runs from a northwesterly to a southeasterly direction. Ships leave the canal and enter the Pacific at a point about 20 miles east of where they enter on the Atlantic side.

2. Two hundred and forty million cuble yards of earth were excavated to build the canal. A wall 5 feet thick and 10 feet high could be built around the world with all this

3. More than 5 million cubic yards of mud is dredged from the canal each year to keep the channels clear.

 A hyacinth patrol is maintained every year which pulls out and destroys over 25 million water hyacinths yearly to keep the channels open.

5. The width of the locks is the determining factor in deciding the breadth of certain vessels which when constructed will have occasion to be used in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

The Panama Canal is the cord which ties Pan Americanism together, north, south, east, and west. It is the instrument which has made it possible for our mercantile houses to contribute substantially and permanently, to the economy of the South American countries. The resultant growth of South American industry has increased the demands for American products-all available for delivery by our mercantile marine. In this matter the United States faces the competition of Europe. However, to the extent that our shipping handles the cargoes and other commercial traffic, this Nation stands to strengthen its Pan American ties. Our national defense as well as our commercial well-being depends upon our success in this.

As confirmation of this, the last Economic Conference held by the 21 member nations of the Pan American Union near Rio de Janeiro, November 22-December 2, 1954, after realizing that the Americas have not fully utilized the great potential of maritime transportation available to it, demonstrated its great interest in, and appreciation of, the importance of maritime transportation to their economies by urging the American Republics, as a matter of inter-American policy, to cooperate in the improvement, development, and most efficient operation of their transportation facilities.

In addition, the conference uttered a declaration of maritime policy to the effect "that it is the policy of the American Repub-

lics that their national merchant marines, composed of vessels flying their flags, transport a substantial part of their foreign trade."

The members of the Pan American Union, like the American Legion, were fully aware of their dependence on the merchant marine in time of emergency and in testimonial thereof has asked that a study by the member nations be undertaken to determine the greatest possible coordination of the transportation facilities of the Americas in time

Thank you for your interest, and good night.

Perilous Tax Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article entitled "Perilous Tax Plan," which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat on Monday, March 14, 1955:

PERILOUS TAX PLAN

If the Senate approves this week the Democratic compromise tax cut plan it will be making a moral decision that is a good deal more important than the revenue involved. It will be saying in effect there need be no limit whatever on capricious politics-playing. It will be saying broken promises or damage to the business economy need never inhibit the lawmakers' bare-faced scramble for votes.

No observer misses the fact the proposed \$20 or \$10 individual cuts are aimed primarily at freeing up to 5 million low-income persons of all Federal income taxes. compromise version would recoup the Treasury's revenue loss by repealing last year's slight reduction in corporate and dividend taxes and a new corporate depreciation allowance schedule.

Consider these points: What becomes of the ability-to-pay and broad-base theories of taxation if it is fair to excuse several million from paying any taxes whatever? Even if the lowest brackets pay no more than \$5 each, is it wise in the long run to create a group of voters who are totally indifferent to the mounting cost of Government?

The 1954 tax overhaul bill was the result of years of study. Is it to be immediately hacked to pieces by political whimsey and

vote-grabbing?

The new depreciation law led many firms to plan plant expansions, to borrow money, to undertake long-range programs. What of the injury done these job-providers when Congress reverses itself. The day business and investors become too dubious of Congress' tax law integrity to expand, on that day will unemployment and an economic downslide begin to mushroom. The proposal for a longer extension of corporate and excise rates increases those doubts.

The dividend reversal completes the picture of tax-law venality. Though that change, last year, primarily favored thou-sands of little stockholders and pensioners, it had to go too-else how could the Democrats recreate the hoary political myth that "evil big business" and "bloated stockholders" can and should pay the cost of freehanded government?

It is to be hoped there is enough real statesmenship in Congress to squeich this trend toward unabashed political tinkering with the basic tax laws on whose dependability a health economic system must be able to rely.

Dixon-Yates: Now You See It, Now You Don't-Misrepresentation of Newspapers' Opinion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, for a long time now, interested parties behind the nefarious Dixon-Yates contract have been attempting to purify it in the minds of the public. The most recent attempt has been a brochure prepared by a highpowered New York public relations firm, which contains numerous editorials and reports from news columnists purporting to be in defense of the contract. I am not able to say just how many of these carefully selected editorials definitely state the final opinions and views of either the newspapers or the news writers, but I can point out at least one definite misrepresentation of a newspaper's position. To do this, I include herewith an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of Saturday, March 12, 1955.

If the sponsors of the Dixon-Yates contract had desired to be fair in the presentation of their case, the brochure should have contained a sampling of editorial opinion not all weighted in favor of Dixon-Yates. In taking the Post-Dispatch as an example, the publicrelations experts chose one editorial which complimented the mechanics of Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates in a presentation on a TV program Meet the Press, but which expressed no opinion of the Dixon-Yates contract. The public relations experts made no mention in their elaborate 23-page brochure of the very frequent editorials in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch criticizing the many defects in the Dixon-Yates contract and expressing the opinion of the newspaper on the manner of execution of this contract.

The editorial from the Post-Dispatch follows:

Now You SEE IT, Now You Don't

We are in receipt of a 23-page brochure from the public relations firm of Hill & Knowlton, in New York City, headed "Editorial Views on the Atomic Energy Commission's Contract for Electric Power with the Mississippi Valley Generating Co. (Dixon-Yates)." The brochure contains editorials from 29 newspapers, columns by Roscoe Drummond and Dorothy Thompson, and a news story from Time magazine.

One of the 29 newspapers represented in the brochure is the Post-Dispatch. The editorial which Messrs. Hill & Knowlton have chosen to represent the Post-Dispatch's views is entitled "Meet the Dixon-Yates" and was printed last December 6.

In this editorial we said that Edgar H. Dixon and Eugene A. Yates turned in a good performance in their appearance on the TV program Meet the Press. We expressed no opinion of the Dixon-Yates contract.

In some 40 other editorials this newspaper has dealt with that contract point by point as the controversy has developed. We have criticized its execution by Presidential flat, its negotiation in secrecy, its lack of competitive bidding, its extravagant cost, its intrusion of the executive branch of government upon the legislative branch, its ill effects upon independent agencies (principally AEC and TVA), its threat to the entire public power program nationally, etc.

Not a word from any one of these two-

score editorials was chosen by Dixon-Yate's public relations firm to represent the Post-Dispatch's editorial views on the contract. Sweet are the uses of public relations.

The Spirit of St. Patrick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES G. DONOVAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. DONOVAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following editorial by Harry H. Schlacht entitled "The Spirit of St. Patrick," published in the East Side News in New York City on Saturday, March 12, 1955:

THE SPIRIT OF ST. PATRICK (By Harry H. Schlacht)

Next Thursday, March 17, is St. Patrick's Day.

It will be a great day for the Irish.

All honor and glory to them. For on that day we shall weave the Sham-

rock into a garland of glory for Emerald Isle. It is the land with the heart of a child and the smile of a god.

It is the country of scholars, the abode of poetry, and the nursery of liberty.

It is the cradle of heroes, the home of martyrs, and the isle of the immortal saint. Scattered o'er the world are the children

of Erin-

Who will dwell upon the charms of Killarney's lakes and falls,

Who will speak of the refreshing waters of Shannon,

Who will hear the melody of the harp ring through Tara's hall,

Who will recall the music of the pipers in the hush of twilight. Who will feel the warmth of the crackling

fire on a winter's night. St. Patrick wrote the narrative of his life

on the tablets of human hearts. The touch of nature made him akin to all

the world.

He preached the gospel of Christianity and taught among the hills and dales.

He made the highways and byways his pulpit.

He would illustrate the principles of the Trinity by plucking a shamrock from the roadside and using the three leaves on the one stem to symbolize his religious concepts.

For the shamrock is the symbol of unity, and marks the union of one God and the

three divine persons.

For more than 1,400 years the Irish people have held aloft for all the world to see the torch of liberty and spiritual freedom lit by the illustrious St. Patrick.

The Irish are ardent believers in tolerance. They typify such virtues as faith, hope, and charity.

They bring everywhere love of and bellef in God.

They are the stalwart champions of the democratic way of life.

They spurn every form of human enslavement.

They give strength and vitality to our Nation.

They have made the principles enunciated in our Declaration of Independence living and vibrant things.

Conspicuous are the pages of our country's history with their deeds and courage.

They have fought through the centuries on a thousand blood-bought battlefields and have crimsoned the seven seas.

The Bible says: "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Let us with pride and joy call the roll of

honor. The Irish fought gallantly under Gen. George Washington in the War for Inde-

pendence. They fought, too, for the preservation of the Union under General Meagher at the

battle of Fredericksburg. They were at the Alamo in Texas and at Custer's last stand at Little Bighorn in

Montana. And our casualty lists have been sprinkled

with her martyred sons. Yes, the fighting Irish have added new glory to Old Glory as fighters for freedom

on the flaming fighting frontiers. While we applaud the achievements of the Irish in war, in diplomacy, in commerce, in the arts and letters, yet none has been more glorious than the accomplishments of the Irish women in the gentle virtues of mercy,

May God bless them for their loveliness, their radiant charm, beneath which lies the steadfastness of the oak caressed by the beauty of a budding flower whose fragrance rises to greet the morning sun.

Who has not been thrilled by the Irish lullaby or the stirring tunes of When Irish Eyes Are Smilling, My Wild Irish Rose, and Mother Machree?

The greatest gift that ever came to the Irish people was the lovely spiritual mother.

There is no figure in all Irish annals which exemplifies so majestically, and yet so serenely, her love, her faith, and her patience. Generations of her children have gone

forth from the land of their birth under the benediction of her benign gaze. For in her eyes was the light of the day

and the warmth of the sun. She was the gold of all smiles and the salt

love, and motherhood.

of all tears. From her the Irish has imbibed the richness of soul that has made them equal to the tasks of the world.

May she ever remain enthroned in the

hearts of her children. So long as history shall record the story of St. Patrick's mission;

So long as the waters of the lovely Shan-

non shall gently flow to the sea;

So long as the beautiful lakes of the Killarney shall reflect upon their bosoms the blue vault of the heavens-

So long will men and women of the Irish race love their ancient isle, revere their saint, cherish the shamrock, and uphold the principles of national freedom and individual liberty.

Radio Station KSCO, Santa Cruz, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, in the early morning hours of Tuesday, March 8, fire completely destroyed the transmitting equipment of radio station KSCO in Santa Cruz, Calif. Every electrical circuit was rendered useless. Control panels, transformers, tubes, indeed, the entire complicated technical apparatus was burned to charred junk. Yet, within little more than 48 hoursin spite of the remoteness of this station from normal replacement supply sources-KSCO was back on the air to serve the public.

I believe that this is gratifying proof of the individual recovery potential in the face of sudden disaster. KSCO happens to be a regional key station in the CONELRAD setup, which is needed in times of war emergency. In spite of almost total destruction, the station managed to get back on the air with makeshift equipment, some of it flown in from as far as 3,000 miles away, in just 2 days.

Manager C. V. Berlin and his staff should be congratulated for proving that even grave disaster cannot for long keep us down, as long as the will is there to overcome it with all we have.

Local Service Airlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial entitled "North Central's Record," from Aviation Week magazine, issue of March 7, 1955:

NORTH CENTRAL'S RECORD BOOSTS FEEDER CAUSE

At a time when Congress is carefully studying the case for permanent certification of local-service airlines, the 1954 record of North Central Airlines under the leadership of Hal N. Carr should provide potent ammunition for champions of this type of air

North Central, with headquarters in Minneapolis, serves a network of prosperous manufacturing cities and trading centers in Minnesota, Illinois, Wisconsin, North Dakota, and Michigan with a fleet of 18 DC-3's. During 1953 it operated with a loss of \$114,588 and continued through the first third of 1934 with monthly losses ranging from \$50,000 to \$70,000 and drastic warnings from Civil Aeronautics Board ringing in its Hal N. Carr, formerly executive vice president and director, assumed the presidency on April 15, 1954, and in the remaining 8 months of 1954 organized a cost-cutting and revenue-boosting program that put North Central in the black with a \$170,653 operating profit for the year.

During 1954 North Central increased revenue passenger total by 30 percent; air mail by 12 percent; express by 20 percent; and doubled its charter business. During the first 2 months of Carr's regime, cost per plane mile dropped from \$1.24 to 96 cents. North Central flew 253,571 passengers during 1954 including a record December total of 22,929 in a season when only 10 years ago the midwestern weather used to discourage all but a few hardy air travelers.

COMMUTER SERVICE

North Central's record during 1954 proves there is a definite market for local service air transport when it is properly exploited. A good example is the Chicago-Milwaukee run where these 2 large midwestern cities lay less than 100 miles apart, linked for years by only a scant half-dozen flights daily when

they were dependent solely on trunk airline service. Now, North Central operates 32 flights daily between Milwaukee and Chicago. If the 18 passengers who were aboard on an early morning flight through a typical midwestern snowstorm when we used the service recently are typical examples, this is where a good chunk of Hal Carr's new revenue is derived-from a market in which the

trunk airlines were never really interested.
Addition of the Chicago-Detroit route to North Central's system should give Carr another opportunity to exploit commuter-type air service between two major midwestern cities and their business satellites in the southern Michigan-northern Indiana area. It will be interesting to watch North Central tackle this new problem.

Congressmen, members of CAB, and others interested in the future prospects of local service airlines should study carefully the 1954 record of North Central Airlines as an example of what can be done.

Overseas Air Cargoes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial, appearing in the March 14, 1955, issue of the New York Times on the operation of the Seaboard & Western Airlines. Mr. Raymond A Norden, the president of this airline, is a constituent of mine living in Jericho, N. Y .:

AIR POLICY DECISIONS

The transportation of overseas cargo by air is steadily increasing. The many American-flag and foreign-flag airlines that carry both passengers and cargo between New York and foreign airports welcomed a newcomer at Idlewild last week. It was the British-flag, all-cargo carrier, Airwork Atlantic.

This country's aviation industry hopes that the inauguration of this regular service, welcome as it is, may serve as a reminder to the White House staff that there are a number of crucial air-route questions awaiting Presidential action. One of the oldest cases still undecided is the Trans-Atlantic Cargo case which has been under consideration for more than 7 years and which has been at the White House since last summer.

Seaboard and Western Airlines filed its application for certification as an unsubsidized all-cargo carrier. It was denied once, and then reopened. Finally, with seventy-odd full days of hearings and a massive printed record of 8,600 pages behind it in this one case, the Civil Aeronautics Board last year accepted a trial examiner's recommendation for the certificate. The Board's recom-mendation was sent to the White House, where the President has the final word on air-route matters involving foreign services.

The airline meanwhile has been carrying on, under temporary authorization, its irregular but impressive services as an allfreight carrier across the Atlantic. But its operation must remain inadequate and its long-range planning must be held in abey-

ance so long as its right to fly is limited.

The long record in the case suffers by comparison with the speed with which the Airwork proposal was approved by United States authorities and was put into operation-all in 9 months, from the date of the initial application here to the moment the first plane touched the runway at Idlewild.

Rubber Plants Giveaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the rubber tycoons of the Nation are smacking their lips over a juicy melon they anticipate on securing from the Government for a song.

Drew Pearson, nationally known columnist, has drawn attention to this melon-patch raid in a series of Washington Merry-Go-Round articles released on March 6 and 16. Under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to insert Mr. Pearson's articles in the RECORD for my colleagues' attention as follows:

The first article on March 6 reads in part:

Washington.—It has been ignored in the congressional hoopla over pay raises and tax cuts, but the Nation's rubber tycoons are quietly waiting for another type of windfall from Uncle Sam—all wrapped up and ready for delivery in exactly 21 days.

The prize is 11 synthetic rubber plants, built by the Government at tremendous expense during World War II, but now about to be sold to private industry for a song.

For some time the rubber companies have cast a covetous eye on these profitable plants owned by the taxpayers. But now they won't have to wait much longer—due to a quirk of law and the anxiety of the Eisenhower administration to "get the Government out of business."

In exactly 3 weeks—on March 27—the synthetic plants will be sold at bargain prices to a group of private companies unless Congress intervenes to stop the transaction in the next 21 days. Strangest aspect of the deal is that a great majority of Senators and Representatives, busily occupied with the tax and pay-raise battles, are completely unaware of what is going on.

However, here are the facts:

The Rubber-Producing Facilities Disposal Commission, appointed by President Eisenhower to sell the Government's synthetic-rubber plants, sent a letter to Congress on January 27 outlining the bill of sale to Firestone, Goodyear, United States Rubber Co. (subsidiary of General Motors), Goodrich, Shell Oil, Phillips Petroleum, and others.

PROFITS FOR UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Under the law, the deal goes through 60 days later, or on March 27, unless either House of Congress adopts a disapproving resolution before the deadline. The proposed sale price for the 11 synthetic plants—about \$260 million—is far out of line with either their original cost or their current worth.

These factories made a profit of \$73 million for Uncle Sam a year ago. And with the Communists now in virtual control of Indochina and inching rapidly down toward the vital rubber areas of southeast Asia, many military men feel this is no time for the Government to abandon its rubber factories.

Incidentally, not one single small-business concern is among the preferred purchasers selected by the Rubber-Producing Facilities Disposal Commission to take over these plants. Besides the big rubber companies, the list includes Sears, Roebuck; Texas Oil, Armstrong Rubber, Anaconda Copper, Endictt Johnson, and the American subsidiary of Dunlop Tires, Ltd., of Great Britain.

Note.—Congressman Sm Yates, of Illinois, a member of the House Small Business Committee, is making last-minute moves to stop the sale.

On March 11 Mr. Pearson wrote as follows:

Washington.—Some of the facts lurking in the background of our synthetic rubber situation don't look good.

Despite this, the Eisenhower administration continues determined to turn the rubber factories, built at enormous expense to the taxpayer, over to the big rubber and oil companies. In fact, if Congress doesn't act, they automatically are sold on March 26.

they automatically are sold on March 26.

Here are some of the disturbing facts
which Congress ought to take a careful look
at:

Low stockpile: All Government press releases regarding synthetic rubber reserves have suddenly stopped. They used to be published once a month but none since January 20. Reason: The synthetic rubber reserve has dropped alarmingly. Though we're supposed to keep 60,000 tons on hand, today we have only 38,000 tons, which will drop to 28,000 by April 26. (The synthetic factories are to be sold on March 26, delivered April 26.)

Little companies squeezed: The rubber companies ordered a total of 61,000 tons of Government synthetic rubber for March, have other orders of 69,000 tons for April. Yet the factories will produce only 61,000 in March and 59,000 in April. On top of this, production will drop another 45,000 tons yearly after the factories are sold, because General Tire & Rubber hasn't made a deal with the Government to buy the Baytown, Tex., synthetic plant. This certain shortage means that little companies won't be able to buy after April.

Only 22 tire companies consume 72 percent of all synthetic rubber. Of these, the Big Four alone consume 60 percent. But there are scores of other companies needing rubber for other purposes which may not be able to buy it after April 26.

Bonanza for big business: Under the terms of the sale, private companies pay Uncle Sam \$260 million for the rubber factories. Meanwhile the factories are making an annual profit averaging about \$64 million. This means that if the United States Government kept the plants and ran them for 4 years, it would make as much profit as the purchase price.

Another way of putting it: The big boys who are buying the factories pay for them out of profits. In the end the factories cost nothing. It's a good deal if you can get it, and the companies will have it on March 26—unless Congress acts.

"Uncle Sap": Though the best rubber factories are being sold, "Uncle Sap" is keeping the most expensive to operate—at Institute, W. Va. This will be kept on a standby basis, because private industry won't buy it. In other words, the big boys are skimming the cream while "Uncle Sap" takes the curds.

Reds march on: Meanwhile the march of communism into southeast Asia, chief world source of natural rubber, continues.

The Formosa Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed

in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Must We Back Up Into a Corner?" which was published in the Charlotte (N. C.) Observer of Thursday, March 10, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MUST WE BACK UP INTO A CORNER?

Theoretically Anthony Eden might be right in his contention that tension in the Far East would be eased if Chiang Kaishek would give up the islands off the shore of China. In the words of a very wise man, however, we face a condition and not a theory. Looking at the cold, hard condition we find it impossible to agree with Mr. Eden,

Every retreat the West has made before Communist advances was going to ease tensions, but not one of them had that result. All such retreats have brought more tension, not less. We were going to ease tension by giving up the Tachens, but no sooner had those islands been evacuated than the attacks on Quemoy and Matsu began.

What is the publicly announced Communist objective? Not Quemoy, not Matsu, not any of the offshore islands, but Formosa. The smaller islands are just steppingstones to Formosa. If we delude ourselves that by giving up the outposts we assure the safety of the main bastion, then we have learned nothing about Communists in all of our dealings with them. We have learned nothing about strategy, and nothing about human nature.

Would President Eisenhower, as a military strategist, try to tell us that by surrendering Hawaii to an enemy we could assure the safety of the west coast?

But another issue is involved here, far more important than the immediate defense of Formosa. The reason for the change of leadership in Russia, the reason for suddenly dropping the coexistence line and adopting an aggressive policy was simply this: the West had retreated so many times before the Communist advance that they thought they had us on the run and now was the time to press that advantage.

Formosa was selected to test that theory. We have drawn back once from the Tachens. If we draw back again, the Reds will be convinced that they are right, that we are on the run, and hot pursuit will finish us.

Now, of all times, is the time to stand our ground. If we do stand, the Reds can't take Quemoy or Matsu or Formosa, and they know it. They will not risk their own destruction to prove it, for no proof is needed.

If we keep backing off, sooner or later we shall find ourselves in a corner.

Farmers and Small Business Would Be Hurt Under New Hoover Commission Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I take the floor this afternoon to commend and congratulate the gentleman from California, Mr. Chet Holdfield, for the splendid work he has performed as a member of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, generally known as the Hoover Commission.

Mr. Holffeld has contributed much to the public good by his alertness as a member of this Commission. I am confident that many of the reports from the Commission are in better form today as a result of the work of Mr. Hoover. I am certain that the public has been served well by Mr. Holffeld's determination to keep them informed as to the contents of the reports and as to their effect on the various segments of our economy.

The farmers of America and small business of America owe to Congressman HOLIFIELD a great debt of gratitude for his efforts in the past few days to make public, through his dissenting report, on the most recent of the Commission's activity calling for the reorganization of Government lending agencies. Congressman Holifield points out, effectively, how many of these recommendations will hurt the farmers and small businesses throughout the country. He has been consistent in calling to the attention of the American public the fact that the new Hoover Commission has gone beyond the scope intended by Congress and has taken to itself the role of policymaker, usurping the power of Congressman Holifield Congress. points out that if Congress should accept the Hoover Commission's recommendations on Government lending agencies we would, in effect, approve a new policy to enforce tighter agricultural credit, tighter credits on housing loans and small-business loans, and enforce re-strictions on the rural-electrification program.

All of these seem to me to be a back-door approach toward eliminating Government cooperation in programs assisting farmers, small business, and home owners. Add to these, thousands of veterans who would be unfavorably affected by other reports from the Hoover Commission.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include, herewith, an article on this subject, written by Thomas L. Stokes, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star March 15, 1955:

THE NEW HOOVER COMMISSION: HOLIFIELD POINTS OUT THAT REPORT CRITICAL OF AID TO FARMERS, SMALL BUSINESSMEN DIDN'T NOTE SUBSDIES TO INDUSTRY

An open secret around here is the way ex-President Herbert Hoover is seeking to change basic and long-established Government policies through the medium of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, of which he is chairman.

To any one familiar with Government agencies and their operations, this is made clear enough in the Commission's latest report to Congress this week which contains 48 recommendations affecting Federal lending agencies. But, to make it doubly sure that the public gets the story, it is explained at long last by a Democratic member of the Hoover Commission who also is a Member of Congress, Representative Cher Hollffild, of California.

He takes occasion to reveal what he considers a distorition of the Commission's job as laid down by Congress, about which he long has been disturbed, in the course of a minority report on Federal lending agencies in which he dissents from most of the recommendations. As he sees it, the recommendations which are designed to turn over financing now handled by many Government lending agencies to private banks,

point in the direction of tighter agricultural credit, a slowing down of housing construction, restrictions on the rural electrification program and limitation on other direct or indirect aids provided by the Federal Government.

In the Truman administration, when the Commission was created and Mr. Hoover was delegated to head it, the Commission limited itself to recommendations on ways of making the Government more efficient and its operations more economical—a mechanical, reorganizing job. Mr. Holl-pield thus tells the story of what has happened now:

"The Congress re-created the Hoover Commission to study the present organization and operation of the executive departments and agencies, with a view to better management and economy. I do not believe that the Congress wanted advice from the Commission on public policies of every sort.

"The Commission has construed its congressional mandate otherwise. This report indicates that the Commission is willing to roam far and wide in the field of public policy."

"No matter how wise and well-informed, the 12 Commission members cannot be expected to have more than a casual acquaintance with many of the complex issues posed by this report. The task-force study contributed little, in my opinion, to the deliberations of the Commission."

It is regarded of some significance that James A. Farley, another Commission member, issued a broad, if brief, statement of dissent to proposed policy changes. Though a member of the Roosevelt cabinet, which he left when he broke with President Roosevelt over a third term, Jim Farley never was regarded as a New Dealer, but conservative of viewpoint. He said:

"It is my opinion that this report fails to give adequate reasons for recommending changes in certain Government organizations, functions, and policies which have served a good purpose, especially in fields where private enterprise has failed to meet the needs. I refer particularly to the Farmers' Home Administration, the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Rural Electrification Administration, and the Export-Import Bank, although there are other agencies which this report has dealt with in a similar manner."

Dissents also came from two officials high in the administration and in the President's confidence. Attorney General Brownell objected to turning over REA to private bank financing. He and Arthur S. Flemming, Director of Defense Mobilization, could not go along with cutting off normal short-term export-import loans by the Export-Import Bank, or for reducing or abandoning urban planning and reserve of planned public works by the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

The 10-member task force on Federal lending agencies included four bankers, and its chairman was a partner in Price Waterhouse & Co., certified public accountants—Paul Grady. Mr. Holdfield thought it unfortunate that the Commission again used in the present study a "re-hash" of a report by Price Waterhouse for the first Hoover Commission that was severely criticized by important members of the previous Commission as reflecting a narrow accounting view of broad public policies.

The California Congressman also pointed out that while the Commission criticized subsidies in Government programs for farmers, homeowners, small businessmen and veterans, it said nothing about much more lavish subsidies to big manufacturers, publishing firms, ship operators, airline companies, and the like, or about "the hundreds of millions of dollars obtained by large companies as interest-free loans through the device of accelerated tax amortization." Compared with the latter, the former, he said, "pale into insignificance."

The Synthetic Rubber Industry Should Not Be Sold

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, Mr. E. Wayles Browne, Jr., appeared before the Armed Services Committee in opposition to the proposed sale of the synthetic rubber plants. Mr. Browne is not only a trained economist, but he has made a special study of our national rubber policy and his testimony is especially authoritative. His statement follows:

THE SYNTHETIC RUBBER INDUSTRY SHOULD NOT BE SOLD

My name is E. Wayles Browne, Jr.; my address is Bethesda, Md. I am an economist, and have been employed by the Federal Government as statistician or economist in the National Security Resources Board, the President's Materials Policy Commission, and other agencies. I have not been in the Government service for the past year. I speak as an individual, representing no one.

Recently I prepared an economic study of the national rubber policy. My conclusions are that the disposal program does not meet major criteria in the Disposal Act, and that it is not in the public interest to sell the synthetic rubber industry to the present prospective purchasers at this time for the proposed price of \$260 million.

The industry should not be sold, for four major reasons:

First. The combined price of \$260 million for the plants does not represent full fair value, as required by the act. The Government could confidently expect to recover more than \$260 million in the next 4 or 5 years through continued operation, at no increase in the price per pound of synthetic rubber.

The annual reports of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation have shown the following figures for profits and depreciation:

[In millions of dollars]

Fiscal year	Profits	Depre- ciation	Total
1951 1952 1953 1954	11. 9 16. 1 59. 9 42. 1	33.4 40.6 31.4 29.7	45, 3 56, 7 91, 3 71, 8
4-year total	130.0	135. 1	265. 1

It should be stressd that the RFC was not actively seeking to make profits in 1951 and 1952, and was forced to incur extraordinary expenses for reopening the alcohol butadiene and the Institute GR-S plant, and later placing the alcohol plants in standby, as well as using large quantities of high-cost alcohol butadiene.

The 1956 budget gives the following estimates for the present fiscal year, covering only 10 or 11 months prior to transfer.

[In millions of dollars]

Fiscal year	Profits	Depre- ciation	Total
1935	36.0	23.0	59.0

The present high level of GR-S output suggests that 1955 profits may be somewhat above the estimate of \$36 million.

Thus, in 4 years, the Government has received in profits and in recovery of capital through depreciation charges more money from operations than sale would bring in total. Continued Government operation over the next 4 or 5 years (assuming no major depression) can be expected to bring in more than \$260 million, at no higher price for the product than the present level of 23 cents per pound.

Against this, the disposal program would take 10 years to collect the purchase price. The financial plan recommended by the Disposal Commission calls for a total downpayment of \$128.5 million, slightly less than half the total price, with the balance payable in fairly equal installments until 1965.

The Disposal Commission, in its report to the Congress, stated that the sale price amounted to 99.2 percent of the appraised value of the plants (as adjusted), and 96.6 percent of "the unrecovered investment of the American people." These two comparisons are quite irrelevant. The going value of a profitable industry is certainly greater than the depreciated replacement value of the separate plants. The Commissioners, two bankers and a cotton broker, are reported to be sound, conservative businessmen. It seems highly doubtful that they would recommend selling a profitable private enterprise at a slight loss.

The valuation of an industry, as distinct from the valuation of a single plant, cannot be done solely on an engineering basis. The profitability of an industry depends upon the prices of the product, as well as the costs of production. The Disposal Commission has stated that it considered profitability, but it assumed continuation of the present prices. The Chairman of the Disposal Commission has admitted, however, in testimony this week, that the Commission has no assurance from the proposed purchasers that the prices will remain constant at present levels. The higher the price the greater the profitability and the greater the full fair value of

the industry.

Second. The taxpayers would not benefit from the sale, because they could expect to repay to the plant buyers the entire purchase price through higher prices for tires and other rubber products in the next few years. The demand for rubber, in economic terminology, is highly inelastic. In ordinary the customers continue to buy language. tires, baby nipples, rubber footwear, and other rubber products, in about the same quantity whether the prices go up or down. This is because such products are considered necessities, and have no close substitutes. If the industry is sold, the private owners could, and I believe would, raise the price of synthetic rubber. Natural rubber is now selling at about 30 cents per pound, 7 cents higher than the Government's price of 23 cents for both GR-S and butyl. Rubber products are so widely used and are so essential that the consumers and the taxpayers can be considered to be the same people. Public policy, therefore, requires that full consideration be given to the effect of disposal on the taxpayers as consumers; consideration cannot properly be limited to the direct effect upon the Treasury.

The demand for rubber products is well known to the industry to be inelastic. Prices for raw natural rubber have fluctuated violently in this century, from a peak of \$3 to a low of 3 cents per pound. Prices of rubber products have reflected these fluctuations in the price of the raw material, while consumption has been affected very slightly by such price changes. The consumption of rubber from 1919 to date has varied closely with the level of industrial production, with almost no regard for price.

almost no regard for price.

An inelastic demand is the perfect setup for monopoly, or for monopolistic practices by a few large competitors who dominate an industry. The economic term for such competition among the few is "oligopoly." For an oligopoly dealing with an inelastic de-

mand, the incentive to raise prices is almost irresistible.

In rubber, the situation at present is even better for the industry, and worse for the consumer. The present price of natural rubber is above 30 cents per pound. The gap between the Government's price of 23 cents for synthetic and the spot market for natural can be quickly closed—by raising the price of synthetic.

The outlook is for continued high demand for synthetic. The rubber industry has estimated 1955 consumption of natural and synthetic to be 1,330,000 long tons, just a fraction below the record of 1,338,000 tons in 1953. With manufacturers' preferences running more to synthetic than to natural, heavy consumption can easily result in higher prices for synthetic.

The Government's profit per pound of rubber sold, after all costs including research and standby maintenance, was 3.34 cents in fiscal year 1954, and 3.62 cents in 1953. The price of GR-S throughout fiscal 1953 and 1954 was 23 cents; the price of butyl was 20% cents in 1953, and 22 cents for almost all 1954. Butyl was raised to 23 cents at the beginning of the present fiscal year.

Assuming an average cost of 191/2 cents, and a profit of 31/2 cents per pound, at a price of 23 cents, and sales (including captive consumption) of no more than 650,000 tons, profits before taxes in private hands would amount to \$50 million. At an average price of 25 cents, profits would increase to \$80 million; at a price of 30 cents, profits in a single year would exceed \$150 million. While the distribution of costs under private ownership might differ from the present pattern. Government costs have included management fees to the operators equivalent to about three-fourths of a cent per pound. In private hands, these fees would be profits instead of costs amounting to another \$10 million or more.

It has been reported that two of the prospective GR-S plant purchasers have offered sales contracts at 23 cents, and a third has offered to sell at 25 cents. These reports would be fairly good news for the consumers if they could be taken as firm, long-term prices. The papers have not reported all the terms and other fine print in these contracts, however, and the suspicion arises that they be partly designed to facilitate obtaining the approval of the Congress in the present 60day period. While the outsider can only speculate on price policy, I would not expect to see prices for synthetic rubber maintained at this level in the face of rising demand and a natural rubber price level of 30 cents or

Third. Disposal would leave the Government with continuing expenses for maintenance of unsold plants and for fundamental research, without operating income to cover them. Maintenance on the Institute, W. Va., GR-S plant, and on the Louisville alcohol butadiene plant, is clearly essential as partial insurance against a future emergency. Such maintenance costs have not been published, but would probably exceed \$1 million per year for these two plants.

A report on rubber research was prepared for the Department of Defense early this year by the National Academy of Sciences. report stated that some \$40 million worth of fundamental and applied research will be required over the first 5 years after disposal. The panel estimated that private industry would carry about half this sum, in applied research, but probably would do almost no fundamental research. The report noted that fundamental research in synthetic rubber is urgently needed, and recommended that the Government finance it for about \$20 million. The RFC and the Federal Facilities Corporation have been supporting a research program at the rate of \$4 to \$5 million per The effect of disposal on the Government's research program, then, would be merely to remove the source of income to support it. Competitive research, sometimes mentioned as a major virtue of disposal, would seem to be valuable only to the private companies, but not to the Government and the taxpayers.

Fourth. Almost all of the major buyers of the plants, and a number of the lesser participants, have very unsatisfactory antitrust records. They have not been content to rely upon the economics of oligopolies. Instead, in their own words, according to a report on the Canadian 1953 antitrust case on tires "* * the companies replied that they were forced to band together for mutual protection during the depression."

From January 1937 to October 1952, the period covered by the charges in the case (to which they pleaded guilty), was an extremely long depression. This case involved the Canadian subsidiaries of the Big Four rubber companies plus subsidiaries and an affiliate of three other tire companies in the United States.

United States.

Congressman Celler's statement before the House Armed Services Committee covered in some detail the antitrust record of many of the proposed purchasers. Senator Douglas of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, requested Assistant Attorney General Barnes to have the Department of Justice submit for the Senate subcommittee record a similar statement. I will not, therefore, burden the record by referring to these cases individually.

I have examined these cases for their implications for the future economic conditions in the synthetic rubber industry, if the industry is sold under the present disposal plan. It is my conclusion that the disposal plan will not in fact "best foster the development of a free competitive synthetic industry."

The attention of the committee is invited to the Canadian experience with their Government-owned synthetic rubber industry. Their industry was built with Government money in 1942 and 1943, just as ours was, and the plants were operated under contract by the Canadian subsidiaries of much the same companies that have operated the plants in this country. After World War II, Canada invited bids for disposal of their plans, but found the bids unsatisfactorily low.

Polymer Corp. Ltd. (a Crown corporation similar to our Reconstruction Finance Corporation) gradually took over the actual operation of the plants, staffing them with Government employees, and ran the industry on a straight commercial basis. Manufacturers of rubber products in Canada were free to buy synthetics from Polymer Corp., or to use all natural rubber. (The Canadian Government did not continue wartime controls over rubber usage, as we did). mer Corp. pays income taxes and all other taxes any privately owned company would pay. It has been prospering; it has expanded capacity, repaid capital advances ahead of schedule, and paid dividends into the Canadian Treasury. It has also shipped 10,000 to 20,000 tons of synthetic rubber per year to the United States for the past several ears, in spite of our 10 percent ad valorem tariff on synthetic (but not natural) rubber.

The cry of socialism has been raised against those who object to the disposal of the Government-owned synthetic rubber industry. It is significant that no such cry was raised when the rubber and oil companies were importuning the Government to build this industry in 1939 and 1940 and 1941 and 1942. No such cry was raised when the Government was running this industry at a loss during World War II. Apparently it is socialistic only for the Government to make a profit.

If the Canadians can run a government corporation on a full commercial basis in a competitive market, pay full taxes, and still earn net profits equal to 10 percent on sales and about 7 percent on gross investment as they did in 1953, then certainly the United States could do as well, provided we are not

deterred by scare words.

If it is not possible to fashion an actively competitive synthetic rubber industry, as the report of the Disposal Commission clearly indicates, another solution must be found. There are technical problems which arise from the physical inter-connections from the oil refineries to the butadiene plants to the GR-S plants. The inelastic demand for rubber certainly renders competition, in the economic sense, unlikely. In such a case the synthetic rubber industry under historical American policy is affected and imbued with the public interest, and if sold, must be regulated like any other public utility. The only other alternative is continued Government ownership. To forestall future cries of "tax subsidy", we might seriously consider setting up the industry on the Canadian pattern.

In the event, however, the Congress does not disapprove the disposal plan, another problem arises. This is the question of the Baytown GR-S plant and possibly the three plants in California bid upon by Shell Chemical Co. The Congress should provide that all these plants be kept in operation and not be permitted to shut down, as required by the Disposal Act. I understand that all GR-S plants (except the one at Institute, West Virginia, which is shut down), all petroleum butadiene plants and the styrene plants, are operating at full capacity. Consumption of GR-S is running equal to, or above production. The loss of any of these plants to shut-down could result in a very tight market this year and over the next 3 years, leading to even greater upward pressure on prices. These plants should not be frozen.

Finally, if the disposal plan is permitted to go into effect some action should be taken regarding the 180-day period in the national security clause. This provision is too weak. In a real emergency, such as a second loss of access to the natural rubber supply of Southeast Asia, 6 months is much too long to permit any of these plants to remain out of full production. Yet, there is a loophole even in that period, since the purchasers would be excused from reconverting if they were unable to obtain materials and equipment with which to reconvert. I suggest that all purchasers of plants be required to maintain intact at all times whatever materials and equipment would be required to permit complete and expeditious reconversion.

Mental Health Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, in October of 1953, the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce launched an investigation of the toll of all the major diseases confronting the Nation in order to determine what steps were necessary to combat them. Among the diseases studied were heart disease, cancer, infantile paralysis, tuberculosis, mental illness, and several others. Submitting its findings to Congress in March of 1954, the committee declared in its report that "there is probably no more serious problem in the health field

today than that of mental illness." Permit me to cite you some of the evidence in support of this conclusion:

During the past year, some 2½ million men, women, and children were treated for some form of mental disorder in mental hospitals, at psychiatric clinics or in the offices of private psychiatrists.

On any day during the year, nearly three-fourths of a million people were under the care of mental hospitals alone—constituting more than 50 percent of the 1,400,000 patients in all the hospitals for all diseases in the entire country. This figure for hospitalization of the mentally ill is an alltime high. It represents an increase of 60 percent in the past 20 years.

Another 5 million who went to general hospitals to get treatment for physical ailments or injuries were found to be suffering from some mental or emotional

disturbance as well.

The year also saw more crimes and acts of delinquency committed than ever before—over 2 million major crimes and more than 400,000 juvenile delinquency cases.

Federal, State, and city government expenditures in connection with mental illness were over the billion mark—or about \$3 million every day of the year.

The cost in human misery, wasted, and destroyed lives, cannot be estimated, nor is it possible to compute the secondary financial costs to the individual victims, their families and to the local, State, and

Federal governments.

This array of shocking facts leads to the inescaptable conclusion that mental illness is taking a greater toll than ever before in our history and that it is, with very little doubt, the most serious of all the health problems confronting the Nation today. The shocking nature of the picture which I have just painted for you is compounded further when we consider that the situation is the result not of inevitability but of neglect.

I would like to read to you excerpts from a statement made recently by Dr. William C. Menninger in behalf of the National Association for Mental Health.

I quote:

It may come as surprise to many that mental illness has probably the highest recovery rate of any group of illnesses today. In my own State of Kansas, for example, where citizens and politicians have developed active treatment centers from what had once been merely custodial institutions, 4 of every 5 patients admitted to a mental hospital for the first time goes home within a year of his admission.

The basis for the erroneous impression that the majority of mentally ill patients do not get well is probably the fact that in many of our large mental institutions 60 percent of the patients who enter them never leave. How can this be so? Because Kansas and other States which are rehabilitating their mentally ill patients have invested money in trained people primarily, and buildings only secondly.

This past election American citizens voted more than \$750 million to put up new mental hospital buildings to house patients who in many cases will not receive treatment because there will be no trained personnel to treat them. Each year, we build buildings and when these buildings are filled up, we build new ones. In 1903 there were 150,000 patients in our mental hospitals today there are 700,000. As long as we continue to spend

our money for buildings instead of doing research and training professional personnel to cure these patients, this trend will continue.

But, look at Kansas, as an example of the other side of the coin. In 1946, Kansas had 5,172 mental hospital beds and the United States Public Health Service estimated that it needed nearly 4,000 more. Today, the average population of Kansas' State hospitals has dropped from over 5,000 to 4,551. Yet Kansas actually admitted 75 percent more patients in 1954 than in 1946.

The buildings Kansas didn't have to build would have cost 25 to 40 million dollars, to say nothing of the cost of caring for 4,000

additional patients each year.

There is no reason that every State cannot do this. I don't mean to minimize the size of the problem. Mental illness is still the most expensive, most prevalent, and most neglected health problem in the world. But, given trained personnel and the knowledge that proceeds from research, most mental illness can be cured and, ultimately, can be prevented.

We don't have a fourth of these trained people. We spend less for research in mental illnes than we leave in tips on restaurant tables. Until all of us, as citizens, do something about this—research and the training of professional people—we will continue to build buildings to house patients we could be making well.

Dr. Menninger puts the case simply, sharply and eloquently, and he refutes once and for all any notion that may still exist to the effect that mental illness is hopeless, that nothing can or should be done about it. He places the emphasis correctly on the need for widespread public support of the organizations which are carrying on the first against mental illness. He concludes with a plea in behalf of the National Association for Mental Health, the national citizens' organization which, together with its 400 affiliates, is leading the crusade against mental illness.

On May 1 to 7, Mental Health Week will be observed in thousands of communities throughout the country under the direction of the National Association for Mental Health and in cosponsorship with the National Institute of Mental Health of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. During Mental Health Week an attempt will be made to rally millions of Americans to the campaign against mental illness. During the balance of that month the National Association for Mental Health and its affiliates will conduct a nationwide fund-raising drive-the Mental Health Fund campaign-to raise money for research, training, improved treatment of the mentally ill, and education. To help provide the maximum success for these events-Mental Health Week and the Mental Health Fund campaignit is my honor and pleasure to submit to this body a joint resolution calling upon the President to proclaim May 1 to 7 as Mental Health Week, to urge widespread participation in this observance, and to encourage enthusiastic financial support for the Mental Health Fund campaign. The joint resolution reads as follows:

Whereas there is presently a great need for nationwide action for the prevention, treatment, and cure of mental illness; and

Whereas the National Association for Mental Health and the State and local mental health organizations associated therewith are

working diligently in the fight against mental illness; and

Whereas the Mental Health Fund is in dire need of public support in order to carry on research in the field of prevention, treatment, and cure of mental illness; sponsor training of expert personnel to staff the mental hospitals and the community mental health services; provide more adequate treatment for the mentally ill, and promote mental health education: Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That the President of the United

States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation designating the week beginning May 1 and ending May 7, 1955, as National Mental Health Week, and urging the people throughout the Nation to cooperate In the fight for the prevention, treatment, and cure of mental illness, inviting the communities of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and calling upon the public to support the Mental Health Fund,

The Navy's Career Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. IRVING M. IVES

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address delivered by the Honorable Charles S. Thomas, Secretary of the Navy, before the Navy League, at Detroit, Mich., on December 3, 1954. I believe that the Members of the Congress will find this address well worth their perusal.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

THE NAVY'S CAREER DILEMMA

Mr. President, national officers of the Navy

League, ladies, and gentlemen: I am really glad to be here tonight. you perhaps know, I have taken an active interest in the Navy League for many, many years, so I am personally acquainted with its officials, its program, its objectives, and its achievements. The Navy League has done a tremendous job over the past 52 years to assist and help the Navy and I can assure you that help has been appreciated.

I was particularly pleased to see the new 1954 four-way program Mr. Richards and his able program chairmen have inaugurated. This represents, I believe, the league's re-vitalized intention to take a more active, dynamic role in assisting the Navy and the Nation it serves. I am glad that this is so, because seldom in the league's history has there been a greater need or a greater opportunity to help the Navy than there is right now.

Several times, when I was active in Navy League affairs, the thought came to me that the Navy was sometimes remiss with regard to the potential of the Navy League, that it could and should give more guidance and encouragement to the league. So when I be-came Secretary of the Navy, one of my private resolves was not to neglect this vital task.

It is for this reason that I particularly welcome the chance of speaking to you tonight, and to lay before you a very important problem wherein you can do a tremendous job to help the Navy.

To begin, I'd like to read to you a letter I received just a couple of weeks ago, from the

"SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, Department of the Navy, Washington, D. C.

"Dear Sir: Thank you and the members of the United States Navy who are responsible for keeping my husband away from his family for the second year in succession. The morale of this young man could not get

any lower.
"I hope you all have a very Merry Christ-

"Very sincerely yours,

Whether she knew it or not, the young mother who wrote me this greeting hit right at the heart of a problem vital to every citizen of this country, particularly to members of the Navy League. The problem is our reducing ability at the present time to attract enough young men of the country to a career of naval service.

I wish to make it clear that this problem is common to all the services * * * Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps. All are confronted with the same dilemma: Too few present-day young Americans appear to believe that either the patriotic need or material reward is sufficient to make them willing to make military service a career.

The man of whom this young woman has written is 28 years of age, and has been in the service for 9 years. In that time, at the cost of some \$9,000, the Navy has trained him to be an aviation ordnance technician with guided missile experience. salary is \$250 a month, about \$55 a week; a day laborer gets that much or more. In the last 4 years, that young sailor has seen combat duty in Korea aboard an aircraft carrier; he has served with a specialized development squadron in California; with a jet fighter squadron in various areas of the Pacific; for the past 6 months he has been attached to an aviation support squadron in the Hawaiian Islands. He has been married for 4 years, he has 1 child, and this will be his third Christmas away from his family. Are you surprised, as his wife states, that his morale is low? The important point is that when this man's contract with the Navy expires, and he is requested to reenlist for additional service, he will probably refuse to do so, as increasing thousands are doing. In-stead, he will choose a civilian career and probably be paid twice as much and be able to stay at home with his young family, and the Navy will have lost another valuable, trained technician, a man we very badly want to keep, a man our country needs in uniform, a man in whom the taxpayers have invested heavily for the Nation's readiness and security.

The man represents the career dilemma that we would like for you to try and help us solve. In so doing, you will ask, why must the Navy keep this young man away from his family for 2 successive years? Why is it necessary to keep him on sea duty for such prolonged periods? Why will he probably not reenlist? What have we done and what are we doing? And finally, what else must be done about it?

To help you understand the background, you will recall that the Navy had a pre-Korean strength of 315,000 enlisted men. Three years later when the truce was signed, we had expanded this to over 700,000 men. During the past year, we have been reducing to reach an authorized strength of 608,000. This represents a 14 percent overall reduction, but will still leave us with a Navy al-most twice the size of what it was before the Korean war started.

With this 14 percent reduction in numbers of men, however, there has been very little commensurate reduction in our commitments. We still have almost as many ships and squadrons in commission and deployed overseas as during the Korean campaign.

wife of one of our young bluejackets. She In these perilous days, we must keep a fleet wrote as follows:

in the Far East, a division of Marines in Korea and one in Japan. We must keep a fleet in the Mediterranean, a force in the Persian Gulf. While these units are not actively engaged in fighting, they and all our ships must maintain a heavy training schedule in order to insure the instant readiness and vigilance which the world situation has dictated.

Complicating this reduction in strength without a concurrent reduction in opera-tional commitments is the fact that 60 percent of the men in the Navy today have enlistment contracts which expire in the next These personnel can be divided 2 vears. roughly into two groups-the so-called career people who are on their second or subsequent enlistment and the noncareer people serving on their first enlistment. Among our career personnel, only 48 percent are signing up for additional service. This 48 percent today compares with 90 percent only 1 year ago. For the noncareer people, less than 3 percent are signing up. In summary, it is alarming to note that the overall reenlistment rate has fallen from 46 percent in October 1953 to only 7 percent in October

Therefore, because an increasing number of short-term and career-type contracts are expiring and are not being renewed, plus the inevitable losses due to sickness, disability retirement, etc., the Navy estimates it will lose about 375,000 men-or 60 percent of our total strength-during the next 2 fiscal

The critical part of this is that not all of these losses are the apprentices and the unskilled. Many are highly trained technicians, specialists in electronics repair, aviation mechanics, submarines, and atomic weapons, as well as the many other technical trades of the Navy. Many are our key people-our supervisors, our petty officers. ualize the effect on a major civilian industry-Detroit's automobile industry would be a good example-if it were faced with the prospect of a 60-percent turnover of its personnel in only 2 years, many of them key personnel and potential supervisors for future years. This is the problem the Navyand indeed, all of the services-faces today.

To replace these losses, we have only two sources; first to call the Reserves to active duty-obviously impractical in peacetime. Second, to enlist and train new recruits. We are meeting increasing difficulty in doing the latter despite vigorous and increased efforts. To compensate for those leaving the service this year, we will require a total of 145,000 new recruits, or about 12,000 every month. The quota for September was 12,500, and we failed to meet it by 1,700. The quota for October was again 12,500 and we failed to meet that by 4,000. Some of this fall-off is seasonal, but it indicated our increased difficulty of replacing our losses.

Again, I would like to point out that the twin problem of enlistment and recolistment is common to all the services. Accepting 2year draftees in the Navy is certainly not the total or satisfactory answer, for it takes almost 3 months to put a man through basic recruit training, about 4 months more through a technical school if required. Add to this the administrative time of travel, leave, etc.; many a recruit does not reach his first duty station for about 8 to 9 months. He has had some training and indoctrination but he is still inexperienced and unfamiliar with general Navy life. This takes several months more to learn. Just as he reaches the point of becoming experienced and valuable, his 2-year draft term is completed, he leaves the service, and the process must start all over again. It is for this reason that the Navy cannot survive as a first-class fighting service if it becomes a conscript Navy. There must be a base of between 50 to percent of career people. To maintain this

base, not less than 25 percent of those completing their first enlistment and 75 percent of the career people must reenlist.

And what of the quality of the young men who are enlisting? Remember that our naval equipment is becoming increasingly complex and specialized, and demands high caliber personnel with special training to maintain and operate it. All of the armed services need their share of the top talent of the country, and this need becomes more pressing as our naval equipment becomes more complex. Yet of the 8,500 naval recruits who enlisted in October, 35 percent were in the lower quarter mental group. A year ago, we were taking only the required 27 percent of that low mental group. percentage was established by the Department of Defense to fairly distribute among all the services a fair proportion of both upper and lower groups of mental talents. Now, however, instead of taking only its share of the lower mental group, the Navy is taking 8 percent more than required and is still unable to recruit numbers needed. Thus, at a time when the complexity of our modern atomic Navy is demanding increased performance and skill from the individual, the Navy is being forced to reduce its quality

These facts summarize the problem today. But for the future, the prospects are even more serious as our senior supervisors—those who came into the Navy during World War II—complete their 20 years of service in 1960-65 and become eligible for retirement.

What has the Navy done and what is the Navy doing about this problem? Frankly, we have done a great many things. First of all, Admiral Carney and I are both committed to the internal improvement of the Navy—its morals, its leadership, its appearance, its discipline. Over the long pull, we know this will make the service more attractive by giving it greater esprit, which in turn will give to each individual the sense of belonging to a fine and an important organization.

Secondly, we are taking every measure to solve the problem of overcommitmentwhich keeps our fleets almost continuously at sea-by trying to increase the numbers of operating ships, so that each individual ship can spend more time in its home port. Take our Pacific Fleet as an example of how our far eastern commitments adversely affect the career problem. Roughly one-half of the fleet is on station in the Orient at-all times, where it is obvious that around the troubled water of Korea, Indochina, and Formosa, we must keep a strong 7th Fleet. A ship in the 7th Fleet spends 6 months in the forward area, plus 1 month of turnover and transit time. So the ship can expect 7 months out of every 12 in the Orient. But even the other 5 months can't be spent in the home port area. Every time a ship returns from overseas duty, there are large numbers of men scheduled for release or for shore duty. New people must be assimilated and trained. In effect, then, much of the remaining 5 months is spent at sea getting ready to go back again.

One way to alleviate this is, of course, to have a few more ships, so that the 7-month period in the Far East could be reduced. More ships, however, mean more men and more money and neither are easy to come by. However, Admiral Carney and I are doing our utmost to solve this one. If we can, it would do a great deal toward attracting more career people.

As for the personnel situation itself, our Chief of Naval Personnel, Admiral Holloway, is working overtime to alleviate and solve this problem. He has introduced extraordinary methods giving more attention to the individual man and his problems, to reinstate some of the traditional benefits that have been taken away since World

War II. He has taken drastic steps to try and maintain dependent medical care—such things as requiring shipboard doctors when they are in port to serve at the local dispensaries to provide better care for the dependents of our men at sea. He is trying to see that living conditions and housing conditions around our major bases are improved. And he has increased the size of our recruiting staffs and reemphasized our recruiting program to help sell the Navy to the youth of the country.

But all of these actions are still not solving

But all of these actions are still not solving the basic problem—of attracting more young men to make the Navy a career. The civilians and military leaders of our Navy appreciate that with peacetime military forces of over 3 million people we cannot expect all of our personnel to be career people. We realize that a great proportion of our Navy's future enlisted strength must be noncareer, short-term personnel. But it is also true that if the Navy is to remain a first-class organization, it must have a cadre, a base, a foundation of career people.

To provide this strong base of career people, both in talent and numbers, there must be two fundamentals: Motivation by the individual and recognition by the public.

For the individual who is thinking about

For the individual who is thinking about making the Navy a career, there must be two prime attractions—the opportunity to do something useful and worthwhile; the opportunity to improve himself and his for-

For the public, there must be general and genuine recognition of the individual's worth, of his importance, of his tasks, and of his accomplishments.

Why are the Navy and the other services finding it increasingly difficult to attract young men of the country to a career in the Navy?

In the first place, military service is not sufficiently attractive, not only in the material sense, but in the sense of duty to coun-Presently, the personal advantages of civilian life so outweigh those of present day military service that fewer and fewer men care to make the sacrifice. Furthermore, the material inducements which await him as a civilian veteran-education, veteran's benefits-exceed the material attractions of making the Navy a career. When you ask a man to make a career of the service today, you are asking him to spend a large share of his life away from home and family, and not always in the most desirable spots in the The Aleutians, the Straits of Formosa, the Persian Gulf, all may have the poster appeal of romance and adventure to an enlistee, but to an American sailor who has seen some of the world and has matured to the point of decision about his life's work, it doesn't compare with Carthage, Ill.-especially when the wife and kids are back in Carthage. This family angle is increasingly important, for more and more of our men are married, and they are getting married younger all the time. A naval career these days means many long periods at sea of intense work maintaining the readiness of our fleets. It means a change of duty station at least every 2 years with the constant turmoil of moving family and household possessions. It means low pay.

In the second place, more people are not making the Navy a career because of the apathy of the public to the value and need of the career man to the country.

Today, the one really valid argument that can be presented to our people and to the young men in the country is simply but most importantly that they are needed by the service, needed by the country.

As I see it, the problem is to create once again within the country an attitude that a career in the military service is one of the most honorable professions, worthy of the best men in the country, and vital to the peace and prosperity of the Nation. Pride

in our military men, pride in the uniform they wear, pride in the service—must once again be common to every American. Service in the Navy in peacetime must be as warmly and as generally recognized as in wartime. This atmosphere must permeate the general public and be reflected in their attitude toward the serviceman and his problems, in order that the services will attract the best men. If this can be done, more of our best young men will become convinced that the country needs them, and will choose the service as a career.

If this public recognition and appreciation can be brought about, then the American people will automatically take greater care of career men and their families. If international commitments are going to demand that we keep large numbers of men overseas for long periods of time, then the answer may be to give them a little bit of America in the overseas area. This may mean housing, schools, medical care, all of which are expensive. It may mean schooling to provide the technical know-how necessary to maintain and operate our equipment. It may mean more ships in service. In short, whatever the price, we've got to pay that price to gain the caliber and numbers of career talent necessary to keep the Navy strong. Failure to do so can only result in a second-rate Navy.

Now what can the Navy League do to help us? First of all, the league can promote a continuing nationwide program of public education to inform the American people of the gravity of this problem, which as I said, is common to all the services. Second, as part of that same program, the league can initiate a campaign to sell the naval service to our patriotic young citizens as a careera career which in truth is vital to the security and welfare of the country. That campaign must be long range, vigorously pressed through all the public media, and it must not appeal just to materialism but to service and devotion to country. If there were more appreciation and esteem by the American public for military service, more of our young people would understand our country's need of their services and would choose it as a career. As part of that campaign. I think the league should try and sell the American public that if they want a first-class Army, a first-class Navy, a firstclass Air Force, and a first-class Marine Corps, they must pay the price for it.

But most of all, by that program, the league will be helping to create an atmosphere of renewed public pride in peacetime military service.

This is the challenge that I offer to you.

Secretary of Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, the

Triangle Farmers Union local of Beltrami County passed a resolution February 5, 1955. Under leave to extend my remarks I include this resolution:

Be it resolved, That Congress be petitioned to the effect that they (Congress) use every legal means at their disposal to obtain the immediate removal of the Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson; and be it further

Resolved, That a petition tentatively entitled "Secretary Benson Must Go" be circulated in such a manner as to obtain the

most possible signatures of all farmers both union and nonunion members who share this sentiment, through all the facilities at the disposal of the local, State, and National Farmers Union.

Right to Work Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, in the official publication, the Washington Teamster, of February 25, 1955, there is found an excellent article on the socalled right to work laws, written by the Reverend Jerome L. Toner, OSB, industrial relations dean, St. Martin's College, Olympia, Wash,

Dean Toner is a profound student of labor legislation and has written extensively on the subject. In his article in the Washington Teamster, the so-called right to work laws are branded as unsound, schizophrenic, indefensible, and immoral.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Father Toner's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD. as follows:

When Chief Justice Howard Taft, former President of the United States, solemnly stated in the American Steel Foundries case of 1921 that "a single employee was helpless in dealing with an employer * * * (and that) labor unions (born) out of the necessities of the situation, were essential to give laborers an opportunity to deal on equality with their employer * * * (to obtain) his daily wages for the maintenance of himself and his family," he was stating an economic, social, legal and moral principle categorically contrary to that proposed by the promoters of the right to work laws.

President Herbert Hoover made Chief Justice Taft's policy the law of the land in 1932 when he signed the bill which said that ** * * the public policy of the United States is hereby declared (to be) and that the individual unorganized worker is commonly helpless to exercise actual liberty of contract and protect his freedom of labor, and thereby to obtain acceptable terms and conditions (Therefore) it is necessary of employment. that he have full freedom of association, self-organization and designation of representatives of his own choosing, to negotiate the terms and conditions of his employment (through) concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection."

In the light of these principles and the realities of our times where crimes against men, society, and God are increasingly committed in the name of liberty and freedom of the individual to do absolutely what he chooses whether it be in speed for communism, through actions which bring forth the terrorizing tide of juvenile delinquency, the selection of new spouses at a rate that will ultimately be self-destructive of our civilization, would it not be much wiser for this State and every State in the Nation as well as the Federal Government to turn their attention to the responsibilities and duties of men toward their fellow men, society, and God than to strive to establish liberties which are actually licenses?

The right to work laws, which are actually right to shirk laws are (1) economically unsound, (2) socially schizophrenic, (3) legally defenseless, and (4) doubly immoral.

ECONOMICALLY UNSOUND

The right-to-work laws are economically unsound because they deprive the stockholders and management, employees and union of their individual and collective rights of choosing the most mutually efficient means of profitably operating their business according to the time-tested traditional and legal principles of our free enterprise democratic capitalistic system. The God-given duty and constitutional right to work for a familyliving-saving-wage, which is far more fundamentally important than the "right to work without belonging to a union," is nowhere proposed or held as a bar to the collectivebargaining contract which does not provide for the family-living-saving-wage.

SOCIALLY SCHIZOPHRENIC

(Gr. schizein-to cleave, split; phren-mind, heart. A type of psychosis or mental disease characterized by loss of contact with environment and by disintegration of personality.)

The right-to-work laws are socially schizophrenic because they have lost contact with any realistic understanding of the nature and environment of the legal collectivebargaining realities which force and compel the stockholders, management, all employees, and the union to obey each and every clause and condition of the collectivebargaining contract mutually agreed to by everyone coming under the contract. The right-to-work laws have disintegrated the employees into the frustrating duality of an isolated eonomic individual, absolutely free to do his own will, while, at the same time, his legal and moral personality is absolutely bound by all the terms and conditions of the legal collective-bargaining contract.

LEGALLY DEFENSELESS

The right-to-work laws are legally defenseless because:

(1) They are contrary to the public policy of the United States expressed by Chief Justice Howard Taft, formulated into law by President Hoover, and found in the Wagner and Taft-Hartley Acts "of encouraging practice and procedures of collective-bar-gaining" as an effective process of increasing industrial production and peace.

(2) As the Supreme Court of the United States said in the Hitchman Coal Co. case, "The cardinal error of the ("right-to-work laws) lies in the assumption that the right (to work without belonging to a union) is so absolute that it may be exercised under any circumstances and without any qualifications; whereas in truth, like other rights that exist in civilized society, it must always be exercised with reasonable regard for the conflicting rights of others."

(3) The right-to-work laws unreasonably and arbitrarily make the right of the individual nonunion worker absolute and paramount to the equally basic and fundamental rights of possibly more than a million stock-holders (sic A. T. & T.), their management, more than half a million (A. T. & T.) employees, and their governmentally certified union to make the type of contract which they mutually agree will be the test to preserve the profitable operation of the firm for them, the public welfare, and the common good.

DOUBLY IMMORAL

The right-to-work laws are doubly immoral because, under a mutually agreeable collective-bargaining contract—the only kind under which compulsion of a union-security contract may legally existthe nonunion employee offend against both commutative and social justice.

Commutative justice:

The nonunion employee under a legal collective-bargaining contract offends against commutative justice by refusing to tender

his proportional share of the expenses of the collective-bargaining agent—the union—which he legally elected and hired to improve his wages, hours, and conditions of work.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

The nonunion employee offends against social justice, the essence of which is to demand from each individual all that is necessary for the common good, by refusing to affirmatively participate in the legal processes of industrial democracy through collective bargaining by which, for good or evil. the wages, hours, and conditions of work for himself as well as the rest of the employees are determined. Since the nonunion employees cannot affirmatively vote in the industrial democracy, their nonparticipation may be the means by which substantial harm may come to the firm, public welfare, and common good.

The right-to-work laws logically deceive the American public into believing that these right-to-work laws protect the American workers' constitutional right to work, where, when, and at any terms mutually agreeable to him and to his employer. Such "thorough competition in the goods market," says the chamber of commerce's Economic Intelligence No. 76. for November of 1954, "is indispensable for the survival of capitalism, and probably of democracy. * * * The purpose of collective bargaining is to destroy individual bargaining, to create a labor mo-

nopoly."

The Supreme Court of the United States. along with Congress and other Federal courts, consistently condemn such a philosophy. In the 1944 J. I. Case decision, the Supreme Court of the United States said that "The very purpose of providing by (the National Labor Relations) statute for the collective agreement is to supersede the terms of separate agreements with terms which reflect the strength and bargaining power and serve the welfare of the group. * The workman is free, if he values his own bargaining position more than that of the group, to vote against representation; but the majority rules, and if it collectivizes the employment bargain, individual advantages or favors will generally in practice go in as a contribution to the collective result."

Such a labor monopoly of collective bargaining, which necessarily destroys individual bargaining, come from the Taft-Hartley law, which specifically states that the "Representatives designated or selected for the purposes of collective bargaining by the majority of employees, shall be the exclusive representative for all the employees in such a unit for the purpose of collective bargaining in respect to rates of pay, wages, the hours of employment, or other conditions of employment." The Supreme Court, in effect, made the collective-bargaining monopoly a duty of the certified union in the 1944 Draper case when it said that the union had "* * * the duty to protect equally the interests of the members of the craft (who are not members of the union) as the Constitution imposes upon the legislature to give equal protection to the interest of those for whom it legislates."

The absolute right of the individual worker to do as he pleases and to be free from the monopoly of the collective-bargaining agreement has no Federal bases. In the 1948 National Maritime Union case the United States District said that "This (monopoly of the majority) to be sure, was an abridgement of the minority's fundamental rights, as well as those of the employers, but the importance of the broad public purpose sought to be served (by the NLRA) justified the means employed." "The purpose of the R-L Act" said the circuit court of appeals in the Steel case, "was not to guarantee to employees the right to do as they pleased but to guarantee to them the right of collective bargaining for the purpose of preserving industrial peace."

This absolute right-to-work liberty of the employee to have freedom of choice and to do as he pleases with utter disregard of the will of the majority was clearly condemned by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Draper case when it said that "Congress has seen fit to clothe the bargaining representative with powers comparable to those possessed by a legislative body to create and restrict the rights of those whom it represents."

Since there is no Federal legal defense for the philosophy of absolute freedom of the individual worker, which the right-to-work defenders are trying to sell to the American public, it is logical to establish the basic motive behind the right-to-work employers. W. R. Brown, research director of the Missouri State Chamber of Commerce, writing in the Labor Law Journal of January 1953 said that "right-to-work laws are well worth considering in the search * * for means of curbing the excessive powers of unions over individual workers."

Probably a franker statement was made by J. R. Morris in his Southern Economic Journal article, Compulsory Union Membership and Public Policy, copies of which are widely distributed by the Commerce & Industry Association of New York, Inc., in which he said, "The employer's basic motive in opposing compulsory union membership (and therefore advocating right-to-work laws) is, in essence, that most employers fear a strong union. Specifically, employers are concerned with efficiency, and they fear the closed shop union security will derogate from this because of union control over the work force. Finally, most employers honestly seem to believe that compulsory union membership is undemocratic. Judging from past performance, however, a few management officials probably would regard this as convenient rhetoric."

The bitter battle fought for the destruction of unions waged in the name of the "right to work without belonging to a union" in the 1900-10 "open shop" and the 1919-29 "American plan" wars make the undemocratic charges of the right to work campaigners more than convenient rhetoric. Democracy. be it political or industrial, said Lincoln, is government under God of, for, and by the people and not government by an irresponsible minority of nonunion, nonstockholder, nonvoting citizens or people. The right to work laws, which deprive the stockholders and their management employees and their union from jointly ruling their business, are contrary to the age-old principle of free men, which is that government, political or industrial, derive their just powers to govern from the consent of the governed.

LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY

In Detroit during the holidays I asked an employer the following question: Is it not a denial of liberty and democracy to compel and force a worker to join a union as a condition of exercising his constitutional and God-given right to work—to earn a family living saving wage?

Here is his humorous and astonishing answer. He said: "It would be just as humorous for me to claim that a union-security contract was a denial of liberty and democracy to a nonunion worker as it is for the Russian Communists to claim that their form of government is the only real free peoples democratic government in the

I asked him to explain. He said:

"In the United States under the Taft-Hartley law, once the stockholders through management and the employees through their governmentally certified union enter into a legally binding collective-bargaining contract, the employer and all of his employees coming under the contract are bound to each and every term, condition, and clause in that contract."

Continuing he said: "It is no more unreasonable for the union to request that management include a union-security clause in the contract so that all employees who receive the direct and primary benefits of the contract will, within 30 days, become legal members of the union than it is for management to demand that all persons who wish to receive the direct and primary profit-income of the firm must join the stockholders organization. Such contracts, he said, are the very essence of liberty and freedom. They provide absolute freedom of choice. True to our national free enterprise heritage they provide a realistic opportunity for an individual to think for himself and to exercise his ability and responsibility to choose between alternatives of a wage or a profit income. No one, he said, is compelled or forced to become either an employee or a stockholder, but if anyone chooses to receive an income from wages or profits, or both, that person must also bind himself by all the legal terms offered by the collective-bargaining of the stockholders contract."

"Democracy," he said, "be it political or industrial is government under God, of, for, and by the people and not government by an irresponsible minority of nonunion, nonstockholding, or nonvoting citizens or people."

A Message to Congress From the Grassroots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the American Press, an independent magazine for hometown newspapers, has recently conducted an exhaustive survey on current legislative problems. One thousand and fifty editors, 12 percent of all the country and suburban newspaper editors of the Nation, have answered the questions, answers which should prove of great interest to the Members of Congress.

This magazine should be commended in seeking to correlate the views of grassroots editors and in performing a service of inestimable value toward the cause of responsible government.

The survey is included under leave to extend my remarks:

A Message to Congress From the Grassboots

"Don't cut taxes yet. Reduce expenditures for foreign aid. Keep the flexible farm program. Don't start new social projects."

This advice, Mr. Congressman, comes from the country editors of the Nation. They have advice to give on a lot of other subjects, too, which the American Press has summarized in this special issue.

To help clarify grassroots opinion, the American Press has just completed the most thorough survey ever made of the attitude of these influential editors on subjects which face Congress.

A total of 1,050 newspaper editors—12 percent of all of the country and suburban newspaper editors of the Nation—have given time and thought to answering 18 questions asked of them by the American Press. All of their replies have been tabulated and typical comments, showing the reasoning behind their thinking, are presented here.

This survey was made to help make the voice of rural America more articulate in Washington. The American Press made this survey, not just to give the editors an opportunity to have their say, but also to help Congress, in dealing with the many debatable issues ahead, to be given this checkup on the pulse of the people.

It is our opinion—and an opinion shared by many Congressmen—that a closer relationship between these editors and the Members of Congress—can be of real value to the country.

Below we give our questions and a summary of the answers:

1. Corporation taxes: Present law calls for reduction of corporation taxes from 52 percent to 47 percent on April 1. The President has asked that this reduction be postponed for another year. Do you think this reduction should be postponed?

Answers: Yes, 70.4 percent; no, 24.9 percent; undecided, 1.4 percent; no answer, 3.3

2. Tax on dividends: Taxes on dividends have been called "double taxation" because corporations pay 52 percent taxes on profits, and then stockholders pay additional taxes on remaining profits distributed as dividends. Do you think taxes on dividends should be reduced, eliminated or left as is?

Answers: Reduced, 24.1 percent; eliminated, 28.9 percent; left as is, 41.2 percent; increased, 0.2 percent; undecided, 1.8 percent; no answer, 3.8 percent.

3. Excise taxes: The President has asked that excise taxes on liquor, tobacco, gasoline, and automobiles should be continued for another year. Please give below what action you think should be taken on each of these taxes.

Answers:

Liquor: continue, 86.8 percent; discontinue, 3.5 percent; lower, 3.8 percent; increase, 4.2 percent; no answer, 1.7 percent.

Tobacco: continue, 87.9 percent; discontinue, 3.5 percent; lower, 2.5 percent; increase, 3.9 percent; no answer, 1.7 percent.

Gasoline: continue, 66.3 percent; discontinue, 20.6 percent; lower, 10.5 percent; increase, 0.6 percent. (A few of those who thought a tax should continue specified that the money be used for roads only; a few others recommended that the States, rather than the Federal Government get the tax money.)

Automobiles: continued, 60 percent; discontinued, 24.5 percent; lower, 13.5 percent; increase, 0.3 percent; no answer, 1.7 percent.

4. Trade agreements: The President has proposed a 3-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, with additional authority to the President to lower tariffs 5 percent each year. Do you favor this proposal?

Answers: Yes, 74.7 percent; no, 16.8 percent; continue without lowering, 2.3 percent; undecided, 3.9 percent; no answer, 2.3 percent.

5. Foreign investments: To encourage foreign investments, the President has proposed that corporation income from foreign investments be taxed at a 38-percent rate instead of the 52-percent tax charged on income of domestic corporations. Do you approve this idea?

Answers: Yes, 38.6 percent; no, 53 percent; undecided, 6.4 percent; no answer, 2 percent.

6. Foreign aid: Current law provides for the end of economic aid and of Foreign Operations Administration on June 30. The Administration has asked for their continuation and expansion. How would you vote?

Answers: Continue, 42.2 percent; discontinue, 38.1 percent; limit or reduce, 11 percent; shift to Asia, 0.5 percent; continue without expansion, 3.1 percent; undecided, 3.5 percent; no answer, 1.6 percent.

7. Congressmen's salaries: The President has requested that pay of Congressmen be

increased from \$12,500 to \$22,500. Do you

approve this increase?

Answers: Yes, 46.2 percent; no, 32.4 percent; compromise, 18.9 percent; more than \$25,000, 0.1 percent; less than \$12,500, 0.1 percent; undecided, 1.3 percent; no answer, 1 percent.

8. Federal employees' pay: The President has requested that Federal employees have their pay increased by an average of 5 percent-a total increase estimated at \$30 mil-

lion. Do you favor this increase?

Answers: Yes, 43 percent; no, 44.7 percent; selective raise, 5.5 percent; reduce staff to get funds, 1.6 percent; partial increase, 0.7 percent; undecided, 2.9 percent; no answer,

1.6 percent.

9. Farm program: The administration's price-support program went into effect at the first of the year. It calls for supports from 82.5 percent to 90 percent of parity for wheat, cotton, corn, rice, and peanuts. islation will be introduced at this session to return to rigid support of 90 percent of parity. Do you favor the new flexible support or return to the 90 percent program?

Answers: Flexible, 67.7 percent; 90-percent support, 18.4 percent; no support, 7.8 percent; lower than 82.5 percent, 0.4 percent; undecided, 3 percent; no answer, 2.7 percent.

10. Health reinsurance: The President has requested legislation for health reinsurance in order to encourage private insurance companies to write broader policies. Under the plan the Government would insure the private companies against heavy losses if they would write health insurance policies they now consider too risky. Do you favor such a program?

Answers: Yes, 39.9 percent; no, 51.1 percent; in limited form, 0.4 percent; undecided,

5.9 percent; no answer, 2.7 percent. 11. Public housing: Public housing authorization expires June 30. The President has asked that Congress authorize 35,000 more public housing units in each of the next 2 fiscal years. Do you favor this program?

Answers: Yes, 54.6 percent; no, 39.1 percent; undecided, 2.8 percent; no answer, 3.5

percent.

12. Taft-Hartley: Seventeen States now have laws forbidding compulsory union membership even in union shops, thus permitting employers to hire nonunion men to fill vacancies. The unions are seeking a revision of the Taft-Hartley law to take away from the States the power to pass such laws. Do Taft-Hartley law should be you think the amended in this manner?

Answers: Yes, 10.6 percent; no. 86.1 percent; undecided, 1.4 percent; no answer, 1.9

percent.

13. Guaranteed wage: Labor leaders are planning, during 1955, to push the guaranteed wage idea whereby workers would be paid during layoffs as well as when they are working. Do you approve of the guar-anteed wage idea?

Answers: Yes, 12.7 percent: no. 80.5 percent; with reservations, 1 percent; undecided, 4.7 percent; no answer, 1.1 percent.

14. Minimum wage: The hourly wage minimum is now 75 cents per hour. President Eisenhower has proposed that it be increased to 90 cents. Labor union leaders say it should be \$1.25. Which would you vote for?

Answers: Keep at 75 cents, 37.9 percent; 90 cents, 53.5 percent; \$1.25, 4.1 percent; no minimum, 3.0 percent; compromise, 0.6 per-

cent; no answer, 0.9 percent.

15. Bricker amendment: The Bricker proposal to limit the treaty powers of the President, which lost out last year by one vote, is expected to be introduced again. How would you vote on it?

Answers: For, 47.0 percent; against, 44.8 percent; undecided, 4.5 percent; no answer,

3.7 percent.

16. 18-year-old vote: The President has again asked that the voting age be lowered to 18. Do you favor this?

Answers: Yes, 42.8 percent; no, 53.2 percent; for Armed Forces only, 0.9 percent; undecided, 2.4 percent; no answer, 0.7 percent.

17. Stock market: The Senate Banking Committee is making plans to investigate the stock market to try to find out why stock prices advanced so rapidly during 1954. Do you think such an investigation is needed?

Answers: Yes, 39.2 percent; no, 50.0 percent; undecided, 7.7 percent; no answer,

3.1 percent.

18. Fair trade: Do you favor State laws which make it possible for manufacturers to set the price at which his product is sold at retail?

Answers: Yes, 17.3 percent; No. 76.8 percent; with limitations, 0.3 percent; undecided, 3.9 percent; no answer, 1.7 percent.

United States Air Force Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. EDGAR CHENOWETH

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, a great national institution, authorized in 1954, is now in its formative stage, under the overall direction of its first superintendent, Lt. Gen. Hubert R. Harmon, United States Air Force. Located at Colorado Springs, in my district in Colorado, it is destined to great fame as the center of education in the training of future Air Force leaders. I refer to the United States Air Force Academy. On the evening of March 14, 1955,

I had the pleasure of hearing its first dean of faculty, Brig. Gen. Don Z. Zimmerman, United States Air Force, give a most instructive presentation on the new academy before a distinguished gathering at the Cosmos Club of Washington. I am sure his address will be of great interest to every Member of the House.

The Cosmos Club is an association of men who are distinguished in science. literature or the fine arts; in a learned profession or public service. It is nonpolitical in character and takes no position with respect to the subjects presented in its lecture series. Its sole purpose is the advancement of knowledge.

I would like to include the opening remarks of Capt. Miles P. DuVal, United States Navy, retired, who introduced General Zimmerman as follows:

Fellow members of the Cosmos Club ladies. and gentlemen, much United States history traces back to the leaders trained at our great service Academies. West Point was founded in 1802; the Naval Academy in 1845. The third school-the Air Force Academywas established in 1954.

Though the stories of the first two have been recorded in histories of those institutions, we do not have comprehensive statements by their founders made during the periods of creation. Tonight we are greatly privileged to have as our speaker one of the founders of the youngest service Academyits first dean of faculty.

A graduate of the University of Oregon, where he was a member of the ROTC, he was offered a commission in the Regular Army. He did the unusual. He did not accept, was appointed a second lieutenant in the Reserve, and sought and obtained an appointment as a cadet at West Pointprocedure that lost him 4 years seniority.

Graduating from the Military Academy in 1929, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers, started flight training on the Pacific coast, and qualified for the degree of master of arts at the University of Oregon, all in the same year.

Rated pilot in 1930, he transferred to the Air Corps, and early became interested in the fields of operational planning and meteorology. In the latter, he took postgraduate training at the California Institute of Technology, where in 1936 he was awarded the degree of master of science, and was designated as an instructor at the Air Corps Primary Flying School. Among his contributions there were the introduction of the study of air-mass analysis in the Army and the preparation of the first Weather Manual for Pilots. He later served as an instructor in mathematics at West Point.

During World War II, as the first Director of Weather of the Army Air Forces, he supervised the establishment of a worldwide weather service, served on the planning staff of amphibious forces of the Pacific and in the Operations Division of the General Staff in Washington. Between war assignments he attended the Command and General Staff School at Leavenworth, the Army and Navy Staff College, and the Naval War College.

After hostilities he became assistant air attaché in London, during which period he attended the Imperial Defense When the Korean war started he was sent to Tokyo as director of operational planning for the Far East Air Forces, and made frequent visits to the battlefront.

Thus, in our speaker there are combined the qualities of the soldier and aviator, the student and educator, and the engineer and

administrator.

May I present the dean of faculty of the United States Air Force Academy, Brig. Gen. Don Z. Zimmerman.

ADDRESS OF BRIG. GEN. DON Z. ZIMMERMAN BEFORE THE COSMOS CLUB, WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 14, 1955

Members of the Cosmos Club and guests, ever since April 1, 1954, when President Eisenhower signed the bill authorizing the establishment of a United States Air Force Academy, there has been considerable interest throughout the Nation in the activities connected with that project. We participants are finding it a stimulating experience to help establish a school in which our country is showing such keen national interest. To me, personally, it is equally stimulating to be invited to talk to you on my favorite subject-the United States Air Force Academy.

The Headquarters, United States Air Force Academy, are now located temporarily at Lowry Air Force Base in Denver, Colo., where we are getting ready to receive our first class of 300 cadets next July. We plan to remain at our Denver site until the summer of 1957, at which time we are scheduled to move to our permanent location near Colorado Springs.

During the time allocated to me here. I want to give you a few highlights on your Air Force Academy. I propose to organize my presentation in this way. First, I will give you some idea of the course of study which we are planning; since this particular subject is both complex and important, I will spend most of my time on it. Secondly, I will talk briefly about the faculty we have selected. And lastly I will say a few words about our procedures for choosing the cadets who will come to the Academy.

Let us begin with an examination of the course of study which we have planned for

our cadets.

The Air Force Academy is indebted to a number of leading civilian educators, together with the staff and faculty of both West Point and Annapolis, for their generous assistance in the development of our

program of instruction. Approximately 60 distinguished civilian educators have acted as consultants since the beginning of the development of plans for the Academy in 1948.

In developing our program, a great deal of consideration was given to the diversified attributes required of an Air Force officer today. Most of these attributes are readily discernible. You are aware that unimpeachable character, an unflagging sense of duty, and devotion to the best interests of our country are absolute requisites of all officers in any of the services. You are equally aware that warfare may be either on a global scale or geographically restricted, that both its technical and nontechnical aspects have become more complex, and that Air Force operations call for a high degree of skill, knowledge, and judgment. These operations are dictated by military policy and objectives which are based on national policy and objectives. Knowledge of our country and its relations and interactions with foreign countries is essential to effective military action. For these reasons, we cannot afford to produce men with a good grasp of strategy and tactics but with no clear concept of the political, social, and economic factors which underlie the great problems of our time. We must produce men trained for the conduct of war in the broadest sense because today there is not a facet of governmental structure or economic and social organization which remains untouched in war.

For these reasons, the program which we will offer is unique to the Air Force Academy. No civilian institution offers such a program, and although our program is similar to that of the other two Service Academies, it differs considerably in its emphasis on professional air requirements, as contrasted with land and sea requirements, and in its greater emphasis on the humanities and social sciences. The course of academic study is almost equally balanced between the natural and physical sciences on one hand and the humanities and social sciences on the other.

Our entire program is divided into two major phases; the airmanship program which comes under the direction of the Commandant of Cadets, and the academic program which falls under my supervision as Dean of Faculty. I should like first to describe the airmanship program, which may be summed up as that part of the curriculum dealing directly with military training. Our catalogue defines the airmanship program in this way: "The purpose of the airmanship program is to train and condition the cadet for his destined role of leadership in the field of aviation. Toward this end he will be trained to full qualification as a rated aerial navigator; he will be given indoctrination training in piloting aircraft; he will be instructed in the composition, administraton, and control of military forces; he will be given thorough training in the art of leadership; and he will be developed physically to such condition as will permit him most successfully to employ the skills he Let me now take up each of these acquires." phases in turn.

The navigation training program will continue throughout the cadet's 4 years at the Academy and will include navigation instruction both on the ground and in the air. Ground instruction is comprised of such subjects as physiological training, equipment orientation, weather, instruments, celestial and polar navigation, and radar. Actual flights will make it possible to supplement the ground instruction with practical navigation problems in the air.

Navigation training will also be integrated with academic courses which are closely associated with navigation. For example, map reading will be taught in graphics; the geography course will give additional instruction in the use of maps; and the mathematics course will deal with the application of mathematics to navigation.

All cadets will be given pilot indoctrination in light aircraft. Those who qualify for further instruction as pilots will enter the Air Training Command pilot training program following their graduation from the Academy

The military training phase of the airmanship program starts immediately upon the cadet's arrival at the Academy. objective is the development of character and leadership, as well as the provision of a broad military education. Part of this program is in effect 24 hours a day as a product of the rigimen of cadet life. Other parts are specifically scheduled courses of instruction. These latter include basic military training, weapons and equipment familiarization, basic infantry drill and tactics, military organization, duties and responsibilities of officers and noncommissioned officers, and practical exercises in leadership. Military training will continue throughout the summer training period, and in the summer months will include appropriate participation in activities at selected Air Force, Army, and Navy installations.

The problem of developing leadership is not one which can be delegated solely to the airmanship program. It is a process which much go on 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, in class and out. Our academic instructors, whether they be teaching physics, English, or economics, will always bear responsibility for aiding in the development of leadership and the nurturing of a high sense of duty. For this reason, all of our instructors in both the airmanship and academic programs must be officers who, in addition to meeting a high standard of qualification in their subjects, have demonstrated marked qualities of leadership. I want to say more about our faculty in a few moments.

Physical training is a medium for much more than muscular development and conditioning. It must also serve as a device for developing leadership, teamwork, good sportsmanship, and competitive spirit. A full program of intramural and varsity athletics will be scheduled, with the upper classmen acting as coaches and instructors in the intramural phase as part of their practical work in leadership and instructor training.

You are doubtless all wondering what part intercollegiate athletics will play at the Academy. We expect to field winning teams in all major sports. It would be difficult to conceive of an effective officer or an effective military force as not being deeply imbued with the desire to win. That spirit is tra-All of you who have seen the cadets and midshipmen play football have likely been impressed by their will to win and at the same time by their sportsmanlike conduct on the No potential all-American will be turned away from our door, provided he has the intellectual and moral qualities required of a future Air Force leader and can meet our requirements the same as other cadets.

Now I would like to turn to a consideration of our academic program.

We believe, and I think most of you will agree, that it is not very profitable to teach a large number of courses, each insulated from the others and each constituting an end in itself. One of the knottiest problems facing all educational institutions is that of integrating course materials in such a manner as to impress upon the student that he is studying a generous slice of the total experience of mankind, and that human experience is indeed a totality rather than a group of unrelated experiences. We are neither so vain nor so foolish as to believe that we can succeed completely in integrating courses; however, throughout the early planning phase and in the present phase of course preparation, constant attention has been given to both vertical and horizontal integration and to relating course material

to the cadet's past experience and future activities. I shall try to point out some of the areas of integration as I describe the courses which make up our academic curriculum. Obviously, this is not the time and place to discuss these courses in detail. By and large, they are similar to standard college courses, except that all of our courses will be oriented toward Air Force application. Where one of our courses differs materially from its civilian college counterpart, I shall point out the areas of difference. For those of you who would like to examine course content in greater detail, a supply of catalogs will be available this spring.

I shall start with the scientific aspect of our academic program, since the applica-tion of scientific courses to military use is perhaps more obvious-at any rate more traditional. Our scientific courses are designed to provide the future Air Force officer with a fundamental knowledge of the aeronautical sciences. All courses will be functional in nature—that is, related to aircraft equipment and aviation problems rather than to purely theoretical situations. The majority of these courses will be offered 3 periods a week, each period 11/4 hours long. In some courses-mathematics, for instance-one-third of each period will be devoted to supervised study; in other courses. a portion of each academic week will be spent in the laboratory. Integration of courses within this area presents no serious problems, for they are all closely related.

The School of Basic Sciences includes mathematics, chemistry, and physics. A 2-year foundation in mathematics is, of course, basic to all of our science work. Here cadets will be given a broad but thorough knowledge of fundamental mathematical principles, a working knowledge of mathematical processes and their practical application, and an ability to apply mathematical concepts in aerial warfare.

Our work in chemistry is very similar to any college level basic chemistry course. Since chemistry is the first of the science courses to be taught, emphasis will be placed on scientific methodology. The course will have particular application to problems related to rockets, fuels, gas turbines, turbojet engines, and atomic and thermonuclear weapons. In the latter phase of the course, introductory instruction will be given in the physiological problems of high speed and high altitude flight.

Physics, which will be presented in the sophomore year, will cover principles of mechanics, hydrodynamics, heat and basic thermodynamics, kinetic theory, electricity and magnetism, sound, light and optics, atomic and nuclear physics, meteorology and climatology. This subject is basic to all the scientific courses which will follow in the junior and senior years.

The School of Engineering Sciences includes electrical engineering, mechanics, and thermodynamics. The last named course will have particular reference to gas turbines and rocket motors.

The School of Aeronautical Sciences includes the study of aerographics, aerodynamics, and aircraft design. Aerographics, to be given in the freshman year, is divided into two parts: (1) maps and charts, and (2) engineering drawing. The portion devoted to maps and charts is designed to train the cadet to read and understand the wealth of information available on aerial photographs, topographic maps and aeronautical charts. Cadets will also be given instruction in plotting and computing problems in aerial navi-gation. The engineering drawing portion of the course is designed to provide the cadet with the ability to read and understand engineering drawings with facility. Particular emphasis will be placed upon aircraft drawings, including Air Force specifications and nomenclature.

Aerodynamics, presented in the senior year, is designed to give the cadet a knowledge of

the behavior of forces that act on the component parts of an aircraft and how these forces affect aircraft design. Closely related is the course in aircraft design, also to be given to some of the cadets in the senior year. Those cadets who have not demonstrated a marked aptitude for foreign languages, or who have done outstanding work in their scientific courses, will be given this aircraft design course in lieu of a foreign language. In this course, the class will be divided into teams, each of which will be required to design an aircraft. Each member of the team will act as a specialist in one particular area of the total problem.

Although our curriculum embodies a lesser emphasis on scientific and engineering subjects than does the curriculum of the Military Academy, we have been assured that a graduate of the Air Force Academy can earn a degree in aeronautical engineering at one of the best civilian institutions in one summer and one academic year. The scientific program also provides sufficient background for graduate study in scientific fields other

than aeronautical engineering.

So much for the block of scientific subjects. Let us move on now to the other major block of subjects in our academic program—the social studies and humanities, business management and administration. This field of studies is designed to give to the cadet a knowledge of the world about him, an understanding of the people in that world, and skill in dealing with those people. The courses in this area have been coordinated to present related courses and continuous learning rather than separate and unrelated segments of knowledge.

The School of Languages includes English and foreign languages. A great deal of emphasis will be placed on English, especially in the first 3 years. It is essential to his future career that each cadet learn to speak and write effectively. It is equally essential that he learn to appreciate his heritage through a knowledge of great literature. The freshman English course deals largely with the fundamental communication skills, while the sophomore and junior courses are more concerned with American and World Literature. However, the threads of literature study and the communication skills of reading, writing, speaking, and listening run throughout each of the 3 years of English. Of course cadets will be judged on their ability to express themselves orally and in writing throughout all of their 4 years at the Academy.

Foreign languages will be taught in the senior year. In this way when the cadet graduates, his knowledge of a foreign language will be fresh and his interest keen. Language instruction will not be given to every cadet. Only those cadets who have done well in the language aptitude test and in the social-humanities area will study languages. As I pointed out earlier, those cadets who lack language aptitude or who have done outstanding work in scientific studies will take Aircraft Design rather than a foreign language. Language courses will be presented in highly concentrated form with emphasis on conversational use and reading comprchension. Such language facility will be developed by intensive practice in approximately 7 hours of classroom work each week. The courses will be similar to those developed in the Air Force Language School at Syracuse University. languages offered will depend upon the needs of the Air Force at any given time.
Our courses in the School of Human Rela-

Our courses in the School of Human Relations include philosophy, psychology and law. The philosophy course, which will be presented in the freshman year, is a one semester course designed to develop effective thinking. It is, in fact, a course in logic, and will teach the cadet to express himself clearly, to distinguish valid reasoning, and to apply the tests of logic to any situation.

Psychology, which will be presented in the sophomore year, includes a study of the principles of human behavior and their application to problems of leadership and command within the Air Force. Personnel management will be a feature of the course.

The course in law, which is also a part of the sophomore curriculum, deals with military, civil, and international law in their application to the Air Force and its person-

The School of History includes the usual history courses, as well as a course in military history. History will be offered during the freshman, sophomore and junior years. These courses will be closely integrated with the cadet's study of literature. Insofar as possible, history and English scheduling will be coordinated in such a way that the cadet is studying the literature of a period concurrently with its history. The history courses will place major emphasis on an understanding of the evolution of ideas and institutions rather than on a mere accumulation of historical facts. In all courses, supplementary readings will be used in conjunction with a text.

The freshman history course deals with world civilization, the sophomore course with American history, and the junior course with 20th century world history. We hope to devote the second semester of the course in 20th century world history to a study of some of the great issues of our day.

The course in military history, which will be presented in the senior year, is still under study and will continue in a stage of development for several years to come. As I now envisage the course, it will include a study of unified action in Army, Navy and Air Force campaigns which illustrate the principles of employing the three services in preparing for war, fighting a war, and making postwar adjustments. A careful analysis will be made of military mistakes in history. The course will be closely related to both history and international relations.

The School of Social Sciences includes courses in geography, comparative government, economics, and international relations. The geography course is to be presented in the freshman year and will be closely coordinated with the freshman history course and with navigation training. Physical, economic and demographic factors will be studied in their relationship to military—and particularly to Air Force—operations.

During their junior year, the cadets will study comparative governments and economics. The first semester of the government course will be devoted to a study of our own Government, while the second semester will deal with the governments of the major powers. This course is closely related to the economics course. The first semester of economics will include principles of business administration and management, while the second semester will involve a study of the major economic systems existing in the world today.

International relations, to be presented the senior year, will synthesize the knowledge which the cadet has gathered from his other courses in both scientific and nonscientific fields. All phases of international relations will be considered. The latter part of the course will be devoted to the study of the national security of the United States.

Throughout the courses in the humanities and social sciences, instruction and practice will be given in research methods and the preparation of reports and studies.

We believe that the curriculum which I have described is both sound and practical. However, I wish to emphasize that our curriculum is still in the exploratory stage and that it will remain under constant review. None of us can say with conviction that our present program meets perfectly the ideal requirements of an Air Force officer's education, and surely none may believe that these requirements will remain static. For

the next few years, of course, change will come quite readily, but with the passage of time, departmental interests tend to become sacred, and change becomes a matter of moving mountains. We are resolved to guard against this tendency; we are determined to maintain an inquiring and openminded attitude.

An essential part of the Air Force Academy will be its library. It will contain over 200,-000 volumes selected to support our training program and will be used as an integral part of our academic program. At least initially, the beginnings of our museum and art collection will be connected with the library.

I have told you, then, what we are going to teach. Now I want to say a few words about how we propose to teach our subjects.

We realize, as all of you do, that no matter how well a subject is taught, much of it will be lost to the student unless it is put to immediate and sustained used. This is particularly true of factual information. We will, therefore, handle detailed facts only to the extent necessary to provide the cadet with a frame of reference. Our primary concern is to provide him with an understanding of principles, endow him with the ability to apply these principles to real life situations, and encourage him to think for himself.

These objectives cannot be reached through reliance on a rote system of learning. Thus we wish to teach by discussion, demonstration, and student performance—supplemented, of course, with occasional lectures. Our academic sections will be small—about 12 cadets to a section—which allows for free interchange of ideas and a great deal of individual attention on the part of the instructor to the learning problems of each cadet.

We propose to arrange our cadets in sections according to their academic standing in each subject. This will give our instructors an opportunity to set a pace consistent with the abilities of each group. The more advanced students will thus be given additional work, while those who have made less rapid progress will receive concentrated instruction in course fundamentals.

So much for our course of study. Now let me tell you about our faculty, the people who will actually teach this course of study.

We are not now in a position to consider civilian educators in other than an advisory capacity or to recall Reserve officers to active duty to instruct at the Academy. Our present faculty has come from Air Force officers now on active duty. For them, we established as prerequisites for instructional duty at the Air Force Academy high teaching qualifications and a superior or outstanding record as an officer in the United States Air We also believe that since all of our graduates will wear wings as navigators, a high proportion of academic instructors should also wear wings. The Air Force has today a considerable resource of officers who meet these requirements. Some received their graduate training under Air Force auspices; many are former civilian college instructors who were recalled to duty during the Korean engagement; and many more have earned advanced degrees in their offduty hours. We are also fortunate in having a pool of officers who have instructed at either West Point or Annapolis, who are familiar with Service Academy methods, and who will be available to us for several years to come.

Let me take, as an example of how our faculty is shaping up, our department of history. Of the 3 instructors who will teach the freshman course in world civilization, 4 hold doctors' degrees, and 4 hold masters' degrees. All of the M. A.'s have completed at least a year's work toward their doctorates. Five of these instructors are pilots, all with combat experience. All have served at least 1 tour in an overseas theater, and all have at least 3 years' college teaching experience.

While none of these men approaches the academic distinction of being a national figure in the field of history, I believe each one is equipped to do a very creditable job. Moreover, I believe that the department of history is typical of our several departments.

We have seen something of our course of study and our faculty. Now let us examine briefly the most important thing in any educational institution—our students. Let's see how our cadets are appointed, where they come from, and how the best qualified are selected from the mass of applicants.

Any unmarried male citizen, between the ages of 17 and 22, who is of good character and who meets the prescribed standards of height and weight, is eligible to compete for an appointment to the Academy. In order to secure proper geographic representation, specific numbers of vacancies have been allocated to each State. For example, out of our first class of 300 cadets, the State of Oregon has been allocated 3 vacancies; this number was determined by Oregon's proportional representation in Congress. Each Senator and each Representative is authorized to nominate 10 candidates to compete statewide for the vacancies allocated to his State. About 85 percent of all vacancies will be filled by these congressional nominees. The remaining 15 percent will be filled by nominations from such authorities as the President. Vice President, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, District of Columbia, and Canal Zone, as well as by selection from Regular and Reserve members of the United States Air Force and Army, and sons of deceased veterans, Presidential nominations are reserved for sons of members of the United States Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard. Qualified sons of Medal of Honor winners are admitted without limit.1

After the prospective candidates receive their nominations from the sources just described, they will compete with each other throughout a comprehensive battery of examinations. Competition will be based on the Air Force medical examination for flying training, the Air Force pilot aptitude and officer quality test, and the college entrance examination board tests. These college board tests will include verbal and mathematical scholastic aptitude tests, together with achievement tests in intermediate mathematics, English composition, and social studies. Forty Air Force Academy examining centers have been established throughout the world to administer these

As I mentioned earlier, on July 11 we will open our doors to the first class of 300 cadets who have survived the rigid competition, which I have just described. Until the permanent installation is completed at Colorado Springs, it will be necessary to limit the size of our classes. In order to provide a gradual build-up in cadet strength, the Secretary of the Air Force is authorized to limit the size of the first four classes. The second class will be 400 strong with the third and fourth classes entering at 624 each. After that, we shall grow to our statutory limit of 2,496 cadets, plus foreign students and sons of Medal of Honor winners. Of course, as we increase the size and number of our classes, a corresponding increase will be made in the cadetships allocated to each source for cadets.

Public reception of the Air Force Academy has been wonderful from the beginning. It was good of you to come here today, and although my presentation has been rather long, I expect it leaves you with a great many unanswered questions. We would be delighted to answer your questions by hav-

¹This system of nomination and selection applies to the first four classes to enter the Air Force Academy. After that, barring changes in the law, the system will revert to that used for the other two service academies.

ing you visit us in Denver, either now during our preparatory phase, perhaps better from your point of view, after we open our doors in July.

I want now to leave you with this final thought about the Air Force Academy. In its location and facilities, in its course of study, in its faculty, and in its students—in all of these things, we believe that we are building an institution destined to play a distinguished role in the history of our country. You may be assured that those of us who have been honored with appointment to help create this institution are doing everything we possibly can to prove ourselves worthy of our affiliation with your United States Air Force Academy.

Investigation of Monopolistic Mergers in the Textile Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following material I have received from Mr. Solomon Barkin, director of research, Textile Workers Union of America, in support of the resolution I have filed to authorize the Committee on the Judiciary to investigate and study monopolistic mergers in the textile industry. There is a listing of such mergers and I am confident a study of the same by the Members of Congress is a necessary step to provide understanding of the extent of the merger movement and need of thorough examination of such mergers and consolidations in the textile industry during the last 2 years. The material follows:

STATEMENT OF TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, NEW YORK, N. Y.

TEXTILE MERGERS

The current merger movement represents the second wave of counsolidations in the textile industry. The first—the major one—occurred during the period from 1944 through 1948. It converted an industry of individual small units into one of giant corporations. During this period most current big textile organizations were created. We have since witnessed further consolidation of these organizations which have acquired competitive mills and have become more significant as other mills have been eliminated through liquidations—approximately 700 individual plants employing close to 200,000 persons since the end of the war.

The first movement of consolidations was induced by several factors. Corporations enjoyed large profits and employed them for extending control. The excess-profits tax law encouraged sales of mills by older owners or estates which wanted to leave the business. The low capitalization of the mills made them targets for high tax levies. Through sales, the owners could convert their profits into capital gains which were taxed at lower rates. The buyers acquired a favorable high tax base for their new properties and were able to pay off the former owners from the surpluses accumulated in the acquired companies. Others bought mills to acquire fabric sources at a time when textile materials were scarce. Selling agents and houses bought mills to assure supplies. Mills bought selling houses to

guide their own sales. The huge profits during the war and immediate postwar periods favored these mergers.

The new wave beginning in 1953 has already gained tremendous sweep. In 1953, 35 companies were bought, involving 70 plants with some 24,000 workers. In 1954, 46 companies involving some 136 plants and employing 42,000 workers were bought up or consolidated. Already in 1955 we have records of 18 companies with 27 mills employing 9,000 persons which have been consolidated and the trade press daily carries stories of additional impending mergers.

The current mergers are being encouraged by our tax laws. Mills which have incurred losses have been bought by profitable corporations in order to use these losses to offset their own profits and therefore escape substantial Federal taxes. Already several companies boast of substantial tax savings through such acquisitions. Other companies have been acquired because of the desire to diversify operations. More and more mill organizations have undertaken to produce fabrics of diverse fibers. The shaky financial position of many woolen and worsted organizations made them attractive targets for such mergers. Other companies have undertaken to diversify their operations by acquiring factoring organizations so that their integration extends from the manufacture of yarn to weaving cloth, to finishing, to converting, to selling and financing of their sales. In some instances the companies actually produce and sell finished consumer articles. The diversification has extended beyond the acquisition of woolen plants as companies have purchased finishing operations or competitive units. Several mills with selling houses have bought organizations to broaden the range of goods sold by their selling houses. Other mills have been purchased to acquire the prestige of one or another label.

The influence of the giant corporations has also been extended as many of them are now selling not only for their own mills but also for independent manufacturing organizations. These giant organizations now dominate very large segments of the textile industry. Many cover the broadest range of goods, produce fabrics of many different fibers and perform all the services from yarn manufacture through product selling and financing of customers.

These large corporations are beginning to consolidate their controls. They are setting up their own internal organizations and systems. Their preoccupation with the financial aspects of their organizations has absorbed their leadership. One consequence of these consolidations has been the liquidation of many newly acquired plants in their determination to integrate their operations. Similarly their power to coerce and resist union organization has been heightened. They present a more formidable tower of strength with which to combat unionism. Individual textile workers, brought up to know their employers on a face-to-face basis, are now widely separated from the site of the corporation's economic and policy controls. Production schedules and price levels are centrally determined.

The textile industry is now dominated in the basic spinning and weaving and finishing industries by a group of 43 interests who provide employment to approximately 350,000 workers out of the 685,000 workers in the basic textile industry (spinning, weaving, and finishing). It can no longer be presented as an illustration of the traditional competitive industry. Despite its multiplicity of products and special markets, it is now pervaded by giant corporations and taking on the characteristics of other oligopolist industries.

The process of industrial contraction and merger has resulted in the liquidation of mills, the displacement of some 200,000 workers, and the stranding of many impor-

tant communities dependent upon the tex-tile industry. The needs of the people and the communities have seldom been consid-ered in these financial adventures. The tax

gains secured from the Federal Treasury have been pocketed by the financial engineers of these moves. The United States Treasury, the community, and the workers have lost,

Textile Workers Union of America, Research Department, New York, N. Y.

Purchasing company or interest	Company acquired	Plant locations	Product	Date	Num- ber of plants in- volved	Num- ber of em- ployees in- volved
Abney Mills	Erwin Mills, Inc	North Carolina and Mississippi High Point, N. C. Chicago, Ill Buchanan, N. Y. Newark, N. J. Lonsdale, R. I.	Cotton	June 1953	1	6,000
Berkshire Fine Spinning Associates, Inc. Cannon Mills Co. Carlton Yarn Mills (Ben Rudisell	Lincoln Bleachery Hoover Hosiery Co Beaunit Mills (Frieda) plant	Lonsdale, R. I. Concord, N. C. Kings Mountain, N. C.	Dyeing, bleaching, and finishing. Hosiery.	March 1953 December 1953	1	300 250
Interests).	Beaunit Mills (Frieda) plant Belmont Woolen Yarn Mills		Woolen	November 1953	1	190
Cavedon Interests Chatham Manufacturing Co Empress Hosiery Mills Fulton Bag & Cotton Mills Goldfine Interests Hampton Mills	Leakeville Woolen Co	Woonsocket, R. I. Charlotte and Spray, N. C. Pottstown, I'a Savannah, Ga. Plymouth, Mass. Easthampton, Mass.	Hosiery Bags Worsted	March 1953	1 1	200
Hess, Goldsmith & Co., Inc	Goodman & Thiese Co. plant	Taylor, Pa	Dye thread	October 1953	1	
Horvath InterestsLa France Automotive Fabrics, Inc.	Profile Cotton Mills. West Textile Mills, Inc. Woodside Mills plant.	Jacksonville, Ala	CottondoAuto fabrie	September 1953 do May 1953	1 1 1 1	600 200
(Gerli Interests). Linen Thread Co	R. J. Ederer Co	Chicago, III Philadelphia, Pa. Chicago, III St. Louis, Mo.	Fish netting	December 1953	{ 1 1 1	250
MacKintosh Spg. Mills, Inc	Adams Net & Twine CoYarn Specialties, IncFieldcrest Mills	North Carolina and Virginia	Cotton	April 1953 September 1953	1 9	3, 740
Mohawk Carpet Mills, Inc	Scotland Mills Beaunit Mills plant Dunson Mills Vulcan Rubber Products Co.	Laurinburg, N. C	Cotton carpet	May 1953 October 1953 March 1963	1	400 1, 200
Reeves Bros., Inc	Ouroffer, Inc. Crystal Hosiery Mill. C. H. Masland & Sons Co. plant. F. Burkart Mig. Co.	Laurinburg, N. C. Cohoes, N. Y. La Grange, Ga. Brooklyn, N. Y. Buena Vista, Va. Stanfield, N. C. Philadelphia, Pa. Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, Louisbana	Coated fabric Rubberized fabric Hosiery Wilton rugs Batts, pads	September 1953 October 1953 November 1953 Spring 1953 September 1963	1	1,600
United Merchants & Manufacturers, Inc.	A. D. Juilliard & Co., Inc	lana, Brookford, N. C. Aragon, Ga Stottville, N. Y. New York Mills, N. Y.	Cotton	August 1953		2, 000
U. S. Finishing Co	Aspinook Corp	(Adams Mass	}do	November 1953	2	1, 300
Wamsutta Mills	Gera Mills, Inc	Jewett City, Conn Passale, N. J Roxboro, N. C	Woolen	June 1953	1	120
1954					S HOLL	
Altmann Interests Bartmann & Bixer Co. Barwick (E. T.) Mills	High Rock Mills plant Powdreil & Alexander, Inc. Morrill Manufacturing Co. Monarch Rug Mills	Philmont, N. Y. Charlotte, N. C. Dalton, Ga.	Woolen	January 1954 July 1954 February 1954 Spring 1954	1	100
Burlington Mills Corp. 3	Interstate Hosiery Co	do. Elkton, Md. Massachusetts, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina.	Hosiery, nets Woolen and wor- sted, cotton, and rayon.	January 1954 July 1954	1	7, 900
	Goodall-Sanford, Inc	Maine, Massachusetts, and North Carolina.	Wool mohair			5, 150
Collins & Alkman Corp	Klopman Mills plant Textileather Corp Bolta Corp	Carolina. Siler City, N. C. Toledo, Ohlo. Lawrence, Mass	Synthetic Coating, plastic Plastic sheet	May 1954 April 1954	1 1	550
Goldsmith, Feinberg, Heinerfeld Interests.	Julius Kayser & Co	Lawrence, Mass. New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, Missis-	Hosiery and knit- wear.	May 1954	25	2, 500
II. & B. American Machine Co	Susquehanna Mills	sippi, and Quebec. Sunbury, Pa	Synthetic, rayon,	March 1954	. 1	500
Little (C. L.) Interests	Hill Spg. Co. Geltman Sponging Co. Patchogue Plymouth Mills Corp	Roxboro, N. C. Rhode Island. New York, Massachusetts,	Cotton	May 1954 February 1954 July 1954	1 1 4	1,000
Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co	Tilo Roofing Co., Glasfloss division Robbins Mills Dalmo Victor Co M. B. Manufacturing Co Newmarket Manufacturing Co	Georgia. Hicksville, N. Y. North Carolina and Virginia. San Carlos, Calif. New Haven, Conn. Lowell, Mass.; Newmarket, N. H.; Machias, Maine.	etc. Glass fiber	May 1954 do	5 1 1 3	4, 500
	American Woolen Co.	Maine, New Hamsphire, Ver- mont, Massachusetts, Connecti-		do	15	5, 000
Wyandotte Worsted Co	Blackinton Mills, Inc.	cut, Kentucky, North Carolina, Georgia. Conestee, S. C.	Woolen	March 1954	1	200

Footnotes at end of table.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - APPENDIX

Textile Workers Union of America, Research Department, New York, N. Y.—Continued
SUPPLEMENTARY LISTING OF SIGNIFICANT TEXTILE MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS JANUARY 1953-FEBRUARY 1955

Purchasing company or interest	Company acquired	Plant locations	Product	Date	Num- ber of plants in- volved	Num- ber of em- ployees in- volved
1953				10000		
Borg (G. W.) Corp. Campus Sweater & Sportswear Co Daughdrill (J. Hal) Celanese Corp. of America L. Eugenie of Empress Hosiery Mills. Edward G. Jones of Jones, Cardner & Real.	C. J. Seifert Co. La Crosse Knitwear Co. Kingston Mills Marco Chemicals, Inc. Prestige, Inc., plant Howard-Arthur Manufacturing Co.	Jefferson, Wis. La Crosse, Va. Cartersville, Ga. Linden, N. J. Pottstown, Pa. Fali River, Mass.	Wool carding Knitwear Cotton Polyester resins Hosiery Cotton	March 1953 September 1953 April 1953 May 1953 August 1953 October 1953	1 1 1 1 1	500
Millville Manufacturing Co	Selma Cotton Mill Millhiser Bag Co., Inc. D. L. Rug Co., plant. Mayfair Candlewick, Inc., and Mayfair Tifters, Inc.	Selma, N. C. Richmond, Va. Dunmore, Pa. Calhoun, Ga.	do	January 1953 April 1953 February 1953 March 1953	1 1 2	
American Fabrics Co	Noon Bag Co. Clear River Woolen Co. Deltox Rug Co. Raycrest Mills, Inc., Yarn Depart-	Central Falls, R. I. Portland, Oreg Chepacket (Bridgeton), R. I. Oshkosh, Wis Pawtucket, R. I.	Laces Hogs Hoolens Fiber carpets Rayons	August 1954 December 1954 September 1954 October 1954 Early 1954	1 1 1 1	150 30 250
Beatty (Carroll) & Amburn (John)	Mooresville Mills, plant No. 1 Dalton Carpet Mills	Mooresville, N. C	Cotton and rayon	do	1 1	
Carleton Woolen Mills Clayton Carpet Mills Combat Uniform Corp H. Daroff & Sons	Dulton Rug Mills. Wilton Woolen Co., plant. Anchor Rug Mills Cashmere-Wool, Ltd. Botany Mills, Inc.	do Winthrop, Maine. York, S. C Brooklyn, N. Y Passaic, N. J	Woolen auto fabries Cotton rugs Blankets Woolens and wor- steds	do. November 1954. March 1954. July 1954. August 1954	1 1 1 1 1 1	2,000
W. J. Dickey & Sons, Inc	C. R. Daniels, Inc., plant. Fonda Glove Lining Co. Wilmington Hosiery Mills. North Billerica Co.	Dickeyville (Duniels), Md Fonda, N. Y	Knit goods Hosicry Woolens	do	1 1 1 1	200 125 225 180
chinherg (Irving) and Haithwaite (Albert), Glasgo, Inc. Gotham Hoslery, Inc. Hakeo Corp. Hanes Hoslery Mills Co. Hargo Woolen Mills Hesslein & Co., Inc. Kayser (Julius) & Co., Inc. Kayser (Julius) & Co., Inc. Liberty Fabrics of New York, Inc.	Brown Knitting Co. Century Beverly Corp. Interstate Hosicry Co., plant? Meridian Industries Prestige, Inc., plant. Wilkes Hosiery Mills Charlestown Woolen Mills Textron, Inc., plant. Catalina, Inc. Davis Mills, Inc. Wamsutta Mills.	Warsaw, N. Y Pottstown, Pa Lanslale, Pa Meridian, Miss Tamaqua, Pa North Wilkesboro, N. C Keene, N. H Williamstown, S. C Los Angeles, Calif Englewood, N. J Naw Beilford, Mass	do do do do do coton print cloth Knit goods Net laces	January 1954 December 1954 July 1954 November 1954 do July 1954	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	175 150 800
Manchester Engraving Corp	Wamsutta Mills Somersot Mills Cheney Bros. (engraving department) S. Blumenthal & Co., plant. Union Asbestos & Rubber Co., plant. Indian Head Mills plant Paul A. Waters Co. (Bellingham Combing Co.) Beett Mills t.	New Hedford, Muss. Roxboro, N. C Manchester, Conn Woonsocket, R. I Paterson, N. J Nashua, N. H Bellingham, Mass.	Cottons Cotton towels Engraving Worsteds Asbestos felts Dye and finish Worsted tops	September 1954 August 1954	1 1 1 1 1	1, 500 100 50 17: 250
Overseas Discount Corp	Boott Mills Fine Spun Mills Mandeville Mill No. 2 Heritage Carpet Mills, Inc. Maine Belting Co.	Lowell, Mas New Jersey and Pennsylvania Carollton, Ga Chattanooga, Tenn	Cottons	December 1954. June 1954. January 1954. September 1954. May 1954.	1 5	300
ee Ling Mills Corp. (subsidiary of Prestige, Inc.). mith (Alexander), Inc. southan Interests Seamloc Carpet Co. Standard Hosiery Mills	H. R. H. Silk Hosiery Mills, Inc Julius Kayser & Co. plant Seneca Knitting Mills Goodall-Sanford, Inc., mill C Burlington Mills Corp. plant (Oneita	Quincy, Ill., and Moberly, Mo Liberty, S. C. Seneca Fulls, N. Y. Sanford, Maine Burlington, N. C.	For carpets	October 1954 September 1954 June 1954 December 1954 1954	1 1 1 1	356 1: 7:
Stevens (J. P.) & Co., Inc	plant). John P. Maguire & Co., Inc. 16.	John P. Maguire & Co. and its affiliate Amoskeng Co. each own 50 percent control of Field-	Factor 10	August 1954	(10)	(10)
Strutwear, Inc	Hayward Hosicry Co	erest Mills, Inc. Ipswich, Mass. North Carolina and Virginia	Hoslery	September 1954	1 5	100 4, 500
Fraum, David Co., Inc United Industrial Syndicate, Inc	Jas. Lees & Sons Co., Columbia & Minerva Yarn Division. Louisville Textiles, Inc. Delaware River Jute Mills (branch of	Carlisle, Pa	Woolen yarns Cotton and rayon	December 1954 September 1954	1	400
Wall Rope Works	Delaware River Jute Mills (branch of American Manufacturing Co.). Quitman Mills of Alexander Smith,	Philadelphia, Pa	Cotton carpet yarns.	August 1954	1	20
Vest (William H., Jr.)	Inc. Winchester Knitting Mills	Winchester, Va	Knit goods	do	1	7
Airedale Worsted Mills, Inc. (Axel- rod). Arms Textile Manufacturing Co	Bachmann Uxbridge Worsted plant (Killingley Worsted Mill). Crown Manufacturing Co. P.	Stoney Point, N. C	Worsteds	The state of the s	1 3	20
Berkowitz (Leonard) & Squire (David). Berkshire Fine Spinning Associates,	Ansonia Mills, Inc. ¹³ Hathaway Manufacturing Co. ¹⁴	R. I.). East Taunton, Mass New Bedford Mass	Cottons and synthet-	do March 1955	1000	1,80
Inc. Budd Co	Continental-Diamond Fibre Co.11	Delaware, Indiana, Pennsylvania,	vulcanized fiber,	February 1955		2,00
Chandler Manufacturing Co Dixie Mercerizing Co. (Dalton Can-	H. B. Wiggin's Sons Co	South Carolina. Bloomfield, N. J. Royston, Ga.	plastic. Coating of fabrics Cottons	January 1955	1	30
dlewick, Inc.). Gottleih (Abe) & Associates		New York and New Jersey Spruce Pine, N. C. Whitney, S. C.	Laces Hosiery Cottons	January 1955	1 1	45 82 70

Footnotes at end of table.

Textile Workers Union of America, Research Department, New York, N. Y .- Continued

SUPPLEMENTARY LISTING OF SIGNIFICANT TEXTILE MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS, JANUARY 1953-FEBRUARY 1955-Continued

Purchasing company or interest	Company acquired	Plant locations	Product	Date	Num- ber of plants in- volved	Num- ber of em- ployees in- volved
1955	#1					
Javian (Martin)	Richard Borden Mills Corp., Shaw-	Fall River, Mass	Cotton and blended	January 1955		200
Libby-Owens-Ford Glass Co	mut Division. Glass Fibres, Inc. ¹⁷ Atlantic Rayon Corp	Ohio, California	yarns. Glass fiber. Dye synthetic fabrics.	March 1955 February 1955		1,150 300
Merrimack Textile Fibers, Inc	Newmarket Manufacturing Co., mill	Lowell, Mass	Rayons	do		
Picturesque Hoslery Co. (subsidiary	No. 2. Sanson hosiery plant	Allentown, Pa	Hosiery dyeing	January 1955	1	
of S. J. Kreiss, Inc.). Princeton Rayon Corp. (Tanbro Fac- tors Corp., Alfred Martin and Stan-	Century Ribbon Mills, Inc	Pennsylvania and Virginia	Ribbons	do	4	650
ley Tannenbaum). Rhodes Rhyme Manufacturing Co United Merchants & Manufacturers, Inc.	Summitt Textile Mills * Julius Kayser & Co. plant	Lincolnton, N. C	Cottonsdo	February 1955 January 1955	1	

Textile.
Acquisition in progress.
Plant sold to Sunbury Textiles.
Form of new organization undetermined.
Facilities leased.

Facilities leased.
 Working control purchased from Bankers Security Corp.
 Purchased from Burlington Mills Corp. through Windrim Corp.
 Plant operations will be reduced in scope.
 Merged into Chester Tricot Mills.
 Fieldcrest Mills, Inc., has 9 mills (producing cotton and wool textiles and hosiery) which employ a total of 3,740 employees.

Purchased from J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc

All yarn dyeing unit employing 15.

Purchased from Ziskind estate.

To form Berkshire Hathaway, Inc. Merger virtually completed.

Purchase virtually consummated.

Purchase through Johnstom Mills Co.

New merged company to be called L-O-F Glass Fibers Corp.; will be result of merger of Glass Fibers, Inc., and 2 fiberglas divisions of L-O-F. L-O-F to own 53 percent of the stock.

Name changed to Bonview Mills, Inc. Purchase from J & J Spinning Mill.

Aid-for-Asia Program Now Up for Decision-Big Question Is How Much Money Congress Will Allot Critical

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, we have heard many conflicting statements on the question of how. and to what extent, we should continue our aid to underdeveloped countries of There have been many pronouncements, but I believe we are entitled to know a good many more basic facts about our aid program, about its financial and organizations requirements. I would like to draw the attention of the Congress to the article by Mr. Dana Adams Schmidt in the New York Times of March 6, which presents some of the information necessary to our study of this grave problem.

AID-FOR-ASIA PROGRAM NOW UP FOR DECISION-BIG QUESTION IS HOW MUCH MONEY CON-GRESS WILL ALLOT CRITICAL AREA

(By Dana Adams Schmidt)

WASHINGTON, March 5 .- The United States is moving into a period of intense economic competition with the Soviet Union and Communist China. And the most crucial com-petition is now developing in the area of free Asia stretching from Afghanistan and Pakistan to Korea and Japan. On this much, almost everyone is agreed, certainly in the administration, and probably in Congress.

But a pall of frustrating obscurity hangs over the future of United States foreign aid, for two reasons:

1. There is some doubt whether Congress

is in a mood to appropriate the money needed.

2. There is a great deal of doubt whether the administration will call for and Congress provide an organization adequate to the task, for the existing Foreign Operations Administration goes out of existence June 30, as directed by Congress.

This obscurity is particularly frustrating at this time because the Bangkok conference last week and the Afro-Asian meeting at Bandung, Indonesia, scheduled for April, are focusing the attention of the critical area on what the United States, the free world, and democracy are doing and intend to do for Asia.

The center of gravity of United States aid has shifted heavily from Europe to the Far East. Thus in fiscal 1952 Europe got 75 percent of all aid funds, military and economic. This fiscal year Europe's share was down to 25 percent and the Far East was assigned 55 percent. And now, in fiscal 1956, it is expertly estimated that some 75 percent of all aid funds (and about 60 percent of the nonmilitary funds) will go to the countries of Asia that lie in an enormous arc around Communist China from the Himalayas to the China Sea.

FIGURES TO COME

What this may mean in absolute figures for each of the countries involved will not be made public until the administration presents figures to Congress in April.

In the meantime, some authoritative estimates have become available of the programs for the fiscal year ending June 30. modifications dictated innumerable by changing needs, the program estimates look

Indochina	\$100,000,000
South Korea	280, 000, 000
Formosa	100, 000, 000
Japan	
Philippines	20,000,000
Thailand	36, 000, 000
Indonesia	7, 000, 000
India	85, 000, 000
Pakistan	70, 000, 000
Afghanistan	1, 600, 000

Total

799, 600, 000

Next year's programs or obligational authority requested from Congress will total about \$1 billion, as might be guessed from Secretary of the Treasur George M. Humphrey's statement in Chicago a week ago. He said actual expenditures in fiscal 1956 were budgeted at \$585 million. The meaningful figure in foreign-aid programs is the one for obligational authority.

Most of the quantitative difference between this year's and next year's programs will be accounted for by creation of a special fund, probably \$200 million, to be used for regional purposes in the arc of Asia in question. The fund would thus be outside of the individual-country programs, for projects transcending national borders.

Except in Japan, whose prosperity depends on that of all free Asia, the response of Asian countries to the whole idea of a special Asian-aid program has hitherto been slow, suspicious and altogether disappointing.

Existence of the fund, the FOA planners hope, may induce the Asians to take the initiative in forming some kind of regional organization.

HOPE FOR COOPERATION

The FOA has no illusions about conjuring up an Asian equivalent of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. But it modestly ventures that the Colombo plan group, which includes nearly all the Asian countries concerned in the Asian-aid scheme, might see fit to establish a secretariat general of the Colombo plan.

The Colombo plan group was founded in 1950 for purposes of mutual aid. It now includes all the arc of Asia countries-Afghanistan, Formosa, and South Korea-as well as Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. It is an economic grouping, not to be confused with the Colombo powers Pakistan, India, Burma, Ceylon, and Indonesia-now organizing the Afro-Asian conference in Indonesia.

Some of Washington's best economists think a billion-dollar United States aid program could be adequate in fiscal 1956-if it is supplemented by more private capital, if some additional funds are obtained from Europe, if the share allocated to Korea and Formosa is not thrown out of all proportion by the burden on civilian economies of overlarge military establishments.

Congressional hearings indicate that many Members want to blast FOA to pieces, redistributing technical aid to the State Department, economic aid to Commerce, defense support and military equipment to the Pentagon, and distribution of surplus goods to the Department of Agriculture.

POLITICS AND STASSEN

These Members of Congress appear motivated by their dislike of "giveaway" programs and, sometimes, politically by dislike of the smooth-spoken FOA Director, Harold Stassen.

The astonishing fact is that no voice of any prominence has come to defend the integrity of the present FOA organization, which was formed after much study by the President's Reorganization Order No. 7 in August 1953.

Mr. Stassen, for fear that he will appear to be trying to keep himself in a job, has not yet pointed out in this context that unification of aid activities under one roof saved money and personnel; that, by again scattering this work around Washington, Congress may defeat its own ends; that administration of the program may be delayed 6 months by the proposed reorganization; that this may prevent the United States from repelling the Communist economic challenge.

The President must make up his mind about the aid program by the end of this month or early April at the latest. Then Congress will decide.

In the meantime, the American public has heard very little about the issues involved. The foreign-aid debate has gone on in private, mainly between Mr. Stassen and Mr. Humphrey. From these two men the public is entitled very soon to hear a great deal more about the financial and organizational requirements of foreign aid.

Citizen and Nation Need Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a splendid article, Citizen and Nation Need Security, written by John Harris, and appearing in the Boston Sunday Globe of March 13, 1955:

CITIZEN AND NATION NEED SECURITY—NEW LOYALTY REGULATIONS GIVE ONLY LITTLE MORE ASSURANCE THAN THE OLD RULES—NEITHER WILL INTRADEPARTMENTAL CONFUSION BE PREVENTED

(By John Harris)

Washington, March 12.—Two psychiatrists recently told a group of fellow experts gathered in Chicago a tale as shocking as any that ever emerged from that city.

They spoke of intensified anxiety, panic, paranoid trends and incipient mental collapse among 30 of their patients in the Washington area who had come in contact with the Government's security program.

This could create an impression as exaggerated as it is distressful. Or it might be considered as just one of the hazards of government employment in an age made jittery by the very atomic weapons devised to protect its security.

However, we look upon it, and its import cannot be casually dismissed. It emphasizes aspects of our loyalty-security system—unspecified charges, faceless accusers—that are not of concern alone to our Federal workers. They are of undeniable importance to all who inherited a birthright of libertles with the declaration of this Nation's independence from alien tyranny. Who, if his loyalty and character were placed in doubt, would want to find himself stripped of any of his rights of self-defense?

DEFENSE OR DESTRUCTION

The chief dangers demanding thorough examination can be expressed most briefly in two questions:

The right to confront and cross-examine an accused is inalienable it is a natural, human right brutally suppressed by totalitarian powers. It has been vigorously upheld by President Eisenhower on his speech at Abilene. Is this right to become a casualty of the cold war?

Denouncing men on loosely drawn charges, dismissal without hearings or judgments by loyalty boards which themselves may not notice the identity of the accuser—must such star chamber proceedings return in the 20th century in the guise of a lifeguard of the Republic?

Fortunately, direct answers to these vital questions are now being sought in the Congress and before the Supreme Court.

An interested onlooker has to be certain just where to direct his attention. As so often in Washington, there is a bewildering number of related activities going on at the same time. The whirling dervish act of turnabout witnesses, indictment of recanters, disclosure that a Treasury security officer was himself a security risk. One committee is about ready to track down who promoted Peress, another committee is exploring the numbers game in which the administration has been charged with lumping together all sorts of security risks to obtain a bigger figure of dismissals than was reached under the old Truman loyalty program.

BASIC SHORTCOMINGS

The really basic shortcomings of the security system are currently under examination in the Peters case before the Supreme Court to which Attorney General Brownell has just addressed a 120-page brief, and at hearings which opened this past week before the Senate subcommittee headed by Senator Hubbert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota. Humphrey is seeking creation of a bipartisan blue-ribbon commission to review our Federal loyalty-security programs.

These, most rapidly since the time of the Hiss case, have developed helter-skelter while the major parties buslly produced a welter of confusion with their rival claims to be chief exposer of subversives.

The Attorney General has promulgated a new set of rules to meet some of the criticism directed at the security setup.

He has sought commendably to make its operation uniform among the various departments and equally fair and impartial to all Federal employees. The timing of this endeavor does seem to be a direct response to last December's embarrassing interdepartmental tragic comedy that saw Wolf Ladejinsky cleared by the State Department, rejected by the Agriculture Department, and hired by the Foreign Operations Administration.

CONFUSION AMONG DEPARTMENTS

Brownell's answer was a rule that Government agencies act "to avoid conflicting evaluations," a stricture which must be viewed in the light of executive orders that department heads clear their speeches to avoid confusion—and yet over the years these spokesmen have on occasion talked as though they represented different governments.

The new rules of the Attorney General, in general, have been criticized as little more than a rewording of protective rights pre-

sumably in existence since the start of the

loyalty-security program.

There is, indeed, little more assurance under the new rule that charges will be any more specifically delineated than under the old rule.

There is still to be no central, supervising, coordinating, ultimate appeal agency such as seems to be an objective of the Humphrey inquiry.

Critics stress that the Attorney General, in drafting these rules, did not touch upon the fundamental issue of an accused man's right to face his accuser and challenge his veracity.

HELP OR HAMPER FBI?

This criticism ignores the fact that Brownell expressed himself explicitly on that identical point in the brief he submitted in the Peters case almost immediately before making public his new rules. In this brief, the Attorney General contended, as have his predecessors, that it would endanger national security to disclose the identity of confidential informants.

Three years ago, in the Bailey case, the Supreme Court split 4 to 4 on this issue of accusers being required under due process to face the accused. The Peters case is an effort to resolve this question.

On the opening day of his public hearings, HUMPHREY declared he did not want to see the FBI hampered in its work through the public identification of "informants placed within the Communist Party by the FBI." Our national security must at all times be paramount.

The difficulty still confronting the Justice Department, which organized our security system, is to find a procedure that protects both the Nation and the full rights of individuals. The disgraceful performances of face-about witnesses underscores the necessity, as a minimum essential, that a genuine test of veracity be established in any absence of cross examination. There is urgency.

Our Republic's dedication to the rights of free men, the very keystone of our liberties, is our proudest stand before the admiring world.

The Economic Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a surprising and rather wonderful thing when a congressional committee composed of both New Dealers and Old Dealers—liberals, conservatives, and ultra-conservatives—can get together unanimously on a report on the status of our economy and on the President's economic proposals.

Yet that is what happened this week when the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, composed of 7 Senators and 7 Representatives—with 4 Democrats and 3 Republicans in each group—made its annual report to Congress as required under the Employment Act of 1946, the Full Employment Act.

But before the editorialists begin to write rapturous pieces about the new atmosphere of economic unity on Capitol Hill, it might be useful to see just how we 14 committee members of such diverse personal views really managed to get together on a unanimous report on so explosive and controversial an area of national debate as economic policy.

We could agree, of course, on a wide number of fundamentals, such as allout defense against Communist expansion, maintenance of a strong free-enterprise system, the fact that we had a recession last year but want to have prosperity from now on, and so on. As a matter of fact, there are broad areas of agreement among Democrats and Republicans on a great number of things, including virtually all basic American principles, and I think we sometimes tend to underestimate this unity on the really big things while we pay much more attention to the political fights over details.

Nevertheless, in order to achieve the goal of a unanimous report, the joint committee had to narrow down quite a bit the scope of the report, and then start refining the language. Thus, alstart refining the language. though the Democrats were inclined to say things were not nearly good enough, the Republicans wanted to point out, instead, how much better they are than they were a year ago.

The result was compromise on both sides with such language as this:

Employment and production have gained about one-half of the ground lost, and unemployment has receded about onethird. Most indices in recent weeks have been up.

While this sort of compromise gave some substance to the idea that there is broad general agreement on many aspects of the economy, it was not satisfying to either group on the committee. So the result was that after our unanimous committee report, we then added a bunch of supplementary reports in which Democrats took a critical look at the present economy and of the President's economic proposals, while the Republicans took the opposite view-that things were pretty fine. And, of course, that was to be expected. For these divergent views are not just politics-they represent basic and fundamental differences of approach of the two political parties.

CAUTION

Throughout the report there is evidence that a good part of the present steam behind the economy comes from unusually high-volume, bunched-up automobile production. The question is asked: What happens if auto production begins to slacken later in the year, as it apparently will have to? What happens to steel, glass, rubber, and other related industries, and how do we take up the slack? In this connection, the approach taken by my public-works bill received broad support among members of the Joint Economic Committee, particularly on the Democratic side. But even the Republican members saw a need for more public-works activity, particularly in the distressed areas.

CONTRAST

While both Democrats and Republicans on the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress were agreeing in principle that the Government must be prepared to take a strong hand in meeting any basic economic dislocation before it causes deep distress to the whole country, the reactivated Hoover Commission, heavily loaded with ultraconservatives. came out with a report urging elimination of many of the Government's best weapons in the economic arsenal against depression. It wants to get Government out of business so much and so badly that, if we were to follow the Hoover approach, I am afraid we would end up all over again, as we did once before under his direction, having no business

Tariffs and Textiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HENDERSON L. LANHAM

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, with leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I am including a letter published in the Christian Science Monitor for March 15, by Ernest H. Gaunt, of Orlando, Fla., entitled "Tariffs and Textiles "

This letter very lucidly and forcefully sets forth the true facts with reference to what has happened in our so-called reciprocal trade agreements program.

It is truly a most telling argument in favor of the position friends of the American textile industry took on the floor of the House recently when H. R. 1 was being considered.

Our position has been grossly misconstrued and exaggerated. We insisted first of all that if we were to have reciprocal trade agreements they really be "two-way streets" with the tariff barriers of other countries lowered in exchange for the lowering of our own tariff rates. As Mr. Gaunt forcefully points out, this has not been true of such reciprocal trade agreements in the past.

In the next place, the friends of the textile and other industries threatened with extinction or severe crippling by the further lowering of our tariffs indicated should have more adequate protection against competition from the importation of products made by low paid wage earners in other countries. other words, we were trying not to block the passage of H. R. 1, or to oppose the principle of expanded foreign trade. We were trying simply to strengthen and make really effective the escape clause and peril point provisions now in the act but really almost wholly ineffective.

The letter follows:

TARIFFS AND TEXTILES

To the Christian Science Monitor:

One should not lightly undertake to cross pens with George Ericson. However, it appears to me that in his column of January 29 there are flaws in his definitions and assumptions, important enough to negate his reasoning on behalf of still lower tariffs than we now have.

Free competitive enterprise in American tradition and practice means antimonopoly and fair competition. Unless that American concept is effectively introduced into world trade and sincerely accepted, there cannot be free and fair competitive enterprise in imports and exports.

The United States is the only great manufacturing country that has laws against monopoly, cartels, and unfair competition. All others either permit or encourage domestic and exporting cartels; and many subsidize exports with State funds, guaranteeing a profit to their manufacturers. This is neither free nor fair international compe-

Tariffs are not the only barriers to international trade, but quotas and currency restrictions may limit it more than our tariffs. Our import barriers are as nothing compared with the barriers to trade employed by Britain; and compared with the import barriers of all the countries that have currency and exchange control. American tariffs average about 5 percent of the value of all our imports; and on the same basis British tariffs average more than 25 percent.

Foreign inconvertible currencies are implements of world trade manipulation; and in most countries outside of North America, exchange rates are not related to economic value or actual purchasing power, but instead they bob up and down unpredictably according to the whims of their respective governments. And our tariffs are based on these often rigged foreign values, not on American values as they should be.

Outside of North America at the end of 1953, there appeared to be no country whose tariffs or trade restrictions against American goods generally were not more severe than years earlier. American cotton goods today are virtually excluded from the domesmarkets of the foreign textile manufacturing countries.

"Gradual" reductions of the tariff beyond the major reductions of the 1930's and 1940's are not logical when the present level of tariffs is already permitting a heavy and ungradual inflow of goods from low-wage, subsidized exporting countries.

India's average hourly wage of its 700,000 cotton and jute workers is 91/2 cents; Japan's 131/2; American southern cotton-rayon mills \$1.30; New England cotton mills \$1.41. Worsted mill average hourly wages in New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania are about \$1.50.

"Benefits the consumer" is the classic argument made for years by free-trade and low-tariff proponents. But this contention completely overlooks the long-range damages to consumers when a foreign monopoly of our market is obtained—as happened in world wars in silk and rubber.

Thoughtful American consumers can understand that if the vital textile industry, normally employing so many thousands at good wages, is sacrificed now when there is no fighting war, there would not, in time of great wars, be anywhere near enough producing capacity to give our fighting men or our civilian consumers the necessary continuity of supply, or fair prices, or sufficient volume.

Textile manufacturing requires highly skilled labor, a higher proportion of total cost of finished unit than automobiles, and cannot be used in a moving belt technique.

Prudent consumers with a long-range in-terest do not want foreign "bargains" based on foreign low wages and unfair competitive actions, Nor will our American consumers, if they are given a chance to know the facts. want American jobs exported to foreign countries-the foreign factories running full or overtime, at a profit, while our same lines of manufacturing are gradually destroyed. This has happened in 1953 and 1954.

As to helping Japan or other unfortunate or backward countries to keep out of the Communist orbit-there are better ways to strengthen them than by seriously weakening our home industries.

ERNEST H. GAUNT.

ORLANDO, FLA.

Congressional Salary Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Dr. Ernest R. Bartley, associate professor of political science, University of Florida, Gainesville, is at the present time on leave from his duties at the University of Florida and is doing some research here in the Nation's Capital. I have read two of Dr. Bartley's textbooks on American National Government, and I consider him an eminent authority in that field. I have been closely associated with Dr. Bartley during the past several weeks, as his research takes him into the everyday work of a Congressman, and I believe he already has a knowledge of the problems of Congressmen that is second to no man in the country.

I was particularly grateful to receive an unsolicited letter from Dr. Bartley concerning the matter of the pay raises for members of the Federal judiciary and of the Congress of the United States. I have asked Dr. Bartley for permission to include this good letter in the Congressional Record, and he has granted me that permission. I take great pleasure in presenting this very thought-provoking letter of Dr. Bartley:

ROCKVILLE, MD., March 9, 1955. Hon. D. R. Matthews,

House Office Building,

support of this measure.

Washington, D. C.

DEAR BILLY: Necessary upward revisions of the pay scales for members of the Federal judiclary and of the Congress of the United States have now been made. I should like to take this opportunity of stating how much I admired your courageous stand in

As you know, my profession is that of college teacher of political science, with particular reference to American National Government and American constitutional and administrative law. I am coauthor of 2 college-level textbooks in American National Government, both of which have received fairly wide acceptance by my professional colleagues. I am the author, too, of books, monographs, and articles in the field of public law. While I speak only for myself, and certainly not for the institution from which I am presently on leave, it has long been my opinion as a student of American Government that one measure necessary to the maintenance of a high order of judicial and congressional operations was the adoption of a pay scale somewhate commensurate with the important obligations assumed by the members of these two branches.

There should be little quarrel with the pay raise for Federal judges, for the National Government was in the ridiculous position of paying to its judges lesser salaries than those received by the State court judges of a number of States. Some Federal district court judges had resigned in recent years because they were no longer able to meet their personal needs from their salaries. And it should be remembered that Federal judges cannot engage in lucrative outside activities.

There has always been an understandable reluctance on the part of Congress toward raising its own salaries. For that reason congressional compensation has never, at

any period of our national history, correctly reflected the responsibility imposed on the Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives. Congress has been reluctant to vote to its Members even the necessary amounts to run their offices effectively, with the net result that individual Members have had to secure from other sources, in many cases, the wherewithal to operate.

Some Members engaged in outside business activities, activities which interfered on more than one occasion with their congressional duties. They retained law practices, farms, or businesses, and actively participated in the management and functions of those enterprises. Some of the more adept speakers made the rounds of the lecture circuits. supplementing their income from this source. Some fortunate Members were and are independently wealthy, their congressional compensation amounting almost to peanuts. Some Members made up annual deficits from savings, borrowed money, or placed relatives on the office payrolls. And some, a very few to the great credit of Congress, made up their losses in salary from sources which, if not strictly illegal, hardly could be considered moral,

The reluctance to raise salary arose from the understandable desire of most Members to be reelected. History shows that the numbers of Members failing of reelection after each pay raise has been somewhat higher than the normal attrition rate. While it would be difficult to say categorically that the pay raise issue alone contributed to the defeat of any given Member, there can be no doubt that the question was a contributing factor in many instances. This has been particularly true where the defeated solon represented a primarily rural district. Even the great Henry Clay was reelected by the narrowest margin of his long career following a congressional pay raise. So great were the repercussions following the congressional pay raise in 1873 from \$5,000 to \$7,500, that in 1874 the act was repealed and the salary went back to \$5,000.

It may be of interest to note, however, that the electorate has not differentiated, in deciding the issue at the polls, between those who favored and those who voted against such an increase. Any Member of Congress who has voted against a pay raise has found that his acceptance of the increase has been sufficient to place him among the group for whom some voters at least have asked political retribution.

The duties of a Member of Congress in this complex age are far more exacting and timeconsuming than they were in less hurried days years ago. Members of the present Conwho have served for long periods of time have spoken on many occasions of the greatly increased periods of residence necessary in Washington nowadays as compared with much lesser periods even as little as 25 years ago. Being a Congressman today is a full-time job. Where congressional sessions in the very early days of the Republic lasted but 2 or 3 months, sessions now drag, in most instances, from January into August. And the period after August till the first of the year must be spent with the Member's constituents. No longer is much time available for handling outside businesses unless that time is taken (one might say stolen) from congressional responsibilities. The cold, hard fact of the matter was that, prior to the 1955 pay-raise action, the people were paying parttime salaries and expecting Congressmen to discharge full-time responsibilities.

The \$15,000-a-year compensation (\$12,500 plus a \$2,500 taxable expense account) in effect on January 1, 1955, could not begin to meet even the personal needs of most Members of Congress. The maintenance of two homes was necessary in most cases. Congressmen with children were faced with the necessity of bringing those children with

them and enrolling them in school in September, or else not having their families with them in Washington. Necessary trips back to one's district became a financial drain, especially for those Members representing areas geographically distant from Washington. Most voters did not and do not understand that a Congressman is reimbursed for but one round trip to his home State during each session, regular and special, of the Congress.

Contrary to popular belief, the average Member of Congress is not engaged in riotous and profligate living. Rents are high in the District of Columbia and surrounding area. A \$250 per month furnished apartment is not, as some might think, a lavish establishment. Further, there are many expenses of a social nature which are not incurred by persons in the ordinary course of living. I have observed, for example, the spectacle of persons visiting Washington practically demanding that their Congressman take them to lunch or dinner-and that he pick up the check. (Many of the persons are frequently more wealthy than the Congressman.) A number of Members of Congress have told me that they average \$10-15 per week buying lunches for other persons. The instance is small but illustrative of the special type of financial demands made on our Members of Congress.

Office expense, too, is a drain in many cases. Some of the independently wealthy Members have set up extra offices and hired personnel out of their own pockets. The purpose of "the additional help is not altogether, as cynics might allege, to insure the reelection of the Member involved. Rather, so I have observed, the out-of-pocket expenditures have resulted in better service to the constituents concerned. Not so fortunate are the Member of Congress and his constituents where that Member is not independently wealthy. There is little excuse for inadequate compensation where the essential work of Congress is concerned. Such niggardliness is nothing but the falsest sort of

The fact of the matter is, of course, that the pay raise voted at this session of Congress still does no more than bring the present Member up to slightly less than the buying power of compensation that existed in 1939 when the salary was but \$10,000 a year. Such a statement may sound unbelievable, yet with the decline in purchasing power of the dollar and the increase in Federal income taxation, such is the case. It may well be argued that the 1955 judicial congressional pay raise legislation still does not provide anywhere near adequate compensation.

It is a fact, also, that persons of comparable ability and in positions of trust in private industry with no greater responsibility (or less responsibility) receive far greater compensation than even that set in the present act. The majority of Members of Congress could earn far greater sums in private undertakings than they ever will as Members of Congress.

It is no argument to say that Members of the present Congress were elected knowing what the compensation was and that therefore they had a sort of unwritten "contract" not to change the rate. Such an argument applied down through the years would mean that present Congressmen would be receiving but the \$6 per day of the Members of the First Congress. Nor is it any argument to say that persons entering political life must expect low or inadequate compensation. Such an argument dooms the Nation to government by those persons of wealth who can afford to enter Government service; such an argument is antithetical to all the basic principles of American democracy which we have so long loved and cherished.

Some opposition to the congressional pay raise has been voiced on the ground that the percentage involved, 50 percent, is too great. These arguments are advanced even in the face of the fact that the level is still but a 1939 level in buying power. The theory is that the congressional raise in salaries will set off a chain reaction which will result in exorbitant demands by civilian Government employees and members of the military for salary increases. Some persons even argue that the congressional hike will result in demand for raises in private industry.

Sober reflection forces a number of conclusions on this argument. In the first place, salaries of Federal employees have been hiked on five different occasions since 1945. 1945 the pay increase was an average 15.9 percent; in 1946 it was 14.2 percent; in 1948, 11 percent; in 1949, 4.1 percent; and in 1951, roughly 10 percent. These increases total roughly 51 or 52 percent. Further, a pay hike for Government employees will undoubtedly pass at this session of Congress-and would have passed even without the congressional pay raise. A pay hike for the military, too, will undoubtedly come out of the present

There is another, and in many ways more serious, aspect to this argument against the congressional pay raise. So long as the salaries of the Congress remained at the \$15,000 level, there was a reluctance to effect the necessary salary increase in the higher ranks of the executive branch of the Government. Serious losses of high caliber men have been occurring with frightening regularity in the past few years. Private industry has been hiring upper bracket Government employees at salaries far in excess of those paid by Government. And if the congressional pay raise means that an increase for the higher echelons of the executive branch can be obtained. then the congressional hike will have saved many valuable men to the Federal service-

at a total negligible cost.

I recognize that money alone is not sufficient inducement to cause a high class individual to enter Government service, either as an elective or executive official, or to influence him to remain there. Government salaries in the higher brackets can never be great enough to compete with private industry on a pure money basis. For Government employees and Congressmen there must be, and is in the majority of cases as I can testify from personal observation, a genuine desire to serve ones fellow man. This sense of dedication is not altogether unlike that felt by educators, clerics, doctors, and others. Cynics may sneer but such is the case. there is no reason why salaries in the upper echelons of Government service and Members of Congress cannot reflect something of the responsibility involved.

The cost of the congressional pay hike itself is very negligible indeed. In your district, Billy, the cost to the voters of your increase in salary is approximately 1% cents per capita. Further, the overall cost of the judicial-congressional pay raise bill is only approximately \$4,500,000 per year—about one one-hundreth of 1 percent of the total

Federal budget.

I am one of those political conservatives who is very much in favor of balancing the Pederal budget. Deficit financing has always been anathema to me. I opposed the taxreduction bill passed over President Truman's veto by the 80th Congress. I opposed the tax reduction voted by the 83d Congress, and I oppose tax reduction in any form by the 84th Congress until such time as the budget is in balance. I do not believe, however, that the fact that the budget is in a state of imbalance argues against the judicial-congressional pay raise legislation. If the Federal budget is carefully examined, an action which the majority of the electorate fail to take, it will be found that salaries, contrary to popular belief, do not constitute

the majority of expenditures by Government. Real cuts in the Federal budget can be effected only by slashing programs-national defense, dams and river development, veterans aid, highway programs, welfare, It is poor economy in this day of specialization to economize on salaries; good men in all three branches of the Government save the costs of their increased salaries in increased efficiency of operation. The argument holds true as much for Congress as it does for the other two branches. It is high time that the Members of Congress understand somewhat the value of their own services; and it may be hoped that the electorate will also grow more willing, in time, to understand the value of an independent and highminded Congressman representing them in the District of Columbia.

Congress did not enter lightly upon the course it has just taken. In the 83d Congress, the President's Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries was established by Public Law 220. Composed of 18 voting members (6 designated by the President, 6 by the Chief Justice, and 3 each by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives) the Commission represented the best available thought and reputation of business, agriculture, labor, and the professions. The Commission was an able, intelligent, diligent, and conscientious group; it held public hearings, took testimony, did extensive research, and generally exhausted every angle in order to assure that final recommendations were based on the soundest possible factual infor-mation. Interestingly enough, in no case does the judicial-congressional pay raise legislation just passed carry out the exact recommendation for salary increase made by this nonpartisan Commission. For example, the Commission recommended that Congressmen be paid \$27,500; the present legislation is \$5,000 short of this recommendation. Somewhat similar differences can be noted in all the other positions affected by the legislation.

I am certain that each Member of Congress searched his soul carefully before casting his vote on the issue. There were a few, a very few, who may have voted from the standpoint of immediate personal advantage. The majority, I am certain, voted as they did because of a firm belief that their vote was in the best interests of the Nation. member of your district, as your personal friend, I admire your forthrightness on the issue and the stand that you took. You could not, it seems to me, have voted in good conscience against the pay raise and then have taken advantage of the increased amount. But of more importance is the fact that you had the courage to recognize that the low level of congressional salaries constituted a substantial barrier to efficient and ethical congressional activity.

With best personal regards, I am Yours sincerely, ERNEST R. BARTLEY.

Big Fuss Over Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article by Drew Pearson which appeared in his column, Washington Merry-Go-Round in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 16. 1955:

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND-BIG FUSS OVER SMALL BUSINESS

(By Drew Pearson)

Democrats took a long step toward throw-ing away two of their chief campaign issues-giveaways, and helping small busiwhen a top Democrat, Congressman CARL VINSON, of Georgia, bucked and bristled over giving a hearing to the Small Business Committee regarding the sale of 11 Government-owned synthetic rubber factories.

VINSON was all set to join with the Republicans in handing the synthetic-rubber factories over to the big tire and oil companies when his fellow Democrat, WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas, blew the whistle.

PATMAN, as chairman of the House Small Business Committee, had prepared a resolution with his colleague, SID YATES, of Illinois, pointing to the unfairness of the syntheticrubber giveaway. But Chairman Vinson of the Armed Services Committee didn't want to listen. He even challenged PATMAN's veracity, which to a Texan of integrity is tantamount to high treason.

"Mr. PATMAN, we are delighted to have you here this morning," the Georgian gushed

as the hearings opened.

"Thank you, Mr. Chairman," replied PAT-MAN, "I shall make—
"Wait a minute," cut in Vinson, "Before

you start, for the record, I want to find outare you speaking in behalf of the Small Business Committee, and by direction of that committee, or are you speaking in your individual capacity as a Member of Congress?"

"My committee has had no time to call a meeting," replied PATMAN. "But I was assured by a majority of members of my committee that I could speak for them. addition, I conferred with the ranking Republican member of my committee.'

INSULTING A TEXAN

"I suggest that the names of the members who have authorized Mr. Parman to speak for them be inserted in the record," broke in Republican Congressman Bates of Massachusetts.

"Don't you think that is going very far,

Mr. Chairman?" inquired Parman, angrily.
The meeting almost blew up at this point as several members, including Democrats Paul Kilday and Mel Price of Illinois, tried to be recognized by the chair.

"We will get along very well if everybody will be quiet," thundered Vinson.

"Do I understand that you are going to question the right of Mr. PATMAN to appear before this committee?" demanded KILDAY.

"No, sir," sputtered VINSON. "Not at all. That wasn't even intimated by any question of mine"

"I am not too sure that it wasn't," re-joined Kilday of Texas. "What was the purpose of your question about his appearing for a majority of the Small Business Committee"?

"I just wanted the record to show that he is not appearing by direction of the committee, but rather in behalf of a majority of the committee," explained Vinson.

"Are you going to require him to corroborate himself by placing in the record the names of Small Business Committee members he is speaking for?" insisted Kilday.
"No," back-tracked Vinson.

GAS STATION MONOPOLIES

PATMAN then explained how his resolution, prepared by the Small Business Committee, would stop the sale of the rubber factories on March 26 as now scheduled by President Eisenhower. Supporting him, Congressman YATES presented a masterful report which impressed even hostile committee members.

YATES showed that under the Eisenhower rubber sale 87½ percent of all rubber production would be in the hands of the big

four tire companies, who worked together to control the sale of tires.

Shell Oll, for instance, which takes over the Government rubber factory in Los Angeles, has a contract with Goodyear and Firestone to sell them rubber; then Goodyear and Firestone turn around and sell Shell tires. These tires are distributed to the public through Shell gasoline stations.

And Congressman YATES showed how any Shell dealer who tries to stock any other tire competing with Goodyear or Firestone

loses his Shell franchise.

The Standard Oil companies also have a deal with United States Rubber to make Atlas tires, sold exclusively through Standard Oil filling stations. No other tire can be sold by Standard Oil stations except Atlas.

Thus, the Eisenhower rubber sale plan, Congressman Yates said, would tighten this monopoly by putting all the Government rubber factories in the hands of Shell, Goodyear, United States Rubber, Goodrich, Firestone, Phillips Petroleum, Texas Oil, Sears Roebuck, Anaconda Copper, Endicott Johnson, and Dunlop Tires, of England.

CREDIT FOR ARGENTINA

PATMAN suggested that the House Armed Services Committee and the Senate Banking Committee get together and negotiate for the disposal of the synthetic plants—"so the little fellow won't be crowded out."

"It takes a pretty good-sized corporation to run one of these plants," interjected VINSON. "As I visualize it, it is not in the sphere of small business. This is big business."

When Parman explained that small business had no way of getting bank credit to buy the synthetic plants, without some help from the Government, Vinson yawned: "Oh, well."

"We find an agency of this Government (Export-Import Bank) with \$1 billion of capital stock, provided by the taxpayers," continued PATMAN, "that is making a loan for a steel mill in Argentina of \$60 million, plus other advances for equipment that will bring the taxpayers' outlay up to close to \$100 million for that 1 plant in Argentina.

"If we are able to spend so much money to help other countries like Argentina build a steel mill, why shouldn't we be able to help our own small business to buy some of these synthetic-rubber plants in order to have a competitive rubber market in the United States?"

Georgia's Vinson came back with the stock query: "Why, then, shouldn't we do that in

every other enterprise?"

"The difference is," replied Patman, "that in this case you are delivering lock, stock, and barrel to the rubber industry, facilities that will be used against the taxpayers as a monopoly."

Marguerite Kozen, Julius Chajes— Goodwill Ambassadors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, the 13th Congressional District of Michigan is proud of the singular achievements made by so many of its citizens. Mr. and Mrs. Julius Chajes, of 610 Blaine Street, Detroit, Mich., are two such persons who have added particular luster to the district through their accomplishments. Through the use of their talents, the

Chajes have performed an outstanding service of goodwill for their adopted country, the United States of America—Mrs. Chajes, as an established operatic soprano, who sings under the name of Marguerite Kozen; Mr, Chajes, as a composer and concert planist.

Our Nation is justly proud of such of its citizenry who, without the honor of presidential appointment, voluntarily serve as ambassadors of goodwill, establishing and solidifying vital friendships with neighbor countries. In appreciation of these services, I ask the permission of Congress to spread upon the Record a résumé of the accomplishments of the Chajes that it may serve to inspire all Americans to use the talents they have in goodwill service to our country.

Each year, Mr. and Mrs. Chajes, who were born in Europe but came to America to flee nazism, make regular trips through Central Europe and Israel for personal appearances and radio broadcasts. It is my understanding that on such trips, they also make contributions to printed publications as a means of expressing their support of our Government's efforts to convey information and to express its goodwill to those areas which, for political reasons, have been blocked off from our part of the world.

Mrs. Chajes made her American debut as soloist with the New York Philharmonic in Carnegie Hall. She has sung leading roles with opera companies in the United States and abroad. During the past 7 years, she has been on 8 consecutive concert tours in London, Paris, Lausanne, Vienna, Salzburg, Rome, and Jerusalem. With her husband, she has been presented in more than 300 concerts in the United States, coast to coast, and Canada.

Julius Chajes, while best known to the world as a composer and concert pianist, is known also in the city of Detroit as a conductor and teacher. Hailed as a "wonder child," he made his debut at the age of 9 in a piano concert in Lemberg, Poland. His first string quartet was played in Vienna, when, as a 12-year-old, he appeared as composer and pianist. A student under several famous teachers, including Moritz Rosenthal, once a pupil of Liszt, Mr. Chajes also studied conducting and composition in Austria.

From 1934 to 1936, Chajes headed the piano department of the Music College of Tel Aviv, Palestine. In this country, he became a teacher of composition at the New York College of Music. In 1937, he played the premier of his second piano concerto first with the Vienna Symphony, and the following season, as soloist with the Detroit Symphony Orchestra.

On a recent trip to New York, Mr. Chajes learned that his 142d Psalm has gone into its sixth printing—said to be an almost unprecedented achievement in choral work. The setting of the psalm has been recommended by David Williams, noted organist and choral director, to a conference of 300 Protestant choir directors as one of the most significant contributions of modern times to liturgical music.

The Robert Shaw Chorale and Fred Waring singers have made extensive use of Chajes choral works in concert and on television.

In Detroit, Mr. Chajes has been director of music at the Jewish Community Center since 1940. He was cofounder and artistic director of the Detroit Friends of Opera, Inc. He is also music cochairman of the Detroit Round Table of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews.

We salute in gratitude Mr. and Mrs. Chajes and the many other American citizens who are using their talents to perform a vital service for their fellowmen as well as to give pleasure to them.

True Economy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in this week's edition of the Army-Navy-Air Force Register illustrates the frustration which the editor of that publication has had in attempting to learn from the Secretary of Defense the relative cost and capability of land-based and carrier-based aircraft in the performance of strategic bombing missions.

What every unbiased person wants to know, what every citizen has a right to know is, "Have the Joint Chiefs of Staff or the Weapons Systems Evaluation Group made a comparative or relative evaluation of the apparent capability of land-based aircraft and carrier task forces to carry out strategic bombing missions? If either can carry out such missions, why do we need both? And is it economical to have both, rather than the one system that can carry out the mision most effectively?" To date Secretary Wilson has ignored these and similar questions.

I worked long and hard for the Unification Act which passed this Congress in 1947. My only purpose in working for the passage of that bill was in the interest of the security of the United States at the least possible cost to the already overburdened taxpayer. Those of us on the Expenditures Committee at that time listened for days and weeks to the testimony of the best military minds in the world including General Eisenhower who testified for the bill.

We were striving to eliminate duplication, waste, and extravagance by bringing our services closer together. I think Congress today should determine whether or not the Unification Act is functioning as it should. We should find out if there is any duplication of strategic bombing assignments within the Defense Department. It was my understanding that the first supercarrier was for testing and evaluation purposes. Before we embark on an expanded carrier program I think we should have the

results of this experiment in the first

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent of my colleagues to extend my remarks and insert the editorial called "True Economy?" from the Army-Navy-Air Force Register in today's issue of the Congressional Record. I would point out to my colleagues and emphasize to the printer that the title includes a question mark. Are we getting economy, as a result of unification, or are we building up three services, with no consideration at all for duplication, overlapping, and waste? The editorial, with questions as yet unanswered, follows:

TRUE ECONOMY?

Elsewhere in this issue, the Register prints two letters—one addressed to Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson by the editor of the Register on November 30, 1954; the other, a reply, dated February 9, 1955, and signed by D. Walter Swan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Information.

It is, perhaps, significant that an inquiry concerning matters of basic policy and true economy in the military establishment was referred to a public relations assistant to answer—perhaps not. It might be significant, also, that the somewhat lengthy reply signed by Mr. Swan discusses at length what he assumed, erroneously, to be the premise of our letter, and then proceeds to a pep talk about defense programs which carefully avoids answering the questions asked. (At his news conference this week, Secretary Wilson, asked about Joint Chiefs' approval of the supercarrier, also used this technique of answering a question which had not been asked.)

On the score of Mr. Swan's apparent assumption concerning our premise, let it be said merely that responsible public officials can be "forced" to adopt a program by other means than arbitrary flat—they not only can be, they usually are.

All of the factors cited by Mr. Swan as bearing on the maintenance of a military establishment of any given type and size are so obvious that they can be assumed to be factors considered by the responsible officials—as they were, in fact, assumed by us to be. But this by no means answers our question as to whether or not "consideration has been given to any factors other than the application of monetary limitations, to the present structure and assigned missions of the forces."

Nor does the balance of Mr. Swan's letter answer the more specific questions any more satisfactorily. Since he failed to answer them, we will: In every case in which we asked specifically whether the Weapons Systems Evaluation Group has made a comparative or relative evaluation, the answer is a flat, "No."

WSEG has not examined weapons systems, existing or planned in the separate services, in which there is apparent overlap of function or of capability. WSEG has not made a comparative analysis of the cost or effectiveness of Army as against Air Force control of Army-type aviation. WSEG has not done an evaluation of land-based as against carrier-based long-range strategic bombardment systems. WSEG has not conducted any study to determine whether, in the light of current and expected aircraft developments, the old separation of Strategic and Tactical missions within the Air Force still makes sense. And so forth, and so forth.

The Register does not pretend to know the answers to these questions. It does assert, with complete confidence, that the answers are equally unknown to Secretary Wilson, his Deputy Secretary, and all his Assistant Secretaries. We concur heartly with Mr. Swan when he congratulates the country on

having both strategic air forces and carrier task forces. But we didn't ask Mr. Wilson about "carrier task forces"—we asked him specifically about the relative cost and capability of land-based and carrier-based aircraft in the performance of those air missions which, in military parlance, are termed "strategic"; and we asked him, specifically, whether WSEG or any other Defense Department (not Navy or Air Force) agency had tried to find out whether, as regards the carrier task force, "the addition to it of strategic bombardment capabilities increases its size and cost beyond those which would be required for naval forces not concerned with strategic bombardment."

The answer, of course, is "No"—neither WSEG nor any other group has made such an evaluation above the single-service level.

In our issue of February 5, we printed an account of significant changes now in process to give the Weapons Systems Evaluation Group the scope that the late Secretary of Defense James Forrestal intended it to have when he set it up 6 years ago. That account contained many of the answers which did not get into the letter signed by Mr. Swan.

With the House Armed Services Committee endorsing the Navy's request for a fifth Forrestal-class carrier, and other Members of the House questioning its wisdom, it might be wise for Mr. Swan and his superiors in the Pentagon to take another look at our letter of last November and realize that what we raised in that letter was no mere problem in public relations. We asked serious questions about matters of grave public policy, and they are not answered by a polite brush-off from a Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense.

Secretary of Defense.

Mr. Swan says that "missions and requirements stem from national policy decisions and broad basic guidelines for planning."

Precisely. Our point is that, so far, these "broad basic guidelines" seem to be laid more up from the services to the Defense Department, than down from the Secretary of Defense on the basis of the independent evaluation, for him, of service projects and programs.

There may be no duplication, therefore, no waste, therefore no opportunity for true economy on the apparent overlap of Strategic Air Command and the employment intended for the supercarriers of the Forrestal class. There may be no duplication or overlap in the missiles systems being developed and even standardized by the three services, and so no opportunity for true economy

Our point is not that we don't know the answers but that the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff don't know the answers, because no qualified agency has yet conducted a scientific and objective evaluation of these and other equally important "weapons systems."

Until the Secretary knows the answers, he cannot be certain that his is a program of true economy.

Scholars Fear United States Will Return Nazi Archives Before Full Study

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following news story by the Washington correspondent of the New York Times which

appeared in that newspaper on March 7. I am, frankly, very much concerned with the subject with which that story deals. It seems to me that, if what it reports is accurate, it will mean that the United States will give up an invaluable resource in our knowledge of totalitarian conquest. If so, our present efforts to combat another version of totalitarianism, that of international communism, will be seriously handicapped and our intentions thwarted.

March 16

The German archives contain, no doubt, material that can shed a powerful light on the goals, methods, and processes of the Nazi conquest of one country. Germany: material about the unutterable plans for the destruction of what they called inferior people, first in their own land and then in neighboring countries. It, no doubt, sheds light on their Machiavellian propaganda techniques, including those by which they contemplated the division of our own country and the weakening of our material and moral strength to resist totalitarianism. Such material is of incalculable historical importance. It must not be jeopardized or lost to us by its casual return to a country where its nationalist forces may be disposed to destroy the full record or to conceal it forever from the scrutiny of the civilized world.

This record must be kept and, in due course, be made available to American scholarship as the all-important source material by which we can learn from the dread recent past and be strengthened by that knowledge to deal with problems that we may well have to meet in the imminent or far future.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this subject is one that ought to be of great concern to all of us. I for one mean to explore it fully so that no step will be taken that will prevent American scholars and historians, the American universities, and the American people as a whole from having access to data that is so important for our understanding of recent world events, and so essential for our own strength in any trials that may lie ahead.

The article follows:

SCHOLARS FEAR UNITED STATES WILL RETURN NAZI ARCHIVES BEFORE FULL STUDY

(By Anthony Leviero)

WASHINGTON, March 6.—The return of a rich store of captured German archives will soon become the subject of negotiation with West Germany.

Talks with Britain about the return of documents are fairly well advanced. Only casual preliminary talks have been held with German representatives.

The State Department is inclined to be liberal in returning to Bonn the documents of many departments of the Weimar Republic and the Hitler regime. Scholars and some officials are concerned, however, that they may be handed back before they have been fully exploited for intelligence purposes.

The archives are neatly stored in a former naval torpedo factory near here. On the steel cabinets, rising almost ceiling high, are labels that bracket the rise and fall of the Nazi empire: "Haushofer Collection—H. C. 945 through H. C. 955."

Karl Haushofer was a German geopolitician whose theories set Hitler's brain afrewith a dream of Lebensraum and world conquest. Many acts of Nazi policy, including the attack on the Soviet Union, have been

traced to Haushofer's concept that Germany, occupying the central position of the European-Asian "world island," was destined for expansion.

Haushofer committed suicide March 13, 1946. A great stack of material from his library is on file.

Near by is the label: "Hitler's Minutes— Mussolini File—Fragments 1 through 53."

From another section of the Hitler minutes a German-speaking United States Army sergeant picks at random some charred shorthand notes salvaged from the ruins of Hitler's bunker. After the war the Army had searched out the shorthand secretaries. From their transcriptions the sergeant read: "Conference of Hitler with General-oberst Zeitzler 29 December 1943."

On this occasion the topic was "capabilities of German railroads in case of retreat, especially of the Eastern Front." The Russians had begun their counter-offenses and the Germans were beginning to yield.

Later Gen. Kurt Zeitzler was to fall from his high position as Chief of the Army General Staff. He was imprisoned as chief organizer of the unsuccessful plot to kill Hitler.

Documents in the captured records section of the Government's departmental records branch in the old torpedo factory fill file cabinets that have a total length of 26,000 feet. The concrete structure is closely guarded.

The Government has files totaling 7,000 feet filled with captured Japanese documents, but by some quirk of administration they are under the National Archives rather than the Army.

Of the vast mine of material here, 22,500 feet of files are German, under the categories of "Military and Occupation," "Ministries," "Economic" and "Nazi Party." Part of this German hoard will be at stake in the peace settlements.

There are 500 feet of Italian records, about 2,000 feet of Soviet, and 1,000 of Korean. One of the most vital segments of these German records are the 2,000 feet of files under the heading "Russian" and subdivided as "Communist Party, economics, reparations." This is material about the Soviet Army captured or prepared by German eastern front units that fought the Russians.

This body of material at the time it was obtained gave the United States vastly more information about the Soviet Army than it was able to get as the temporary ally of the Soviet in World War II. In the "diaries" of the German units—equivalent of the United States Army's "after-action reports"—are data on order of battle, weapons, tactics, techniques of the Soviet Army, as well as information on the Communist Party, economic data and the reparations policies of the Russians.

Under a wartime sharing agreement, the documentary spoils of war were divided as follows:

The United States retained the great bulk of material on the German ground forces, including the archives of the German High Command and the Hitler papers.

The British retained the largest part of the records of the Luftwaffe, the German Foreign Office and the German Navy.

BIX VOLUMES PUBLISHED

The German Foreign Office archives have been receiving particular attention. The United States, France, and Britain have joined in publishing six volumes of the papers of the period from 1937 to the outbreak of World War II.

In exploiting the Foreign Office papers the archivists have been working backward to cover the World War era first. It is estimated that they will require 2 or 3 years before completing work on the Weimar Republic period, 1919-33.

Hence it may be a long time before West Germany persuades Britain and the United States to return some of the papers.

It is a question whether this country will ever hand back the files of the German Nationalist Socialist (Nazi) Party.

The United States has already returned some material deemed to be almost exclusively cultural or historical. But this country will not easily part with the German records of the Soviet Army.

In considering its ultimate, disposition, intelligence officials are not overlooking the value of the material, nor how difficult it was to come by much of it. Just before and in the early stages of World War II the United States had a small intelligence organization and relied on Britain for about 95 percent of its material until United States combat forces began smashing the enemy.

Security considerations make it difficult to determine whether the Government has allotted sufficient funds and personnel to make a maximum exploitation of the material before it is returned. Some scholars say that much of what they regard as a great intelligence treasure remains unevaluated. They fear it will slip out of this country's hands before the best use is made of it.

In all the years the material has been in this country's possession only 5,000 or 6,000 feet of it has been removed from the confidential category. And only about 300 or 400 translations of the German documents are available here.

Logistics: The Answer to Successful Warfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, at the request of friends and constituents, it is a pleasure to insert an address by a distinguished naval officer, Adm. Oscar Charles Badger, United States Navy, retired:

LOGISTICS: THE ANSWER TO SUCCESSFUL WARPARE

(Address by Adm. Oscar Charles Badger, U. S. Navy, retired, Congressional Medal of Honor, before the Naval Order of the United States 64th annual dinner at the New York Yacht Club, New York City, December 9, 1954)

Commander Hann and fellow members of the Naval Order of the United States, as we gather together on occasions such as this. we may recall with satisfaction our participation in World War II. We recollect that as we entered that war on two fronts against such major powers as Germany and Japan, that we were dangerously short of manpower and material. We remember that the Axis Powers had already extended their miltary control to vast areas of land and sea, and that our allies had already suffered major defeat, and, in fact, military occupation. These circumstances, of course, emphasized, and multiplied, the demand for our military forces and our material support. But, in spite of these factors, we can now recall with satisfaction, our decisive victory over our enemies of that day.

The cold war came shortly after, at a time when we were at the height of our power, and when we were held in the highest regard by

the world for our overall capabilities. The Soviet Union quickly demonstrated, by action and attitude, its ambitions toward subjection of the world under Communist control. In quick response, the national policy of the United States was rapidly brought to express a definite determination to prevent, by all possible means, short of war, the spread of communism. Again, we were engaged in a world war, this time primarily economic and political, by nature, instead of military.

Eight years have passed and yet our position in wide parts of the world is still unfavorable. In important areas we and our allies have been driven back to a critical extent, sufficient to justify the statement that the cold war has gone against us.

It is my opinion that an important difference in the manner of our conduct of World War II and in the manner of conduct of the cold war, has been sufficient to bring about the difference between success and failure. Let me attempt to outline this difference and, at the same time, justify my reasons for optimism regarding the future outlook of today.

At the beginning of World War II, the Joint Chiefs of Staff were in existence and were charged with much the same responsibilities as they are at present. But at that time their staff consisted primarily of strategic planners, whereas the logistics elements were secondary and elementary in recognition and effectiveness. Therefore decisions in those early days were based on strategic studies and considerations, whereas logistics, or support of the operations, was often a matter of opinion or of hopeful estimation.

Confronted as we were with a major war on both fronts, our known shortages were frightening when it came to the prospect of engaging, simultaneously, enemies of the strength and potentialities of Germany and Japan in combination. This knowledge of our weakness with respect to military forces, equipment, and supporting facilities, occasioned a general tendency among our responsible officials to concentrate such strength as we had against Germany with a minimum of defensive effort against Japan. We became definitely oriented toward Europe.

We of the Navy have every reason to hold in the highest respect and appreciation the skill, fortitude, judgment, and offensive spirit of our war-time leader, Adm. E. J. King. One of his greatest contributions to our wartime success resulted from his determination to establish and maintain the offensive in all theaters, including the Pacific. Although he recognized the validity of a plan which brought about the defeat of Germany in the first instance and later, the final conquest of Japan, he believed that we could, and should, conduct ourselves so as to keep the Japanese constantly off balance, unable to consolidate themselves securely within the wide areas of their early conquests and to drive them back toward the homeland on every possible occasion.

Therefore, he initiated, and, I believe, was primarily responsible for, the system of high-level planning that reduced considerations of logistics to facts rather than opinions, to economies and efficient distributions instead of wastages and oversupply, to meticulous support of the needs of our military commanders instead of approximations, and to the approval of wide-spread operations with confidence rather than to restrictions in the direction of effort due to doubtful knowledge and fear of shortage.

Thus, we conducted the hot war through a system of planning, approvals, and control that assured superiority of support for each approved operation—strictly in accordance with the quantities, types, and timing requested in each plan of each area comman-

der. This resulted in placing the allies on the offensive in every theater of the war, and assured success in the execution and implementation of each approved plan.

Under this styem we achieved success.

When the cold war came into being, the motives and objectives became primarily economic and political in character but again our allies required a generous amount of material and technical aid to stage recovery from the war and to offer effective resistance to the Communist inroads. Again, it is my opinion that we became politically and otherwise oriented toward Europe, but this time there was no Joint Chiefs of Staff in control. and no Admiral King with his skill, judgment, and determination toward effective action in all theaters. There was no comparable logistics organization to work with the strategic groups. To this cause I lay our complete logistics failure in China and the Far East which permitted a Communist minority, enjoying better support, to overwhelm millions of our friends and former allies and to overrun and threaten a gigantic share of the earth's surface.

Had we not abandoned the basic organizations and principles so effectively employed during World War II, we would not have had divided action based on divided opinion among our controlling agencies as to whether the Chinese Communists were Red Communists or some sort of agrarian reformers. It made the difference between implementing the policy of preventing further spread of communism or doing it indifferently and

ineffectively.

We would not have granted loans of 2 or 3 hundred millions to the Chinese Government without some safeguard as to its accounting, some predetermined plan for its use, and some technical advice or control regarding its administration. Any logistics planner would have found it impossible to expect satisfactory results from a government without any national banking laws, any national system of taxation, any acceptable war plan, or any national organization for the obtaining, distributing, or accounting of essential supplies. The logistics planner would undoubtedly have insisted on some effective form of technical control and guidance of such a government.

We would not have expected any real results from the thousands of tons of nondescript and largely damaged, uninventoried, and unidentified material picked up from the Pacific islands and sold to the Chinese for \$300 million to \$400 million, which the cancellation of our then existing indebtedness to China involved. Any logistics planner would have maintained properly that this gear shipped haphazardly, many items unmarked and unidentified, much of it damaged or incomplete, all of it without any specific relationship to planned use or timing, could not have beneficial results in an area without trained repair, maintenance, storekeeping, and operational personnel or without repair and maintenance shops and facilities and in the face of existing or later embargoes on such essentials as spare parts, gasoline, and ammunition.

We would not have permitted, under the systems employed during World War II, the Berlin blockade to react to such a drastic degree in diverting the national interest and support from our vital commitments in the Far East. The introduction of similar diversionary pressures during World War II might have resulted in a reduction in the intensity of effort and some delays in other areas for logistics reasons, but not in loss of efficiency, control, or the abandonment of the controlling objectives.

And, finally, and possibly of greatest importance to our best efforts in the Far East, we would not have repeatedly failed to utilize, in timely and effective fashion, and by

such inefficiency, to waste the funds and authority granted by Congress and which were generally adequate for all essential purposes. Any strategic or logistics planner would have identified such action as surely leading to ultimate failure, as well as progressive loss of confidence and morale among the responsible operational Allied commands or agencies in the field.

Although, I might go on for hours bringing to your attention instances of failure due to abandonment, or even loyal support, of sound logistics principles, I think my point has been made. Our logistics effort in support of the Far East would have lost any war, hot or cold, by the manner in which it was conducted rather than by an unwillingness on the part of our Congress or our people to provide adequate funds and authority or effort.

I do not offer these statements as a basis for belief that our situation in the Far East must continue to deteriorate although we have failed for 7 years to resist the efforts of the Communists in accordance with our national policy "to resist by all means short of war the expansion of communism." On the contrary, I point to these defects in organization and in the principles of operation as easily identifiable, and, therefore, correctable by means already fully tested and proven effective.

For these reasons I am most optimistic regarding the future. I am hopeful and confident that we can, and will, reestablish proper organizations for the most effective and economical coordination between the strategists and logisticians of our own and allied nations in meeting the economic, social, and military demands of the cold war and for insuring the expansion and security of the free world. I will always believe that it was Admiral King who led the way under other and equally serious circumstances, and we could do no better now than to revive the organizations, the coordination and the procedures of implementation which he so effectively laid out for us and which, I believe to be essential to success in any world conflict—hot or cold.

Fair Play in Pacific Air Travel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GORDON H. SCHERER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called, on numerous occasions, to the controversy raging over the short airline route to the Orient by way of Seattle.

I believe that the Cincinnati Times-Star, in its editorial of February 28, most graphically illustrated the need to include Pan American World Airways on this route.

As you know, I have long indicated my belief that the success of this great country is based on free enterprise and competition. It seems contradictory to me that one air carrier should fly the shorter route that another surveyed while the surveyor must operate over a route infinitely longer and, ultimately, more expensive to the United States taxpayers.

I offer for the consideration of the Members of the House the Cincinnati Times-Star editorial of February 28, 1955:

FAIR PLAY IN PACIFIC AIR TRAVEL

Ability to go direct from one place to another is one of the great advantages of air transportation. As planes were developed to fly faster and farther, they have been routed on longer and more direct individual flights. The shorter flights have been assigned to smaller transports designed to provide the interim service.

Pan American World Airways pioneered the flying in the Pacific Ocean in the early days, using the Hawaiian Islands, Midway, and Wake as steppingstones. As the range of planes was extended, Pan American secured the services of Charles A. Lindbergh to survey the great circle route between the west coast and Tokyo. Finding it practical, Pan American then commenced an operation and actually flew some 25 trips, carrying cargo for United Nations Relief Association. It then applied for a certificate to route through flights direct from Seattle over the Aleutians.

The then President Truman, however, turned down Pan American and gave Northwest Airlines, a newcomer in the field of ocean flying, a temporary certificate on the direct route. The alleged purpose was to provide competition for Pan American.

Since the distance via Honolulu to Tokyo from the west coast is 6,970 miles and the distance by direct route is only 4,770 miles, this is unfair competition. It is as though one airline were given a route direct from New York to Seattle, and another was required to fly all the way down to Atlanta, then up to Seattle. If competition is the measuring stick, both lines should compete on the same route.

But this is not all. For Northwest carries only one-fourth of these through passengers. Three-fourths of them go on the longer Pan American trips, with resulting loss of time. Since both airlines operate on a subsidy basis, we taxpayers have to pay the additional cost to Pan American, resulting from flying 2,200 unnecessary miles.

Incidentally, the Hawaiian Islands would be adequately served if Pan American flights for Tokyo bypassed them. United, Northwest, and Pan American all operate heavy schedules to and from the mainland. And if there were any traffic originating in the islands for Tokyo, Pan American could readily operate an occasional schedule over the old island route.

The President has just renewed the Northwest certificate over the direct route. He has before him the renewed application of Pan American. It should be approved.

State of the Nations: Paper Tiger?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENDERSON L. LANHAM

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, with leave obtained to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I am including an article by Joseph C. Harsch, special correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, which said article appeared in the March 15 issue of that splendid newspaper. The title of the article is "State of the Nations" and the subtitle is "Paper Tiger."

My own comment is unnecessary since this article speaks most eloquently for itself:

STATE OF THE NATIONS: PAPER TIGER? (By Joseph C. Harsch)

Washington.-It becomes desirable, seems to me, to examine most carefully why Secretary of State John Foster Dulles feels that it may become necessary to prove to Communist China that the United States is 'prepared to stand firm and, if necessary, meet hostile force with the greater force that we possess."

According to Mr. Dulles the Chinese "are persistently trying to belittle our power and to throw doubt on our resolution." He says that Chinese Communist propaganda "portrays the United States as being merely a 'paper tiger'." This, he says, "suggests small peoples whom they threaten that the United States will always find reasons to fall back."

Mr. Dulles cites three events in recent history as being used by the Chinese propaganda to support their claim that the United States is a "paper tiger"—the retreat from the Yalu in 1950, nonparticipation in Indochina in 1954, and the evacuation of the Tachens in 1955.

The real question at issue is whether these three events actually make a reason why Communist China, or anyone else, could believe that the United States will always find a reason to "fall back"; whether they do add up to evidence of irresolution in Washington.

The answer is unavoidable, no matter how painful, that in each of these episodes in history there was evidence of irresolution, and even of vacillation, in Washington. each case there was a moment when Washington talked as though it would do more than it actually was prepared to do when the test came.

In 1950 Washington changed the definition of its purposes in midstream. The original statement of purpose at the time of the intervention in Korea was "to repel the aggression and punish the aggressor." When a chance seemed to present itself to "drive to the Yalu", the purpose was enlarged to encompass the reunification of Korea. This

larger purpose was not achieved.

In 1954 the act of nonintervention in Indochina was preceded by an assertion that Vietnam was of "paramount importance" to the security of southeast Asia. And Vietnam was likened to the cork in the neck of the bottle of the Malayan Peninsula. characterizations of the importance of Vietnam indicated an intentiton to intervene to save it from a Communist victory. The purpose implied in the characterization was not achieved.

In 1955 the withdrawal from the Tachens was accompanied and surrounded by words and interpretations which appeared to imply a forward movement, when actually they covered a regressive movement.

If we consider these three cases carefully we can, I submit, see why actions which need not have implied irresolution did come to seem irresolute. There would have been no irresolution in Korea had Washington and its allies adhered rigidly to their first definition of purpose in the Korean intervention. When the 38th parallel was crossed the aggression had been repelled, and in the process the aggressor had been severely punished. It was when the original purpose was expanded that an unachieved goal was

would have been no evidence of irresolution in Indochina had words been avoided which implied an intention to do something which subsequently was not done.

There would have been no evidence of irresolution in the Tachens withdrawal had it been labeled publicly precisely what it was, a military withdrawal.

In each case there was no need of causing an impression of irresolution. Had Wash ington estimated accurately what it would do and limited its declared or implied purposes to its actual intentions, there would have been no basis for a belief anywhere in the world that Washington was irresolute. The damage arose out of appearing to be ready to do more than was actually done.

In the same speech in which Mr. Dulles faces up to the dangers which arise out of the appearance of irresolution in Washington he presents a theory that if the Chinese Communists aggress on any one of their fronts they would be confronted "with tasks at the south, center, and north." at the south, center, and north." This is his theory of the "three-front war." It implies that a Chinese advance on any one front would automatically release war on all three fronts. He doesn't forecast it or say that it will necessarily happen. He does imply that it would happen.

But if the treaty commitments which cover these "three fronts" are examined, grave doubt emerges that they would or could be joined. To reopen the Korean front would require an act of the United Nations. To reopen the Formost front would require, according to Mr. Dulles' own previous assertions, the "constitutional process" in Washington. American intervention on the southern front, in the event of aggression, would also require the "constitutional process," As Mr. Dulles has pointed out himself, none of the United States commitments

NATO alliance. It would seem to me that Washington once more has laid itself open unnecessarily to an appearance of irresolution by using which sound stronger than they really are. The man who understates his intentions is never open to the charge of irresolution, is never mistaken for a "paper tiger."

in Asia involves the automatic feature of the

A Bill To Amend Title 28, United States Code

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced in the House of Representatives a bill to which I would like to call particular attention because of the economy involved as well as the important bearing it has upon the administration of justice in the courts of the land. My bill raises no complex questions and is short and simple and easy to understand. It reads as follows:

A bill to amend title 28, United States Code, to provide that the district courts shall have jurisdiction of certain civil actions only if the amount in controversy exceeds \$10,000, and to provide that their jurisdiction based on diversity of citizenship shall not extend to actions in which corporations are parties

Be it enacted, etc., That sections 1331 and 1332 of title 28, United States Code, are amended to read as follows:

"§ 1331. Federal question; amount in controversy

"The district courts shall have original jurisdiction of all civil actions wherein the matter in controversy exceeds the sum or value of \$10,000, exclusive of interest and costs, and arices under the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States.

"§ 1332. Diversity of citizenship; amount in

"(a) The district courts shall have original jurisdiction of all civil actions where the matter in controversy exceeds the sum or value of \$10,000, exclusive of interest and costs, and is between-

"(1) individuals who are citizens of different States;

"(2) individuals who are citizens of a State, and foreign states or citizens or subjects thereof;

'(3) individuals who are citizens of different States and in which foreign states or citizens or subjects thereof are additional parties.

'(b) The word 'States,' as used in this section, includes the Territories and the District of Columbia."

The effect of this proposal, if enacted into law, is to increase the original jurisdictional amount in United States district courts from \$3,000 to \$10,000, exclusive of interest and costs, in matters of controversy arising under the Constitution, laws and treaties of the United States, and in controversy between persons of diverse citizenship, and to confine jurisdiction in such cases to individuals who are citizens and to the exclusion of corporations except where Federal questions are raised

This measure is designed to relieve the Federal courts of litigation of a trifling or less substantial nature and to confer jurisdiction in such cases upon the State courts where it belongs. Under the Constitution of the United States the Congress has the power within certain limitations to fix and determine the jurisdiction of the United States courts. It is my information that the jurisdictional amount was fixed originally in 1780 at \$500. In 1801 it was reduced to \$400. then in 1802 it was again fixed at \$500. In 1887 the amount was increased to \$2,-000, and in 1911 it was increased to \$3,000.

Since 1911 when the jurisdictional amount in controversy was last increased the value of the dollar has steadily declined and litigation has considerably multiplied, particularly in the field of damage suits. Few such suits are now brought for as small an amount as \$3 .-000. Moreover, a greedy and Gargantuan Central Government in the last few years has usurped the powers of the States by expanding its activities into almost every phase of our existence and we can feel its tentacles in all walks of

This unwarranted invasion of the governmental functions and responsibilities of the States has been carried on under the guise of beneficence but if continued unchecked will finally leave the Government of the States and localities nothing more than the hollow shells of a lost liberty. Some of the States have succumbed to these spurious doctrines and have yielded to this usurpation of their powers either through a failure to understand the fundamental principles upon which our Government was established and is based, or have surrendered in the hope of receiving a liberal abundance and share of the governmental largess made available to them under many of these socialistic schemes.

My thoughts in respect to the increase in the jurisdictional amounts are not original with me for it is my understanding that a committee of judges comprising the senior United States circuit judges has recognized the desirability of making this change, and several bills have been introduced in the House of Representatives in recent years to this effect, and at least one bill has passed this body raising the jurisdictional amount from \$3,000 to \$7,500.

I want it distinctly understood now that I have unbounded confidence in the Federal judges presiding over the courts in which I have practiced. I am well acquainted with the United States district judges now in service in Virginia. I have the highest respect for all of them and they are, I believe, my warm personal friends. I have not discussed this subject with any of them. Hence, I have no authority and do not undertake to speak for them. Knowing them as I do, I believe that they would welcome the changes herein proposed in the interest of economy and in the administration of justice by relieving them from the burden of hearing and trying cases of a frivolous or less substantial nature, thus enabling them to devote more of their valuable time to cases of greater importance. I do know that they are all men of the highest qualifications, fitness, and character, and who would not under any conditions covet influence or power. It is my desire to enhance, if practicable, the usefulness and the already high standing of these honorable courts.

Under the diversity of citizenship clause of the Constitution, the courts have from time to time over a period of some 70 or 80 years construed the word "citizen" or "citizens," as used in article III of the Constitution, to embrace corporations also. Having enunciated this doctrine they have found and held that the persons composing the corporation are presumed to be citizens of the State where the corporation was chartered, and the courts have held that this presumption is irrebuttable. While there may be substantial basis for this theory and line of reasoning, I do think the time has come to curtail the jurisdiction of Federal courts based on the citizenship of corporations. This view, likewise, is not new or original with me for attempts have been made repeatedly for the last 75 years to negate these rulings by congressional action. The House of Representatives as far back as 1880 passed a bill, H. R. 4219, 46th Congress, one paragraph of which deprives Federal courts of jurisdiction based on diversity of citizenship in cases between a corporation and citizens of any State in which it does business other than patent and copyright cases. Other measures of a similar nature passed the House of Representatives from time to time thereafter but were lost in the Senate.

As late as 1932 President Hoover in a special message to Congress on strengthening the judiciary system of the country recommended that jurisdiction of Federal courts be modified by "providing that where a corporation, organized under the laws of one State, carries on business in another State, it shall be treated as a citizen of the State wherein it carries on business as respects suits

brought within that State between it and residents thereof and arising out of the business carried on in such State." The effect of the Supreme Court decisions hereinabove generally referred to construing the word citizen in article III, is to confer fictitious citizenship upon corporations. The bill which I have introduced will, if passed, nullify these decisions and limit the jurisdiction to individual citizens and exclude jurisdiction where the citizens are corporate or fictitious.

Mr. Speaker, I am a firm believer in the principles of States rights, and particularly where these principles apply to litigation. These matters in dispute can be settled more expeditiously and with a closer approach to public justice in the localities where the cause of action has arisen. Our State judges as a whole are learned men. They are fair, impartial, and highly fitted to wear the judicial robes. For the most part they rank in fitness and ability on a plane equally as high as our United States district judges. Under the aegis of such a judicial system and with expansion and improvement of communications such as automobiles, airplanes, the press-including radio and television-as well as our modern and improved educational programs, I cannot believe that the people of the respective States would be so provincial in this enlightened era that they would refuse a fair trial because one of the litigants was a citizen of another State. More often than not cases are moved from the State to the Federal courts for no purpose other than to delay the trial and administration of justice, and as we all know a delay in the trial of a case often thwarts public justice.

The Congress is called upon repeatedly to create additional Federal judgeships to relieve the present judges of the existing workload which in some Federal jurisdictions is unbearable. These additional courts are created and established at great expense to the already overburdened American taxpaver and the principal parties continue to be subjected to the harassment, the inconvenience, the delay, and the expense of having their cases heard and tried in some instances at least hundreds of miles away from the scene where the cause of action arose and where the litigants, attorneys, and witnesses reside.

Briefly, the above are a few, among many other good reasons, why the original jurisdictional amount in controversy should be changed so as to curtail the jurisdiction of the United States district courts, thus leaving important legal rights of our citizens to be determined in a forum where public justice will be promoted—not retarded or denied.

It is my fervent hope that the bill which I have introduced may have the active aid and support of the members of the Judiciary Committee not only, but of all those who are interested in economy at the Federal level where it is so sorely needed, and who are interested in the preservation of the rights of the citizens of our sovereign States as well as in the fair, impartial, and speedy administration of public justice.

The Poor Man's Tax Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDGAR W. HIESTAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, the big tax-revision bill of the 83d Congress, completely rewriting the tax code, which after a desperate fight became Public Law 591, is, in effect, a poor man's bill.

Those who would make political capital for purely political purposes by attacks upon this magnificent measure have called it a rich man's bill. The exact opposite is true. It's a poor man's relief law.

Now we have an abortive attempt to kill several of the most important parts of the 1954 tax legislation, all of which favored the lower income groups; but the attack on these favoring measures is being made by those who assert they are fighting the battle for the little man. Actually, they would hurt the little man, the average wage-earner, and the millions of people on small fixed incomes, small pensions, and especially the white collar workers.

Opponents of the administration would extend the excise tax law 2½ years instead of just 1; therefore, they would be guilty of taxing the little man, the poor man, the fixed income people, and the pensioners, an extra year and a half on such necessities as light bulbs, telephone calls, transportation, handbags, cosmetics, gasoline and many other everyday needs, of some of which we had hoped to unburden them at the end of the year. Does this proposed measure sound like relieving the little man?

They would again soak the little man. the poor man, and the pensioner by again double-taxing him on his meager dividend income. The vast majority of millions of stockholders are little people whose income is the result of hard work and lifetime savings, invested in a few shares of corporate stocks. To millions of these people, this is their only income. The law written last year gives 100 percent relief to those in the lowest income bracket, 67 percent in the next group, 521/2 percent in the next group, and tapers down to only 11 percent to the wealthy, who are relatively few in number. Why soak these millions of little people and claim you are soaking only the rich? Isn't that the height of de-ception? Does that sound like relieving the little man?

Now most of you are not kidded about this corporation tax measure. Only people pay taxes. Corporations, actually being groups of people, cannot exist unless they pass along taxes in the prices of their production. If they do not, they go broke and throw thousands of people out of work. So if you extend, as the opponents of the administration are now proposing, the 52 percent corporation earnings tax to $2\frac{1}{2}$ years instead of 1, you are again taxing millions and millions of the people that pay for the goods and services produced by the corpora-

tion. Does that sound like relieving the little man?

And then this politically inspired \$20 and \$10 tax cut amounts to 40 cents a week or 20 cents a week per individual. How much relief is that going to give the average individual? And yet it will cost your Treasury over a thousand million dollars, which added cost must be raised by deficit financing, which means bank borrowing, which is tantamount to the printing of that much new money, which in turn causes inflation and penalizes most deeply the people in the lower income bracket. The rich man can afford \$100 per year increased cost of living from inflation, but the little man-those on fixed incomes and pensions-would be cruelly hurt every time we allow inflation to creep in. Does this sound like relieving the little man?

It is hard to conceive this poorly disguised attempt at cheap politics which so obviously hurts the lower income people by repealing tax relief given them by last year's Congress. It was bad enough to call that great tax revision measure a rich man's bill, but to attempt to repeal some of the parts of it most important to poor people, seems the height of

hypocrisy.

March 15: Hungarian Freedom Day— Statement by Congressman John Lesinski

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN LESINSKI, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, yesterday was the 107th anniversary of an event which brought joy and virtual independence to the people of Hungary. This was a very important event in Hungarian history, for on that day over a century ago the Hungarians regained some of the freedoms which were denied to them by their Hapsburg overlords. In the charter of freedom which the Hungarian House of Deputies approved on March 15, 1848, a number of reforms were introduced which were approved by the Austrian emperor. Among them freedom of the press was established, feudal servitude and heavy taxes on the peasantry were abolished, and the Hungarians were allowed to form their own national government. Louis Kossuth was made president. In short, by the Freedom Day Charter the Hungarians secured national autonomy, or for all practical purposes, independence.

The freedom gained in 1848 was soon lost, and it was not until the end of World War I that Hungary became a completely independent country. The Hungarians enjoyed the blessings of national independence for about two decades, but then came the dark years of World War II. Toward the end of the war Hungary was invaded by the Red army, and since then the Hungarians have been struggling, insofar as they are able, to free themselves

from the clutches of their Communist rulers. The fight they are waging against the ungodly Communists is an uphill fight, one in which many brave Hungarians have been placed under arrest and are serving prison terms in convict labor camps. Even the Roman Catholic primate of Hungary, Cardinal Mindszenty, the most outspoken foe of communism in Hungary, is not free.

This prelate of the church was arrested and imprisoned by the Communist government on some trumped-up charges and has been in prison since December of 1948. The whole free world, and specially our own country, sincerely hopes to have the cardinal released from prison, and we are doing everything practicable to support the Hungarians during these painful times. We are seeking to keep up the Hungarian spirit of independence by means of messages broadcast through the Voice of America. This is one of the ways that we hope will strengthen resistance to the Communist regime and thereby keep alive the Hungarians' faith in the cause of liberty.

In the celebration of this significant day, the Hungarian freedom day, all of us ardently hope that the rebirth of a new freedom for Hungary may not be too far off.

I intend to introduce shortly a concurrent resolution whereby Congress can focus the attention of the free world upon the violations of the Yalta Agreement committed by the Soviet Union. With the weight of Congress in back of such a resolution we can provide an effective way of puncturing the hypocrisy of Soviet propaganda.

Polish Exile To Make Movies for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS S. GORDON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Reconn, I include the following article that appeared in the Polish American Journal at Scranton, Pa., entitled "Polish Exile To Make Movies for Freedom":

POLISH EXILE TO MAKE MOVIES FOR FREEDOM

Los Angeles, Calif.—Fighting communism through appropriate moving pictures is the aim of John Muc, former counterintelligence officer in the Polish Army, who recently organized the American Motion Pictures for Freedom here and is now looking for funds to carry on his enterprise.

PRISONER OF REDS

Muc told the press here that he was captured when the Red army invaded Poland and sentenced to death, later commuted to 25 years of forced labor. He made the rounds of several labor camps and still bears on his wrist the scars of Russian shackles.

He endured a death march of hundreds of miles in the northernmost part of Russia, followed by torture and hunger. He says that for 2 years he never took off his clothes or washed.

After the signing of the Sikorski-Stalin pact, Muc was 1 of 300 survivors of the 7,000 Polish war prisoners employed in the mines at Novaya Zemlya Island, near the Arctic Ocean.

IN ANDERS' ARMY

Upon regaining freedom, Muc reached the Pollsh Embassy in Kuybishew where he was assigned the task of supervising the liberation of other Pollsh citizens from Soviet prisons and labor camps.

He left Russia with the Polish Army of

General Anders.

WORKS FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

After leaving Russia, Muc worked with the American and British intelligence groups studying the methods of Communist propaganda.

For the past 3 years Muc worked for the United States Government. Although most of his work is classified top secret, Muc has been granted permission by the Government to prepare 26 documentary television scripts from its files. Work is soon to begin on the project, said Muc, with movie scripts to follow.

STALIN IS YOUR GOD

At present Muc is in the process of recruiting a score of Hollywood's best writers, actors, technical men, and directors to amalgamate their talents through his American Motion Pictures for Freedom organization.

Muc claims that his movement has already received support from highest Government officials, Senators, and Congressmen.

Among revealing and documentary stories from Government files to be scripted for filming by Muc's group are Stalin Is Your God, on atheism in Soviet schools; Friends or Foes, regarding lend-lease articles falsely labeled as products of the Russians at Archangel in 1942; exposé of the Russian espionage machine, etc.

The Muc's group has its headquarters at 1163 North Genesee Avenue, Hollywood.

A Wish for All American Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the problem of juvenile delinquency has always been of great interest to me as a parent, as a former judge in the city of New York, and now as a legislator. I have given much thought to this problem and have introduced several measures in the 84th Congress to study the causes of juvenile delinquency and to seek effective means to curb this evil which is undermining the morals of our youth.

In the March issue of the magazine Ladies' Home Journal there is published a very interesting and thought provoking, yet succinct, summary of commonsense rules for all parents troubled about the future of their children. It is written by my good friend Judge George W. Smyth, of the children's court, of Westchester County, N. Y.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to insert this brief article, entitled "Freedom Yet Discipline," in the RECORD in order to bring it to the attention of all my colleagues and to the Nation as a whole. It reads as follows:

FREEDOM YET DISCIPLINE

I would wish for a child from the moment of its birth:

 Regular hours of rest and sleep, plenty of fresh air and sunshine, good ventilation and wholesome food.

2. A mother with a good knowledge of sound habit training; one who is consistent in her handling of the child; who is loving yet firm; who will take the time to explain; who is willing and anxious to make the child her first and most important responsibility.

3. A home in which religion is the cornerstone, not merely lip service.

4. Parents who truly love each other and live together in mutual respect.

5. A father who feels his responsibility to participate in the training of the child—not just the one who supplies the cash, and leaves all the responsibility to the mother.

6. Parents who are themselves well disciplined. No greater mistake can be made than to try to discipline children in temper, yelling and screaming at them or pushing them around.

7. Parents who actually set the example through their own personal conduct of the standards they profess to want for their children—not parents who preach one thing and do another.

8. Parents who are interested in their children's activities; who try to find out what their natural interests and activities are; who try to help them to find opportunities for developing those aptitudes; who encourage the children to discuss their problem with them.

9. Parents who will encourage children to accept responsibility and allow them to share in family planning with the family group.

Schools of Blaj, Rumania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to insert an address I delivered at a banquet in Cleveland on October 17, 1954, sponsored by the Association of Rumanian Catholics of America, on the occasion of the 200th anniversary commemoration of the inauguration of the schools of Blaj, Rumania:

It is with pleasure that I join in this commemoration of great import for the culture and spiritual life of Rumania. The deep appreciation I hold for my many Rumanian friends and acquaintances, as well as my long interest in the Rumanian cause, have brought closer to me many events of Rumanian history and various aspects of Rumanian national life.

I know well the illustrious place which Blaj holds in the history of Rumania. I was impressed especially by the fact that the spiritual rebirth that is indissolubly associated with the name of Blaj has been fundamentally an expression of Rumanian nationalism. The religious union with Rome came as a manifestation both of Catholic allegiance and of a strong national reaffirmation. For those pious and flery ancestors of yours, who forged the history of Blaj, Rome was the true symbol of Christianity, but at the same time it stood as the living reminder of the origins of their people, a people who could never renounce their national freedom and independence.

The great scholars and patriots of Blaj made their pilgrimage to Rome, both to the Vatican and to the Column of Emperor Trajan, the founder of Dacia Felix, their ancient land. The students sent from Blaj to acquire knowledge and wisdom at the "De Propaganda Fide," were driven also by that urge, which led Badea Cartan, to walk from his abode in Transylvania, with his desagl on his back to Rome, in order to give a fresh impetus to those national aspirations.

The consciousness of a heroic national past was strengthened and deepened by this contact with Rome. The Rumanian saga of eternal resistance against the barbaric invasions, their outstanding contribution in the fight to defend Christendom against the Ottoman penetration into the heart of Europe, were thus again brought to the fore in the minds of your fellow countrymen. The epic figures of Stephen the Great and Michael the Brave reminded them again of the days of national pride and independence. It was Michael the Brave, who coming to the "land beyond the forests," at Alba Julia, embodied for an historic moment the unity of all Rumanians.

The Catholic tie thus decisively helped the Rumanian cultural and national revival. This is only natural because Christianity stands for the freedom of all people. So Blaj, through its schools and religious institutions, through the spirit which gave them inspiration, became one of the most revered centers of your nation. The cultural climate of Blaj gave birth to the Latinist current which strongly nourished the national consciousness of your ancestors. In those periods of darkness, when Rumania was under a foreign rule, Blaj stood as a guiding light. It was therefore natural that the national revolutionary movement which swept over the whole of Europe in 1848, found a quick response in Blaj. This famous seat of Rumanian spiritual and intellectual life, which we are honoring today, on the 200th anniversary of the inauguration of its renowned schools, was the rallying point of the Transylvania patriots.

On the Biaj Field of Liberty, as it has been so aptly called, through the voice of Simeon Marnutiu and other patriotic leaders, the human, Christian and national aspirations of a people under foreign rule were forcefully and dramatically expressed. The great national poet, Andrei Muresanu, voiced the significance of this movement in what might be considered as the "Marseilleaise" of the Rumanian people, "Wake thou, Rumanian";

"Wake thou, Rumanian, from your sleep of death

In which you have been engulfed by barbaric tyrants."

More than a hundred years have elapsed since this call was heard for the national resurrection of an oppressed people. And now the valiant Rumanian people, who had at long last regained their freedom, are now crushed as never before by the most ruthless and Godless despotism ever known to mankind. Among the victims of Russian Communist aggression, Blaj, the stronghold of the Rumanian Uniate Church, so closely bound to Rome, of national culture and learning and of the consciousness of Rumania's Latin heritage, stands as a martyr of the Godless tyranny of communism.

The Russian invaders and their agents do everything, from intimidation to assassination, in order to eradicate all the pillars of Rumanian nationalism. Nevertheless, in spite of all their ruthless killings and inhumanities, the Russians have been unable to destroy in the heart of every Rumanian, those lasting forces which Blaj and its Field of Liberty symbolizes.

It is an incontrovertible historical fact that the most powerful and persistent driving force of the ages is that of national consclousness. This has been well demonstrated today by the resistance of the subjugated peoples against the new Red Russian colonialism. It is all the more evident that enlightened nationalism is one of the strongest barriers against communism and a necessary foundation for the establishment of a free and peaceful world. National freedom and independence expresses on the international plane what the dignity and liberty of the individual signifies in a free community. Independent and sovereign nations, however small, are thus the strongest assets for a free and democratic world. Conversely, it is well established that the sacrificing of national entities to autocratic empires constitutes the major cause of internal strife, international restlessness and, eventually, a major war.

If we look with confidence to the immense and invincible forces of the human soul, we who are enjoying freedom and its God-given benefits, we must squarely face up to our own responsibilities for the tragedy of the enslaved peoples. The errors on our part which have been and are being made, either through direct support of the Godless tyranny, or through our lack of support for the victims of that tyranny, throw a dubious light on our own future as a free nation. There is no doubt in my mind that if we persist in ignoring our moral duty toward the subjugated nations, the consequences of such a course will work against our own security and freedom. Those of us who have made a careful study of the problem are keenly conscious of the gravity of the present situation, the fruit of past errors. The hundreds of millions of human souls forced under the tyranny of the Red yoke, if completely abandoned by us, as the so-called policy of coexistence requires, would event-ually be reduced to the role of unwitting instruments in the advancement of the objectives of our enemies. Those objectives lead to world domination. On the other hand, we know these peoples are our true allies and that when we recognize and sunport their moral rights to national freedom and independence, we give fresh encourage-ment to their will to resist and strengthen their fortitude to struggle on until the day when the foreign occupier of Rumania and all the other non-Russian nations held captive within the Red colonial empire are once again free and independent.

Whether Reclamation?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee is now holding hearings on the authorization of the upper Colorado River storage project. This project was supported by President Eisenhower and has had the support of the Department of the Interior under both President Eisenhower and President Truman. However, it has been subjected to one of the most concentrated campaigns of opposition in the history of any reclamation project.

For the information of the Members, I am submitting a copy of an editorial from the Salt Lake Deseret News-Telegram of Saturday, March 12, 1955. The editorial follows:

WHETHER RECLAMATION?

Now we're getting down to basics regarding the upper Colorado River storage project.

In Sacramento, Northcut Ely, California's special antiproject lobbyist, is quoted by the Los Angeles Times as urging hundreds of thousands of Californians to write their friends and relatives to help save California's share of the Colorado River water.

And in Washington, California's Attorney General Pat Brown (who, by the way, wonders out loud whether Mr. Ely is worth the \$85,000 California is paying him) says unless California softens its opposition, there will be no more reclamation projects for that State either.

That about sums up the state of the oppo-

Note that Mr. Ely in his own State wasn't talking about the damage to Dinosaur National Monument or cost figures or any of the other arguments that have been used and misused in the debate before Congress. He was talking about the real reason for California's opposition—California wants the water. She wants more water than the 1922 compact entitles her to, and the only way to get it is to keep the upper basin States from using their own share. Congress could spare itself a lot of confusion in its hearings and debates by concentrating on this issue and forgetting all the diversionary attacks.

But there is another side to this coin, too. Further use of water in California or anywhere else in the West requires more reclamation projects. CLINTON ANDERSON, the former Secretary of Agriculture who is now chairman of the Senate Irrigation Subcommittee, made it clear this week that there will be no more projects for California as long as that State continues its present attitude toward the Colorado. So did California's own CLAIR ENGEL, chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, in expressing particular shame for the tactics his State is using.

All this doesn't represent a change of heart that ensures success of the project. The opposition remains deeply entrenched and powerful. Just this week the California Assembly ways and means committee voted an "extra" \$200.000 to continue and enlarge the fight. Still, it is encouraging that there are men fairminded enough and broad-visioned enough to speak up for what is right, even from the midst of the opposition camp. The statements of Mr. Brown and Congressman ENGLE have served well the public and national interest.

Appeal to Secretary Benson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLARENCE CANNON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, March 8, the House of Representatives of the Missouri General Assembly, in session at Jefferson City, Mo., passed by a unanimous vote a resolution requesting the Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. Ezra Taft Benson, to exercise the authority vested in him by statute to alleviate conditions in drouth areas in

Missouri, and elsewhere in the United States, by permitting farmers to harvest mixed wheat and other small grains for feed purposes, as follows:

House Resolution 71

Whereas Missouri farmers should be permitted to harvest unlimited acreage of mixed wheat and other small grain without penalty; and

Whereas a majority of Missouri counties have been officially recognized as drought disaster areas by the United States Department of Agriculture; and

Whereas, 3 years of drought has put many farmers in serious financial condition and restrictions on producing extra feed grain in the form of small grains mixed with wheat is placing restrictions on the farmer, so he cannot help himself; and

Whereas wheat has the highest feeding value of all small grains and makes excellent livestock feed in mixtures with other grains such as oats and rye; and

Whereas the past 3 years have disrupted many rotations, reduced the supply of feed grains and decreased the new and old acreage of grasses and legumes so important in land improvement and livestock production; and

Whereas there was a large acreage of wheat seeded in the fall of 1954 to help fill the need for pasture; and

Whereas if the Secretary of Agriculture will exercise his existing powers and permit drought area farmers to seed oats and grass mixtures in this large wheat acreage seeded for pasture and harvest the mixed grain for livestock feed, a substantial contribution will have been made in helping the farmer help himself in this period of economic stress. This additional mixed feed will be fed on the many Missouri farms suffering from a prolonged grain shortage and will not add in any way to the national supply of commercial wheat: Now therefore he it

wheat: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the members of the House
of Representatives of the General Assembly
of the State of Missouri request the Secretary
of Agriculture to use the authority which
Congress has given him to alleviate conditions in drought areas by permitting farmers
to harvest mixed wheat and other small
grains for feed purposes only; and furthermore be it

Resolved, That a committee of not over 10 members of the house be appointed by the speaker of the house to call upon the Secretary of Agriculture and Members of Congress, asking that the Secretary of Agriculture use the authority granted him by Congress to alleviate this serious situation in the State of Missouri; and be it further

Resolved. That the travel and sustenance expense of the members of the committee be paid from the contingent fund of the house.

EARL A. BAER. RALPH WIGFIELD.

Mr. Speaker the resolution speaks for itself. Due to 3 years of unprecedented drouth the farmers are desperately in need of feed. The wheat to which the resolution refers was sown last fall before the announcement of their wheat quotas. Now that the quotas have been imposed they find themselves in a position where in order to comply with the program they must plow up a portion of the crop sown last fall. It involves loss of the seed and of the labor and investment expended in ordering the land and putting in the wheat and also the additional cost of plowing up the acreage in excess of their quota. The loss is particularly heavy at this time as they are faced in many instances with the alternative of sacrificing basic livestock if food can not be provided to carry it through.

If permitted to sow other small grains with the wheat thereby rendering it ineligible to commerce, and restricting it to use as stock feed by the farmer producing it, it cannot add to the national supply of commercial wheat and will in no wise interfere with the farm program as originally announced.

It is significant that this sensible and practical exemption is approved by the unanimous vote of the Missouri House of Representatives, of both parties and of both urban and rural representatives.

In response to the resolution, Speaker Hamlin appointed as members of the delegation to call on Secretary Benson, Representatives Earl A. Baer, Ralph Wigfield, I. Willis Henson, Luna E. Butler, John T. Campbell, Helen C. Hardy, Jennie Chinn, Charles J. Burns, James S. Lincoln, and George D. Young. The delegation will reach Washington by plane tonight and will be accompanied by Commissioner of Agriculture, Hon. L. C. Carpenter, and Hon. Arch V. McRoberts, an official of the House.

Arrangements have been made for them to call on Secretary Benson on Wednesday afternoon and it is to be hoped that agreements can be reached which will solve this difficult problem and meet the approval of Secretary Benson and the delegation and especially the farmers in the drouth areas and at the same time interfere in no way with the farm program so recently promulgated by the Department.

Mr. Humphrey's "Blooper"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, entitled "Mr. Humphrey's 'Blooper'.' together with a communication which I addressed to the editors of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on this editorial pointing out that it was an extreme case of quoting a public official out of context.

MR. HUMPHREY'S "BLOOPER"

Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, we regret to note, appears to have contracted a case of the affliction that has bothered some other officeholders before him. It is a pecular infirmity, for which the only known specific is a dose of realism mixed with humility.

Under the spell of this strange virus, the officeholder becomes obsessed with the idea that he cannot afford to admit having made a mistake.

Secretary Humphrey seemed to have been bitten by that bug when he testified before a House committee on what some Democrats have been unkind enough to call Humphrey's "billion-dollar blooper"." This is a freshly discovered loophole in the administration's 1954 tax law, under which corporations can reduce their tax liability

substantially by taking double deductions for certain business expenses.

The Secretary admits that the loophole exists, and he favors amendment of the law to remove it. But, like other officeholders before him, he is going through strange contortions in an effort to disclaim responsibility for the error.

ity for the error.

"You gentlemen passed the law, we didn't," Mr. Humphrey told the Congressmen. "If you made a mistake, I'm sorry."

That was a rather ungracious remark coming from a Cabinet member who has never been modest about hailing the administration's 1954 tax law as just about the greatest work of tax architecture in history. Mr. Humphrey's experts labored for months over that tax bill. They should have been aware of any billion-dollar "bloopers" that were in it.

The congressional committees have tax experts, too. These experts also should have detected the loophole which is now belatedly discovered. But their failure does not by any means excuse the Treasury's.

Mr. Humphrey would simplify everything if he would just frankly admit that his department can make mistakes and in this case did.

MARCH 15, 1955.

EDITORS, ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH,

St. Louis, Mo.

GENTLEMEN: Your editorial in Sunday, March 13, 1955, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, entitled "Mr. Humphrey's 'Blooper'," is an extreme case of quoting a public official out of context to make him appear to say the exact opposite of what he did say.

I was present and participated in the hearings of the Ways and Means Committee where Secretary Humphrey testified.

The full unrevised statement of the Secretary occurred in the following colloquy, page 18 of the unrevised transcript:

"Secretary HUMPHREY. Well, Mr. MILLS, I don't know what it is you are trying to drive at. You gentlemen passed the law. We did not.

"Mr. Mn.Ls. That is the point I am driving at, Mr Secretary.

"Secretary HUMPHREY. If you made a bad error, I am just sorry. For our participation in it, I am sorry. I regret that it happened, and I am trying to correct it as quickly as possible. And I am not trying to pin it on

"Mr. Mills. Mr. Secretary, my point is this, exactly the point you make. You attempt to lay the blame and the responsibility on this committee.

"Secretary HUMPHREY. No; I am not."

Prior to this point in the testimony, Secretary Humphrey had repeatedly stated that the Treasury Department had made a mistake and were partly responsible.

On page 11 of the uncorrected transcript, he stated:

"I think that it was a mistake. I think that it was a mistake that we made in the Treasury in the first instance in suggesting the matter. I think it was a mistake that you gentlemen and all of us participated in as we went along. It is one of those things that can happen, as I have said, when you are doing a job as big as this.

"We thought, and I am sure that you gentlemen thought, that all you were doing was a constructive job, as represented to us, to make the tax accounting and the business accounting coincide, which is a desirable thing if you just say it quickly."

On page 12, Secretary Humphrey further stated:

"So that is why I am here; because I think we made an error. I do not think we appreciated the results of what we said in the law. I don't think we appreciated the results of the advice that we gave you gentlemen. And I think that you gentlemen, on our advice and on your own hearings and on your own determinations, joined with us; and we just all made a mistake which ought to be corrected.

"Mr. Mn.Ls. The error, if is was made at all, was made in the acceptance of the proposition by the Treasury and the suggestion by the Treasury that this provision be included in H. R. 8300.

"Secretary Humphrey. We will take our full share of responsibility for it. I think we are all involved."

It was only after Mr. Mills of Arkansas kept trying to put the entire blame upon the Treasury Department that Mr. Humphrey made the remark you quoted out of context. The questioning and statement of Mr. Mills were so extreme, and I thought, in error, in trying to take all blame away from the Ways and Means Committee that I entered the colloquy, page 38, to make this statement:

"Mr. Curtis of Missouri. I mainly wanted to clear the record, because I want to disassociate myself from the views of Mr. Mills, in particular his defense of the committee. I personally am willing, as a member, to assume the responsibility, as a member of this committee, for what we did in H. R. 8300, and I would hate to see the time come when we did not, as a committee, assume responsibility for our actions.

"It is very good to inquire as to why we did certain things, to find out the course, to see where an error was made. But I, personally, think in order to assume any credit for what we did in H. R. 8300, we likewise must assume a responsibility for the harm that we have done. And I am not yet willing to say that this committee is a creature of either the executive department or political caucuses, even though there are members of the committee who seem willing not only to say it but by their actions make it a reality."

On page 92 of the transcript occurs this final colloquy, in point:

"Secretary HUMPHREY. I don't think that anybody had any idea; and I think if we had studied this provision for another year, we would still have put it in without knowing what has happened to date. It took actual application to find out.

"The CHAIRMAN (Hon. JERE COOPER, of Tennessee). I understand that. And I think you very appropriately stated here that the Treasury and you assume your part of the responsibility for the mistake that was made.

"Secretary HUMPHREY. That is right."

On Saturday, March 12, 1955, you have an editorial headed: "Now you see it, now you don't". You complain bitterly about a public relations firm quoting one of your editorials on the Dixon-Yates controversy out of context in relation to the other editorials you have printed on the subject. You conclude the editorial with the sentence, "Sweet are the uses of public relations."

Gentlemen, I think your complaint of being quoted out of context was justified. I suggest that you fight the cause of quoting out of context whenever and wherever it occurs. Also you might occasionally print the arguments on the other side of the Dixon-Yates controversy. This one-sided reporting your paper has indulged in on the Dixon-Yates and other public issues is just as reprehensible as quoting out of context and just as damaging to honest public discussion.

Yours truly,

THOMAS B. CURTIS.

Loyalty Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include the following letter from representatives of a great national organization that appeared in the New Times of March 14. It deals with our present loyalty program, reports on a survey conducted on that program, and indicates weaknesses in that program to which we ought to give our most earnest consideration if we are to sustain our standards of equity and justice.

The letter follows:

TO REVISE LOVALTY PROGRAM—RESULTS OF SURVEY PRESENTED AND RECOMMENDATIONS OFFERED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Your March 7 editorial, Loyalty and Justice, makes a trenchant and significant contribution to the reexamination and reform of the Federal employee's security program.

On the basis of a survey recently concluded by the Antidefamation League of B'nai B'rith of the operation of the Federal employee security program in the Nation's Capital we heartily agree that further improvements in the program are indicated. We interviewed 8 Washington law arms which have handled a total of more than 450 security cases under the Truman and Elsenhower directives.

The most striking finding developed by the survey is that these lawyers won more than 90 percent of the cases. In other words, in 9 cases out of 10 the formal charges brought by the Government against an employee proved to be groundless.

UNNECESSARY DIFFICULTY

This arithmetic reveals some of the unnecessary hardship and heartache of the security program—because the present policy and practice are that the employee against whom charges are filed must first be suspended. In the overwhelming majority of cases, if past experience is a guide, he will ultimately be reinstated with back pay. But that will take an average of 6 months. Meanwhile, the employee will have been severed from his job. Demoralization will have set in. Reinstatement with back pay cannot completely undo the damage wrought.

It seems clear that security officers have failed to stop a thin or hollow case in its tracks, but have preferred to let the Issue go to a hearing board for determination. An indicated reform in the program would be to hold security officers responsible for sending along untenable charges that conscientious preliminary examination or a face-to-face meeting with the employee would have exploded.

All the lawyers consulted agreed on the need to revise the security program so that it will no longer be mandatory to suspend an employee against whom formal charges are filed, before final adjudication. Suspension before hearing may be reserved as a discretionary power in those cases where the employee holds an especially sensitive position and where the evidence against him is especially grave.

INSURING PAIRNESS

The lawyers all testified to the conscientious efforts on the part of present hearing board members to rule out prejudice and insure fair judgment. The few instances of malice or bigotry that cropped up were confined to informants, and the board members were alert to repudiate them when their motivation was revealed during the formal hearing. The extent to which other accusers may have been improperly motivated was, of course, impossible to determine while they remained anonymous.

In several cases superficially serious charges of pro-Communist activity were quickly evaporated when the accuser was cross-examined. Another reform they recommend would provide that an accused employee should have the right to confront his accusers, at least in those cases where the accuser is not an undercover FBI informant.

A third finding and recommendation relate to the need for stricter training and qualifications for security officials. Former Sentor Cain raised this point in his recent address when he called for security officials who understand both the Constitution and the history of the United States—especially, the lawyers would add, the history of the complex social forces of the Thirties and early Forties and the movements that mobilized and enlisted honest as well as disloyal dissent.

DIFFERENT MOTIVES

It appeared that employees who showed a special sensitivity to the dangers of nazism in the Thirties or to the need for achieving equal opportunity for America's minority groups have suffered disproportionately in the program. Security officials, whether because of timidity or lack of sophistication, have too frequently failed to distinguish between the employee who joined an organization because he hated Hitler and the employee who joined because he admired Stalin, between the employee who wanted civil rights as an end in itself and the employee who used it merely as a propaganda tactic for communist aims.

One of the virtues of these recommendations in our view is that they do not prejudice the legitimate vital interests of national security, while they strengthen traditional American guaranties of fair play. Indeed, we would argue that they would promote national security by strengthening morale and enhancing confidence in the fairness and humaneness of government.

We are glad to note that the administration has made some improvements which relate to some of the recommendations mentioned above, and that it will continue its review of the operation of the security pro-

DAVID A. Rose, Chairman, National Civil Rights Committee, Anti-Dejamation League of B'nai B'rith.

JACOB GRUMET, Associate Chairman. New York, March 10, 1955.

Rice Farming Has Golden Anniversary in Cross County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF APKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, as the Nation celebrates National Rice Week, it is interesting to note that Cross County, Ark., is celebrating the golden anniversary of rice farming in that county.

In the March 10 issue of the Wynne Progress, which has been one of the outstanding advocates of a better agricultural economy in Arkansas, there appears a fine article written by Mr. R. A. "Bob" Fisher, which tells the fascinating story of rice farming not only in Cross County but also in America.

Keeping in mind that rice is the biggest "money crop" in world agriculture, the Members should find this article most interesting:

This year, 1955, marks the golden anniversary of rice production in Cross County, although there is no documentary evidence of the fact. According to oldtimers in the county, rice production was first brought to this county by the Evans brothers, of Hickory Ridge, in 1905, but no written record of the first crop is available.

However, golden is a good descriptive word for rice in the country for it has increased in importance until it is now 1 of the 2 great crops in this area.

By 1910 rice farming had started its spread throughout the county. One of the first producers was the late Rush Wright, who planted his first crop in Poinsett County, near the Cross County line, in 1910. He got his seed from the Evans brothers. It was of the Honduras variety and produced very well. Other rice types of this period were the short-grain Pearl rice and Blue Rase.

After 1915 several long-grain varieties were introduced, including Nira, Bluebonnet, Rexark, Fortuna, and others. The most popular of today are Zenith medium grain, Bluebonnet, and Century Patna long grain, and Pearl varieties of short grain.

From the small beginning in 1905, Cross County rice production increased to a total of 63,795 reported acres in 1954, with a crop of more than 3,000,000 bushels of milling rice. The 1955 acreage allotment for the county is slightly above 36,000 acres.

In addition to the milling rice, Cross County produced several thousand bushels of top-quality seed rice. As a money crop, rice is now second only to cotton in the county.

There are now 5 large dryers and 1 rice mill in the county, and several growers have their own dryers. Due to curtailment of production by acreage controls the expansion of drying and milling facilities will probably be at a standstill until controls are lifted or acreage is greatly increased.

RICE IN THE NATION

The first successful introduction of rice culture into the United States was made in 1685. Legend has it that a brigantine sailing from the island of Madagascar suffered heavy damage in a south Atlantic storm and took refuge in the port of Charleston, S. C. While at the port making repairs, the captain of the ship gave a small quantity of rice to a Dr. Henry Woodward, who planted some of it and gave some to a few of his friends. From this seed came the Carolina gold rice which later became the standard of high-quality rice throughout the world.

After introduction of rice into the Carolina colonies production spread rapidly and in 1698 there were 60 tons of rough rice shipped to England from this area. In 1800 the total production in the United States amounted to 65 million pounds.

RICE WAS MONEY

The economic importance of rice in the early colonial period is indicated by the fact that it was once used as a medium of exchange. At one time rice bills were issued in North Carolina redeemable by a tax pay-

able in rice at the rate of 30 shillings (\$7.19) for each hundred pounds.

It was full legal tender, or as it was then called, a rated commodity, worth 1 pound, 5 shillings (\$5.97) per 100 pounds, cleaned and fit for transportation. It was receivable for all private debt and even for the payment of taxes.

RICE MOVES WEST

Rice was first introduced into Louisiana in 1718 by a group of Frenchmen led by Bienville. For about 50 years thereafter, however, it was not a major staple crop but was grown mostly in small plots as food for laborers and low-income farmers.

After the Civi War rice production increased rapidly in Louisiana and in 1864 total production was 1,600,000 pounds. Within 10 years after the end of the war production reach 22 million pounds and in the 3 years from 1874 to 1877 the figure was doubled.

This unusual increase was due to depressed prices of sugar and cotton following the war and the development of cheap methods of production in the flat lands near the river.

THE CIRCLE WIDENS

The major expansion of rice production in the southwestern area, however, came as the result of a discovery by a visiting Iowa farmer in 1884 that rice could be produced on the broad level prairie lands of southwestern Louisiana by mechanized methods then in use for production of wheat in the upper Mississippi Valley. A single wheat binder was brought in from the midwest to harvest rice mechanically in 1884. Five were used in 1885, 50 in 1886, 200 in 1887, 400 in 1888 and more than 1,000 in 1890.

Upland or nonirrigated rice was grown to a small extent in Texas as early as 1863. The crop did not become of commercial importance until after developments in mechanization in Louisiana. In 1889 there were 8,500 acres being grown on an experimental basis in the Beaumont area in Texas. The test was successful and rice production expanded throughout the east Texas prairie area.

INTO ARKANSAS

In 1902 rice was grown on a limited scale on the Grand Prairie of Arkansas near Lonoke under similar production methods to those in use in Louisiana and Texas. In 1904, there were 400 acres in the Lonoke district and by 1910 Arkansas had become the third most important rice State in the Union.

THE RICE AREAS

There are now three important rice producing sections in the United States. They are the Gulf Coast area of southwestern Louisiana and southeastern Texas. About 60 percent of the United States crop is produced in this region which extends along the Gulf of Mexico inland for 50 to 75 miles from a point near Lafayette in southwestern Louisiana westward to El Campo in southeastern Texas.

The remainder of the production is divided along the Grand Prairie section of eastern Arkansas and tablelands west of Crowley's Ridge from the Missouri to the Louisiana lines, and the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valley of California.

The original rice center, which was the Carolinas and Georgia, is no longer of any great importance in the rice trade.

Future expansion of the region of rice culture is likely to be limited. This is because of the rigid requirements of abundant water, level land, impervious subsoil, and relatively cheap agricultural land. Four Hundred and Thirty-fourth Anniversary of Magellan's Voyage to the Philippines

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, this is the 434th anniversary of a great historic event that I think it fitting should be noted in the Congress of the United States. At the suggestion of my good friend of many years, Dr. John Vdan, long a leader in the Philippine-American group, I am extending my remarks to include an article by Maximiano Marmito Villareal, a Philippine world traveler and author in Esperanto of The Philippine Flag Stands As a Monument in American Democracy.

The article follows:

THE PHILIPPINES FROM MAGELLAN TO MAGSAYSAY

March 16, 1955, is the 434th anniversary of the epic and most brilliant voyage ever attempted by man in the annals of history, which saw Ferdinand Magellan and his wooden Spanish fleet land in the Philippines trodden by a crew of brave Spanish and

Portuguese sailors.

This most important highlight and energetic contribution to world history epito-mizes the introduction of Christianity into and the immediate opening of that part of the world to western man. It also confirmed the fact touching on the shape of the globe. Christopher Columbus up to the time of his death believed that he had reached and found the border of the mainland of Asia. Magellan, by virtue of his round-the-world journey saw a part of the world which Columbus had missed, yet proved his outstanding theory of the roundness of the globe correct.

On Cebu Island Magellan baptized the native king and his subjects. Then he negotiated a treaty of alliance with the native king in behalf of the Kingdom of Spain which had sponsored this adventurous voyage. This signalized the first treaty ever made in that part of the world between the

Orient and the Occident.

Unfortunately Magellan himself was unable to return with his fleet when it made a return voyage back to Seville, Spain, in the capacity of captain general, because he was killed in a battle in Mactan Island where native defending forces gained the upper hand, led by Chief Lapulapu. The victorious side refused to return the corpse of Magellan despite offers of payment of a ransom made by the Spainards.

The courage and heroism of the invasionrepelling natives penetrated so deeply into the patriotic consciousness of the Philippine people that it strongly impressed generation after generation of worthy citizens, eventually steeling them to establish the

present Philippine Republic.

Since the visit of Magellan, the Philippines became the connecting, powerful link between all nations of the world in regards to crossing of the high seas for intercontinental promotions of shipping and com-This circumstance, considered in its relation to the promptings of able Philippine leaders, serves to aggrandize native approaches toward making contacts on a friendly basis of cooperation-hence the Philippines is virtually a brilliant star in the firmament of international good will,

shedding a beacon light in that region of the world for guiding the theoretical and literary navigators in the changing panorama of a progressive world. Such a spirit is ever effectual to diffuse a knowledge of science, invention, geography, history, politics, government, diplomacy, and economics, commerce and navigation.

Friendly cooperation between the Philippines and the United States which started flourishing immediately after the Battle of Manila Bay, alluding to events which transpired more than a half century ago, contributes notable chapters demonstrating the right road to take in solving complicated world problems and issues. The member-ship of both countries in the United Nations manifested the greatness of conjoint effort in shapingly influencing international attitudes

Today the lines of effectual confluent pacification are sharply drawn-conspicuously indicated. Absence of friendly intercourse between alert nations due to nonuse of an international auxiliary idiom whereby the rank and file of all peoples themselves can expressly make known honest, holy aspirations, is truly in our atomic age a barrier of acutely ubiquitous and formidable proportions.

The various peoples must sense the need for participating in the labor, in the fulfillment of undertakings to bring about lasting amicable relations between all nations. By press disclosures, conferences, travel, and through correspondence, publicity concerning the impressions of all peoples is stimulated inculcating assurances of the noble aims of the masses everywhere. Especially by aid of Esperanto, the epochal linguistic veteran of international communication, serving as a neutral, second, easy interlanguage, is this high ideal of interfraternization made possible. As a definite result of its usage people in all parts of continental regions react as though they are neighbors, next-door friends.

The Philippine Republic which is headed by President Ramon Magsaysay and Vice President Carlos P. Garcia, can help considerably by getting in back of UNESCO and its parent United Nations which recently in conference held at Montevideo, Uruguay, passed a resolution favoring Esperanto in token, and in commendation to encourage its role as a neutral auxiliary idiom, and so likewise should President Dwight Eisenhower and Vice President RICHARD NIXON of the United States display the same attitude which serves to instill in the hearts of the multitudes a desire to employ Esperanto as a fitting vehicle of intercontinental communication.

It would certainly be a high-minded accomplishment were the heads, also the elite of all nations engaged in a supreme effort aiming to implement the work of UNESCO by encouraging their several populations to join an enlightened movement for promotion of good will, friendship, and mutual understanding. This is bound to come about where there is an amicable, an earnest exchange of correspondence on the part of citizens of diverse nations who find themselves able to make use of an interlanguage as a neutral medium of intercommunication between language-divided nations.

This would assuredly be directly in line with the main purpose and objectives of the proponents and users of the international interlanguage Esperanto, which is put forward as being a second language for all peoples of the world to employ. The resultant gain in universal benevolence, sustained peace, incessant security, and unalloyed harmony in the international horizon will redound with augmented credit to the benefit and glory. noble traditions and gestures of all countries, thereby ameliorating at long last the chaotic political and economic conditions obtaining nowadays throughout the world,

thereby giving voice to still more powerfully, effectively, adequately sustained co-operation that have entered into the operation that have entered into the thoughts, into the hearts of the Philippine and American peoples.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section re-lating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

COVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which I shall be delivered at his residence, I at his office, and I at the Capitol.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

SENATORS WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON OFFICE ADDRESS: Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. [Streets northwest unless otherwise stated] Vice President, Richard Nixon Aiken, George D., Vt.____Carroll Arms, Allott, Gordon, Colo____Anderson, Clinton P., 6 Wesley Circle. Barkley, Alben W., Ky---Barrett, Frank A., Wyo-----The Woodner. Beall, J. Glenn, Md------Bender, George H., Ohio---The Mayflower Bennett, Wallace F., Utah---Bible, Alan, Nev __ Bricker, John W., Ohio....The Mayflower. Bridges, Styles, N. H.....Bush, Prescott, Conn....Buth, John Marshall, Md. Byrd, Harry Flood, Va....The Shoreham. Capehart, Homer E., Ind ___ The Westchester. Carlson, Frank, Kans......Sheraton-Park Case, Clifford P., N. J...... Case, Francis, S. Dak......4545 Conn. Ave. Chavez, Dennis, N. Mex ____ 3327 Cleveland Ave. Clements, Earle C., Ky____2800 Woodley Rd. Cotton, Norris, N. H_____ Curtis, Carl T., Nebr Daniel, Price, Tex-Dworshak, Henry C., Idaho. Eastland, James O., Miss ___ 5101 Macomb St. Ellender, Allen J., La__ Ervin, Samuel J., Jr., N. C. Flanders, Ralph E., Vt____ Frear, J. Allen, Jr., Del_____ Fulbright, J. William, Ark__ George, Walter F., Ga_____The Mayflower. Goldwater, Barry M., Ariz__ Gore, Albert, Tenn_____

RI Hayden, Carl, Ariz_ Hennings, Thomas C., Jr., Mo. Hickenlooper, Bourke B., 5511 Cedar Park-

way, Chevy Chase,

Green, Theodore Francis, University Club.

Hill, Lister, Ala______ Holland, Spessard L., Fla__Sheraton-Park Hruska, Roman L., Nebr____ Humphrey, Hubert H.,

Ives, Irving M., N. Y Jackson, Henry M., Wash__ Jenner, William E., Ind.___ Johnson, Lyndon B., Tex__ Johnston, Olin D., S. C Kefauver, Estes, Tenn.....4848 Upton St. Kennedy, John F., Mass..... Kerr, Robert S., Okla...... Krilgore, Harley M., W. Va...3834 Macomb St. Knowland, William F.,

Calif. Kuchel, Thomas H., Calif. Langer, William, N. Dak___The Roosevelt. Lehman, Herbert H., N. Y__Sheraton-Park

Long, Russell B., La ... McCarthy, Joseph R., Wis... McClellan, John L., Ark.... McNamara, Pat, Mich....

Magnuson, Warren G., The Shoreham.

Malone, George W., Nev....The Mayflower.
Mansfield, Mike, Mont.....
Martin, Edward, Pa......
Martin, Thomas E., Iowa.... Millikin, Eugene D., Colo_ Monroney, A. S. Mike,

Okla.

Morse, Wayne, Oreg_____5020 Lowell |
Mundt, Karl E., S. Dak___The Capitol __5020 Lowell St.

Murray, James E., Mont ._ The Shoreham. Neely, Matthew M., W. Va ... Neuberger, Richard L., Oreg.

O'Mahoney, Joseph C., Sheraton-Park Wyo.

Pastore, John O., R. I.——— Payne, Frederick G., Maine. Potter, Charles E., Mich.—— Purtell, William A., Conn_

Robertson, A. Willis, Va.... Russell, Richard B., Ga....

Saltonstall, Leverett, Mass_2320 Tracy Pl. Schoeppel, Andrew

Kans.
Scott, W. Kerr, N. C.
Smathers, George A., Fla.
Smith, H. Alexander, N. J. Sheraton-Park
Smith, Margaret Chase, (Mrs.), Maine.

Sparkman, John J., Ala 4920 Upton St. Stennis, John, Miss Symington, Stuart, Mo

Thurmond, Strom, S. C Thye, Edward J., Minn_

Watkins, Arthur V., Utah... Welker, Herman, Idaho.....4823 Tilden St. Wiley, Alexander, Wis _____2122 Mass. Ave. Williams, John J., Del____

Young, Milton R., N. Dak__Quebec House So.

OFFICERS OF THE SENATE

Secretary-Felton M. Johnston. Chief Clerk—Emery L. Frazier. Sergeant at Arms—Joseph C. Duke. Secretary for the Majority—Robert G. Baker. Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice. Chaplain-Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D.

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry Messrs. Ellender (chairman), Johnston of South Carolina, Holland, Anderson, Eastland, Clements, Humphrey, Scott, Aiken, Young, Thye, Hickenlooper, Mundt, Williams, and

Schoeppel.

Committee on Appropriations

Hayden (chairman), Russell, Messrs. Hayden (chairman), Russell, Chavez, Ellender, Hill, Kilgore, McClellan, Robertson, Magnuson, Holland, Stennis, Tollow-Kell Volume, Know-Clements, Bridges, Saltonstall, Young, Knowland, Thye, McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Dworshak, Dirksen, and Potter.

Committee on Armed Services

Messrs. Russell (chairman), Byrd, Johnson of Texas, Kefauver, Stennis, Symington, Jackson, Ervin, Bridges, Saltonstall, Flanders, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Case of South Dakota, Duff, and Welker.

Committee on Banking and Currency

Messrs. Fulbright (chairman), Robertson, Sparkman, Frear, Douglas, Lehman, Mon-roney, Capehart, Bricker, Ives, Bennett, Bush, Beall, Payne, and Morse.

Committee on the District of Columbia Messrs. Neely (chairman), Gore, Bible, Mc-Namara, Beali, Hruska, Case of New Jersey, Allott, and Morse.

Committee on Finance

Messrs. Byrd (chairman), George, Kerr, rear, Long. Smathers, Johnson of Texas, Frear, Long, Smathers, Johnson of Texas, Barkley, Millikin, Martin of Pennsylvania, Williams, Flanders, Malone, Carlson, and Bennett.

Committee on Foreign Relations

Messrs. George (chairman), Green, Fulbright, Sparkman, Humphrey, Mansfield, Barkley, Wiley, Smith of New Jersey, Hicken-looper, Langer, Knowland, Aiken, Capehart,

Committee on Government Operations

Messrs. McClellan (chairman), Jackson, ennedy, Symington, Ervin, Humphrey, Kennedy, Symington, Ervin, Humphrey, Thurmond, McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Cotton, Bender, and Martin

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Messrs. Murray (chairman), Anderson, Long, Jackson, O'Mahoney, Scott, Bible, Neu-berger, Millikin, Malone, Watkins, Dworshak, Kuchel, Barrett, and Goldwater.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Messrs, Magnuson (chairman), Pastore, Monroney, Smathers, Daniel, Ervin, Bible,

Thurmond, Bricker, Schoeppel, Butler, Potter, Duff, Purtell, and Payne.

Committee on the Judiciary

Messrs. Kilgore (chairman), Eastland, Kefauver, Johnston of South Carolina, Hennings, McClellan, Daniel, O'Mahoney, Wiley, Langer, Jenner, Watkins, Dirksen, Welker,

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Messrs. Hill (chairman), Murray. Neely, Douglas, Lehman, Kennedy, McNamara, Smith of New Jersey, Ives, Purtell, Gold-water, Bender, and Allott.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

Messrs. Johnston of South Carolina (chairman), Neely, Pastore, Monroney, Hennings, Scott, Neuberger, Carlson, Jenner, Langer, Curtis, Martin of Iowa, and Case of New Jersey.

Committee on Public Works

Messrs. Chavez (chairman), Kerr, Gore, Symington, Thurmond, McNamara, Neuberger, Martin of Pennsylvania, Case of South Dakota, Bush, Kuchel, Cotton, and

Committee on Rules and Administration

Messrs. Green (chairman), Hayden, Hennings, Gore, Mansfield, Jenner, Barrett, Mc-Carthy, and Curtis.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D. C. Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St.,

Alexandria, Va. Mr. Justice Reed, of Kentucky, the Mayflower. Mr. Justice Frankfurter, of Massachusetts,

3018 Dumbarton Ave. Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 3701

Connecticut Ave. Mr. Justice Burton, of Ohio, the Dodge.

Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.

Mr. Justice Minton, of Indiana, the Methodist Building.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Clerk-Harold B. Willey, 3214 N. Wakefield St., Arlington, Va. Deputy Clerk-Reginald C. Dilli, 1329 Hem-

lock St.
Deputy Clerk—Hugh W. Barr, 4701 Connecticut Ave.

Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Road. Reporter—Walter Wyatt, 1702 Kalmia Rd. Librarian—Helen Newman, 126 3d St. SE.

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS JUSTICES ASSIGNED

TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frank-furter. Maine, New Hampshire, Massachu-setts, Rhode Island, Puerto Rico.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frankfurter (temporary appointment). Vermont, Connecticut, New York.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Burton, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Virgin

Fourth fudicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Loui-

siana, Texas, Canal Zone.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Reed.

Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Min-

Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Arkansas. Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas.

Washington, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, Cali-fornia, Nevada, Arizona, Alaska, Hawaii. Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Kansas, Oklahoma,

New Mexico.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

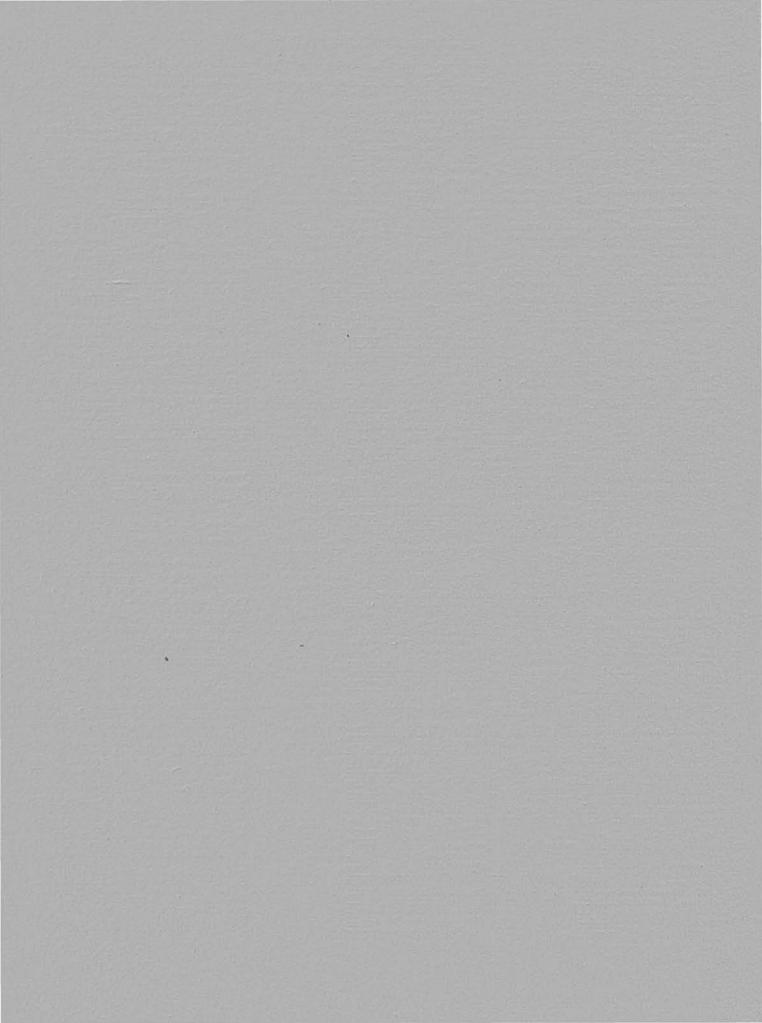
REPRESENTATIVES WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building, Washington, D. C.
[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]
Speaker, Sam Rayburn Abbitt, Watkins M., Va Abernethy, Thos. G., Miss 6278 29th St. Adair, E. Ross, Ind 3971 Langley Ct.,
Addonizio, Hugh J., N. J. Albert, Carl, Okla
Andrews, George W., Ata3108 Cathedral
Anfuso, Victor L., N. Y 4815 Dexter St. Arends, Leslie C., Ill 4815 Dexter St. Ashley, Thomas L., Ohio Ashmore, Robert T., S. C Aspinall, Wayne N., Colo _ Arlington Towers, Arlington, Va.
Auchincloss, James C., N. J. 113 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Avery, William H., Kans Ayres, William H., Ohio Bailey, Cleveland M., W. Va. Baker, Howard H., Tenn Baldwin, John F., Jr., Calij. Barden, Graham A., N. C2737 Devonchire Pl. Barrett, William A., Pa
Barrett, William A., Pa
Bass, Perkins, N. H
Becker, Frank J., N. Y
Pothanda 16d
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich
Bertley, Alvin M., Mich
Bertley, Alvin M., Mich

Chiperfield, Robert B., III1713 House Office
Christopher, George H., Mo.
Church, Marguerite Stitt, 2122 Mass. Ave.
Ill. Clark, Frank M., PaThe Jefferson Clevenger, Cliff, OhioThe Jefferson Cole, W. Sterling, N. Y1610 44th St. Colmer, William M., Miss Cooley, Harold D., N. CThe Dorchester
Colley, Harold D. N. C. The Dorchester
Coon, Sam. OregThe Washington
Cooper, Jere, TennThe Washington Corbett, Robert J., PaCoudert, F. R., Jr., N. YCramer, William C., Fla454 Tindall St. Cretella, Albert W., Conn
Cramer, William C., Fla4454 Tindall St. Cretella, Albert W., Conn
Crumpacker, Shepard J., Jr., Ind.
Cunningham, Paul. Iowa Curtis, Laurence, Mass314 O St. Curtis, Thomas B., Mo
Curtis, Thomas B., Mo Dague, Paul B., Pa
Dague, Paul B., Pa Davidson, Irwin D., N. Y Davis, Clifford, Tenn4611 Butter-
Worth Pl.
worth Pl. Davis, Glenn R., Wis2550 South Joyce, Arlington, Va. Davis, James C., Ga
Dawson, William A., Utah Dawson, William L., Ill
Deane, Charles B., N. C Delaney, James J., N. Y
Delaney, James J., N. Y Dempsey, John J., N. Mex-2500 Q St. Denton, Winfield K., Ind-
Denton, Winfield K., Ind., Derounian, Steven B., N. Y.
Devereux, James P. S., Md_
Dies, Martin, Tex Diggs, Charles C., Jr., Mich. The Congressional
Dingell, John D., Mich Dixon, Henry Aldous, Utah_
Dodd, Thomas J., Conn Dollinger, Isidore, N. Y
Dollinger, Isidore, N. Y
Donohue, Harold D., Mass_
Donohue, Harold D., Mass_ Donovan, James G., N. Y Dorn, Francis E., N. Y
Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C.
Dowdy, John, Tex
Durham, Carl T., N. CThe Lee House Eberharter, Herman P., Pa.3101 4th St. N.,
Arlington, Va.
Elliott, Carl, Ala
Elliott, Carl, Ala
Evins, Joe L., Tenn5044 Klingle St. Fallon, George H., Md
Fascell, Dante B., Fla Feighan, Michael A., Ohio_
Fenton, Ivor D., Pa 3725 Macomb St.
Fine, Sidney A., N. Y.
Fisher, O. C., TexCalvert-Woodley
Fascell, Dante B., Fia
Flynt, John J., Jr., Ga Fogarty, John E., R. I3627 Chesapeake
Forand, Aime J., R. I. 4108 Dresden St., Kensington, Md.
Dr., Alexandria,
Forrester, E. L., Ga
Frazier, Jas. B., Jr., Tenn_Fairfax Hotel Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr., 3014 N St. N. J.
Friedel, Samuel N., Md Fulton, James G., Pa
Gamble, Ralph A., N. Y Garmatz, Edward A., Md
Garmatz, Edward A., Md Gary, J. Vaughan, Va Gathless W. C. Ath
Gathings, E. C., Ark6377 31st Pl. Gavin, Leon H., Pa6
Gentry, Brady, Tex George, Myron V., Kans3801 Rodman St.
Gordon, Thomas S., Ill

Granahan, William T., Pa Grant, George M., Ala4801 Conn. Ave. Gray, Kenneth J., Ill Green, Edith, Oreg Green, William J., Jr., Pa Gregory, Noble J., Ky2401 Calvert St. Griffiths, Martha W., Mich Gross, H. R., Iowa Gubser, Charles S., Calif Gwinn, Ralph W., N. Y
Hagen Herlen Calif
Hagen, Harlan, Calif————————————————————————————————————
Arlington, Va. Harrison, Robert D., Nebr_ Harvey, Ralph, Ind110 Maryland
Hays, Brooks, Ark
Alexandria, Va. Henderson, John E., Ohio125 Marthas Rd., Alexandria, Va.
Herlong, A. S., Jr., Fla
Ave. NE.
Hillings, Patrick J., Calif. Hinshaw, Carl, Calif. Hoeven, Charles B., Iowa. 2108 Suitland Terrace SE.
Hoffman, Clare E., MichMethodist Bldg. Hoffman, Richard W., III Holifield, Chet, Calif Holmes, Hal, Wash Holt, Joe, Calif Holtzman, Lester, N. Y Hope, Clifford R., Kans3541 Brandywine
Horan, Walt, Wash
Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr.,
Hosmer, Craig, Calif
Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md
Hosmer, Craig, Calif

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Laird, Melvin R., Wis	Pilcher, J. L., Ga	Tumulty, T. James, N. J
Landrum, Phil M., Ga	Pillion, John R., N. Y.	Udall, Stewart L., Ariz
Lane, Thomas J., Mass	Poage, W. R., Tex2309 Skyland	Utt, James B., Calif
Lanham, Henderson, Ga	Poff, Richard H., Va	Vanik, Charles A., Ohio
Lankford, Richard E., Md Latham, Henry J., N. Y	Polk, James G., Ohio	Van Pelt, William K., Wis
LeCompte, Karl M., Iowa_Sheraton-Park	Powell, Adam C., Jr., N. Y.,	Van Zandt, James E., PaThe Senate Courts Velde, Harold H., Ill
Lesinski, John, Jr., Mich	Preston, Prince H., Jr., Ga.	Vinson, Carl, Ga4 Primrose St.,
Lipscomb, Glenard P., Calif.	Price, Melvin, Ill	Chevy Chase, Md.
Long, George S., La	Priest, J. Percy, TennThe Berkshire	Vorys, John M., Ohio2032 Belmont Rd.
Lovre, Harold O., S. Dak 1605 Sherwood	Prouty, Winston L., Vt	Vursell, Charles W., IllThe Congres-
Road, Silver	Quigley, James M., Pa	sional
Spring, Md.	Rabaut, Louis C., Mich	Wainwright, Stuyvesant,
McCarthy, Eugene J., Minn. 419 Raymond St.,	Radwan, Edmund P., N. Y.	N. Y.
Chevy Chase, Md.	Rains, Albert, Ala	Watter, Francis E., Pa
McConnell, Samuel K., Jr., Pa.	Ray, John H., N. Y Rayburn, Sam, Tex	Weaver, Phil, Nebr9408 Crosby Rd.,
McCormack, John W., Mass_The Washington	Reece, B. Carroll, Tenn	Silver Spring, Md.
McCulloch, Wm. M., OhioWestchester Apts.	Reed, Chauncey W., 142009 Glen Ross	Westland, Jack, Wash
McDonough, G. L., Calif	Rd., Silver Spring,	Wharton, J. Ernest, N. Y
McDowell, Harris B., Jr.,	Md.	Whitten, Jamie L., Miss5804 Nebraska
Del.	Reed, Daniel A., N. Y The Woodner	Ave.
McGregor, J. Harry, Ohio_The Westchester	Rees, Edward H., Kans1801 16th St.	Wickersham, Victor, Okla
McIntire, Clifford G.,	Reuss, Henry S., Wis2750 32d St.	Widnall, William B., N. J Wier, Roy W., Minn
Maine McMillan, John L., S. C 1201 S. Barton St.,	Rhodes, George M., Pa1809 Franklin St. NE.	Wigglesworth, R. B., Mass_3257 N. St.
Arlington, Va.	Rhodes, John J., Ariz	Williams, Harrison, Jr.,
McVey, William E., Ill 3130 Wisconsin	Richards, James P., S. C	N. J.
Ave.	Riehlman, R. Walter, N. Y_3210 Wis. Ave.	Williams, John Bell, Miss1001 26th Road S.,
Macdonald, Torbert H.,	Riley, John J., S. C	Arlington, Va.
Mass.	Rivers, L. Mendel, S. C.	Williams, William R., N. Y_1241 Pa. Ave. SE.
Machrowicz, Thaddeus M., 812 Park Ave.,	Roberts, Kenneth A., Ala_4545 Conn. Ave.	Wilson Farl Ind
Mich. Falls Church, Va.	Robeson, Edward J., Jr., Va_ Robsion, John M., Jr., Ky_1500 Delafield Pl.	Wilson, Earl, Ind
Mack, Peter F., Jr., Ill	Rodino, Peter W., Jr., N. J.	Calif.
Mack, Russell V., Wash	Rogers, Byron G., Colo	Winstead, Arthur, Miss
Madden, Ray J., Ind3250 T St. SE.	Rogers, Edith Nourse, Mass_The Shoreham	Withrow, Gardner R., Wis_
Magnuson, Don, Wash Mahon, George H., TexAlban Towers	Rogers, Paul G., Fla	Wolcott, Jesse P., Mich 3707 Thornapple
Mailliard, William S., Calif.	Rogers, Walter, Tex	St., Chevy Chase
Marshall, Fred, Minn	Rooney, John J., N. Y	Wolverton, Charles A., N. J. 1336 HOB
Martin, Jos. W., Jr., MassThe Hay-Adams	Roosevelt, James, Calif Rutherford, J. T., Tex	Wright, Jim, Tex
Mason, Noah M., IllThe Baronet	Sadlak, Antoni N., Conn	Yates, Sidney R., Ill Young, Clifton (Cliff), Nev_3202 So. Stafford
Matthews, D. R. (Billy),	St. George, Katharine, N. Y.	St., Arlington, Va.
Fla.	Saylor, John P., Pa	Younger, J. Arthur, Calif_4545 Conn. Ave.
Meader, George, Mich3360 Tennyson St. Merrow, Chester E., N. H	Schenck, Paul F., Ohio3801 Conn. Ave.,	Zablocki, Clement J., Wis
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Apt, 307	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y
Miller, A. L., Nebr2801 East-West	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower	
Highway, Chevy	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	DELEGATES
Chase, Md.	Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE.
Miller, Edward T., Md 2901 Conn. Ave.	Ave.	Alaska.
Miller, George P., Calif	Scudder, Hubert B., Calif 4545 Conn. Ave.	Farrington, Mrs. Joseph
Miller, William E., N. Y 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensing-	Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr.,	R., Hawaii.
ton, Md.	Conn.	RESIDENT COMMISSIONER
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave.	Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St.	Fernős-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St.
Minshall, William E., Ohio_	Ala. So., Arlington, Va.	OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE
Mollohan, Robert H.,	Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill.	Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts.
W. Va.	Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif	Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr.
Morano, Albert P., Conn	Short, Dewey, Mo	Doorkeeper—William M. Miller.
Morrison, James H., La420 Dexter St.	Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park	Chaplain-Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D.,
Moss, John E., Jr., Calif	Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J.	1421 Montague St.
Moulder, Morgan M., Mo	Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla	Postmaster—H. H. Morris,
Multer, Abraham J., N. Y	Siler, Eugene, Ky	OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE
Mumma, Walter M., PaThe Coronet	Simpson, Richard M., Pa. 4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill. 2100 Mass. Ave.	SENATE
Murray, James C., Ill	Sisk, B. F., Calif	James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy
Murray, Tom, Tenn	Smith, Frank E., Miss	Chase, Md.
Natcher, William H., Ky5108 Bradley	Smith, Howard W., Va 204 W. Walnut St.	John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane.
Blvd., Bethesda,	Alexandria, Va.	Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St.
Md.	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace.
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine	Smith, Lawrence H., WisThe Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace, J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE.
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St.,
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, KansSheraton-Park Spence, Brent, KySheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va.
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave.	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Sheraton-Park Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill Staggers, Harley O., W. Va_ Steed, Tom, Okta	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St.
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave.	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., III Staggers, Harley O., W. Va_	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va.
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Thomas J., IllThe Hamilton O'Hara, Barratt, IllThe Congressional	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, KansSheraton-Park Spence, Brent, KySheraton-Park Springer, William L., IllStaggers, Harley O., W. Va_Steed, Tom, OklaSullivan, Leonor K., MoTaber, John, N. Y	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St.
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Thomas J., Ill	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill Staggers, Harley O., W. Va_ Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md.
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Thomas J., Ill	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Sheraton-Park Spence, Brent. Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., III Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St.
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Thomas J., IllThe Hamilton O'Hara, Barratt, Ill	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Sheraton-Park Spence, Brent. Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill Staggers, Harley O., W. Va_ Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave. HOUSE
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Thomas J., Ill	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, KansSheraton-Park Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill Staggers, Harley O., W. Va_ Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif_ Teague, Olin E., Tex6015 Mass. Ave.	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave. HOUSE W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Ave.
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Thomas J., Ill The Hamilton O'Hara, Barratt, Ill	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Sheraton-Park Spence, Brent. Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill Staggers, Harley O., W. Va_ Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave. HOUSE
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, KansSheraton-Park Spence, Brent, KySheraton-Park Springer, William L., IllStaggers, Harley O., W. VaSteed, Tom, OklaSullivan, Leonor K., MoTaber, John, N. YTalle, Henry O., IowaTaylor, Dean P., N. YTague, Charles M., CalifTeague, Clin E., Tex6015 Mass. Ave, Thomas, Albert, Tex2901 34th St. Thompson, Clark W., TexSheraton-Park Thompson, Frank, Jr., N. J	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave. HOUSE W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Ave. Roy L. Whitman, 4820 Linnean Ave.
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Thomas J., Ill	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 326 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave. HOUSE W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Ave. Roy L. Whitman, 4820 Linnean Ave. F. S. Milberg, 5032 Massachusetts Ave. E. B. Clark, 604 Bennington Dr., Silver Spring, Md.
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Thomas J., Ill The Hamilton O'Hara, Barratt, Ill The Congressional O'Hara, Joseph P., Minn2813 31st St. O'Konski, Alvin E., Wis4201 Mass. Ave. O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr., Mass. Osmers, Frank C., Jr., N. J. Ostertag, Harold C., N. Y	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave. HOUSE W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Ave. Roy L. Whitman, 4820 Linnean Ave. F. S. Milberg, 5032 Massachusetts Ave. E. B. Clark, 604 Bennington Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Frank E. Battaglia, 957 East-West Highway.
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, KansSheraton-Park Spence, Brent. KySheraton-Park Springer, William L., IllStaggers, Harley O., W. VaSteed, Tom, OklaSullivan, Leonor K., MoTaber, John, N. YTalle, Henry O., IowaTaylor, Dean P., N. YTeague, Charles M., CalifTeague, Olin E., Tex	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave. HOUSE W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Ave. Roy L. Whitman, 4820 Linnean Ave. F. S. Milberg, 5032 Massachusetts Ave. E. B. Clark, 604 Bennington Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Frank E. Battaglia, 957 East-West Highway. Claude S. Scheckel, 6 East Blackthorne St.,
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 326 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave. HOUSE W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Ave. Roy L. Whitman, 4820 Linnean Ave. F. S. Milberg, 5032 Massachusetts Ave. E. B. Clark, 604 Bennington Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Frank E. Battaglia, 957 East-West Highway. Claude S. Scheckel, 6 East Blackthorne St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave. HOUSE W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Ave. Roy L. Whitman, 4820 Linnean Ave. F. S. Milberg, 5032 Massachusetts Ave. E. B. Clark, 604 Bennington Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Frank E. Battaglia, 957 East-West Highway. Claude S. Scheckel, 6 East Blackthorne St., Chevy Chase, Md. Albert Schneider, 7516 14th St.
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave. HOUSE W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Ave. Roy L. Whitman, 4820 Linnean Ave. F. S. Milberg, 5032 Massachusetts Ave. E. B. Clark, 604 Bennington Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Frank E. Battaglia, 957 East-West Highway. Claude S. Scheckel, 6 East Blackthorne St., Chevy Chase, Md. Albert Schneider, 7516 14th St. Paul L. Miller (clerk), Shadyside, Md.
Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave. HOUSE W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Ave. Roy L. Whitman, 4820 Linnean Ave. F. S. Milberg, 5032 Massachusetts Ave. E. B. Clark, 604 Bennington Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Frank E. Battaglia, 957 East-West Highway. Claude S. Scheckel, 6 East Blackthorne St., Chevy Chase, Md. Albert Schneider, 7516 14th St.



Appendix

Natural Gas-What Has Happened

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER ROGERS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, what a whale of a difference a few decades make. Only 50 years ago the oil prospector who found some gas wells or—even worse—a gas field, manfully strove to keep from blubbering at his bad luck. For gas was not worth the match that turned it into a fiery monument to waste. Nobody wanted it. There was no way to haul it as you hauled the coal, oil, wood, that stoked the Nation's industrial fires and cooked its meals.

Nor is this all. If someone had then asked any of us to invest in gas, we would have ranked him with the slickers who were "selling" New York's Flatiron Building at bargain-basement prices to honest country folk visiting the metropolis. And that is where we would have made fools of ourselves.

The stone the builders rejected has become a chief cornerstone. Today natural gas is the Nation's sixth largest industry.

Today upward of \$12 billion is invested in the gas business. That is a lot of money even in a country where a quarter interest in a champion breed bull brings more than a king's ransom used to bring. And nearly every day someone in this dynamic industry is going to the public for more money to build more facilities to supply more gas to more people. How come? You may ask. What has swiftly transformed natural gas from a blooming nuisance itno a spectacular success?

The chief thing is this. If you produce something—in this case natural gas—that people universally like because it best serves their needs, price it right so that everybody can use it, service it in "the show's the thing" tradition of the trouper who goes onstage even if it kills him, then you are almost sure to become successful. Then you can nail down your success if you do not get too big for your britches and you remember that you are not God's gift to mankind but are just a businessman competing honorably with others who also have good products to sell.

In general, I believe the gas industry has had enough mother wit to abide by these principles. And whenever it forgets them it ought to be—and will be—soundly spanked. As for natural gas itself, evidently there is nothing wrong with it even if—as they are the first to admit with crimson brow—not all gas—

men wear fledgling wings. Now I do not like statistics any more than you do, but just as the doctor cannot examine your throat unless you say "ah" through a spoon, so the case cannot be made clear without using a few figures. Here they are:

Thirty-three million families cook with

Eighteen million families heat water with gas.

Four million families use gas refrigerators.

Fourteen million families heat their houses with gas.

It would seem, then, that, next to children, gas is the favorite household pet of them all, for nearly three-fourths of all American families depend upon it in their daily living.

The figures show this but they do not give us the why of it. Why did gas become a household favorite of the American woman who is wife, mother, cook, maid, companion to husband and children, and often helps support the family to boot? Because gas is clean; gas need not be stored as coal and oil are stored; gas contains no built-in waste; gas, if it could sing, could sing Ethel Merman's old favorite to its oil and coal competitors around the house, Anything You Can Do I Can Do Better; gas is priced right.

That last line, as it stands, is idiotic. It is like the advertising that reads: "Joe's pies are better." Better than what? Joe does not tell us. He tries to make us believe that his pies are better than the best pies available even if that is as far from the truth as a pig is from an understanding of Easter.

When I say that "gas is priced right," I mean that it is priced right in relation to its great competitors: coal and oil. Actually I believe that millions of American housewives, because of what one might call the housewifely qualities of natural gas, would willingly pay more for it than for competing fuels. But gas has made its way in the American home against the hard competition of oil and coal not only because of qualities that endear it to the housewife, but also because she could buy it nearly always for less, and certainly not more, than she would have to pay for coal or oil.

Yet—and this is as it should be—the very presence of coal and oil to which the housewife could turn if gasmen had been so stupid as to try to gouge her on prices helped keep the price of gas on the sunny side.

Those who produce gas are proud to have a secure place on the American hearth. It is cozy there and occasionally you can scent the homey aromas of cinnamon and apples coming from the kitchen. But no less proud to have an important place in the American factory. In fact, industry is the biggest customer.

Now, industry, as you know, buys what it needs to buy on one basis only: "Will

this article give us better service for a lower price than any competing article on the market?" And that works just fine. Because this basis has produced so much business that gas folks are nearly driven frantic to produce enough gas and build enough pipelines to deliver it to industrial customers whose appetite for gas seems to grow by what they feed upon.

But here again a salutary competition exists for those in the gas business, and if they should ever be foolish enough to forget it, they would deservedly lose their silly little heads. This competition lies in the fact that industry does not have to use natural gas. Gasmen have no monopoly. If, therefore, the gas industry should ever get "above its raisin'" it would price itself out of the market because industry and the housewife can always turn to coal and oil.

What has happened, then, is this: When gas producing was growing from a nuisance to the condition of spectacular success, gasmen sold their product at prices so competitive with other sources of fuel energy that gas won a secure place in American families and industrial life. During this period there was no regulation of gas producers—men who spend their lives hunting for gas—by the Government. But last year the Supreme Court, as you perhaps know, changed all that. It held that producers of natural gas were subject to regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

This is the law. It will remain the law unless Congress should step in and say plainly by statute that it is not in the public interest that producers of natural gas should be subject to Federal regulation and so return to the happy state of yesterday when gas met all comers in the field of competition and made its way to great estate in American life. I have the highest respect for the Supreme Court, but as its own record of reversals of opinions shows, it is not infallible and-praise the Lord-it does not think it is infallible. And fortunately for us free Americans, as a cat may look at a queen, so the humblest layman among us may question the wisdom of the highest legal authority among us. Hence the following observations that simply make sense:

First. Will the regulation of gas producers create greater and greater quantities of gas needed by Americans? I do not think so. Gas producing is risky. It is an enterprise that is neither all adventure nor all business but is always risky. If you hit it right, you may make a lot of money; that is, if you are permitted to bargain in your own way for the sale of your treasure trove. If you do not hit it, you will lose your shirt and there is no Marshall plan for shirtless gas producers. The chances are that you will not hit it, but that has never restrained Americans who have always

been willing to take high risks for the sake of high rewards. But just as there is a big difference between courage and foolhardiness, so there is a big difference between the man who will risk a lot for a hefty reward and the fellow who will risk a lot for a small reward or nothing. The latter does not last long and, while he does, his standing in the community is not enviable.

Second. Federal regulation of utilities has hitherto affected a relatively few firms—railroads, pipelines, and so forth. They are easy to regulate. They are not only few but are remarkably alike in structure and function. And—in return for regulation—the Government often grants them semimonopolistic status and clothes them with awesome rights such as the right of eminent domain—which means that they can confiscate your property, no matter how loud you howl, and pay you a fair price for it.

Yet, how are you going to apply these principles to gas producers? There are thousands of them. They are big, little, and runts. No two are identical. No two have an identical history. They are all bewilderingly different and each—to be fair—would have to be regulated, not on the basis of similarity, but upon the basis of dissimilarity. Yet, no regulatory body can regulate on the basis of dissimilarity for this would introduce into the regulations, not uniformity, but anarchy. But that is what the FPC faces if it is going to regulate fairly thousands of gas producers.

The gas industry is enormously complex, and Mr. Justice Douglas, dissenting from his brethren of the Court who held gas producers to be subject to regulation, said that it was perhaps too complex for the Court to understand upon its own. And it was just here that 50 years ago, Mr. Justice Holmes, one of the most brilliant minds that ever sat on the Supreme Court, said:

But legislatures and courts generally have recognized that the natural evolutions of a complex society are to be touched only with a very cautious hand.

Everybody agrees it is in the public interest that railroads, say, and some transportation gas and oil pipelines should be federally regulated to guard the public against possible abuse by them. These utilities are, with some exceptions, not producers. They sell a service: transportation. But it is recognized that while Government may regulate railroad rates, it may not regulate the prices of commodities hauled by railroads. Government may say that a railroad may not charge more than \$2 a ton to haul coal from Albany to Ashland. But it may not regulate the price of coal.

Some great companies of the gas industry produce gas themselves and transport it through their own pipelines. Sellers of both a commodity—gas—and a service—transportation—they constitute a separate category in the industry whose potential regulation must be considered in the light of their two-way function if great injury is not to result to all concerned.

This enormous distinction has always prevailed between the price of gas in the pipeline and the price of gas at the well-head—that is, before it has got into the

pipeline. At this point it is a commodity. Its price is one between seller, buyer, and the market. No one has ever believed that the price of such a commodity is any more subject to Federal regulation than other commodities are subject to it. Logically, if government is going to regulate the price of gas at the wellhead, it will eventually have to regulate the price of coal at the pithead and the price of oil in the well. This would mean Federal regulation of the great sources of fuel energy. And since America is what one might call combusion on wheels, the day would then be at hand when government, through control of our fuel energy sources, could control every business in this land from the greatest steel company to the smallest peanut roaster. I do not believe that is what Congress intended when it wrote the Natural Gas Act in 1938. I do not believe that that is what the overwhelming majority of the American people want either. And I do not think it is what you want. Hence, I think this is a matter of concern to all who want to go on in the future as a free-enterprise nation.

I hope, therefore, that Congress will declare that the regulation of natural-gas producers is not in the public interest. But pending its action, and regardless of what action it takes, I want to say this:

The gas people are loyal American citizens just as you are. They shall abide by the Supreme Court's decision so long as it is the law. They will do their best to find more gas to supply more people even if it must be done with one hand tied. They believe they can do an even greater job in the future than they have in the past if given the chance to do it. In the meanwhile, they are trying to tell people what is happening, serene in the belief that if they are right—and I profoundly believe they are—the people of this Nation will see to it that right prevails.

The New Concept of Education Embodied in the Land-Grant College Movement Not Limited to Two Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert into the Record my reply to a news release from Michigan State College concerning my statement to the press about the Michigan State College and Pennsylvania State University commemorative-stamp issue of February 12, 1955, a copy of which was filed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 16, by Hon. Charles E. Potter, Senator from Michigan. My original statement appeared in the Record of March 15, 1955.

This commemorative stamp honoring the centennial of the founding of Michigan State College and Pennsylvania State University is referred to in the Michigan State College release as a stamp "to honor the founders of the new concept of higher education." The new concept of education in agriculture and mechanical arts in institutions of higher learning had been started in other colleges and universities throughout the Nation. It was a part of the productive growth of this country, and the tremendous westward expansion, and the need felt for practical education and wider educational advantages for more Americans. To single out only two State institutions to honor for this new concept of higher education is to deny the significant contemporary movements, in other States, to establish a broader base in higher education. Senator Justin Morrill, author of the Land-Grant College Act named for him, emphasized this in a speech before the Vermont Legislature at Montpelier in 1888, when he said:

The fundamental idea was to offer an opportunity in every State for a liberal and larger education to larger numbers, not merely to those destined to sedentary professions but to those much needing higher instruction for the world's business, for the industrial pursuits and professions of life.

In Iowa, for example, in 1848-

The legislature asked Congress to grant to the State the site and buildings of Fort Atkinson in Winneshiek County, with two sections of land, for an agriculture college. Nothing came of this movement, but on December 28, 1853, the State agriculture society was organized by people interested in agricultural education. * * Petitions for an agricultural college multiplied and finally on March 22, 1858, Governor Lowe approved a bill for a State agricultural college and farm.

This is only one example of the movement which was evolving in many States at that time. In fact, Iowa was also active during the consideration of the Morrill Act of 1859 which was vetoed by President Buchanan. Earle Ross in his History of Iowa State College points this out in the following description:

Iowa legislators authorized the establishment of an agricultural college with the definite expectation of Federal aid for their project, either through general grants to the States such as that proposed in the first Morrill bill then pending or by a special subsidy. * * *

On March 3, 1858, the legislature approved a memorial to Congress asking "a donation of 50,000 acres of land, to be taken from public lands in this State, for the purpose of establishing scientific agricultural schools." The memorial urged that "the farmers of the State of Iowa are exceedingly desirous to establish a scientific agricultural college and schools for the purpose of giving freely to all a profound knowledge of the great truths and fundamental principles of nature."

The Michigan State College release contains a quotation from Dr. Russell I. Thackery, president of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities. This, in my opinion, cannot be taken as a definitive answer to the question. I

¹True, Alfred Charles. A history of agricultural education in the United States. 1785-1925. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1929. P. 109.

² Ibid., p. 152.

⁹ Ross, Earle D. A history of Iowa State College. Ames, the Iowa State College Press, 1942. P. 35.

colleges which later were designated for the functions of the Morrill Act, but they

call to your attention that he is quoted as having said:

I think it is generally recognized that Michigan State is the first agricultural college of its type actually in operation deserves the distinction of being called the first landgrant institution.

You cannot build historical fact on what people think. Where does this place Pennsylvania State Agricultural College which, according to the stamp issue, is also celebrating its 100th anniversary and is designated by this as first of the land-grant colleges?

An additional error in fact, I would like to point out, occurs in the Michigan State College news release. They would have us believe that Dr. Adonijah Strong Welch was, and I quote:

A president imported directly from the East Lansing campus, according to Dr. Madison Kuhn, Michigan State College historian and author of the forthcoming book Michigan State—The First Hundred Years.

According to Earle D. Ross in his History of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Dr. Welch was head of Michigan State Normal College at Ypsilanti, Mich., in 1852 and "he served general education by the promotion to teachers' institutes and of a State teachers' association and aided technical training by service on the board of the agricultural college." He was not "imported directly from the East Lansing campus," as the Michigan State College press release says because, according to Earle Ross:

In 1865, failing health caused him to seek a milder climate, and he went to Florida, where he engaged in lumbering and fruit growing near Jacksonville. * * * His leadership in reconstruction politics had been felt among northern residents of Florida, and he was offered one of the senatorships of the restored State government. * * On June 17, 1868, he was chosen by the Florida Legislature for the short senatorial term ending March 3, 1869, took his seat on July 2, and served the remaining 25 days of the long session before assuming his academic duties in Iowa.*

In addition to this, I have also noted that in its centennial pamphlet, The First 100 Years of a New Educational Concept, Michigan State College states that it "and most of the the 53 land-grant colleges rank among the largest and best-known universities of the world." Their reputation is not disputable. Their contribution to American higher education deserves recognition, but there are not 53 land-grant institutions, there are 69.

There are two more points from my original statement I wish to reemphasize today. First, I salute those two great institutions—Michigan State College and Pennsylvania State University—on the occasion of their centennial celebrations and hope that their next hundred years will be as successfull and as resourceful as the first hundred.

Secondly, there was no such thing as a land-grant college under the Morrill Act in 1855 since the national legislation creating them was not enacted until 1862. Granted there were agricultural were not land-grant colleges until the several State legislatures accepted the terms of the Morrill Act and officially specified which State educational institution was to be the agricultural and mechanical arts college.

I call upon the presidents of these two

I call upon the presidents of these two fine institutions to review the documented facts as outlined here, as well as others which further study will reveal, in order that the reputations for truth and honesty which they have earned through their outstanding records will not be questioned in a situation like this where they seem to be taking advantage of others who should at least share in the honors.

The Post Office Department should be absolved of blame because it was led to believe that the picture as presented by these institutions represented the whole truth when it seems evident that this is not the case.

The Need for Improvement in the Social-Security System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to amend the Social Security Act in order to provide for greater economic security for our senior citizens over the age of 60 when they reach the evening of their life.

Because of the increasing number of older people in our population, there is a growing interest in the economic and social problems which have arisen as a result of this change in the makeup of this country's population. I believe we should give more serious thought to these problems so that we can deal more adequately with the growing number of elderly people and afford them the opportunity to spend their declining years in greater comfort and fewer economic worries.

In the last few years there have been some changes in the structure of our social-security system, which has been expanded to include greater numbers of our citizens, and the benefits have been somewhat liberalized. It is my conviction, however, that we have not gone far enough. There are still some serious deficiencies which should be corrected. In many instances the benefits are far from adequate and provide only a minor part of the needed security. In other instances the age limitation is too rigid, so that many people who are in dire need of this security cannot obtain it.

My bill aims to correct some of these deficiencies by improving and increasing the social-security benefits and by decreasing the age limit so that more people would be entitled to these benefits at a

time when they are most urgently in need of this assistance.

The bill which I am introducing seeks to amend title II of the Social Security Act in four major respects, namely, to increase the minimum benefits, to increase the amount of outside earnings, to reduce the retirement age at which such benefits become payable, and to extend coverage to include self-employed professionals. Let us examine these four amendments more closely.

First. Increase in minimum benefits: The minimum monthly benefits payable under the social-security system at the present is \$30. This is a most inadequate sum for an elderly person to be able to subsist on for an entire month at the current cost of living rate, especially where these people are no longer physically able to earn the limited outside income permissible under the law. Talk to any of our older citizens receiving this minimum and you will find that they are quite bitter and resentful over it. They feel that they are the forgotten people.

Consequently, I am proposing to raise the minimum monthly payments to \$40, which averages at about \$1.30 per day over the month—not a very large sum to cover even the most elementary needs. Nevertheless, I am certain that this small increase will be greatly appreciated by many elderly people throughout the country.

Second. Increase in the amount of outside earnings: Under our present law, those entitled to receive social-security payments are allowed to earn up to \$100 per month without deduction or loss of such benefits. There are still many among our older citizens who are able to work and they desire to do so in order to maintain a greater degree of economic independence and to keep themselves productively occupied. They can still render good services for their community and for the country as a whole, and we need not deprive them of this opportunity prematurely.

Therefore, I urge that the so-called work clause in the Social Security Act be amended to allow these people to supplement their income through part-time work whereby they can earn up to \$125 per month or a total of \$1,500 per year, instead of \$1,200 per year as at present.

Third. Lowering of retirement age: I consider this as the most important amendment proposed in my bill. A lowering in the eligibility age for entitlement to retirement benefits under social security is long overdue. Somehow, in the changes and improvements made in the law in recent years, this badly needed change was overlooked. Today, the age limit for eligibility to social-security benefits still remains at 65, and this age has become a yardstick of retirement. This causes a great hardship on many persons between the ages of 60 and 65 who are suffering from ill health and are no longer able to work and earn a livelihood.

It is particularly causing a great hardship for widows in this age group, who must wait until they reach the age of 65 before they can qualify for survivor's insurance. At the age of 60 or more women have almost no chances of ob-

^{*} Ibid., p. 60.

^{*} Loc. cit.

taining any kind of employment. In most instances they have no income on which they could fall back, and unless they have children to aid them they must turn to public relief in order to maintain themselves. I believe they should be taken off the relief rolls and provided for in a dignified manner the same as other elderly people.

It is estimated that there are some 6 million people, men and women, between the ages of 60 and 65. Fortunately, the overwhelming majority of these people still work and prefer to continue to work. But the few hundred thousand among them who have become ill and disabled cannot receive any benefits until they reach 65 and they face the alternatives of either becoming public charges or starving. Surely, this is no way to treat our senior citizens who have a right to expect at least a minimum of economic security from their country at a time when they can no longer be productive.

I am suggesting in my bill to lower the retirement age for entitlement to socialsecurity benefits from 65 to 60 years. I am familiar with the argument that this will cost us a large sum of money, but at this time I do not wish to go into a full discussion on this point. Suffice it to say, that the same arguments were made when social security was first enacted and they are being made each time an amendment liberalizing the system comes before the Congress. Yet. our social-security fund is growing from year to year. If it is a question of a choice between saving a few hundred million dollars annually or providing economic security to people between 60 and 65 who are dependent on such aid for their daily sustenance, I shall gladly choose the latter. Furthermore, this money will be used by the beneficiaries for food, clothing, rent, and other necessities of life and it will thus go right back into our economy.

Fourth. Extension of coverage: The fourth and last amendment of my bill calls for the extension of coverage to certain professional groups which are not now included in our social-security system. I refer specifically to self-employed lawyers, doctors, dentists, osteopaths, veterinarians, and optometrists. They should be afforded proper coverage under the law the same as other self-employed persons. There is no reason why these people should be discriminated against in enjoying the same degree of economic security as other American citizens.

Mr. Speaker, we must begin to look upon the problem of our aging population in a more realistic and more humane way. To ignore this problem as if it did not exist means that we are committing a grave injustice to millions of our elderly citizens, who deserve better treatment. By enacting the changes proposed in my bill, we shall take a decided step forward toward providing greater economic security for the American people. The provisions suggested in this bill will help to remove some of the more glaring deficiencies of the social-security system.

These amendments are neither unreasonable nor impracticable. It is a sincere effort to improve our social-security system in such a way that existing discriminations are eliminated and the greatest number of our people would be able to look forward in their old age to receiving adequate economic protection. They have earned this protection and they deserve to receive it when they most need it.

Republicans and Democrats Beware

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Fairmont Daily Sentinel of March 1, 1955, entitled "Republicans and Democrats Beware":

The more than \$3 billion thrown out the window in foreign aid by one man alone—Harold E. Stassen, repudiated Minnesota politician—about equals the deficit the American taxpayers must make up in our national budget. It has bought us no good will, no loyalty, accomplished nothing toward promoting the security of our Nation. The FOA, which Stassen heads, was supposed to have been liquidated in June 1955, but already Minnesota's "wonder boy" has his target set for saving Asia through continuous giveaways through the Foreign Operations Administration.

The FOA is only one of the countless agencies set up under the New and Fair Deal administrations and perpetuated under the Eisenhower administration. The agencies are neither Republican nor Democrat in concept; rather, they are an entirely new breed of political hybrid spawned within the ranks of both parties. They have taken over and, through propaganda agencies supported by money exacted from American taxpayers, have formulated and sold the world on a new concept of Americanism that has left us largely without friends, even among those who naturally should be our allies.

The \$3 billion spent by Stassen in the FOA, the \$112 billion dug up by American taxpayers since 1940, would have built a lot of schools, hospitals and roads in the United States. (He is asking more than \$5 billion for 1955.)

We couldn't afford the \$3 billion plan which, in 7 years, would have reclaimed enough land to have provided more than 20,000 farms from wastelands in the United States. But, under the guidance, the propaganda and efforts of the do-gooders and one-worlders, the American taxpayers dug up five times that amount, in the same period for the ECA and MSA, to be spent in foreign lands.

We stage drives to raise a pitifully few dollars for our own homes for crippled and underprivileged children, but the American taxpayer is stripped—without so much as "by your leave"—of almost \$100 million for the United Nations Children's Fund for child health overseas.

The American taxpayer, under programs devised by the political hybrids of both major parties during the past 14 years, have played nursemaid to 40-odd nations who have stripped them to the extent of more than \$112 billion; yet, we have made no new friends. We have lost many of the old ones. We are viewed with suspicion by those who should be our allies.

It is high time that Republicans and Democrats alike take an inventory. Even this rich nation, with only 7 percent of the world's population, cannot continue indefinitely, to be saddled with the burden of carrying 97 percent of the world's inhabitants. The American taxpayer is hardy, but not that hardy.

We have been on the programs long enough to know by now that "throwing" the money at them has won us no new friends, no new allies. In case of actual need, let them come and ask for it. They'd have a lot more respect for us if they did.

Regulation of the Water Levels of Lake Ontario

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a press release issued yesterday by the International Joint Commission with respect to regulation of the water levels of Lake Ontario.

The Commission, following a meeting earlier this week in Montreal, arrived at the tentative conclusion that the water levels of the lake can be regulated in accordance with the interests of all the users of the lake. Under its proposals, the normal fluctuations of the lake, which have ranged through 6.6 feet, will be reduced by as much as 2.6 feet, while the outflow will be maintained at a level which will benefit lakeshore property owners as well as navigation and power interests.

In my judgment, Mr. Speaker, the Commission deserves warm commendation for this constructive proposal. With the seaway and power developments taking place on the St. Lawrence River, residents of the lakeshore have feared, and not without reason, that their properties could be flooded and destroyed, and that they would be without legal remedies. The proposals of the International Joint Commission should, if approved, go far to assure them, as well as the power and navigation interests, that the interests of all can be protected. This is indeed a welcome step on the part of the Commission.

The release follows:

International Joint Commission, United States and Canada, Washington, D. C., March 16, 1955.

Following is text of press release for simultaneous release in Montreal and Washington:

"At its meeting held in Montreal on March 14, 15, and 16, 1955, the International Joint Commission examined with its technical advisers the feasibility of reducing the wide fluctuations of levels (up to 6.6 feet) which have prevailed on Lake Ontario in the past. The Commission came to the tentative conclusion that, having due regard to all the interests concerned, both upstream and downstream from the International Rapids Section, it would be technically feasible to operate the St. Lawrence power project so

as to reduce the wide range of fluctuations of levels on Lake Ontario.

"In order to achieve this desirable result, the Commission's tentative view is that a new method of regulation for the waters used in the project must be substituted for the method of regulation No. 5 referred to in the Commission's order of approval of October 29, 1952. The new method of regulation would fulfill the basic requirements of that order and would comply with the detailed criteria attached hereto. These criteria are designed to result in benefit to all interested parties. They will afford protection for downstream interests and, in fact, would improve conditions on Lake St. Louis. The lakeshore property owners on Lake Ontario will find substantial relief from the high water levels which reached a recorded peak of 249.3 feet. The maximum level under historical supply conditions, would under the regulation proposed not exceed 248 feet. Navigation interests will gain the advantage of 1.3 feet in depth, which is important under low water conditions, by virtue of raising the extreme low Lake Ontario stage of record from 242.7 feet to to 244 feet. Water supply, sanitation, recreational, municipal, and other lakeshore interests will also benefit from this substantial improvement in low water conditions. Finally, the power interests will obtain, under the new method of regulation, a regulated flow of water which will represent an improvement over benefits which might have been calculated under the method contemplated in 1952.

"The International Joint Commission has scheduled public hearings to be held in Rochester, N. Y., on April 12 and in Toronto, Ontario, on April 14 to hear the views of all interested parties on these tentative conclusions."

INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION—PROPOSED
CRITERIA FOR A METHOD OF REGULATION OF
OUTFLOWS AND LEVELS OF LAKE ONTARIO
APPLICABLE TO THE WORKS IN THE INTERNATIONAL RAPIDS SECTION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE
PLYERS

(a) The regulated outflow from Lake Ontario from April 1 to December 15 shall be such as not to reduce the minimum level of Montreal Harbor below that which would have occurred in the past with the supplies to Lake Ontario since 1860 adjusted to a condition assuming a continuous diversion out of the Great Lakes Basin of 3,100 cubic feet per second at Chicago, and a continuous diversion into the Great Lakes Basin of 5,000 cubic feet per second from the Albany River Basin (hereinafter called the "supplies of the past as adjusted").

(b) The regulated winter outflows from Lake Ontario from December 15 to March 31 shall be as large as feasible and shall be maintained so that the difficulties of winter

power operation are minimized.

(c) The regulated outflow from Lake Ontario during the annual spring breakup in Montreal Harbor and in the river downstream shall not be greater than would have occurred assuming supplies of the past as adjusted.

(d) The regulated outflow from Lake Ontario during the annual flood discharge from the Ottawa River shall not be greater than would have occurred assuming supplies of the past as adjusted.

(e) Consistent with other requirements, the minimum regulated monthly outflow from Lake Ontario shall be such as to secure the maximum dependable flow for power.

(f) Consistent with other requirements, the maximum regulated outflow from Lake Ontario shall be maintained as low as possible to reduce channel excavations to a minimum.

(g) Consistent with other requirements, the levels of Lake Ontario shall be regulated

for the benefit of property owners on the shores of Lake Ontario in the United States and Canada so as to reduce the extremes of stage which have been experienced.

(h) The regulated monthly mean level of Lake Ontario shall not exceed elevation 248.0 with the supplies of the past as adjusted.

(i) Under regulation, the frequencies of occurrences of monthly mean elevations of approximately 247 and higher on Lake Ontario shall be less than would have occurred in the past with the supplies of the past as adjusted and with present channel conditions in the Galops Rapids section of the Saint Lawrence River.

(j) The regulated level of Lake Ontario on April 1 shall not be lower than elevation 244. The regulated monthly mean level of the lake from April 1 to November 30 shall be maintained at or above elevation 244.

(k) In the event of supplies in excess of the supplies of the past as adjusted, the works in the International Rapids section shall be operated to provide all possible relief to the riparian owners upstream and downstream. In the event of supplies less than the supplies of the past as adjusted, the works in the International Rapids section shall be operated to provide all possible relief to navigation and power interests.

Statement of Dean K. Webster, Jr., Before House Committee on Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following statement of Dean K. Webster, Jr., president of the H. K. Webster Co., of Lawrence, Mass., before the House Committee on Agriculture on H. R. 694, H. R. 1831, H. R. 2007, and H. R. 2137:

My name is Dean K. Webster, Jr., and I am president of the H. K. Webster Co., a Massachusetts corporation engaged in livestock feed manufacturing, with principal offices at Lawrence, Mass., and a sizeable feedmanufacturing plant located at Richford, Vt. I also have the honor to occupy at the present time the office of chairman of the board of directors of the American Feed Manufacturers Association, headquarters Chicago, Ill., which is a national association of feed manufacturers with present membership of 317 active and 375 associate members. I am asked to represent this association whose members small and large account for the majority tonnage of the manufacture and distribution of some 35,000,000 tons of livestock feed annually within the United States. We do urge the enactment of legislation in principle as described in the above-named bills, to afford an effective means of protection of an innocent purchaser of Commodity Credit Corporation stocks of fungible goods from inequitable recovery suits by Commodity Credit, provided he as a defendant in such suit can prove his purchase made in good faith, for full value, and with-out knowledge of improper conversion of such goods by the storing warehousemen.

1. In order to make clear how our mem-

 In order to make clear how our members are very seriously affected in the matter under consideration, we would like to explain briefly the basis of manufacture of our products and the method by which we acquire the grains and byproduct materials used in our processing. Carloads of grains, such as corn, oats, barley, sorghums, are brought into our elevators, together with numerous byproduct materials, such as bran, middlings, gluten feed, distillers grains, soybean meal, linseed meal, hominy feed, etc., minerals, such as salt, phosphate, and calcium, and various vitamins and antibiotics materials, all of which are ground and blended together into finished poultry and live-stock feeds scientifically formulated according to the nutritional requirements of the several types of livestock. These finished feeds are packaged, properly labeled under State regulations and control, and reshipped by rall or by truck to the thousands of retail grain stores for distribution to the hundreds of thousands, yes millions, of actual feeders, poultrymen, dairymen, cattle and hog raisers, etc. in the various sections of the country.

2. Of the 35 million tons production of livestock feeds, the largest proportion of ingredients, perhaps half, consist of grains, corn, oats, barley, sorghums, and wheat, in about this order of importance, with corn by far the most important. This huge ton-nage of grains runs to many hundreds of millions of bushels, many hundreds of thousands of carloads. The great bulk of these grains are purchased on Federal grading standards, such as No. 2 yellow corn, 40-lb. No. 2 white oats, etc., with smaller proportions on lot samples, and direct from producing farms. The marketing of these grains from the producers in the grain surplus producing areas, through the country elevators, to the great terminal elevators in Chicago, Kansas City, Toledo, Buffalo, and many lesser centers, thence to the feed manufacturers, processors and others who finally receive them for consumption in manufacturing feed or other purposes, is a marvel of efficiency gained from many years experience, in which the so-called grain trade has achieved the highest degree of integrity and reliability. The typical feed manufacturer is purchasing almost daily a number of carloads of these grains. His buyer, for example, on the trading floor of the Boston Grain and Flour Exchange during trading hours receives through brokers quotations from many grain houses large and small in grain marketing centers, practically minute by minute, and on decision to purchase, an order is confirmed by word of mouth, by wire or telephone, and subsequently in writing. for a specific quantity of a specific grain. such as No. 2 yellow corn. The seller is bound by the trade rules to deliver the specific grade of grain in carload lots, with invoices and drafts accompanied by Federal inspection certificates and official weight certificates. In a given contract shipment, say from Chicago, no question of which elevator or which bin of a warehouse concerns the buyer, he de-pends wholly on the certificates of Federal inpection and weights. The grains are fung-ible goods, the unit is the carload and it is an impossibility to identify from what bins the individual car has been drawn-the individual car shipped carries its own new identity as determined by the Federal inspector who issues his official certificate. It would be an unnecessary burden upon the time of the committee to go into further detail as to the procedures of the regular channels of trade through which the typical feed manufacturer purchases his supplies of grains. The particular point here is that the feed manufacturer through long years of trading with well established reputable grain houses in the principal grain marketing centers, has been fully warranted in relying completely on the dependability and integrity of his shippers, supported by the usual Federal inspection and weight certificates furnished with each carload shipped. The idea that somewhere in the flow of grain from producing farms through the trade channels some illegally acquired grain would come to light among his purchases is entirely foreign to his experience.

3. Now comes into the picture a series of claims and suits by Commodity Credit Corporation against purchasers of grains alleged to have been illegally withdrawn from CCC warehouse stocks, many of which purchasers are feed manufacturers totally innocent of any complicity in the conversion of the grain and without any possible means of guarding themselves against involvement at time of The enormity of the problem facpurchase. ing the Commodity Credit Corporation in carrying out price-support programs involving adequate and proper storage for the tremendous volume of commodities which have come into its hands, we fully recognize, and it is probably inevitable that despite the most elaborate and painstaking procedures for supervision and policing of these huge stocks, some incidents of conversion losses would occur. It is entirely the duty of Commodity Credit Corporation to seek out these cases and recover so far as possible from guilty parties. Certainly in those cases in which a purchaser knowingly participated in any manner in the conversion, full recovery should be had through every legal resort, but we submit that in most of the cases now instituted by CCC the purchasers acted in complete good faith without knowledge or warning that the seller was passing on converted Commodityowned goods, and were, therefore, completely innocent of any complicity in such conver-sion. We believe that most of the original purchasers, and subsequent repurchasers from the original purchasers, were innocent buyers in good faith for full value. If Commodity should recover these losses from innocent purchasers in a substantial number of these suits, many innocent feed manufacturers and other purchasers will be seriously, even disastrously, injured, and the continuance of such actions in the future would undoubtedly have a most harmful and far-reaching impact on the free movement of fungible goods all the way from warehousemen to the ultimate consumer. The serious nature of the problem has been stated by officials of the Department of Agriculture who recognize that it is impossible for a purchaser to check the seller's title to fungibles at the moment of purchase. Purchase and sale of fungibles between country elevators, commission firms, terminal elevators, and feed manufacturers and other ultimate consumers are usually handled by telephone or wire, and are consummated almost instantaneously. highest degree of faith in such transactions is well known and is necessary for the facility of trading in the free and competitive movement of these grains to market.

4. It would seem to be of paramount interest not only to the purchasers of these fungible goods but to the original producers of the commodities and the public gener-ally, that this situation be clarified by legislation at the earliest possible moment prevent further more serious disruption of the free competitive markets which accomplish the move of these commodities, let alone the unfair direct losses to the innocent purchasers. The committee is aware that a bill, H. R. 6878, similar to the present bills under consideration was presented to the 83d Congress, was favorably reported out of the House Committee on Agriculture, but falled of adoption before adjournment. respectfully refer to the Report No. 2655 to the 83d Congress, 2d session, by Congressman HOPE, on that bill, H. R. 6878, as well as the hearings of the House Agriculture Committee of July 14, 1954, on this same bill. Several new bills now before this committee are designed for the same intent. We, representing the feed manufacturers of the United States, respectfully urge the most careful scrutiny and consideration of these bills by your committee and pray your favor-

able report on same to the Congress with such possible changes as deemed proper, not changing the intent. Without a proper correction of the existing situation, the proverbial sword of Damocles hangs over our head, and, indeed, the continuance of the efficient marketing of the grains and commodities developed through long years of experience is seriously threatened.

How Can America Sell Democracy Abroad?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, very recently, Helen L. Calvert, a pupil at Valley Local High School in Buffalo, Guernsey County, Ohio, was selected by Our Times, a national senior high-school paper, as one of the top winners in a current affairs awards competition. She has received a modest scholarship award on the basis of her scholastic record, a 650-word essay dealing with current affairs and other criteria. She competed with hundreds of other top students from 39 States, Alaska, and Hawaii. It is significant that she was a winner, but it is more significant that her essay is a thoughtful, considered approach to a problem which confronts our Nation which may be food for thought for the Americans of today. I am pleased to present the prizewinning essay by Helen L. Calvert entitled "How Can America Sell Democracy Abroad?":

HOW CAN AMERICA SELL DEMOCRACY ABROAD?

Not long after the formation of the United States, our statesmen began striving to establish this country as a competent and independent nation in the eyes of the older and more powerful European countries. Since then we have developed our natural resources, industries, and our unique form of government, until we, ourselves became a world power. Americans, down through the years have transformed our beloved country from a vast wilderness to a modern, well-developed, and powerful United States that we know today, armed with abundant initiative, energy, and enterprise.

The democratic view holds that every citiben is a creator of values, and that each man may make his own decisions. Far from seeking to set up a single standard for what is right and good, democracy values and cherishes the differences among people.

We have been trying for years to sell democracy abroad. It hasn't always been referred to in exactly these terms, but still the goal was the same. Many different methods have been tested, then discarded, in a long struggle to initiate a democratic form of government into the so-called backward countries. These countries are somewhat wary of accepting us or our standards. Why is this?

In earlier American history, we find that our Nation was aloofly regarded by Latin-American countries as the great colossus of the north when we tried to protect them by playing the part of the big brother. The Latin Americans felt they were being looked down upon. Similarly, we find that many Europeans are injured by the Americans' unintentional air of superiority toward them.

A recent article, stated that visitors are frequently so confused by a maze of restriction as they enter our country that they return home to complain to their government or newspaper about American bureaucratic injustice and to say that we are shutting the United States behind a legal curtain.

This practice cannot aid us in our battle to win countries over to the democratic way of life. Nor do the Americans help who go to Europe and act as if they own the world—continually belittling others. Also working against us is the fact that counterfeiters have been using famous American trademarks to sell cheap substitutes. These counterfeiters, both Americans and foreigners, are at work on practically every continent, fraudulently claiming to represent reliable products ranging from Parker and Sheaffer pens to Auto-Lite parts and from Quaker Oats to Squibb's penicillin.

America's greatness and riches have been flaunted before the eyes of Europeans for so long that certain countries have made a practice of inventing imaginary "pains" or "trouble spots," then "borrowing" several billion dollars from Uncle Sam. As a result, we have come to be regarded as the rich uncle whom no one bothers to repay.

I cannot help but feel that by complying with the wishes of the spendthrifts and by unloading commodities on nations which are not ready for them, we are hindering rather than helping them. Louis Bromfield says that democracy is a luxury, compounded of many things. It must be earned by the people who enjoy it. It is the product of literacy, intelligence, and education; but it is also the product of prosperity and wellbeing. We have been fortunate in being still underpopulated and in possessing vast internal wealth in the form of natural resources. Countries lacking in these advantages must manufacture and trade in order to maintain good living standards. Where there is not enough, true democracy has small chance. A prosperous Russia, a prosperous China and Japan, a prosperous Europe are the best guarantors of peace.

We must show the world what we really are—not just as a Nation—but as individ-

How can we sell democracy? We can, first, acknowledge our faults, and strive to overcome them. We know we aren't perfect—so let's admit it. Then when it comes right down to foreign aid we can show others new methods, not in the manner of a patient teacher with a group of first graders, but as one neighbor to another. We can continue sponsoring student-exchange groups which acquaint foreign students with Americans and American methods. But at the same time we can back our American corporations which are engaged in private foreignaid programs that will create industries and higher standards of living all over the world. These programs help to give the people the will—and show them the means—by which they may help themselves. The ability and the incentive of a people to better themselves is a positive steppingstone to democ-

White House Guests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON, FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I

include the following editorial from the business initiative and that they will favor Jackson (Miss.) State-Times:

WHITE HOUSE GUESTS

Among the 525 men who have been guests at 38 White House stag dinners, there have been 294 businessmen, 81 administration officials, 51 publishers or editors, 23 Republican Party leaders, and lesser numbers in other categories. It would be unfair to Mr. Eisenhower and to his guests to draw any specific inferences from the size of the various groups, but we can't escape the conclusion that the character of the Eisenhower administration is largely reflected in his choice of dinner companions.

You Can't Fool All of the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the following article by David Lawrence, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on March 16, 1955, outlines the reaction of our citizens to some of the policies of the Democrat Party:

DEMOCRATS' MONEY POLICY IS SEEN ALIENATING VOTERS

(By David Lawrence)

Washington, March 15 .- Maybe the Republican Party is as weak, on account of internal friction as Vice President Nixon says it is, but even so he may be proved wrong about the ability of the party to win in 1956 should President Eisenhower decide not to run.

For the truth is the Democrats are unwittingly engaged in building up such a nationwide fear of their party that almost any Republican nominee may be able to poll a victory next year.

The Democrats are giving about the worst possible example of public relations from their own viewpoint—how to allenate the very group of voters most needed by them to win a presidential election.

The so-called low-income groups have always, for the most part, been registered on the Democratic side. Elections are won in America today by mobilizing the maximum number of independent voters who are concerned with the conservation of their savings and their jobs.

While the demagogs on the radical Dem-ocratic side spend their time trying to undermine confidence in the stock market and crying out about the removal of double taxes on dividends, they overlook the vast number of voters who have invested their money and now see their savings hurt in value by the Democratic propaganda campaign.

THE DEMOCRATS' MISTAKE

Home owners and car owners of today are deeply interested in property rights. They have far more sense than the Democratic orators credit them with having. The idea that a \$20 tax cut, for example, would win all the low- and middle-income groups is fallacious, as there are other factors far more important to them at work. To assume that the large body of independent voters who swing the balance of power would be ensnared by any such obvious bait is to underestimate the intelligence of a large segment of voters.

The mistake which the Democrats are making is to give the impression that, if they get in power, they will destroy American tax legislation virtually sabotaging the American industrial structure.

The nature of the speeches of attack made in Congress by the Democrats is well understood by the independent voters, who know that the derisive talk about the favor to "dividend boys" happens to strike hard at many millions of men and women who have invested a small amount of savings in stocks and who depend on dividends, directly and indirectly.

The Democratic spokesmen have set out to discourage the creation of jobs-at least that's the impact their remarks make on businessmen. The Democrats are back to the "leaf raking" days of the 1930's, when they talked about the Government doles to "increase purchasing power." Fortunately, the American people today are more investmentminded than this and will not accept the idea that prosperity can be achieved by bigger and bigger deficits in the Treasury.

"SOUND MONEY" ISSUE

If the Democratic Party keeps on frightening the property owners of the country, it will be a long time before the Democrats will win another national election. Back in 1893, when the panic came, the voters made up their minds that the Democratic Party was unsound on money matters, and from 1896 to 1912 the Republicans won every presidential election on a platform of "sound money." The Democrats will have to meet such attacks again, because the purchasing power of the dollar diminished considerably when they were in office. Here is what Senator Byrd, conservative Democrat, says on this point:

"When public debt is not paid off in taxes, liquidation takes the form of disastrous infiation or national repudiation. Our form of government cannot survive either.

"The continuing toboggan of the purchasing power of our dollar which, through the year just ended, has dropped more than 25 percent since the end of World War II, demonstrates our progress along this primrose path * * * our taxes are burdensome, but we would merely increase the burden by borrowing money to reduce them."

The conservative Democrats unfortunately are few in number, as is shown by the latest vote in the Senate rejecting the \$20 tax cut. The radical leadership in both Houses on the Democratic side has accepted the same unsound doctrines which made the words "Democratic Party" a bogyman among voters for many generations of American history

Mr. Nixon needn't be so pessimistic. Just as Harry Truman helped elect the Republicans in 1952, so, according to present indi-cations, will the Democratic majority in Congress help the Republicans win in 1956. For when any political party generates fear and begins to tinker with the delicate mechanism of the dollar, it takes a risk of defeat at the

An Irish Blessing on St. Patrick's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I include an article entitled "An Irish Blessing," which I received in the mail this St. Patrick's Day from the Honorable John J. Griffin, vice president of the United Bank and Trust Co., St. Louis, Mo.:

AN IRISH BLESSING

May the blessed light be on you, light without and light within. May the blessed sunlight shine on you and warm your heart until it glows like a great fire, so that the stranger may come and warm himself at it, and also a friend.

And may the light shine out of the two eyes of you like a candle set in two windows of a house, bidding the wanderer to come in from out of the storm.

And may the blessing of the rain be on you—the soft, sweet rain. May it fall upon your spirit so that all the little flowers may spring up, and shed their sweetness on the

And may the blessing of the great rains be on you; may they beat upon your spirit and wash it fair and clean, and leave there a shining pool where the blue of heaven shines reflected, and sometimes a star.

And may the blessing of the earth be on you-the great and round earth; and may you ever have a kindly greeting for them you pass as you're going along the roads. May the earth be soft under you when you lie upon it, tired at the end of the day. and may it rest easy over you, when, at the last, you lie under it; may it rest so lightly over you that your soul may be quickly through it, and up, and off, and on its way to God.

May God always bless you, love you, and keep you.

Communist Government Encourages Dope Evil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, for the first time in history the production and distribution of opium and all its murderous narcotic derivatives has become an organized government business in Communist China. Pressed by Moscow for foreign exchange funds, the Peiping Government has undertaken the systematic cultivation of opium as a principal source of revenue. This review of the growing dope traffic out of Red China is based on recent testimony before the House Appropriations Committee by Harry J. Anslinger, Commissioner of Narcotics, in the Treasury Department.

Opium is Peiping's newest secret weapon. Dope is being delivered systematically in the Pacific and Southeast area, with special emphasis on infiltrating the military camps of the Western Powers particularly in Japan. There is no more deadly way to undermine morale than to spread the dope traffic amongst youngsters in the military services. That is Peiping's program today.

China's systematic development of the narcotics traffic as a state-approved and state-supported business began in 1950 when Communist street girls were infiltrated as dope peddlers around the United States military bases in South Korea

Only trusted Communists handle the processing of the opium after it reaches the central harvesting stations in China. The Communist Peoples' Bank of China handles the illicit financing through special agents assigned to the tobacco monopoly. Incoming shipments of opium from the remote provinces are analyzed for grade and quality by the Shanghai Hygienic Department.

The growing narcotics trade serves Peiping two ways; first, it provides tremendous dollar and sterling exchange; second, it is a weapon of sabotage against the entire free world, for every narcotic addict impairs the productive power of the victim nation. In May 1953 British customs agents in Singapore seized a consignment of 3,000 pounds of raw opium, described as the biggest seizure ever made anywhere in the world. The shipment was being offered at \$90 per pound. Refined to heroin, it sells for about \$20 per gram or roughly \$9,000 a pound.

During the past 3 years Chinese farmers have been encouraged to expand their planting of opium poppies. The Communist Government participates in the lucrative business of imposing heavy taxes on the sale of poppies at the farm. Government loans are available to farmers who wish to expand poppy acreage.

One factory in western China is known to produce for export more than 300 pounds of heroin a day. Revenues obtained from narcotics sales abroad for the fiscal year 1953 reached approximately \$70 million, out of which \$30 million went back to the Communist Government of China, and the remaining \$40 million was spent in the victim countries for Communist Party activities, sabotage, espionage, and the purchase of military and industrial secrets.

Never before has there been found so dark a page in the record of Godless communism. Truly, communism is the evil wrecker of all humanity, of all gov-ernment, of all morality. Wherever we find it, communism is always the samethe frightful, demonic destroyer, the brigand, outlaw, and killer.

People of Illinois Entitled to Details of Manipulations by State Officials of Dunbar Contract for Handling and Distributing Surplus Foods to Schools and Institutions

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the following editorial entitled "Investigate." which appeared in the March 14, 1955, issue of the East St. Louis (Ill.) Journal:

INVESTIGATE

A full investigation of the Dunbar contract is imperative.

And, if last week's news dispatches from Washington are correct, the people of Illinois are going to get, at last, all the details of

the disputed contract for handling and dis- flicted with medical disasters, and others got tributing surplus foods to schools and institutions in Illinois.

Up to now, Vernon L. Nickell, State superintendent of public instruction and the man who awarded the contract, has been vague in answering questions raised by critics of

the arrangement. So has James W. Dunbar, clerk of the Sangamon County probate court and Nick-ell's good political and personal friend, with whom the superintendent of instruction negotiated the contract in 1952.

The United States Department of Agriculture believes that Dunbar & Co., the firm Dunbar formed to handle and distribute the surplus food, has made from \$800,000 to \$900,000 in excessive profits on the arrange-

The Department forced Nickell to cancel the contract. He has announced that he will find a successor through competitive bidding—a precaution he did not exercise when he awarded the contract to Dunbar in 1952.

Despite these charges and developments, Nickell insists that the contract is a good one and that the Department of Agriculture's figures are wrong. Dunbar has called his services the best in the United States.

Congressman Fountain, Democrat, North Carolina, chairman of the House Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, revealed the details of the Department of Agriculture's report on the Dunbar contract Fri-He promised "to go into the matter very thoroughly."

That is good. There are many questions which need answering—questions like these:
Why did Nickell fail to call for competitive

bids on the contract? Has Dunbar been "a heavy . . contributor" to Nickell's campaign, as Congressman FOUNTAIN alleges?

What qualifications did Dunbar have for undertaking the contract?

On what basis did Nickell award the contract to Dunbar?

Full disclosure of the operations of Dunbar & Co. cannot come too soon.

Best for Little Fellow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, and in line with my remarks yesterday, March 16, 1955, to the effect that the great tax-revision bill of 1954 is, in effect, a poor man's bill—a bill favoring the small individual-may I add the following letter of my distinguished colleague, the Honorable CRAIG HOSMER, of California, to the Christian Science Monitor on the same subject:

BEST FOR LITTLE FELLOW

To the Christian Science Monitor: In your March 7 column a reader at-tempted to discredit what he called the seep-down-tax theory, which is more com-monly referred to as the trickle-down theory by demagoging politicians in attacking the Eisenhower tax-revision bill enacted last year to correct countless inequities in the old law and to remove discouragements to job-producing economic development.

In the process everybody got a 10-percent tax reduction and such "little fellows" as retired people, working mothers, those in-

special attention.

Some relief also went to business, and some people claim that was bad.

But let us take a look at what business is. Farmers are businessmen, so are small proprietors. In fact, business in the broad sense is the organized economic life of the people. It is the direct provider of all income, public and private, large and small. Aside from the small output of amateurs, everything that is consumed by anyone must first be produced by business.

The mainspring that energizes this mechanism is the incenive of profit. In the drive for profit, business creates jobs, absorbs savings, pays wages, interest, and taxes to support the Government.

When the opportunity for profit is restricted by inequitable taxation, this mechanism slows down, all forms of income tend to shrink, and jobs are lost.

It is inaccurate and misleading to call this basic principle a trickle-down theory.

In the first place, it is not a theory but a constantly demonstrated fact. It is, in short, the free-enterprise American economic system which has given Americans the highest standard of living of any people in the history of the world.

In the second place, the flow of incomes originated in and radiating from business is, when conditions are right, not a trickle

or a seep but a torrent.

In the third place, the flow is no more down than it is up. It is best described as an emanation or spontaneous distribution of the goods and services produced by the people for their own use, under the spur of profit and subject to the regulatory action of price and competition.

America's economic system has proved itself the best ever devised by the mind of man to take care of the "little fellow."

That is why I feel impelled to answer another reader's attack on it.

State Marine Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Congressional Record, I include an editorial which appeared in the Knickerbocker News, of Albany, dated February 26, 1955, which, to my mind, states a clear case for continued Federal aid to the State maritime schools.

I am sure every Member of Congress would find this article not only interesting but factually effective.

The editorial follows:

STATE MARINE SCHOOLS

Assurance from Washington that United States Senators Ives and LEHMAN, together with various Congressmen, including LEO W. O'BRIEN, will vigorously support an effort to include an appropriation of Federal funds in the budget for the support of the State merchant marine schools comes as welcome news to the many Albany and capital district friends of the New York State University Maritime College at Fort Schuyler—one of the schools involved.

President Eisenhower's recommendation in his recent budget message that no further Federal funds be given to these State schools seems to be false economy and predicated on an inconsistent premise. In the first place, service in the merchant marine means employment in private industry and not Government service in the sense required of graduates of Annapolis and the Military Academy. The President himself has declared that education of this sort is a State and local responsibility and yet would deny relatively small financial assistance to these State schools which, at very low cost, are providing trained leaders for this industry which is so important to our economy and, in time of war, to our national defense.

It must be remembered by a grateful Nation that these State schools have been training officers for our merchant marine and Naval Reserve for many years and in the case of the New York school for three-quarters of a century. From this fine old institution have come such men as Commodore Harry Manning, hero of many a rescue at sea and first skipper of the glant United States, as well as his successor Capt. John W. Anderson; Commodore John S. Baylis, of the Coast Guard; the widely known sallor-uthor, Felix Riesenberg, and many others who have risen high in the Navy, Coast Guard, and Merchant Marine.

The modest sum of \$660,000, of which \$204,300 would be New York State's share, seems little enough to ask when projected against the background of future necessity and the proven record of the past.

Water Development Projects in Western Colorado

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to place in the RECORD a statement of Mr. John B. Barnard, of Granby, Colo., This statement deals with the values to be obtained from water development projects in the high elevations of western Colorado.

These headwater development projects are a part of the overall Colorado River Storage and Development Act on which the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee is now holding hearings. I think it is worthwhile for this information to be brought to the general attention of the Congress, and I take this opportunity to do so.

I have previously made available testimony by Mr. Barnard on the general parts of this development and this statement sheds additional light on the actual measureable benefit of the component parts of the overall development.

The statement follows:

What I have to say relates primarily to the participating projects in Colorado. Without them the Colorado River storage project would, as we in Colorado view it, serve less than half of its ultimate purpose, insofar as the beneficial use of Colorado River water in our State is concerned. Construction and operation of the holdover storage reservoirs must be supplemented by construction and operation of headwater storage reservoirs and distribution facilities, participating projects, if the water is to be put to its fullest use.

In dealing with the subject of participating projects, I think it would be more helpful to you if I analyze the one with which I am

familiar. What I say concerning it can be applied, with variations indicated by geological, geographical, climatic, and other elements, to all of the units which go to make up the general class of participating projects in Colorado.

Generally, these participating projects consist of systems devised and planned to divert, impound, distribute, and use the water of the Colorado near the source of the main stream and its tributaries. Specifically, the one which I shall discuss is known as the Parshall unit, which is located on the Williams River in Grand County, Colo. This tributary enters the main stream at Parshall, Colo., hence the name Parshall unit.

The project includes, as its principal and essential unit, Ute Park Reservoir, to be constructed on the Williams River, 20 miles above its confluence with the Colorado, at an elevation of approximately 8,000 feet. Water stored in that reservoir, with very small evaporation loss at that high altitude is to be conveyed, by two principal canals, and distributed on both sides of the stream, providing water for approximately 24,000 acres of new land, and supplemental water for approximately 3,000 acres of land, presently but inadequately irrigated with a growing season of about 85 days.

These questions immediately arise: If there is enough water to fill these reservoirs and to perform these functions, why is it necessary to impound it? Why not apply it by direct-flow irrigation and avoid the cost of the construction of the reservoirs and distribution systems?

Ute Park Reservoir is located in the high country, where, in deep snow, nature stores water for springtime and early summer runoff.

Stream-flow records in Colorado show that 70 percent of the entire annual flow of these high streams is delivered in a period of from 6 to 10 weeks. On the Williams River, because of its elevation, this period, in my opinion, is not longer than 6 weeks. The high flow ends by June 25, sometimes earlier and sometimes, perhaps, a few days later. On the other hand, the irrigation season does not end until approximately August 1. The need for irrigation water during July is greater, per acre, than it is in the earlier part of the irrigating season. Because of various factors, such as an accumulation of snow in our ditches, we cannot, as a rule, start to irrigate until about May 15. during the first half of the irrigating season we have much more water than we can use, and, during the latter half, not nearly enough.

It is a discouraging thing to stand on the margin of the Williams River in June and see a tremendous flow of water passing by which we cannot then use, but later so desperately needed, and to contemplate the thousands of acres of fertile land which could be made productive, if the then existing surplus of water could be impounded for use when the stream again runs low. Here the ingenuity of man and the forward and progressive planning and thinking which have made America great, apply themselves to the problem; and the answer is the Ute Park Reservoir and the Parshall unit of the Cliffs-Divide project.

But this project will do vastly more than make productive a large area devoted primarily, productively, and profitably to the raising of hay, grain, and pasture for feeding cattle in winter. By that statement I mean this:

Because of the altitude, temperatures prevailing, geological and soil formations in the Williams River area, only about 20 percent of the water applied to the land is consumed by evaporation, transpiration, etc. Of the 68,700 acre-feet proposed to be impounded in Ute Park Reservoir and used for the irrigation of lands immediately adjacent to the stream, perhaps 80 percent, or 53,950 acre-

feet will return to the river within a very few miles below the point of original application of the water, at such a later time that reuse of it may be made downstream when water is badly needed.

Between the lowest point of return of water stored in Ute Park Reservoir and the area around Glenwood Springs, on the main Colorado River, additional use of the return flow can and will be made, with an estimated further dimunition, by consumptive use, of 7 percent, or 3,780 acre-feet, leaving, at Glenwood Springs, a net of return flow of Ute Park water of 40,180 acre-feet.

Between Glenwood Springs and the eastern Utah line lies a vast area of fertile land yet unproductive, or less productive than an adequate water supply would make it. Here is raised and can be raised a great variety of crops, such as fruits, including the justly famed Palisade peaches, vegetables, grain, hay-almost any crop which can be produced in a temperate climate with a growing season of 190 days. Here the 40,000 acre-feet of Ute Park Reservoir can again be used. Here it can be applied to and will adequately irrigate at least 10,000 acres of land. From that irrigation there will be a return flow to the Colorado River of approximately 60 percent, or 24,000 acre-feet. This amount, less evaporation and other transmission losses, and perhaps some slight dimunition resulting from further consumptive use, will find its way to Lake Meade, there again to be impounded and eventually to supply the thirsty acres of the Imperial Valley in California, at a time when the snow mantle, which will provide the next year's supply of water, has again cloaked the high country whence the Ute Park water originally came.

Thus the ingenuity of man has put to use and repeated reuse, with results beneficial to those who use it and to the Nation's economy, water which now, in the short space of 6 weeks, flows, unimpeded and with benefit to but few, to the sea. Neither my time here nor my information nor my ability permits an analysis and setting forth herein, in dollars and cents, the benefits to individuals and to the national welfare and Treasury which will follow the construction and operation of Ute Park Reservoir. Such a study should be made; and I only regret that I could not make it.

The American Dollar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM E. McVEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. McVEY. Mr. Speaker, one of the most disturbing elements in our domestic economy has been the course of the American dollar. The public has witnessed a decrease in the purchasing power of the dollar, amounting to almost one-half of it. There have been compensating factors to the workingman through increases in salary, but at the same time, life-insurance policies of long standing have been cut in half of their former value. Saving deposits, bonds, pensions, and social-security payments have been depleted to a similar extent.

The administration which is now in power promised, before the election in 1952, a sound dollar. Let us see whether this promise has been fulfilled. In order not to become involved too extensively in statistics, decreases in the value of

the dollar since 1939 are quoted for certain periods, rather than for month-bymonth, down to the present time. A résumé of this situation is as follows:

[1935-39 consumer prices=100]

 Date:
 Value of the dollar

 1939
 101.4

 1946
 75.0

 1950
 58.8

 1952
 52.7

 1953 (January)
 52.0

 1954 (January)
 52.0

 1955 (January)
 52.0

From the above table, it does seem that the promise of the administration with regard to a sound dollar has been kept. The period, beginning in January 1953, has been given because that marks the event when the Eisenhower administration took office, and there has been no downward drift of the dollar since that date. The figures quoted may be verified by the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C., the most impartial and authentic source of information to which we have access.

It is possible that the American people do not realize fully the meaning of this accomplishment because not everyone is aware of the fact that in France today, approximately 400 francs can be purchased for an American dollar, as contrasted to the time when only 5 francs were available for the same amount of money. The development in France has been duplicated in most of the countries in Europe. We have seen an inflationary spiral destroy the currency of those countries one after another. There was a time, after the severe inflation in Germany, when a billion marks could be purchased for \$1.50. notwithstanding the fact that at one time, only 4 of those marks represented the same value as the American dollar.

With the stabilization of the American dollar, there has been a stabilization of most of the elements in the American economy. There may be other accomplishments to which we may point with pride, but there is not one which means more to the great mass of the American people than the stability of the purchasing power of our currency.

Colorado River Storage Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is currently holding hearings on the proposed Colorado River Storage and Development Act. Extensive hearings were held on this subject last year, but additional testimony is being taken this year so that the information will be up to date and available to the Members this session.

Unfortunately, certain elements of opposition to this proposed development for a vast and rich area have burdened the record with commentary that has served more to confuse than enlighten. Fundamental points of opposition actually are few, but opponents of this program have branched into every conceivable tangent that appeared to discredit this sound and beneficial development.

Accordingly, I should like to include, as an extension of my remarks, testimony on this program given by Mr. John B. Barnard, of Granby, Colo. Barnard states his own qualifications in his testimony, but I should like to add the statement that he is recognized in Colorado as a true expert on water matters and water development. His testimony is concise, yet it covers the subject completely and answers well the major arguments which have been made against this development for the upper area of the Colorado River watershed embracing parts of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming. I urge those who have an interest in obtaining a factual and solid accounting of the major reasons for this development to take the few minutes required to read through this testimony. We are prepared to rest our case on such unemotional and broad-gaged testimony.

The statement follows:

COLORADO RIVER STORAGE PROJECT

(Statement of John B. Barnard, of Granby, Colo., before the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, in hearing on H. R. 3383 and H. R. 3384, March 9, 1955, and succeeding days)

My name is John B. Barnard of Granby, Grand County, Colo. I have practiced law since 1920 to the present time, and in addition thereto have owned and operated an irrigated ranch in Grand County, since 1921. I am attorney for the Middle Park Water Conservancy District, comprising the area embraced within the geographical limits of Grand and Summit Counties, Colo., at the headwaters of the Colorado River and one of its principle tributaries, the Blue River.

As has been or will be explained by other witnesses, the holdover storage reservoirs, which form a part of the Colorado River Storage Project, will make available to the four Upper Basin States, a portion of the water of the river which is apportioned to these States by the 1922 compact, and divided among them by the 1948 compact, which could not, otherwise, be put to use by them. The headwater diversion, storage, and distribution systems, which are the participating projects, will enable these four States to put to use the Colorado River water which will be made available to them by the operation of the large reservoirs. Both the large dams and the smaller units are necessary if the end result is to be accomplished—the development of the immense area of the West which is the upper Colorado River Basin. Neither will be sufficient to that end without the other. Together they comprehend and represent a program of progress and development which has been the very essence of American history, from Colonial days to now. Ultimate defeat of the project would mark the end of that program, so far as the upper Colorado Basin is concerned.

Is there economic and historical justification for this project? First let us consider the economic phase, which inevitably prompts the question: What will be the cost to the United States—to the taxpayers who will foot the bill? I do not mean the total investment by the Government in the project; I mean the amount which we taxpayers will pay for it, which will not be repaid to the Treasury.

Detailed figures are not available to us at this time, relating to the storage project as comprehended in H. R. 3384 or any of the bills presently before the House or Senate; but we do have at hand the figures which are applicable to the bill inroduced in the House of Representatives of the 83d Congress, 2d session, which included four storage-project units and 16 participating projects. For the purposes of this discussion, which properly should be termed a consideration of policies and principles, those figures will suffice. Already they have been presented to and considered by you; and I wish merely to reanalyze and to reappraise them.

The total estimated cost of construction was \$1.518.096,000. Of this total, the sum of \$712,762,000 was allocated to power purposes, all reimbursable with interest, \$100,874,000 to municipal water purposes, all reimbursable with interest, \$691,245,600 to irrigation, all reimbursable without interest, and \$7,714,700 to flood control, recreational development, Forest Service resource development, etc., all nonreimbursable. From these figures emerges the conclusion that the actual cost to the taxpayers would be \$7,714,700 plus interest on the unpaid balance of the sum of \$691,245,600 allocated to irrigation, as that amount is expended and during the period of its repayment.

A moment ago I said that authorization this project will carry forward the historical program of progress and development which has become an accepted part of the policies and traditions which have made America great. Are there other similar programs, involving the expenditure of substantial amounts of the taxpayers' money, with which to make pertinent comparison? I refer specifically to the civil works activities of the United States Corps of Engineers. The progress of our Nation has always demanded and still demands that flood-control works be constructed, for the protection of human lives as well as property, and that commercial intercourse be facilitated, between and among States and with foreign nations, by dredging otherwise nonnavigable streams and by harbor improvements. Congress has long recognized the necessity for those works, has repeatedly authorized projects directed to that end, and has consistently appropriated taxpayers' money for their construction. But when we propose national progress by means of the storage, distribution, and beneficial use of water for irrigation and other purposes, we are met with the contention that the cost to the taxpayers is too great to be considered.

The justification for the expenditure of Federal funds in the planning and construction of civil works by the Army engineers is found in the fact that the cost of such works is beyond the ability of private capital to meet, plus the fact that the national economy requires that the projects be constructed. Without them the affected areas and communities find themselves unable to carry on their agricultural and industrial activatiles with efficiency. Quite possibly we can say that the underlying theory of these works is that what is good for the economy and way of life of the people of New Jersey, for example, is good for America. We simply ask that that same theory be applied to the project we here propose.

The Colorado River storage project will primarily benefit four States—Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and New Mexico. To appraise and measure the economic justification for the expenditure of the amount of Federal funds required to produce that benefit, let us compare the cost thereof with the cost of civil works projects in four Eastern States, chosen at random—Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Massachusetts.

These are the figures showing the expenditure of Federal funds made in the construction of works involved in flood prevention and river and harbor improvement in those States, made available to us by the Corps of

Engineers, each amount representing the cost to the United States and not including contributions from local interests:

It will, of course, be noted that, in the case of Pennsylvania, expenditures for the years 1824 through 1947 were not supplied us and are omitted from the above tabulation. We are informed that no part of the total has been or will be repaid to the Federal Government.

The above total is, then, to be compared with the sum of \$7,714,000, that being the nonreimbursable investment of the United States in the 1954 version of the Colorado River storage project. I did not calculate the interest on the money allocated to irrigation, in the storage project, as the same is advanced, nor upon the expenditures made by the United States for the above civil works activities. The amounts are closely comparable, \$691,245,000 for irriga-tion and \$661,768,000 for civil works. The interest charge to be added to the latter would be far greater than that involved in the former, the obvious reason being that, upon the portion of the investment of Federal funds allocated to irrigation in connection with the storage project, interest charges would end with repayment, whereas computation of interest on civil works investment must be a continuing process for-

What, I ask you in all sincerity, is the fundamental distinction to be drawn between the construction of dams, levees, and other works to prevent water from spreading over land, thus rendering the affected lands unproductive, and building dams and canals to cause water to spread over lands, thus rendering them productive? Is there any reason why the one endeavor should be approached from the standpoint of an indulgent and generous father, and the other should be viewed through the cold, unsympathetic eyes of a moneylender?

There is opposition to this project. It was expected. We do not disregard it nor do we minimize it. We do not question, much less impugn, the integrity or sincerity of those whose views do not coincide with ours. We respect their opinions, even though we disagree with them. They and the whole people of the United States are entitled to know why we say, as we do with appropriate

emphasis, that they are wrong.

Withholding approval of the Colorado River storage project would be tantamount to characterizing the vast area of the West which it would serve as economically or otherwise unfit for agricultural or industrial development. That portion of our Nation would forever be inhabited by the fortunate few whose hardy pioneer ancestors foresaw the necessity for early appropriation of water for various human uses, and made such appropriations; by the little towns which serve that few; by tourists who want to take a fleeting look at the grandeurs of nature; by the people who gain a meager and precarious livelihood from catering to the unpredictable needs and demands of the tourists; and by coyotes and jackrabbits.

Many reasons are advanced for withholding such approval. Many more undoubtedly will be conceived and voiced. Time obviously will not permit us to answer them all. The fact that we do not attempt to do so is not to be taken as an admission that there are no adequate answers, merely that time will not permit us to voice them.

Among others it is the freely expressed opinion that America now produces a surplus of everything that will be produced in this area. This contention is based upon the premise that three-fourths of the world's population is forever doomed to semi or complete starvation, while the other one-fourth produces more than it needs. We cannot accept that premise as a postulate. We believe that our leaders, working as they are now laboring, with the leaders of other free nations, will, without recourse to armed conflict, and in the not too far distant future, rid the body of the world of the cancer of communistic dictatorship which places a higher value on sustenance for the dogs of war than food for human beings. We have such faith in our Nation's present and future leaders that we look forward to the day when Our food products will find their way to foreign markets now closed to them, with utmost confidence that that day will come.

On the same subject, it occurs to us that those who oppose the authorization of this project for the reason that we now have enough of everything anyway, subscribe to the proposition that America's production capacity should remain static while her population and consequent demands on that production are increasing by leaps and bounds. Should we follow the policy of restricting our production of foodstuffs, for example, to present demands, the time will inevitably come, and that soon, when the expanding demands of an increasing population will face America with the emergency problem of increasing that production. Our proposal is that production be permitted to keep pace with the demands made upon it. What is sufficient for our needs today may be only half enough 25 years from now. cannot close our eyes to the welfare of our children and our children's children, with safety to them or the future generations of our country.

Let us then reexamine our Nation's history and seek therein our answer to the question now before your committee and our Congress, and to the objections now made to this proposal of ours. History is written and learned in order that, in the future, we may avoid mistakes made in the past, however honest those mistakes were, and that we may follow through such plans, programs, and policies as have pointed to ultimate success, happiness, welfare. Neither the mistakes nor the successes which our history reveals to us can, with safety, be ignored.

Our Nation was young when President Thomas Jefferson proposed and insisted upon the Louisiana Purchase. This brought into early being America's program of progress and development. There was violent opposition to the Louisiana Purchase, voiced by sincere, well-meaning men of substance and stature. They said, as is now said, "we have no need for this area. We already produce more than our people can consume. Why add territory to that we already have, at the cost of overburdened taxpayers?"

So intense was the opposition that the Massachusetts Legislative Assembly, seeing its young people leaving the commonwealth to seek new horizons in the West, adopted a resolution denouncing the President's proposal, and proclaiming that, if Jefferson succeeded in his mad plan, Massachusetts would no longer be bound to adhere to the Union. Today, the people of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, Texas, Colorado live and prosper, and, if they have reason to think about it, bless the President who conceived and fought for, and the Congress which authorized the Louisiana Purchase.

After the Mexican conflict in 1848 came the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Mexican cession. With acquisition of the area encompassed within the boundaries of that cession, the problem of developing the water resources of the Colorado River became important. That development has progressed until today, by means of Lake Mead, the All-American Canal, and other works, the southern part of California is now putting to commendable and beneficial use

practically all of the water apportioned to that State by the 1922 compact. We want to develop the rest of it; and we confess to an utter inability to understand why California should now say that, although she has been the beneficiary of the expenditure of tremendous amounts of Federal funds in developing her economy by means of Colorado River water, we in the upper basin, which is a part of the same acquisition by the United States which brought California into the Union, should be forever barred from developing our country.

The acquisition and development of the territory included in the cession were opposed in the halls of Congress and elsewhere. The opposition found typical vocal expression in the words of a great American, which words I desire to quote as I found them in a work on America's possessions by Murat Halstead, published in 1899:

"I say, sir, that, according to conscientious conviction, we are now fixing on the Constitution of the United States and its frame of government a monstrosity, a disfigura-

tion, an enormity."

Again this same statesman said:

"On other occasions in debate here I have expressed my determination to vote for no acquisition or cession or annexation north or south, east or west. My opinion has been that we have territory enough, and that we should follow the spartan maxim, 'Improve, adorn what you have;' seek no further * * *. There may be in California, and no doubt there are, some tracts of valuable land, but it is not so in New Mexico * * *. There are some strips of tillable land on the borders of the rivers, but the rivers themselves dry up before midsummer is gone. All that the people can do in that region is to raise some little articles, some little wheat for their tortillas, and that by irrigation."

The great American who made those statements was Daniel Webster, than whom no more able, honest, and conscientious man ever served in the United States Senate.

Of this policy of Webster, the Honorable James R. Mann, later a Member of Congress from the State of Illinois, wrote:

'The Senator from Massachusetts has been reversed by history. He did not see aright the signs of the times as to expansion. If Daniel Webster were now alive, he would be the last man in the Republic to admit that this country could afford to lose a single foot of the territory embraced in the cession from Mexico in 1848. He would be quick to admit that the acquisition of that territory has done much to cement the Union into closer unity; has done much to knit more tightly the bonds which hold our country together; that the sunny land on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, which was so far away in 1848, and which, through the genius of our citizenship, has been brought into close and quick touch with the rest of the Union, has made our whole country feel that distance no longer separates the utmost parts from quick communication with the Central Government, which responds constantly to every feeling of danger or joy, of poverty or prosperity, in every part of our domain."

Webster, despite the honesty of his motives and the sincerity of his purpose, was proved wrong by history. Had he prevailed and accomplished the withholding of congressional approval from the acquisition of the Mexican cession, southern California, which now opposes the development of our portion of the territory included therein by the construction of this project, would no doubt have flourished; but it would have been under a different flag than ours, and at the cost of a government other than ours.

Southern California now objects to the Colorado River project, saying that its construction and operation would infringe upon her use of Colorado River water. At the time the Legislature of California approved the 1922 compact, the legislators knew, and the Representatives of southern California knew, that the apportionment to the upper basin

States of a theoretical one-half of the Colorado River water would inevitably be followed by the beneficial use of that water in those States. The time for southern California to have objected to any development except her own, as she does now, was when the compact was signed, and not now when we in the upper basin States are attempting to do exactly what southern California has already done, by exactly the same means and in exactly the same manner she accomplished hers. Southern California's position on this project is comparable to that of a senior appropriator on a stream who perfects his own rights, and then seeks to prevent another from making an appropriation from the same source, saying:

"I do not know how or when or in what manner you may do it, but some day you may infringe upon my rights. I may some day want to use the whole stream, and if I do, that should be my right and privilege. Your rights to use water which some day I may want to use myself, although I do not know when or why or by what means, and although the law which I helped frame specifically denies me that right, should be denied you forever."

Again, following the War Between the States, Secretary of State William H. Seward proposed to purchase Alaska Territory from Russia. This proposal was bitterly opposed. Men termed the plan "Seward's Folly." gressmen who considered the land barren and worthless argued that the cost of Alaska and its consequent development should not be imposed upon the already overburdened taxpayers. Today, when our lookouts scan the northern skies alert for air attack from over the top of the world, they and we realize the importance of Alaska to our very existence. They and we shudder when we contemplate our strategic position if Alaska were still in unfriendly hands. Are there those among us now who world term Alaska "Seward's Folly?"

Is there not a lesson to be learned from Alaska, when we know that within the boundaries of the upper Colorado River Basin lie one of the world's greatest known stores of uranium, and one of the world's largest deposits and reserves of oil, both vital to our defense and fully available only if the water of the Colorado River be developed?

Again I say, the lessons of history are not to be read and then ignored or disregarded. America's history is one of forward-looking progress. Such progress has been resisted; but those who advocated a policy of development of the resources of our great land have always prevailed. Because that has been true, we now may enjoy our way of life, and look forward to a fuller life for those who will follow us.

If the time shall ever come when new horlzons do not beckon us, when we see no need for further progress or development, when we, as we are, and not as we could be, consider ourselves entirely self-sufficient, then will America stagnate and wither and die as a great nation.

Ike's Economic Report Is a Tribute to the New Deal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I herewith insert an article originally appearing in the Toledo Blade, entitled "Ike's Economic Report Is a Tribute to the New Deal," by columnist Thomas L. Stokes, which appeared in condensed form in the April 1955 issue of the Democratic Digest:

IKE'S ECONOMIC REPORT IS A TRIBUTE TO THE NEW DEAL

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

It often takes time, sometimes adversity, to put past events in just and proper perspective. Take, for example, that era of reform known as the Roosevelt New Deal back in the middle and early 1930's which has been slammed and pilloried, even down to the last congressional election campaign.

It is worthy of note that it now is paid high tribute at long last—and significantly by the first Republican administration since then. You will find this scattered throughout President Eisenhower's Economic Report to Congress. That gives repeated credit to antidepression measures put on the statute books by the Roosevelt New Deal in helping to keep the recession of last year from snow-balling into a real depression.

Naturally the Eisenhower report does not identify those as Roosevelt New Deal measures, which would be too much to ask of any political party, whether Republican or Democratic. It just tells how the administration utilized them, with effusive presse for that operation.

Nowhere in the comprehensive report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers submitted to Congress will you find the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Nor, for another, that of the late Senator Carter Glass, a Virginia Democrat, who put through the banking laws which gave the Federal Government more of a free hand to devise flexible policies to check downward swings in the economy. Nor the name of Marriner S. Eccles, Governor of the Federal Reserve System for many years, who directed recovery efforts possible through credit policies. Nor the late Senator Robert F. Wagner, New York Democrat, sponsor of unemployment insurance and old-age pension laws. Nor any other in the galaxy of New Deal reform figures.

Natural-Gas Issue Flares

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAGE BELCHER

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I wish to insert in the Record the following editorial from the Evening Star of Saturday, March 5, 1955, entitled "Natural-Gas Issue Flares," which I think is one of the most fair and logical discussions of a highly controversial issue that I have seen. I want to commend the Evening Star of Washington, D. C., for its reasonable approach to this problem:

NATURAL-GAS ISSUE FLARES

A highly controversial recommendation was laid before President Elsenhower—and Indirectly before Congress—when the Advisory Committee on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy expressed its belief that "the Federal Government should not control the production, gathering, processing, or sale of natural gas prior to its entry into an interstate transmission line."

It is an issue that has a long and complex politico-economic background. In 1938,

Congress passed the Natural Gas Act giving to the Federal Power Commission regulatory authority over transportation of natural gas in interstate commerce and over sales of gas in interstate commerce for resale. The jurisdictional section of the act specifies, however, that it does not apply "to the production or gathering of natural gas." The authority over interstate pipeline rates and sales has been exercised by the FPC in the intervening years and has not been questioned. In turn, rates to consumers have been regulated by local public utility bodies. But on the question of sales by independent producersthose not engaged in interstate transmission even though they are selling to interstate carriers-the commission has repeatedly ruled that it does not have regulatory jurisdiction, that such initial sales are a natural part of the exempted "production or gathering." Legislation to clarify and support this point of view was passed in 1950 but was vetoed by President Truman. In June 1954, the Supreme Court ruled in a 5-3 decision that the FPC does have jurisdiction over independent producers' sales to interstate carriers and the Power Commission has initiated action to regulate such prices. New legislation to exempt independent producers from Federal regulation already has been introduced.

Consumer interest groups have been the principal advocates of Federal regulation on grounds it would result in lower retail prices. But the producers argue that field prices represent only about 10 percent of the final retail price and that competition among an estimated 5,000 competitors in the industry will preclude unreasonably high prices. They argue, further, that Federal regulation would result in a relatively low and rigid price structure that would make it uneconomic for the industry to risk the costs of exploration and development needed to keep gas production rising in response to the tremendous demand. Consequently, they say, developed gas supplies actually would decrease and prices to consumers eventually would go up.

would go up.

There is involved a basic question of whether competitive private enterprise or a federally regulated economy is to prevail. Natural gas producers are competing not only with each other, but their product is competing with coal and oil. If Federal price fixing is to apply to one, it may be argued seriously that it should be applied to all. Congress is facing more than a narrow question of whether Federal regulation, admittedly difficult, should be attempted in a single industry. If it accepts the status quo it may mark the first step toward a much broader and potentially repressive control of other parts of the national economy.

John T. Jones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker— Leaves have their time to fall And flowers to wither At the north wind's breath; but all Thou hast all seasons for thine own O death.

The organized-labor movement suffered a great loss on March 3, 1955, in the death of Mr. John T. Jones, nationally known director of Labor's Nonpartisan League and the possessor of many fine qualities that endeared him to those who were privileged to number him among their friends and associates.

It was my good fortune to know John T. Jones and because of my knowledge of his many admirable traits of character and the cordial relations that existed between us his passing has been a source of deep sorrow to me.

CALIBAN IN THE COAL MINES (By Louis Untermeyer)

God, we don't like to complain, We know that the mine is no lark, But there's the pools from the rain, But there's the cold and the dark.

God, You don't know what it is You in Your well-lighted sky, Watch the meteors whiz, Warm with the sun always by.

God, if You had but the moon Stuck in Your cap for a lamp Even You'd tire of it, too, Down in the dark and the damp.

Nothing but blackness above And nothing that moves, but the cars, God, if You wish for our love Fling us a handful of stars.

John T. Jones had a mission to perform in life for those with whom he worked in his early years in the coal mines of the Nation. That he was successful in his efforts to improve their lot in life is attested to by the fact that he spent many years in active and successful pursuit of the objectives of the United Mine Workers of America.

Mr. Speaker, I should like at this point in my remarks to have inserted the following article from the March 15, 1955, issue of the United Mine Workers Journal titled "John T. Jones—'In Whom There Was No Guile'."

The article contains references to the beautiful eulogy delivered at the funeral services on March 5, 1955, by the Reverend Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, pastor of Foundry Methodist Church, Washington, D. C., and Chaplain of the United States Senate.

The article follows:

JOHN T. JONES-"IN WHOM THERE WAS NO

Probably no more fitting words may be found to honor the memory of John T. Jones, director of Labor's Nonpartisan League, close associate of President John L. Lewis of the UMWA, and a veteran of 53 years of toil in behalf of his fellow coal miners, than those of the Reverend Dr. Prederick Brown Harris. Dr. Harris, minister of Washington's Foundry Methodist Church and chaplain of the United States Senate, was a close personal friend of Mr. Jones whose untimely death on March 3 shocked and sorrowed all who knew him.

These are the words of Dr. Harris, spoken in final tribute to Mr. Jones at the funeral

service on March 5:
"The brief working day of a valiant servant of God and of humanity, on this mortal stage, is ended. His sun has gone down while it is yet day. Our eyes are staring, stunned, bewildered and strangely moved, at a vacant place against the sky of our choicest friendship, our church, and our Nation.

"By dint of his own energy and effort, John T. Jones, climbing from the penury and darkness of his childhood and youth, never forgot the pit from which he was digged. The ruling passion of his life became to light that darkness for others who bent their backs to its heavy tasks.

"His own spirit was as the candle of the Lord, not just to shine in places of plenty

and comfort—to which his indefatigable toil, his devotion and his ability lifted him—but to bring justice and safety and more abundant home life to those hardy servants of the public good, his brother miners, whose contribution to the gadgets and glitter of an industrial day sentenced them to arduous labors, with light of day denied.

"We are vividly conscious in this hour, now that his lips are silent, that with righteous indignation against selfish powers which sought to exploit those whom he always regarded as his comrades in toil he cried out again and again to exploiters in high places of privilege, 'Let my people go.'

"We remember today the wistful appreciation with which in memory he turned often to that long-suffering Christian mother, whose face and form were ever with him and who, amid conditions which might have stifled spiritual aspirations, lighted the candies of faith and reverence on the altar of his boyish heart, a flame that no winds of adversity could ever blow out.

"As we survey the record of this useful life, we are thankful, as was his own grateful heart, that when as a young man his face turned from across the sea to this land of hope and glory, our America, this 'blessed land of room enough' gave him his chance to unlock native talents for leadership and for wide service which struggled for expression in the heart of this Welsh lad whose life, until that emancipating day, had been so cabined and confined. In these latter years, as with disciplined powers he moved on levels of great influence, all his days were as a paean of devotion to the great Repubwhich had become so truly his as it molded his life to ampler patterns of service to man and his Maker.

"We think of the great causes which claimed his loyalty and the full measure of his devotion. We bear witness to his love for the church of the living God and his belief in her mission. John T. Jones was not just a hearer, but a doer of the word. The message of the church and the kingdom to him was literally expressed in the program as announced by the great head of the church: 'I am come to preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives and to set at liberty them that are bruised.' In this triumphal hour we testify that here was a Christian indeed, in whom there was no guile. In a time of sophisticated artificiality he loved and clung to the genuine and true. He hated sham and cant, and knew both when his honest eyes looked upon them with scorn, in high places and low.

"We rejoice in the heritage of the moving words he recently wrote, blazing with holy wrath against the sophistries of those who, in the titanic global struggle now raging, blaspheme and deny the paramount dignity of the individual and the rights of the common man.

"Our hearts are warmed as we remember his genius for friendship and how his life was bound as with bands of steel to the very souls of those he loved and trusted. As we think of his devotion to the Master of all good workmen, it will be to us evermore who ministered to him in holy things a blessed memory that on his last earthly Sabbath, listening, by his own earnest request, to the ancient words of contrition and consecration, his hands, so still now, reached out reverently for the bread and the wine in remembrance of the Lord and Master who was the strength of his life.

"Ringing in our ears will ever be his clear witness, just before the human skill of surgeons did their best; his confident words will light us to the end of our own way as we count the rosary of his assurance: 'I am not afraid, if this is the end of this life for me, for I know that the next room is a place of beauty and brightness beyond compare.' Inspired by his undimmed trust as he walked through the valley of the shadow and feared

no evil, now that he has gone into the bliss of that larger room our hearts cry out:

'Servant of God, well done!
Thy glorious warfare past;
The battle's fought, the crown is won
And thou art crowned at last.'

"And so we give thanks that there was a man sent from God whose name was John. And we give him back, with clean hands and pure heart, knowing where we shall find him again and in what company we shall see him when the long night is past and the eternal morning breaks.

"'A friend has passed across the bay.
So wide and vast, and put away
The mortal form that held his breath;
But through the storm that men call death.
Erect and straight, unstained by years,
At heaven's gate a man appears!"

Caribbean Coalition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH F. HOLT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to the following editorial from the New York Herald Tribune. Vice President Nixon's tour of Central America and the Caribbean islands is an example of the best way to personally promote mutual respect and understanding in the countries of the world:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of March 6, 1955]

CARIBBEAN COALITION

Vice President Nixon's tour of Central America and the Caribbean islands has paid rich dividends in general good will. It also has been specifically valuable in lessening tensions between Costa Rica and Nicaragua. The most lasting and beneficial results of the journey, however, would spring from a new orientation of policy by all the states of the Caribbean basin along the lines which the Vice President has suggested—a strong regional coalition to insure political stability and economic prosperity.

Britain has already embarked on a program looking to the federation of its Caribbean territories. The independent states of the area are in equal need of closer ties. Many of them have specialized in single crops, such as sugar, coffee, or bananas, which is likely to create acute economic strains. Capital and cooperation for a more diversified economic base would aid them all. Politically, the rivalry of the different Caribbean countries has produced tensions that hamper the improvement of living standards of the people and foster the kind of unrest by which communism profits.

by which communism profits.

From its beginnings as a Republic, the United States has had the closest ties with Central America and the islands. The building of the Panama Canal intensified a strategic interest of long standing; trade and travel have made many links between the Caribbean and the Nation to the north. At various times the United States has policed parts of the region under a concept of stewardship that is now outmoded, although the sense of responsibility and common interest that inspired it remains. To promote a Caribbean coalition of the kind which Mr. Nixon advocates, and which could find its nucleus in the new Organization of Central American States, should be a major goal of American policy.

The task will not be easy. Animosities among the potential members of the coalition are keen; differences in social and political structure are great. Economic reforms will require the kind of vigor which Puerto Rico is applying to its problems, extended to the whole region. Nevertheless, the advantages of unity, in terms of prosperity, stability, and protection against the Red threat, would be incalculable. This is a challenge to the statesmanship of the Americas, one in which the hemisphere can find a common goal and a common gain. The Vice President is to be congratulated on his initiative.

Postmaster General Speeds Clean-Up-the-Mails Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I am sure decent citizens of our country will applaud the efforts of the Post Office Department, under Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield, to eliminate the obscene and indecent trash that has been finding its way into postal channels in increasing amounts recently. As the result of this drive the money-hungry purveyors of pornographic publications are going to have greater difficulty getting their lewd materials into the hands of their customers.

While the Post Office Department is without authority to prosecute the mailers of this material, it does have authority to refuse to carry it through the mail. That it is doing as rapidly as the source of the material is learned.

Postmaster General Summerfield recently made a very fine statement on this clean-up-the-mails drive, pointing out it does not involve an abridgement of freedom of speech or press nor sets up a censorship of works of art. This is a sincere effort to keep this unwanted pornographic material from being offered through the mail for delivery into American homes.

The statement of Postmaster General Summerfield follows:

CLEAN-UP-THE-MAILS CAMPAIGN

A growing volume of unwanted lewd and obscene matter is being sent through the mails into American homes, and the Post Office Department is intensifying its clean-up-the-mails efforts to stop this offense against common decency.

Risque snapshots, pornographic magazines and books, and lascivious slides, party films, and records are being widely offered for sale as shown by a 73-percent increase in the last 6 months in cases dealing with indecent materials sent through the mails.

This is a serious and nationwide problem of public morality which affects all our citizens. In our common interest this misuse and prostitution of the mails should be stopped by a sensible preventative program of the Post Office Department, acting for the people as directed by the law enacted by Congress.

We know from experience that any enlightened effort of this kind—no matter how intelligently administered—is occasionally open to attack and ridicule which is frequently deliberately inspired by those who make money from the sale of lewd materials. Sometimes we are criticized because our purposes are not fully understood by the very people we are seeking to protect from pornographic material.

CENSORSHIP NOT INVOLVED

In other instances our efforts to keep the mails clean produce an almost inevitable cry of censorship by certain groups who confuse license with liberty. Their viewpoint, while sincere, seems to suggest an abysmal ignorance of the nature of the problem and the threat it imposes to the moral fiber of the Nation.

We are not concerned with bureaucratic snooping. No issues of abridgments of the freedom of speech or of the press are involved.

We are not arbitrary censors of literary efforts nor of works of art, either ancient or modern.

What we are vitally concerned about is the great mass of unwanted pornographic material being offered for delivery through the mails into the homes of American citizens.

MENACE TO MORAL OF YOUTH

We know the great majority of adult Americans want this obscene material—which they have not asked for—kept out of their homes and away from their children, whether it is generated at home or malled into this country from abroad. This vile stream of commercialized obscenity persists because there is money in it and we must be alert lest the greed of the individuals and sham publishing concerns who sell it damage the moral standards of our young people.

Many criminal, educational, and religious authorities see a definite connection between this disgraceful upsurge in obscenity and the startling growth of juvenile delinquency in the Nation.

Other experts believe this increase in lewd and lascivious material is reflected in the sickening growth of criminal assaults on girls and women.

While the Post Office Department has no authority to prosecute mailers who offend against common decency, we are required, by law, to refuse to carry obscene material through the mails.

Fortunately the power to exclude pornographic material from the mails is a highly effective preventive measure in that it usually shuts down the most practical and economical distribution method available.

The criterion used in ruling on mailability is the ordinary standard of common decency of average representative citizens. Let me quote a recent ruling on obscene books which illustrates the reasoning used:

"The word 'obscene' is not uncommon and is used in English and American speech and writings as the symbol of indecent, smutty, lewd, or salacious reference to the parts of the human or animal body, or to their functions, or to the excrement therefrom.

"It is, of course, true that the ears of some may be so accustomed to words which are ordinarily regarded as obscene that they take no offense at them, but the law is not tempered to the hardened minority of society.

"The statue forbidding the importation of obscene books is not designed to fit the concept of morality throughout the world, nor for all time past and all the future, but it is designed to fit the normal American concept in the age in which we live.

"It is no legitimate argument that because there are social groups composed of moral delinquents in this or other countries that their language shall be received as legal tender along with the speech of the great masses who trade ideas and information in the honest money of decency."

OUR CITIZENS CAN HELP

Citizens who wish to help the Post Office Department in its clean-up-the-mails campaign can do so by delivering, to their local postmaster, any material received through the mails which they consider obscene. Postmasters throughout the country are being instructed to forward such material here to Washington to the Office of the Solicitor, the chief legal officer of the Post Office Department, for proper action.

Employment of Handicapped—An Essay by Miss Jane Wink, a Student at Governor Mifflin High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important tasks before the Congress is to take adequate steps toward improving the opportunities of handicapped citizens. We should make it possible for them to more fully participate in the Nation's productive effort. To help our handicapped citizens toward the independence of self-support is to help them to share more fully in the bounties of our rich land and in all those things which make life worth-The rights, the dignity, and worth of the individual give strength to America as a nation.

Since I have been a Member of the Congress I have been keenly interested in having the Congress adopt a more realistic program for our 38 million handicapped citizens.

In the last Congress I, along with several of my colleagues, introduced a bill which calls for the establishment of a Federal agency for handicapped. This I feel was the most comprehensive approach to the handicapped program ever laid before the Congress. It provides for maximum extension of medical services, vocational guidance and counseling, education and training, and full employment opportunities to citizens handicapped by physical and mental disabilities.

It is my intention to introduce such legislation in this session of Congress as soon as I have completed study on my new proposal.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to include with my statement a prize-winning essay on the topic of A Decade of Progress in Employing the Handicapped, by Miss Nancy Jane Wink, a student at the Governor Mifflin Joint High School, in my congressional district. Miss Wink is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John R. Wink, 303 Wheatland Avenue, Shillington, Pa. Following herewith is the theme which won for Miss Wink first prize in the county contest and fifth prize in the statewide contest:

MIFFLIN HIGH GIRL WINS STATE, COUNTY HONORS WITH ESSAY ON EMPLOYMENT OF HANDICAPPED

(By Nancy Jane Wink, Governor Miffiin Joint High School)

This is your life, Philip Yerger, your new life. You were just like any other man, Philip Yerger, until 1944 when you were in an automobile accident. This is the genesis of your new life, a life into which you are afraid to go.

You are in the dark now, blind, never to see God's glorious sunsets, a drop of dew on a new leaf, the smiling faces of your two children and wife, or the clear, blue sky above the fields of corn.

As you lie in bed in the clean, neat hospital room, you ask yourself, "What next, Philip Yerger? What is left for me in life?" This question runs through your head; it keeps you awake at night. You will soon find the answer, Philip Yerger, very soon.

'I first met Phil after he had been in the hospital for 3 weeks. He was on the terrace brooding over his loss." Do you recall the voice of Fred Hensel? Do you remember that day on the terrace when he came up to you and spoke to you? He, too, was handicapped, for he had no arms or legs.

It is now you get your answer to your ques-Your life will be what you make it, Philip Yerger, and you are going to make it as normal and happy as possible. "I wept because I had no shoes, and then I met a man who had no feet." This old Arabic proverb will help you, Philip; it will give you the courage you will need.

As soon as you are discharged from the hospital, you start looking for a job. You need that courage now, because everywhere you go you get the same answer: "What do we want with a blind man? He will just be

You go to factories, department stores, and finally employment agencies. No one wants a blind man working for him. Before your accident you were a commercial artist. cannot do that now; you have no sight. Maybe they would let you answer the tele-phone or run the elevator. "Sorry, Phil, we can't use you," is the answer you get.

After weeks and months of nothing a friend suggests that you go to the rehabili-tation center of Larkin, Ohio. You did not even know Larkin had one. Now, Philip Yerger, things look better for you.

"Philip Yerger was an efficient and congenial worker. I am glad I was able to help him." Remember that voice, Philip Yerger? He is the man who gave you your It was not a very big or important job; but to you it was big; and it was important. This job which you would have for only a short time was weaving the seats for porch chairs out of reeds.

You were not satisfied with this though. You wanted to get ahead. You did not want to make your blindness a liability, an im-

pediment in your future.

In August of 1945 the 79th Congress declared that the first week in October will be set aside as National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week. The objectives of this plan are as follows:

1. More organization participation in year

round program.

- 2. Better understanding of the problem and the facts.
- 3. Increased employment of handicapped workers.
- 4. Improved methods of teaching handicapped workers.
- 5. Encouragement of retention and advancement of handicapped workers.
- 6. More comprehension by handicapped of services offered.
- 7. Expansion of facilities for increasing work capacity of qualified workers.
- 8. Greater use by the disabled of services offered.
- 9. More general employers' recognition of good business in hiring handicapped.

10. Effective publicity.

These were sent to all places of employment. As a result of this, Philip Yerger. many of your fellows were given jobs. Peo-ple who had never been accepted as equals in the field of labor were given the chance to develop skills and trades.

By 1948 a total of 53,131 disabled persons were employed in skilled and unskilled professional and semiprofessional, clerical, and agricultural jobs. This makes you feel good, Philip Yerger.

At last your associates are climbing the ladder of success to the top, not just hanging on to the first rung. Why, last year in the one month of October 28,000 individuals were placed in jobs, whereas in 1940 that was the total sum for the whole year.

You are the You, too, have a new job. head trainer for seeing-eye dogs at the rehabilitation center of Larkin. You and your assistant make sure the dogs are properly schooled, and each week you give every dog an examination.

By working so closely with the blind, Phillp Yerger, you are aware of the feeling the employer has for the afflicted person and that individual for his boss. You sense how willing businessmen are to employ these folks, not like when you first wanted a job.

Last week you and Henry Thomas, head of the rehabilitation center, went on a tour of the Larkin Bottling Works. How gratifying it was to see that 4 afflicted or crippled persons could get jobs out of every 10 positions open.

Everywhere are signs saying Employ the Handicapped. Every day thousands of pieces of mail pass from hand to hand and each one is stamped Hire the Handicapped: It Is Good Business

Yes, Philip Yerger, the Nation is awakening to reality. Life is becoming something real, not just a dream. You are offered a different and new job, your utopia. Philip Yerger, are put in charge of placing all the handicapped persons at the center into jobs most suited for them.

You can feel their emotions, their fears, and ambitions better any anyone else. You know the relief, the joy that floods over you when you hear the words "we would love to have you with us." Yes, this the job long awaited and hoped for. Now you can help your similarly afflicted associates find happiness and a feeling of belonging in the world.

As you sit at your desk, you come into contact with facts and figures that tell a story, a story of progress. For instance, Dr. Edward Conner of Meadville, Pa., a victim of multiple sclerosis, which attacks the nerves and nerve endings, he established a clinichis dream for years—to care for and instruct handicapped children.

In the year 1952, 64,000 persons in the United States were rehabilitated. That is greatly enlarged over the number when you.

Philip Yerger, first looked for a job.
Yes, Philip Yerger, this is your life. You signify the progress made by individuals over a period of years; the progress that fought its way through heartbreaks and disappointment, gains and losses, laughter and tears. Yours is a victory from which only you can get the fullest satisfaction.

"Nothing is too late till the tired heart shall cease to palpitate" was your motto.
You proved it to be true.
This is your life, Philip Yerger, and may

God bless you for it.

Ruby Red Grapefruit From the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, February 25, 9155

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the Speaker and all of the Texas delegation and the citrus growers who gave us the most delicious ruby red grapefruit that were in the House dining room today. I enjoyed them very much. This is another reason for my liking Texas. The card that came with the grapefruit read:

RUBY RED GRAPEFRUIT

Tree-ripened ruby red grapefruit from the lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas, served to you today with the compliments of the Texas Citrus and Vegetable Growers and Shippers Association, of Harlingen, Tex., and the Texas delegation in the House of Representatives.

New Hoover Commission Favors Abolishing REA-"Operation Bankruptcy" for Great Program for Rural America Recommended

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, some years back when President Truman created the so-called Hoover Commission on Government Operations his action was commended by many because it was hoped that through its studies and recommendations the vast operation of the Federal Government might be simplified and sound economy and efficiency in Government promoted.

We know now, Mr. Speaker, that the sound principles of the Hoover Commission, as originally intended, have not been fulfilled and the new or second edition of the Hoover Commission has gone far afield in its policy recommendations. In fact, many report that the Hoover Commission, prejudiced and packed in its membership and judgments, is in a large measure attempting to take over the work and job of the Congress itself.

The new Hoover Commission task force on Federal power programs has recommended abolishing the rural electrification program-a great and worthwhile agency of our Government which has meant so much to the rural citizens of our Nation. This recommendation and proposal of the new Hoover Commission should be killed in its infancy.

In this connection, the Rural Electrification magazine, in its March 1955 issue, in an editorial has termed this proposal as "Operation Bankruptcy."

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be reproduced with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, together with a copy of a resolution adopted by the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association at its 13th annual meeting on February 17 last, in Atlantic City, N. J.

The editorial and resolution follow: [From Rural Electrification for March 1955]

OPERATION BANKRUPTCY For 2 years all of us have been concerned about the new Hoover Commission which was established to study, among other things, the Rural Electrification Administration and

the Federal power programs and make rec-This new ommendations to the Congress. Hoover Commission was authorized not only to study ways of making agencies more effi cient but to make recommendations for altering or abolishing Federal functions and to prepare bills to be introduced in Congress to carry out its recommendations.

The Hoover Commission then set up a separate task force to study each of the several divisions and functions of the United States Government. It set up a task force to study rural electrification and other Government lending agencies. It set up a task force on water and power to study, among other things, the Federal power program. Former President Herbert Hoover personally named the membes of the various task-force groups.

We have known from the beginning that the report of the task force on Federal lending agencies would be unfriendly to the Rural Electrification Administration because the members of the task force had obviously been selected for that purpose. Immediately after this lending task force was set up, we tried to get them to hold public hearings so that all of us, we in the national office and you in the field, could be heard in support of REA. The task force flatly refused to hold such hearings despite the fact that the task force on water and power had already agreed to hold public hearings. While still denying us the right to appear before them, the lending task force finally agreed to permit us to mail to them a written statement of our views, which we did. We had that statement printed and distributed to all of the rural-electric systems. It is entitled "Financing the Rural Electrification Program in the United States."

Now we find that our original fears are confirmed. The lending agencies task force has submitted a report to the Hoover Commission which was adopted by the Commis-

sion with only one change.

We have seen a copy of the part of this report which deals with REA. It bristies with unfair propaganda charges about the rural electrification program and recommends the abolition of REA.

The report charges that the rural electrification program is subsidized in four ways: (1) The 5-year deferment period on repayment of loans, (2) alleged Federal income-tax exemption, (3) the 2-percent interest rate, and (4) the administrative expenses of REA. After making these and other accusations, the report makes the following recommendations:

TASK FORCE RECOMMENDATIONS ON RURAL ELECTRIFICATION

1. The REA be abolished and that a new Pederal corporation be organized under the name "Rural Electrification Corporation."

2. That the rural electric systems be compelled to raise their rates high enough to provide funds for their own expansion.

3. That Congress provide no more loan or administrative funds for either electrifica-

tion or telephone purposes.

- 4. That the new corporation be compelled to raise new funds in the private money markets and pay whatever rate of interest necessary to get the needed funds.
- 5. That all new loans carry a sufficiently high rate of interest to cover the cost of borrowing money in the banker's market, plus enough to pay all administrative costs of the new corporation.
- 6. That the new corporation be prohibited from lending money to construct any telephone or electric facility which private utilities are willing to build.

There are more recommendations, but the foregoing are the ones of major importance. You can see by just looking over this list that what the Hoover Commission is asking the Congress to do is abolish the rural electrification program and force the sale of the rural electric systems to the private power

If REA is abolished and the new corporation set up, interest rates will no doubt be increased to at least 41/2 percent. Existing services would be slashed to the vanishing point. Promotion of the telephone program would be killed. And point No. 6 is obviously intended to utterly destroy the generation and transmission program which would automatically destroy our bargaining power with private power suppliers and result in increased wholesale power rates.

This report, put simply, should, as our Atlantic City annual meeting resolution says, be labeled "operation bankruptcy" for the whole rural-electrification program. Continuation of the rapidly growing rural-elec-trification program would simply not be possible in rural America-all of which is relatively thinly settled in comparison with the

-under such a program.

This report is one part of the emerging pattern here in Washington, a pattern of big-business socialism or corporate collectivism, or corporatism. Accelerated tax amortization, the administration's partnership program on resource development, this report on REA, and many, many other things all add up to one thing: A drive by the great corporations for complete domination of the American economy. They intend to encircle, swallow, or destroy every economic activity they do not presently own. And this is even more true of the big power companies and their allies than of any other group.

It is up to us and our allies to block them wherever possible, and we can if we will face up to what they are doing, tell our people about it, and insist that the Congress take

action when necessary.

The first and most important thing we must do is to get the Power Trust monopoly investigation underway again and root out the sources of the influences brought to bear on the Hoover Commission. Every member of a rural-electric system in the country should pick up his pencil and let his Congressman and his two Senators know how he feels about this matter. You can get copies of the Task Force Report on REA beginning Monday, March 14. Your Congressman should be able to get you a copy.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE 13TH ANNUAL MEETING OF MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION. ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., FEBRUARY 17, 1955

It has come to our attention that the task force on Federal lending agencies of the new Hoover Commission has prepared a report for the Commission, wherein this task force in reporting on REA recommends:

1. That the Rural Electrification Administration be abolished and a Federal corporation to be called the rural electrification corporation be established in its place, thereby separating the farmers' electric cooperative banker from the farmers and the Congress through the appointment of directors by the President of the United States,

2. That the new corporation be compelled to raise funds for the rural electrics from private money sources by floating debenture bonds at whatever rate of interest the private moneylenders demand.

3. That the new corporation be required to charge interest rates high enough to cover the much greater cost of private borrowing plus the cost of administration.

4. That the new corporation cannot lend money for any project which private industry is prepared to construct.

The results of these recommendations, if adopted by the full Commission and the Congress would be utterly disastrous to the rural electric systems.

(a) The corporate form of operation would rob the Congress and rural people of their control over the banker of the rural electric systems by placing an appointive board of directors between the people and the Congress. Our experience with such appointive groups has not been good in the face of the manner in which the Securities and change Commission and the Federal Power Commission have ceased to serve the people but serve, instead, the vested interests they were created to control in the public inter-We consider this recommendation on incorporation a part of a clear design to place REA funds and services under the control of the enemies of rural electrification.

(b) Forcing the new corporation into the arms of the bankers, investment houses and insurance companies plus the requirement that the interest rates charged the rural electric systems be high enough to cover all administrative costs would undoubtedly result in interest rates of 4.5 to 6 percent per annum, an intolerable burden on the rural systems and a burden designed to bankrupt said systems.

(c) The restriction against lending any project which private industry is willing to carry out is trick phrasing designed to destroy the generation and transmission phases of the program and thereby our bargaining power.

This task force report, prepared by the ower company accounting firm of Price, Waterhouse, the firm which audits the books of Purcell Smith's power trust lobby, was not prepared as a legitimate effort to improve Government lending functions but was deliberately prepared for the purpose of scuttling the rural electrification program and destroying competition in the electric This same task force refused to industry. This same task force refused to hold public hearings and NRECA was forced to submit a written statement regarding the Rural Electrification Administration, a statement which was utterly disregarded by the task force.

The report of the task force is full of misstatements and half truths. It is not a report in any true sense, but a propaganda document as vicious as we have ever examined: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we urge the Congress to label the REA section of this task force report, unofficially, as "Operation Bankruptcy for Rural Electrification" and that the Congress not only reject this report in its entirety, but that it also conduct an investigation into the sources of the ideas in this report and expose the authors to the public eye for what they are, tools of the money lenders and the power monopoly; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be ent to Members of the Congress and to President Eisenhower who appointed the Hoover Commission which, in turn, selected the task

Why Allow Gas Imports When We Are Flaring This Fuel in North Dakota?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OTTO KRUEGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to submit a resolution of the North Dakota Legislature against the importation of natural gas when a surplus of this fuel exists in North Dakota. The countryside in our oilfields is lit at night by scores of flaring torches, natural gas that is burned because there is no available The resolution follows:

House Concurrent Resolution V-1

Concurrent resolution urging the Federal Power Commission to deny applications for the importation of foreign natural gas into the north central area while a surplus of gas exists in this area

Whereas applications are now pending before the Federal Power Commission for the importation of foreign natural gas into North Dakota and other States of the north central area of the United States; and

Whereas the importation of natural gas from foreign sources will retard and handicap the development of the natural resources of North Dakota and the north central area; and

Whereas it is in the interest of the prosperity and development of the State of North Dakota that the natural resources of this State be used in an efficient and useful manner without unfair competition from foreign

sources: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives
of the State of North Dakota (the Senate
concurring therein). That this legislative
assembly expresses its continuing concern
over the granting of any applications for
the importation into North Dakota of supplies of natural gas from foreign sources
until such time as existing supplies of such
products within the State of North Dakota
and the north central area of the United
States are being fully, safely, and adequately
utilized as determined by the North Dakota
Public Service Commission; and that this
legislative assembly hereby urges and requests the Federal Power Commission to
allow such importations only when the above

conditions are met; be it further Resolved. That copies of this resolution be forwarded by the chief clerk of the house of representatives to the Federal Power Commission, and to each Member of the North Dakota congressional delegation, and to the North Dakota Public Service Commission.

K. A. FITCH,

Speaker of the House.

KENNETH L. MORGAN,
Chief Clerk of the House.
C. P. Dahl.,
President of the Senate.

EDWARD LENO,
Secretary of the Senate.

St. Patrick's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, this morning's, March 17, issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald features an article on the character of St. Patrick. It was authored by the Reverend Dr. John Tracy Ellis, professor of church history at the Catholic University of America. In my opinion, it portrays an excellent analysis of the success that St. Patrick enjoyed in the conversion of pagan Ireland. The answer, of course, lies in the character of St. Patrick himself.

Mr. Speaker, I understand that my colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. Flood] has secured unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the Record and to include Father Ellis' article. I congratulate the author on the article and commend the Washington Post on presenting it on today's St. Patrick's Day.

How To Get Along With Yourself

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I am inserting an article written by Dr. Abraham Shusterman, rabbi of the Har Sinai Congregation, of Baltimore, which appeared in the Baltimore Sunday American, Sunday, February 27, during the annual observance of Brotherhood Week.

I look forward to reading Rabbi Shusterman's column each Sunday and felt this particular article so inspiring I would like to bring it to the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

How To Get Along With Yourself

(By Rabbi Abraham Shusterman)

The recurrence of religious holidays awaken many wonderful memories. These are memories of shared experiences. It is true that my next-door neighbor, Vincent, and his family were Catholic, while

It is true that my next-door neighbor, Vincent, and his family were Catholic, while Charles and his family, who lived across the street, were Protestant. Their religious devotion was matched by our family's loyalty to the Jewish faith. Yuletide for them meant Channukahtime for us. Our mother was smart.

When the Channukah candles were kindled and blessed in our home, there were presents for the children in our family and for Vincent and Charles, as well. The parents of Vincent and Charles were equally universal in their outlook. We Jewish children received Christmas presents from them.

These memories are awakened by the beginning of Lent. We hadn't the slightest knowledge of the deeper meaning of the smudge on the foreheads of our Catholic neighbors on Ash Wednesday.

neighbors on Ash Wednesday.

It did not occur to us that the true significance of this sectarian rite was not too foreign to us as Jews. We had not been told that the ashes on their heads were signs of the shortness of human life, of man's accountability to God, and of the need for repentance.

If someone had told us the facts Ash Wednesday and Lent might remind us of our own month of Eliul which leads to the Hebrew New Year, the Day of Atonement and the penitential season. It would have been easier to understand fasting during Lent, if we had been able to compare it with our fasting on Yom Kippur.

Perhaps these are mature reflections. It may have been too much to expect it of children who are more concerned with happy experiences.

When our neighbors started Lent, with the dramatic use of ashes to symbolize mortality and the coming of judgment, we knew that Easter and Passover were not far away. Once again there was sharing in our little American neighborhood.

The families of other faiths seemed to love matzos and my mother took gifts of these unleavened cakes to their homes.

We always received from our neighbors little baskets of Easter eggs, both of the chocolate and hard-boiled varieties. Again, it must be confessed that the spiritual meaning of the holy season was not impressed upon our minds.

We were not given lectures in comparative religion and, if we Jewish boys and girls had been asked to interpret the spirit of Easter, few of us could have given a satisfactory answer.

But there is one thing that stands out in my memory. We were reverent. We sensed that there was something holy about ashes; something holy about our neighbors' disciplined life during the Lenten season.

We knew that the Easter baskets came at the end of a period of earnest prayer and self-scrutiny. From earliest childhood we respect it and our parents insisted that we regard it with reverence. It was as if our fathers and mothers had said to us, "This is not your holy season, but it is holy to Vincent and Charles. You must honor them for their devotion to their religion."

It seems to me that Vincent and Charles had the same attitude toward us.

They and their families accepted our gift of matzos; their acceptance of it had a special reverence about it, as if they felt that this unleavened bread was holy.

Yes, these are sweet memories of an unforgettable American childhood in which families differed in theological ideas but were united by mutual respect and affection.

Champions in Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call to the attention of the House the splendid work now being done by the American Forestry Association in cooperation with the various States in the promotion of the conservation of our forest resources.

For many years I have been interested in the conservation of our renewable resources. I believe that this is one of the most important problems facing our Nation today, that of conserving wherever possible the vast resources with which we have been entrusted.

Our country has been singularly blessed with an abundance of most of the raw materials and natural resources for the development of a modern productive society.

We should not, however, overlook the very distinct possibility that if we continue to use our resources at the present rate and do nothing to replenish them we shall soon begin to face the problem of supply.

For the last 6 years, I have had the privilege of serving on the awards committee of the American Forestry Association, which has the responsibility of selecting outstanding Americans who have contributed to the promotion of conservation.

Each year, this committee chooses five Americans in fields of public information, public service, business and industry, education, and general service, for recognition of their contribution to a sound program of conservation. A number of outstanding citizens have been so honored by the association.

Within a few months this committee will again be charged with the responsibility of making additional selections for these awards. In connection with this, I would like to call the attention of the House to an article written by Mr. James B. Craig, editor of the American Forests, the publication of the American Forestry

Association. This article, entitled "Champions in Conservation," has been written for the April issue of this magazine, and I believe it sets forth in a splendid manner the work of this organization.

The article follows:

CHAMPIONS IN CONSERVATION (By James B. Craig)

When the American Forestry Association adopted its first program for American forestry over a decade ago, there were many leaders in the whole field of renewable natural resources who made notable contributions to this effort. These men and women—they included scientists, public servants, educators, foresters, and journalists—were the pacesetters in this program of accomplishment. They were the people who moved out in front by virtue of that indescribable spirit-a form of selflessness in service-that stamps the leader in any form of endeavor.

That these champions of conservation should be recognized for their signal achievements was readily recognized by the American Forestry Association. Accordingly, 8 years ago, the association established own hall of fame for resources leaders in the form of its annual conservation awards program for distinguished service. These awards, AFA decided, should be presented annually to those individuals who have rendered outstanding service beyond the call of duty in conserving and managing our renewable resources of forests, soil, water, and wildlife. Five awards are made annually in five categories. These are: (1) Public information; (2) business and industry; (3) public servants; (4) education; (5) general service.

So successful were these initial efforts to acquaint the public with sterling contributions to sound resources development that the Sears, Roebuck Foundation joined the AFA in its program. Consequently, the project has continued to expand with every passing year. Today the awards have come to be regarded as an honor without parallel to those who work in conservation.

Last year the awards committee, headed by Chairman Robert N. Hoskins, screened 57 topflight nominations representing the widest bracket of resources activity in the history of the program. The nominations included those of foresters, city planners, business leaders, scientists, biologists, research specialists, writers, and people in many other lines. In some cases as many as 60 to 70 endorsing letters accompanied individual nominations. The five awards made at Portland, Oreg., last September 6, went to Frederick Paul Keen, Forest Service research specialist, of California; Dr. Olaus J. Murie, biologist, of Wyoming; Reuben Buck Robertson, paper-company board chairman, of North Carolina; Palmer Hoyt, newspaper publisher, of Colorado; and Dr. Samuel T. Dana, forester and educator, of Michigan.

This year's distinguished-service awards. for which nominations are now being received, will be made October 5 in connection with the all-South annual meeting of the American Forestry Association, October 3 to 6, at Jacksonville, Fla. With the Governors of many Southern States scheduled to attend, this promises to be one of the most significant resources meetings in the history of the South. President Eisenhower has been invited to address the conclave. Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, of Georgia, has been invited to make the keynote address on the conference theme, Southern Forestry; An Industrial Revolution With Roots. General chairman of the affair will be X. L. Pellicer, president, St. Augustine National Bank, of Florida. Recipients of the 1955 distinguished-service awards will be honored at the annual banquet of this annual meeting On October 5. The awards include a plaque

designating them as leaders in their particular fields and a life membership in the American Forestry Association.

Last month the American Forestry Association began accepting nominations for the 1955 awards. Because a nominations deadline of June 15 has been established, the awards committee is urging that AFA members and others nominate their candidates at the earliest possible date. Chairman Hoskins, industrial forester for the Seaboard Air Line Railroad, emphasized that eligibility for nominations is not limited to persons actually working in the field of renewable natural resources. He explained that the awards are intended to recognize and reward individuals whose contributions to conservation have been beyond the demands of their regular means of livelihood, adding that in previous years there has been some confusion as to who could be nominated and how awards winners were chosen.

Chairman Hoskins further explained that this year five winners will be selected from as many categories, and that for judging purposes nominations will be categorized on the basis of employment rather than on the phase of conservation in which they have been active. The categories are public servants, business and industry, education, public information, and a fifth grouping, which includes persons not definitely embraced by any of the other classifications. This means, Hoskins said, that even though a nomineea teacher, for instance-may have made an outstanding contribution in the field of public information, the awards committee would classify him in the "education" category, because that is his primary employment field. Likewise, he elaborated, an industrialist or a businessman could conceivably be nominated for activities in education, but for judging purposes both would be classified as "business and industry." Hoskins also stressed the importance of including all pertinent information on the nominations blank, and added that many nominations in recent years have been bolstered by accompanying letters of endorsement from as many as 70 different people.

Awards committee members who will work with Mr. Hoskins in screening this year's M. Abbitt, of Richmond, Va.; Bryce C. Browning, secretary-treasurer, Muskingum Watershed Conservancy District, New Philadelphia, Ohio; Dr. M. D. Mobley, executive secretary, American Vocational Association. Inc., Washington, D. C.; Arthur R. Spillers, Chief, Division of Cooperative Forest Management, United States Forest Service, Washington, D. C.; and Louis H. Wilson, director of information, American Plant Food Council, Washington, D. C.

Many fine leaders have been honored by the American Forestry Association for their achievements since the inauguration of AFA's first program for American forestry of a decade ago, Mr. Hoskins stressed. With a new program for forestry and related resources approved by the association only last year, many new leaders are appearing on today-people who are working to achieve the three big goals of this program which are: (1) To meet the essentials of forest protection; (2) to improve the national timber crop in volume and quality to a degree sufficient to wipe out all deficits and build up a reserve; (3) to obtain the maximum of economic and social services from our forests by realistic application of the principle of multiple use in their manage-

"The whole Nation is being invited and urged to take part in the activation of this program pointing toward resources abundance," Mr. Hoskins said. "As always, however, there are and will be the few who will stand out above all others for their unselfish dedication to a great cause. It is the membership in this choice group—the few who

contribute so much to so many-that AFA seeks to honor with its awards program for distinguished service."

Don't Seem To Be Getting Through

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I include the following editorial from the New Ulm Daily Journal, New Ulm, Minn., of March 4, 1955, entitled "Don't Seem To Be Getting Through":

In the past 14 years the United States has poured more than \$112 billion of the taxpayers' money into Europe and Asia in an effort to buy loyalty and support. But there

is something wrong somewhere.

Instead of winning goodwill and loyalty, we are viewed with distrust, suspicion, and hatred. In some instances with fear.

Perhaps it can be attributed to the meth-

ods we use. Whatever is wrong, the entire blame can-

not attach to the New and Fair Deals. Nor to the liberals and the conservatives in our Government. The blame does not attach solely to the Democrats as a party, nor to the Republicans as such. The blame must attach to the visionaries, the do-gooders and theorists that have taken over all parties in a grandiose move to have the world sleep in

Our capitalistic, altruistic plans to save the world have been attuned to the aristocracy of foreign lands, with little attention, if any, given to the bourgeoise, the proletariat, the hoi polloi.

The Communists, on the other hand, indulge in no such costly programs calculated to dazzle and impress the populace.

We spend millions on the Voice of America to indoctrinate our allies, as well as attempting to sell Russia and Communist satellite countries on our program. Imagine what we would do about such radio programs if Russia beamed them at us.

We build million-dollar office buildings in impoverished lands, staff them with wellpaid American help; we take over huge hotels, even palaces, staff them with men paid more per day than the natives earn in a month. Does that win friends and influence people?

We tell the world we can loose an atom bomb here that, within 30 minutes, will level Moscow. Does that create goodwill, especially among the common people whose goodwill we need?

We have moved in on countless foreign lands, set up offices in luxury and splendor. Our overseas staffs have their families, a society of their own. Whatever mingling they do with the natives, is with the upper crust, not with the common people whose goodwill we need.

We have given billions to restore industry in foreign lands and have won friendship of doubtful quality from the industrialists. But have we included a proviso that the industrialists, over a reasonable period of time, should see to it that these billions should eventually be added to the meager pay of their employees, so the common people may benefit? If we have, there is no public knowledge of it.

We have, at the cost of millions of dollars. set up an "information" service in Europe, staffed by more than 10,000 well-paid Americans, living in luxury. That is more employees than the combined majority of our great American newspapers have.

We have given fat assignments to repudiated politicians, turned over millions of dollars to them to dump on foreign lands (as witness Harold Stassen of the FOA), solely on their judgment. Has it brought us goodwill, loyalty or support? Or has it served to increase suspicion, distrust, and fear? Has Stassen ever condescended to speak to, or mingle with the common people? Or has he appeared at the cocktail parties, the swank social affairs of the upper crust?

Far better that we send a skeleton staff to foreign lands, let them live with and under the conditions of the common people; hire local people, pay them what we pay our own employees and let them do the job of selling.

We never know. At the moment, military strategists are considering turning over 20 bombers to each of our allies, each of them capable of dropping an atom bomb. A good idea—provided of course—we have irrevocable assurance they will remain allies. Which, of course, no one is able to give, even in the nation regarded today as our strongest most dependable ally.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

staffed by more than 10,000 well-paid Americans, living in luxury. That is more em-

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

(Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)
TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

- 1. Arrangement of the daily Record.—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the Record with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.
- 2. Type and style.—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the Congressional Record, in 71/2-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 61/2-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. strictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.
- 3. Return of manuscript.—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.
- 4. Tabular matter.—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.
- 5. Proof furnished.—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. Notation of withheld remarks.—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr.—addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. Thirty-day limit.—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Appendix to daily Record.—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. Official reporters.—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. Estimate of cost .- No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. Illustrations.—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the Record should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the Record and shall be linecuted only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. Corrections.—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided further, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.
[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated] Speaker, Sam Rayburn
Abbitt. Watkins M., Va
Abernethy, Thos. G., Miss_6278 29th St. Adair, E. Ross, Ind3971 Langley Ct.,
Addonizio, Hugh J., N. J
Albert, Carl, Okla Alexander, Hugh Q., N. C
Alger, Bruce, TexAllen, John J., Jr., Calif
Alger, Bruce, Tex Allen, John J., Jr., Calif Allen, Leo E., IllUniversity Club Andersen, H. Carl, Minn4545 Conn. Ave.
Andrews, George W., Ala3108 Cathedral
Anfuso, Victor L., N. Y 4815 Dexter St. Ashley, Thomas L., Ohio
Ashmore, Robert I., S. C
Aspinall, Wayne N., Colo_Arlington Towers, Arlington, Va.
Auchincloss, James C., N. J. 113 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Avery, William H., Kans Ayres, William H., Ohio
Railey Cleveland M. W. Va.
Baker, Howard H., Tenn Baldwin, John F., Jr., Calif_ Barden, Graham A., N. C2737 Devonshire
Barrett, William A., Pa Bass, Perkins, N. H
Bass, Ross, Tenn
Bates, William H., Mass Baumhart, A. D., Jr., Ohio_ Beamer, John V., Ind110 Maryland
Recker, Frank J. N. Y 1727 Mass. Ave.
Belcher, Page, Okla
Bennett, Charles E., Fla1530 38th St. SE. Bennett, John B., Mich7304 Bradley Bivd.
Bethesda, Md. Bentley, Alvin M., Mich
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak
Bentley, Alvin M. Mich
Bentley, Alvin M. Mich
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich

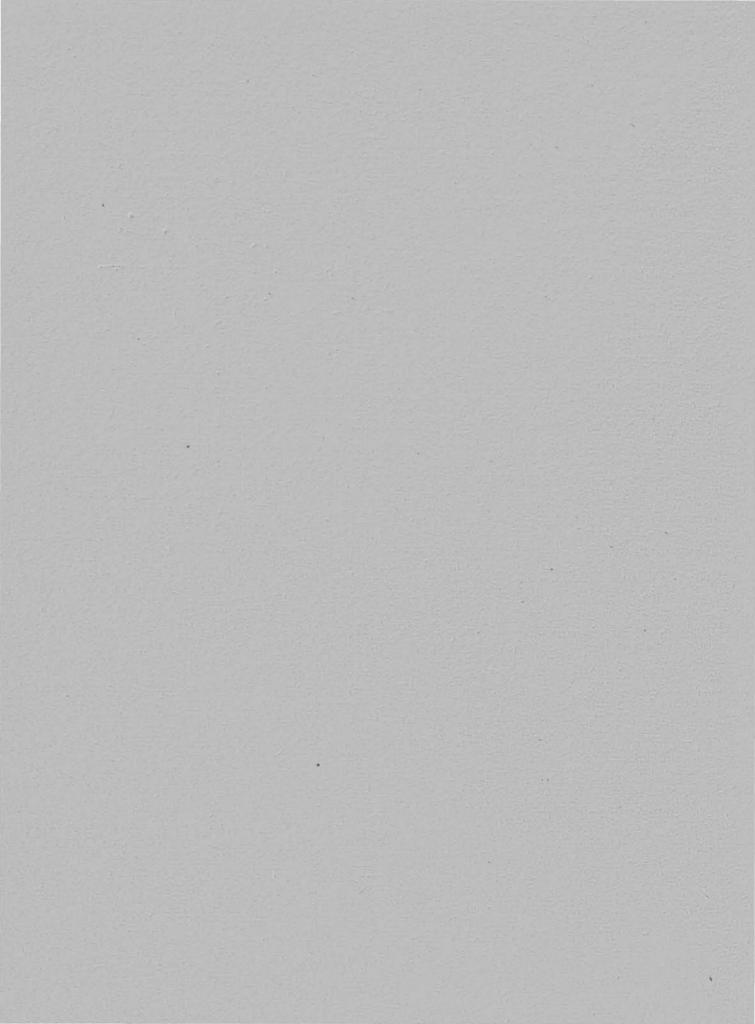
REPRESENTATIVES WITH

Chiperfield, Robert B., III1713 House Office
Christopher, George H.,
Mo. Chudoff, Earl, Pa Church, Marguerite Stitt, 2122 Mass. Ave.
Ill. Clark, Frank M., Pa Clevenger, Cliff, OhioThe Jefferson Cole, W. Sterling, N. Y1610 44th St. Colmer, William M., Miss Cooley, Harold D., N. CThe Dorchester
Coley Harold D. N. C. The Dorchester
Cooper, Jere, TennThe Washington
Corbett, Robert J., Pa Coudert, F. R., Jr., N. Y Cramer, William C., Fla454 Tindall St.
Cretella, Albert W., Conn
Crumpacker, Shepard J., Jr., Ind. Cunningham, Paul, Iowa
Curtis, Laurence, Mass3314 O St. Curtis, Thomas B., Mo
Dague, Paul B., Pa
Davis, Clifford, Tenn4611 Butter-
worth Pl. Davis, Glenn R., Wis2550 South Joyce,
Davis, James C., Ga
Dawson, William A., Utah
Deane, Charles B., N. C
Deane, Charles B., N. C Delaney, James J., N. Y Dempsey, John J., N. Mex_2500 Q St. Denton, Winfield K., Ind
Denton, Winfield K., Ind Derounian, Steven B., N. Y.
Devereux, James P. S., Md.
Dies, Martin, Tex Diggs, Charles C., Jr., Mich_The Congressional
Dingell, John D., Mich Dixon, Henry Aldous, Utah_
Dodd Thomas I Conn
Dollinger, Isidore, N. Y Dolliver, James I., Iowa3752 Jocelyn St. Dondero, George A., Mich. The Continental
Dondero, George A., Mich. The Continental
Donohue, Harold D., Mass_
Dorn, Francis E., N. Y
Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C
Donohue, Harold D., Mass_ Donovan, James G., N. Y Dorn, Francis E., N. Y Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex Doyle, Clyde, Calif3877 30th St. N., Arlington, Va.
Durham, Carl T., N. CThe Lee House
Eberharter, Herman P., Pa_3101 4th St. N., Arlington, Va. Edmondson, Ed, Okla
Elliott, Carl, Ala
Engle, Clair, Calif3840 Lorcom Lane
Evins. Joe L. Tenn5044 Klingle St.
Fallon, George H., Md Fascell, Dante B., Fla
Feighan, Michael A., Ohio. Fenton, Ivor D., Pa3725 Macomb St.
Fascell, Dante B., Fla
Fisher, O. C., TexCalvert-Woodley
Flood, Daniel J., PaThe Congressiona
Figarty, John E., R. I. 3627 Chesapeake
St. Forand, Aime J., R. I4108 Dresden St.,
Kensington, Md. Ford, Gerald R., Jr., Mich_514 Crown View
Dr., Alexandria, Va
Fourtain, L. H. N. C. 3251 O.St.
Forrester, E. L., Ga3251 Q St. Frazier, Jas. B., Jr., Tenn_Fairfax Hotel Freinghuysen, Peter, Jr., 3014 N St.
Friedel, Samuel N., Md
Fulton, James G., Pa Gamble, Ralph A., N. Y
Garmatz, Edward A., Md
Gathings, E. C., Ark6377 31st PL
Gathings, E. C., Ark6377 31st Pl. Gavin, Leon H., Pa Gentry, Brady, Tex George, Myron V., Kans3801 Rodman St.
George, Myron V., Kans3801 Rodman St. Gordon, Thomas S., Ill

Granahan, William T., Pa Grant, George M., Ala4801 Conn. Ave. Gray, Kenneth J., III Green, Edith, Oreg
Hagen, Harian, Calif
Arlington, Va. Harrison, Robert D., Nebr Harvey, Raiph, Ind110 Maryland Ave. NE. Hays, Brooks, Ark314 2d St. SE. Hays, Wayne L., OhioThe Woodner Hayworth, Don. Mich Hébert, F. Edward, La104 Cockrell St.,
Alexandria, Va. Henderson, John E., Ohio_125 Marthas Rd., Alexandria. Va.
Herlong, A. S., Jr., Fla
Hillings, Patrick J., Calif Hinshaw, Carl, Calif Hoeven, Charles B., Iowa2108 Suitland
Terrace SE. Hoffman, Clare E., Mich.—Methodist Bldg. Hoffman, Richard W., Ill.— Holifield, Chet, Calif.——Holmes, Hal, Wash.——Holt, Joe, Calif.——Holtzman, Lester, N. Y.——Hope, Clifford R., Kans.——3541 Brandywine St.
Horan, Walt, Wash Hosmer, Craig, Calif Hudleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md
Jackson, Donald L., Calif. James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. SE. Jarman, John, Okla. Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio. The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat, Va Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washing-
Jensen, Ben F., IowaThe Washing-
Johansen, August E., Mich. Johnson, Leroy, Calif630 North Caro-
Johansen, August E., Mich- Johnson, Leroy, Calif
Johansen, August E., Mich- Johnson, Leroy, Calif
Johansen, August E., Mich- Johnson, Leroy, Calif
Johansen, August E., Mich. Johnson, Leroy, Calif

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Laird, Melvin R., Wis	Diloher T.T. Ca	Tumulty, T. James, N. J
	Pilcher, J. L., Ga	
Landrum, Phil M., Ga	Pillion, John R., N. Y.	Udall, Stewart L., Ariz
Lane, Thomas J., Mass	Poage, W. R., Tex2309 Skyland	Utt, James B., Calif
Lanham, Henderson, Ga	Pl. SE.	
		Vanik, Charles A., Ohio
Lankford, Richard E., Md	Poff, Richard H., Va	Van Pelt, William K., Wis
Latham, Henry J., N. Y	Polk, James G., Ohio	Van Zandt, James E., PaThe Senate Courts
LeCompte, Karl M., Iowa_Sheraton-Park	Powell, Adam C., Jr., N. Y.	Vall Zallus, James E., I want to Soliate Courts
		Velde, Harold H., Ill
Lesinski, John, Jr., Mich	Preston, Prince H., Jr., Ga.	Vinson, Carl, Ga4 Primrose St.,
Lipscomb, Glenard P., Calif.	Price, Melvin, Ill	Chave Chase MA
	Delast I Daner Come Who Darkshine	Chevy Chase, Md.
Long, George S., La	Priest, J. Percy, TennThe Berkshire	Vorys, John M., Ohio2032 Belmont Rd.
Lovre, Harold O., S. Dak1605 Sherwood	Prouty, Winston L., Vt	Vursell, Charles W., IllThe Congres-
Road, Silver	Quigley, James M., Pa	sional
Spring, Md.		W-1
	Rabaut, Louis C., Mich	Wainwright, Stuyvesant,
McCarthy, Eugene J., Minn_419 Raymond St.,	Radwan, Edmund P., N. Y.	N. Y.
Chevy Chase, Md.	Rains, Albert, Ala	Walter, Francis E., Pa
McConnell, Samuel K., Jr.,	Ray, John H., N. Y	Watts, John C., Ky
		Weaver, Phil, Nebr9408 Crosby Rd.,
Pa.	Rayburn, Sam, Tex	
McCormack, John W., Mass. The Washington	Reece, B. Carroll, Tenn	Silver Spring, Md.
McCulloch, Wm. M., OhioWestchester Apts.	Reed, Chauncey W., Ill2009 Glen Ross	Westland, Jack, Wash
McDonough, G. L., Calif	Rd., Silver Spring,	Wharton, J. Ernest, N. Y.
McDowell, Harris B., Jr.,	Md.	Whitten, Jamie L., Miss5804 Nebraska
Del.	Reed, Daniel A., N. Y The Woodner	
		Ave.
McGregor, J. Harry, OhioThe Westchester	Rees, Edward H., Kans1801 16th St.	Wickersham, Victor, Okla
McIntire, Clifford G.,	Reuss, Henry S., Wis2750 32d St.	Widnall, William B., N. J
Maine	Rhodes, George M., Pa1809 Franklin	Wier, Roy W., Minn
McMillan, John L., S. C 1201 S. Barton St.,	St. NE.	Wigglesworth, R. B., Mass3257 N. St.
Arlington, Va.	Rhodes, John J., Ariz	Williams, Harrison, Jr.,
McVey, William E., Ill3130 Wisconsin	Richards, James P., S. C	N. J.
Ave.		
Ave.	Riehlman, R. Walter, N. Y.3210 Wis. Ave.	Williams, John Bell, Miss1001 26th Road S.,
Mandanald Manhant TT	Riley, John J., S. C.	Arlington, Va.
Macdonald, Torbert H.,	Rivers, L. Mendel, S. C	Williams, William R., N. Y_1241 Pa. Ave. SE.
Mass.		
	Roberts, Kenneth A., Ala. 4545 Conn. Ave.	Willis, Edwin E., La
Machrowicz, Thaddeus M., 812 Park Ave.,	Robeson, Edward J., Jr., Va_	Wilson, Earl, Ind
Mich. Falls Church, Va.		
	Robsion, John M., Jr., Ky_1500 Delafield Pl.	Wilson, Robert C. (Bob),
Mack, Peter F., Jr., Ill	Rodino, Peter W., Jr., N. J	Calif.
Mack, Russell V., Wash		
Madden, Ray J., Ind3250 T St. SE.	Rogers, Byron G., Colo	Winstead, Arthur, Miss
madden, ray o., ras	Rogers, Edith Nourse, Mass_The Shoreham	Withrow, Gardner R., Wis_
Magnuson, Don, Wash		
Mahon, George H., TexAlban Towers	Rogers, Paul G., Fla	Wolcott, Jesse P., Mich3707 Thornapple
	Rogers, Walter, Tex	St., Chevy Chase
Mailliard, William S., Calif.	Rooney, John J., N. Y.	
Marshall, Fred, Minn		Wolverton, Charles A., N. J_1336 HOB
	Roosevelt, James, Calif	Wright, Jim, Tex
Martin, Jos. W., Jr., MassThe Hay-Adams	Rutherford, J. T., Tex	
Mason, Noah M., IllThe Baronet		Yates, Sidney R., Ill
	Sadlak, Antoni N., Conn	Young, Clifton (Cliff), Nev_3202 So. Stafford
Matthews, D. R. (Billy),		
Fla.	St. George, Katharine, N.Y.	St., Arlington, Va.
Meader, George, Mich 3360 Tennyson St.	Saylor, John P., Pa	Younger, J. Arthur, Calif. 4545 Conn. Ave.
	Schenck, Paul F., Ohio3801 Conn. Ave.,	
Merrow, Chester E., N. H		Zablocki, Clement J., Wis
	Apt. 307	
Metcalf, Lee, Mont		Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y Delegates
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md.	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave.	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave.	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave.	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave.	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave.	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensing-	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Miller, A. L., Nebr2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensing- ton, Md.	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn.	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Miller, A. L., Nebr2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensing- ton, Md.	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St.	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensing- ton, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave.	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St.	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va.	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensing- ton, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave.	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634—B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio_ Mollohan, Robert H.,	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va.	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawait. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Cierk—Ralph R. Roberts.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensing- ton, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio_ Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va.	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio_ Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio_ Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill_ Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Short, Dewey, Mo	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio_ Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill_ Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Short, Dewey, Mo	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chapiain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D.,
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensing- ton, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio_ Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La4420 Dexter St.	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III_ Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Solden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Solehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Shufford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Solden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Solehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Shufford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chapiain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D.,
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio_ Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III_ Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shufrod, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave.	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chapiain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensing- ton, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio_ Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y Mumma, Walter M., Pa The Coronet	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shufrod, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave.	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III_ Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass. Ave.	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. Official Reporters of Debate Senate
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensing- ton, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio_ Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y Mumma, Walter M., Pa The Coronet	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shufrod, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chapiain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R. ——2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chapiain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St.	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio. The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chapiain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio. The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Sol, Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shufford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R. ——2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane. Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St.,
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Solden, Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shufford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fia Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill Siek, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va Sold W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chapiain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane, Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace, J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chapiain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane, Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace, J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill2100 Mass. Ave. Siek, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, KySheraton-Park Springer, William L., III Staggers, Harley O., W. Va	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R. 2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. Official Reporters of Debate SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane, Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill2100 Mass. Ave. Siek, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, KySheraton-Park Springer, William L., III Staggers, Harley O., W. Va	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Solden, Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sieminskl, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III Siek, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., III Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R. 2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chapiain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. Official Reporters of Debate SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane, Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinclotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R. 2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chapiain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. Official Reporters of Debate SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane, Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace, J. Chester Willong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinclotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R. 2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chapiain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. Official Reporters of Debate SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane, Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinclotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass. Ave. Siek, B. F., Calif Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., III Staggers, Harley O., W. Va_ Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R. 2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chapiain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. Official Reporters of Debate SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane, Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace, J. Chester Willong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinclotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave.
Metcalf, Lee, Monf	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass. Ave. Siek, B. F., Calif Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., III Staggers, Harley O., W. Va_ Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R. 2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chapiain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. Official Reporters of Debate Senate James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane, Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Willong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinclotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio. The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass. Ave. Siek, B. F., Calif Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., III Staggers, Harley O., W. Va_ Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R. 2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chapiain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. Official Reporters of Debate Senate James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane, Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Willong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinclotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave.
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio. The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Solation, Timothy P., III Shelpard, Harry R., Calif Shepard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shufford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, III2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sheraton-Park Springer, William L., III Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Tague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Olin E., Tex6015 Mass. Ave. Thomas, Albert, Tex2901 34th St. Thompson, Clark W., TexSheraton-Park	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Monf	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio. The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Monf	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Monf	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawait. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Parrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawait. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R



Appendix

Analysis of the Post Office Department, January 1953 Through December 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I take pleasure in inserting the following analysis of the Post Office Department, January 1953 through December 1954, which has been prepared by the citizens committee for the Hoover Report:

The original Hoover Commission's Report on the Post Office Department, submitted to the Congress on February 21, 1949, contained

two principal sections.

Under the heading "What Is Wrong With the Post Office?" the Commission listed eight major deficiencies. In a subsequent section, nine specific recommendations were made which were designed to correct those deficiencies. It is the purpose of this memorandum to show the extensive measures already taken to accomplish the objective of the Commission.

It is not possible to portray adequately the accomplishments of the Department solely by a numerical comparison with specific findings and recommendations. In every area definite progress is evident. In certain areas the Department has gone beyond the initial objectives indicated by the statements of the Commission. This is, in fact, illustrative of the determination of the present management to rehabilitate the postal service.

Prior to January 1953, several of the Commission's nine recommendations were acted

- A Deputy Postmaster General had been appointed as the operating head of the Department.
- An Advisory Board had been appointed to represent the different elements of the public in formulating postal policies and methods.
- 3. The 58 separate appropriations under which the Department operated had been consolidated into 6, and postal accounting responsibility had been returned by the General Accounting Office.

To those familiar with the Department, it was apparent, however, that the basic structure and tempo of the Postal Establishment had not been changed. The fundamental causes of its mounting deficits and deteriorating service had not been attacked. The question of "What Is Wrong With the Post Office?" posed by the Hoover Commission in 1949, was still being asked. The findings of the Commission in 1949 still applied as the new Postmaster General took office in January 1953.

- 1. The administrative structure was obsolete and overcentralized.
- 2. A maze of out-moded laws, regulations, and traditions stifled progress and proper administration

3. The Department lacked many of the essentials to good business operation.

 The postal rate structure had not kept pace with rising wages and other costs, and rate-making machinery was inadequate.

- The postal budget was used to hide subsidies wholly outside the Department's control or responsibility.
- 6. Political appointments and promotions produced inefficiency and militated against incentives to do a better lob.
- incentives to do a better job.
 7. Accounting methods were inadequate and did not produce timely control information useful to management.
- 8. The annual postal deficit had continued to increase each year, from \$263 million in 1947 to an estimated \$668 million for 1954.

The challenge had not been met. In 1953, however, it was met.

The Postmaster General became familiar with the report of the Hoover Commission and that of its post office task force, Robert Heller & Associates, and based his program on the letter and spirit of these reports. He also sought and found men in both private business and in Government qualified by experience to carry out this program.

As work progressed and the magnitude of the undertaking became more apparent, additional help was recruited. A nationally recognized firm of certified public accountants was retained to plan and assist in the modernization of the Department's financial and accounting policies and procedures. Other specialists were brought in to accelerate work on equipment development, records management, and job classification. Technicians were borrowed, without cost, from private industry to give temporary assistance in other specialized fields.

Rehabilitation of the postal establishment has gone forward, and can be best summarized in five broad areas: (1) Organization structure; (2) personnel relations; (3) finance and accounting; (4) operating regulations, practices, and equipment; (5) service to the public

The full record of accomplishment in each area is impressive and is made up of a large number of separate programs and projects. In certain instances the work is completed and the results are in. In others, work is still in progress and the long-range goals are not fully attained. In still others, the Department has developed and recommended programs of action and is seeking the required legislative support and approval.

The scope and degree of accomplishment are summarized as follows:

ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE

- 1. Reorganization of headquarters: (a) Duties and responsibilities of the several bureaus were regrouped to eliminate duplication, overlapping, unnecessary layers of supervision, and nonessential work.
- 2. Decentralization of management of postal operations:
- (a) A regional plan was developed to bring together and coordinate in the field the management functions already decentralized and those still carried on in Washington which could be better accomplished closer to the scene of action.
- (b) Ten of the fifteen regions projected are now in operation. The postal service will be fully regionalized by June 30, 1955.

(c) Plans have been developed to maintain, through the regional plan, management of the postal network in the event of a war emergency. This vital factor was not contemplated in the Hoover Commission recommendations of 1949.

PERSONNEL RELATIONS

1. Establishment of the new bureau of personnel: (a) This move, recommended by numerous commissions and committees over the years, was accomplished with congressional approval in 1953. This bureau has been the focal point for development of modern personnel policies and practices affecting over a half-million postal workers.

2. Development of an equitable system of employee compensation: (a) The Department has developed and recommended to the Congress a comprehensive plan for evaluating and classifying postal jobs as the basis for a modern and equitable schedule of salary ranges. It is anticipated that favorable action will be taken by the Congress

during its present session.

3. Inauguration of new and improved personnel practices: (a) Under the direction of the bureau of personnel, a number of improvements have been made. Competitive examinations have been introduced for postal workers seeking promotion to supervisory positions. Training programs have been developed to improve the productivity of postal workers. The Department's safety program has been expanded to reduce accidents and injuries and its suggestion system has been revitalized to encourage broader participation.

FINANCE AND ACCOUNTING

1. Establishment of the Postmaster General's reserve:

(a) A reserve account was established in 1953 to capture savings resulting from reorganization and improved procedures.

- (b) On June 30, 1954, this reserve showed a balance in excess of \$100 million representing funds appropriated but unspent. This amount was in addition to the voluntary reduction of \$74 million in appropriations made prior to the start of fiscal year 1954.
- Elimination of the burden of subsidies and free postal service:
- (a) Subsidies to the airlines, approximating \$80 million annually, were transferred in 1954 from the postal budget to that of the Civil Aeronautics Board.
- (b) Arrangements were made for reimbursing the Post Office Department for postal service performed for the Congress and for other departments of the Government, formerly provided without charge. Postal revenues were thus increased approximately \$35 million in fiscal year 1954.
- 3. Reorganization and modernization of budgeting and accounting:
- (a) The Department's budget was reorganized to conform with the organization structure as a means of clarifying management responsibility for expenditures.
- (b) The entire postal accounting system is being revised to provide for modern methods of recording transactions, timely and meaningful financial statements and control reports, availability of cost breakdowns, and adequate internal auditing procedures.
- 4. Development of a realistic schedule of postal rates and fees:

(a) Thorough and independent analysis of the causes of the postal deficit demon-strated the need and justification for additional revenues.

(b) Rates and fees under his jurisdiction were revised upward by the Postmaster Gen-This resulted in approximately \$23 eral. million of additional revenue in fiscal year

(c) A new schedule of rates for firstsecond-, and third-class mail, in line with past increases in postal wages and transportation costs, was proposed to the Congress, together with a plan for future rate revision by an independent commission. It is hoped that favorable action on these proposals will be taken during the present session.

5. Simplification of financial transactions: (a) Procedures relating to remitt_nce of cash receipts by postmasters, processing of money orders, and administration of postalsavings accounts have been revised to reduce costs and speed the accounting for funds.

OPERATING REGULATIONS, PRACTICES, AND EQUIPMENT

1 Elimination of unnecessary or obsolete procedures:

(a) Many traditional but unnecessarily burdensome regulations and practices have been modified or abolished. These include costly procedures in handling second-class metered mail, registered, insured, and c. o. d. mail, change-of-address notifications, and similar activities.

(b) Records retention policies were reviewed and revised with the result that 820 tons of records, receipts, and files have been destroyed or removed from Washington, thus freeing filing cabinets, manpower, and much valuable space formerly devoted to such files.

2. Revision and consolidation of postal manuals: (a) On December 1, 1954, a consolidated and revised manual of postal regulations was issued to employees and patrons. This was the first successful attempt in the Department's history to thus revise its regulations. It brought together in 1 manual of less than 300 pages the material formerly distributed throughout 4,000 pages of a number of publications.

3. Reorganization of the postal supply system: (a) Procedures and facilities used in procuring, storing, transporting, and controling post-office supplies, postage stamps, envelopes, and mail sacks have been examined and reorganized to reduce cost, minimize waste, and insure proper control of

4. Improvement in mail transportation: (a) Intensive research and experimentation in mail transportation has resulted in more economic use of rail transportation, extension of the use of short-haul trucks and buses, and transportation of regular firstclass mail by air on a trial basis.

5. Reorganization of real-estate manage-

- (a) Application of commercial and industrial real-estate practices has resulted in steadily decreasing the average cost of rented facilities and more efficient operation of Federal buildings managed by the Post Office Department.
- (b) New lease-purchase legislation will provide an opportunity to acquire improved postal facilities through a long-range program based on anticipated and planned
- 6. Development of work performance standards: (a) Standards of productivity 6. Development of applicable to mail sorting and handling operations have been installed in large post offices and terminals. Resulting comparative reports of efficiency have guided man-agement in the installation of training programs, methods studies, and other aids to supervision.
- 7. Development of new labor-saving equipment and methods: (a) Under the direction

of the new Industrial Engineering Department, an accelerated program of equipment development has made important advances. Bulk-mail handling and conveying equipment, stamp-vending machines, improved lighting, and similar innovations have been made in many locations. Especially designed light-weight vehicles are being tested on all types of city delivery routes. The first electronically controlled facing and canceling machine is undergoing service tests in the Washington post office. Voluntary separation of local and out-of-town mail by patrons has been successfully promoted in many large cities and has produced substantial

SERVICE TO THE PUBLIC

1. Elimination of outmoded fourth-class offices: (a) In rural areas of the country over 1,800 fourth-class offices have been replaced by extending rural delivery routes. who used to walk or drive several miles to a fourth-class office are now receiving mail service at their doors.

2. Establishment of Delayed Mail Unit; (a) Through the medium of 5,000 test mailins a week at large post offices handling 60 percent of the country's mail, the causes for delayed mail have been determined and steps taken to eliminate them. Delays thus recorded have been reduced so far by 36 percent.

3. Extension of carrier routes in growing communities: (a) Expanding suburban communities are receiving prompt consideration to assure adequate extensions of city delivery routes where warranted. Approximately \$11 million a year is now being spent for

this purpose.

4. Later window hours and mail collections: (a) Successful tests in several large cities showed the feasibility of extending post-office window hours and mail collections, usually with little or no additional expense. This program has been adopted in over 300 large cities and has resulted in earlier delivery of a substantial volume

5. Effect on service of other operational improvements: (a) Each change in operating policy has been considered as to its effect on both cost and service. Thus improve-ments in transportation methods, facilities, equipment, and procedures have all contributed to improved service.

It should be apparent that many important and lasting improvements in the organization and operation of the Post Office Department have been made in the past 2 years. The task has been great, however, and the tob is far from completed.

Some important projects will require many more months to complete. In such examples as regionalization, improved personnel practices, expansion of facilities, and development of new and modern equipment, the full result in terms of cost reduction may not be known for several years.

No matter how successful they may ultimately prove to be, these measures alone cannot hope to wipe out the postal deficit.

In fiscal year 1954 voluntary reductions in the bulget, transfer of subsidies, additional revenues from actions taken by the Postmaster General, and substantial additional havings succeeded in reducing the deficit from an anticipated \$668 million to an actual \$399 million. Unfortunately increases transportation rates recently granted by the Interstate Commerce Commission and proposed increases in rates of pay now before the Congress will almost offset these gains.

The understanding and support of postal employees, the Congress, and the public have contributed much to the success of the rehabilitation of the Department thus far. Their continuing support is vital to the completion of the job.

Yalta: Was It Worth It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Yalta: Was It Worth It?" published in the Washington Post of this morning.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

YALTA: WAS IT WORTH IT?

Publication of the Yalta papers reopens old wounds and opens a lot of new ones. The papers show no secret engagements whatsoever. Alger Hiss is revealed not as a "principal architect" of anything, but as a technician working among other techni-cians by the side of the American member of the Big Three. The main addition to what has long been known is a series of verbal indiscretions by the Yalta principals. The curious thing is that the historians who previously examined the papers showed more awareness of the national interest than did the Department of State

Have the disclosures eliminated the aura of treason which the "feudin' and the fightin'" in the party game has left hanging over the February 1945 parley in the Crimea? Not at all. The "I told you so" comments of sundry Republican figures with a vested interest in the "plot" at Yalta testify to no slate cleaning. That was inevitable. The commentators were precisely the same politicos who continued to yell in the hustings for the Wedemeyer Report on China long after that report had been published. It is doubtful whether they have even read the mountainous memoranda about Yalta for the publication of which they have been yammering.

Secretary Dulles on his departure for Canada acknowledged there would be no domestic healing as a result of the Yalta publication. He, of course, knew that before he decided upon the release. It is not in the nature of the political animal to swallow words and charges which have already yielded dividends in votes and which still could be made serviceable in "tickling the ears of the groundlings." Why, then, did he release this 500,000-word dossier to world attention at this critical moment?

The answer seems to be clear. He was acquitting himself of a GOP obligation incurred in the heat of the 1952 electioneering to pry open the State Department files so that the Yalta transaction could be bared to the public gaze. That is not all. Secretary Dulles did the job in his own peculiar way so as to fulfill the pledge and at the same time to appear not to injure our diplomatic standing with the world. Having run off heaven knows how many copies for the confidential information of all persons in any authority, he let nature take its course, and that course was bound to lead to a newspaper office. Secretary Dulles is not so naive as to have failed to envisage this eventuality.

Here, however is an instance of where the cake could not be had and eaten at the same time. Our diplomacy in the world has suffered a damaging blow. That is the prime mischief of the disclosures. It is a common courtesy that when parties engage in a negotiation, the consent of the parties concerned must be obtained prior to any publicity. Sir

Winston Churchill is reported as having withheld his consent-until it was virtually forced from him at the 11th hour. London is today rumbling with perturbation and even anger. It would be silly to expect that we shall be forgiven on the ground that publication was unavoidable because of a leak. What must we now face? The diplomacy of Britain-and, indeed, of other countries will now tend to keep its fingers crossed and a bridle on its tongue when it enters into conversation with ours. In other words, it will be inhibited in future relations with America. The loss to the confidence that should subsist between allies could be incal-

This does not mean that diplomatic undertakings of the momentous character of the Yalta Conference should be kept in darkness. Far from it. Wherever engagements are entered into, even if they are executive in nature and do not involve the treatymaking power, they should be made public. Furthermore, our Government should not bind itself beforehand to secret commitments. Covenants in our kind of world should be open; but we have now had enough experience since President Wilson's day to realize the disastrous consequences of arriving at those covenants openly, let alone of publishing all the memoranda of conversations without the common consent.

In respect of Yalta, it now turns out that the public had been acquainted with all the agreements which the Big Three made long before the half-million-word deluge broke over the world's head. In short, the publication itself—insofar as it was supposed to reveal a conspiracy—has proved a dud; but the effects of publication are proving explosive the world over. We may reflect today on what the ablest diplomat of the last generation, Jules Cambon, said on this general subject: "The day secrecy is abolished, negotiation of any kind will become impossible."

Slovak Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, on this day, I am anxious to extend my congratulations to the Slovak people upon the birthday of their free nation and also to compliment them for the heroic battle they are waging against ruthless communism.

The oppression of Slovakia follows more or less the same outlines which characterize the various oppressions against other free peoples perpetrated by the Soviet and its puppets. Every form of tyranny and brutality is practiced by the Reds to break down the resistance and insure the complete submission of the native populations. Persecution of organized religion is a cardinal point and unceasing activity of the Soviet campaign.

Although the Slovak people are in virtual slavery, their brutal masters have not been able to break their spirit or destroy their will to be free. These people are God-fearing and liberty-loving and they will never bow to the tyrants even though the yoke of subjugation is fastened tightly about their necks. They prefer torture and death to slavery.

I think it is appropriate for Members of Congress and leaders of American opinion to send them messages of encouragement on this day, which marks their national independence, and I am proud to salute this brave people and to assure them that our great American nation extends them sympathy, encouragement and sincere hopes for their early liberation.

In some way our kind words will be communicated to them and will break through the shadows of despair and grief to bring fresh inspiration and fresh resolve to continue the fight. With courage and tenacity, in time, they will be free.

The knowledge of our interest and willingness to help in every way we can will inestimably strengthen these unfortunate oppressed peoples to endure their sorry plight until deliverance is at hand. To all the Slovak people I humbly tender my most earnest hopes and prayers that they will persist in their unflinching devotion to democracy and self-determination and find early release from the shackles that bind them and be restored soon once again to the free way of life which they have so nobly chosen for their own.

Republican Politicians in Illinois Made \$163,000 Profit Off Surplus Food for School Lunches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include herewith a news story on profits made off surplus food for school lunches in Illinois, which appeared in this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald:

PROFITS ON SCHOOL LUNCHES CITED

Dunbar & Co. made a 13-percent profit on hauling surplus food for school lunches and institutions in Illinois, Vernon L. Nickell, State superintendent of public instruction, told congressional investigators, yesterday.

Testifying before a House Government Operations Subcommittee checking into reports of excessive charges by Dunbar, Nickell said:

of excessive charges by Dunbar, Nickell said:
"Just before leaving Springfield I called
the auditors working on Dunbar & Co. books.
They gave me the following information:

"Total revenue received by Dunbar * * * amounted to \$1,288,000 over a period of 27 months.

"The net profit from this operation during the 27 months, after payment of Federal income taxes, amounted to approximately \$168,000, or 13 percent of income."

Nickell apparently was referring to independent auditors who have been studying Dunbar's records. James W. Dunbar, head of the concern, had refused to permit Government auditors to examine his books.

Chairman L. H. FOUNTAIN, Democrat, of North Carolina, of the subcommittee has said an Agricultural Department survey indicated Dunbar & Co. made a 310-percent profit under a contract awarded by Nickell in 1952.

Dunbar, clerk of the Sangmon (III.) circuit court, is a reputed contributor to Nickell's political campaigns, Fountain said.

Secretary Benson Urged To Move Surplus Cotton Into Export Channels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, cotton farmers of the country facing a severe hardship of limited production are concerned about the lack of a concerted program to reduce the present cotton surplus.

At a time like this emergency action is needed in the overall interest of our economy.

As an expression of the views of many members of the House of Representatives from throughout the United States, a letter requesting early action has been submitted to Secretary of Agriculture Benson, signed by 129 Members of the House of Representatives. A similar letter was signed by 54 Senators.

Under unanimous consent, I include a copy of the letter:

House of Representatives, U.S., Committee on Agriculture, Washington, D.C., March 17, 1955.

Hon. EZRA TAPT BENSON,
Secretary, Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: We urge that you use existing authority under the Commodity Credit Corporation charter and other legislation to move accumulated stocks of cotton primarily into export channels.

This cotton could be sold with a minimum of disruption here at home and in world markets if a judicious job of merchandising is conducted.

As you know, other authorizations provide opportunities to barter such excess stock for supplemental reserves of strategic materials. We need these materials more than we need the cotton.

There is a need also for us to regain our fair share of the world market.

We share your concern for the fact that present cotton-acreage levels are about to ruin the economies in many of the cotton States. As you know, the income on cotton farms is far below the farm income averages in many other areas. Relief is greatly needed from the standpoint of our entire economy.

We jointly ask your personal attention to the situation which is of such consequence in cotton growing and manufacturing States.

Sincerely,

HAROLD D. COOLEY, JOHN W. McCor-MACK, JOHN L. McMILLAN, THOMAS G. ABERNETHY, E. C. GATHINGS, PAUL JONES, JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, JAMIE L. WHITTEN, WILBUR D. MILLS, ALBERT RAINS, A. S. HERLONG, JR., CARL T. DUR-HAM, NOBLE J. GREGORY, CLIFFORD DAVIS, HENDERSON LANHAM, ROSS BASS, JOHN J. FLYNT, JR., CARL VINSON, PHIL M. LANDRUM, CARL ELLIOTT, HERBERT C. BONNER, J. PERCY PRIEST, ED ED-MUNDSON, W. F. NORRELL, JOE L. EVINS, GEORGE W. ANDREWS III, OMAR BURLESON, W. R. HULL, JR., LEE MET-CALF, GRACIE PFOST, ARMISTEAD I. SEL-DEN, JR., MARTIN DIES, ROBERT T. ASH-MORE, FRED MARSHALL, MELVIN PRICE, CLIFFORD R. HOPE, B. F. SISK, STEED, GEORGE S. LONG, JOHN J. DEMP-SEY, FRANK W. BOYKIN, OTTO E. PASS-MAN, DON MAGNUSON, ROBERT C. BYRD, CLEVELAND M. BAILEY, ROY W. WIER, JAMES B. BOWLER, EDWIN E. WILLIS, JOHN JARMAN, JAMES P. RICHARDS, W. R. POAGE, JAMES POLK, JOHN C. WATTS, CARL ALBERT, HARLAN HAGEN, CLARK W. THOMPSON, FRANK E. SMITH, WILLIAM M. COLMER, JERE COOPER, GEORGE M. GRANT, O. C. FISHER, D. R. MATTHEWS, ARTHUR WINSTEAD, OREN HARRIS, OLIN E. TEAGUE, JAMES W. TRIMBLE, JAMES B. FRAZIER, JR., PORTER HARDY, HOMER THORNBERRY, ROBERT E. JONES, J. L. PILCHER, E. L. FORRESTER, WRIGHT PAT-MAN, PAUL BROWN, WALTER ROGERS, GRAHAM A. BARDEN, BRADY GENTRY, WILLIAM H. NATCHER, KENNETH A. ROB-ERTS, JAMES A. HALEY, JOHN DOWDY, LESTER JOHNSON, JIM WRIGHT, J. VAUGHAN GARY, FRANK IKARD, OVERTON BROOKS, JOE M. KILGORE, EDWARD J. ROBESON, JR., GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR., WATKINS M. ABBITT, PRINCE H. PRESTON, JR., CHARLES B. DEANE, PAT JENNINGS, James Roosevelt, CHET HOLIFIELD, JOHN J. ROONEY, JAMES H. MORRISON, H. R. GROSS, BROOKS HAYS, F. ERTEL CARLYLE, STEWART UDALL, WAYNE N. ASPINALL, PAUL G. ROGERS, JOHN A. BLATNIK, JOHN E. MOSS, JR., SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL, BYRON G. ROGERS, ABRAHAM J. MULTER, COYA KNUTSON, PAGE BELCHER, VICTOR L. ANFUSO, A. S. J. CARNAHAN, CHARLES E. BENNETT, T. JAMES TUMULTY, JOHN M. PHILLIPS, T. P. O'NEILL, JR., HAROLD O. LOVRE, EDWARD P. BOLAND, MYRON V. GEORGE, THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ, WILLIAM S. HILL, H. CARL ANDERSEN, BEN F. JENSEN, CLAIR ENGLE, T. A. THOMPSON, F. ED-WARD HÉBERT, J. T. RUTHERFORD, VICTOR WICKERSHAM, TOM MURRAY.

Strike on the L. & N., N. C. & St. L., and the Clinchfield Railroads

EKTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. T. C. Carroll, president of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, who is, by the way, himself an L. & N. employee on leave and an outstanding leader of labor, has recently made a very informative and very incisive speech here in Washington wherein he summarizes the issues at stake in this most serious strike. Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I desire to include the speech of Mr. Carroll given before a group of interested public officials here in Washington.

The speech follows:

REMARKS BY T. C. CARROLL, PRESIDENT, BROTHERHOOD OF MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYEES, AT WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 16, 1955, WITH RESPECT TO STRIKE ON THE L. & N., N. C. & St. L., AND THE CLINCHFIELD RALEOADS

Three railroads operating extensively in the Southeastern States are tied up by a strike of their nonoperating employees. This is apparently the most extensive strike of nonoperating employees that has occurred since the so-called shopmen's strike of 1922.

Naturally the people in the States affected are concerned about this interruption of transportation services in their communities.

Why has this happened? Why did not the procedures of the Railway Labor Act operate to bring about a settlement of the dispute before it eventuated in a strike? My experiences in this matter convince me that this far-reaching strike is a shocking reflection upon the way these railroads attempt to conduct their labor relations.

The nonoperating organizations on May 22, 1953, served notices, pursuant to section 6 of the Railway Labor Act, of proposed changes in agreements so as to provide a number of improvements in working conditions. We asked for better vacations, paid holidays, premium pay for work on Sundays, group life insurance, and hospital, surgical, and medical protection for the employees and their families to be paid for by the railroads and for liberalized pass privileges.

These requests were patiently progressed through all of the procedures of the Railway Labor Act, namely, conferences, mediation by the National Mediation Board, and finally, beginning in January of last year, extensive hearings before a Presidential Emergency Board appointed by President Eisenhower under section 10 of the Railway Labor Act.

The Board made its report and recommendations on May 15, 1954. What it recommended fell far short of what the organizations had requested and what they feit they were justly entitled to have. Thirty days after that Board made its recommendations the organizations were legally free to call a strike in support of their proposals on any of the railroads throughout the country on which the notices were served.

We did not do that. Instead, we sat down day after day through long and tedious negotiations to work out an agreement with conference committees representing the railroad companies and finally on August 21, 1954, an agreement was reached between the unions and committees of railroad managers putting into effect substantially what the President's Emergency Board had recommended.

However, the 3 railroads now involved in this strike, together with several other southeastern railroads, withdrew from the Southeastern Carriers' Conference Committee, about 10 days before the agreement was reached, any authority to make an agreement on their behalf with respect to a health and welfare plan.

What the Emergency Board had recommended with respect to health and welfare fell very far short of what the employees had requested. The employees had requested that the entire program—group life insur-ance and complete hospital, surgical and medical protection for employees and their families-be provided at the expense of the The Emergency Board recommended no group life insurance and no contribution by the carriers toward health and welfare protection for the families, but only that hospital, surgical and medical insurance be provided for the employees with half the cost being borne by the employees and the other half by the carriers. The unions agreed to such a plan only because the Board appointed by President Eisenhower had recommended that the dispute on that Issue be disposed of on that basis,

After the agreement of August 21, 1954, had been made with all the major railroads of the country settling the dispute not only with respect to health and welfare, but with respect to all the other items involved in the employees' proposals and with respect to rules changes that the carriers had demanded by way of counterproposals, the railroads now involved in the strike were offered the opportunity to settle on the same basis. Repeated efforts were made by the National Mediation Board and by the organizations to obtain a settlement on those terms.

Why is it that these railroads are unwilling to accept terms of settlement that are in effect on over 90 percent of the railroad mileage of this country. They make the pious pretense that they are unwilling to compel their employees to participate in a health and welfare plan, through a payroll.

deduction of \$3.40 per month without the individual authorization of each employee. This is a basic attack on collective bargaining as provided for by the Railway Labor Act It has been held numbers of times by the Supreme Court that the collective bargaining agent chosen by the majority of employees in a craft or class of employees has not only the exclusive authority but also the legal responsibility to represent everyone in the craft or class equally, fairly, and without discrimination. It has been held by the Supreme Court that under the Railway Labor Act only this collective bargaining representative has power to agree upon the rates of pay and the terms and conditions of employment. Individual agreements, even though expressly made between the individual and the carrier, are void. The act contemplates that all the conditions of employment will be fixed through collective bargaining agreements. It is through such agreements that rates of pay may be increased or decreased, that hours may be shortened or lengthened, that seniority rights are established and that any of the other many terms of the contract of employment are made. Yet these railroads are pretending that they need the individual consent of the employee in order to establish a health and welfare plan in which he participates.

The insurance plan that has been worked out on the other railroads pusuant to the August 21, 1954, agreement is based on 100 percent participation of all employees represented on all railroads to whom the agreement applies. The premium rates are predicated on that basis. If a minority were permitted to abstain from participation, their abstention would deny to the majority the opportunity to get the best plan for the least cost.

These are the reasons why the unions have insisted, so far as health and welfare is concerned, that there be 100 percent participation by the employees they represent. This does not mean, however, that they have insisted that the railroad companies make deductions from the wages of the employees. The original proposals of the unions sought payment of the entire cost by the railroads. They agreed on most of the railroads to a plan involving deductions from employee wages only because President Eisenhower's Board had recommended that Emergency they do this. They would still be very happy to have the companies pay the entire cost

So far as the railroads involved in the strike are concerned, it is clear under the Railway Labor Act that the unsettled dispute is that arising from the organizations' proposals of May 22, 1953, and the carrier counterproposals. With these railroads there has been no agreement upon any of the issues raised by the original proposals or the carrier counterproposals. The strike ballot was taken on these issues and the strike call makes it clear that those are the issues and that the strike has been called because the dispute over those issues in their entirety remains unsettled.

Nevertheless, these railroads involved in the strike have gone into the courts of Kentucky and Tennessee and have sought injunctions against a strike that the organizations have been legally free to call at any time since the elapse of 30 days after the report of the Emergency Board on May 15, 1954. The basis on which they have sought these injunctions is the false claim that the sole purpose of the strike is to coerce the carriers into making agreements providing for deductions from employees' wages for a health and welfare plan, and this, they say, violates the laws of the States. Obviously, even if this were the object of the strike, the strike would still be lawful. State law cannot deny to the representatives authorized by the Federal Railway Labor Act the authority to contract for such deductions. Under Federal law, which under our Constitution is the supreme law of the land, these organizations are the sole contracting agents for the employees and when they make a contract providing for those deduc-tions they have spoken for the employee and no State law can deny the validity of that agreement.

As a result of these injunction suits, the organizations now find themselves in the fantastic position of being accused of unlawfully seeking agreements to carrying out the recommendations of a Presidential Emergency Board.

But as I have said, the claim that the sole purpose of the strike is to compel participation of these carriers in a contributory health and welfare system is false. The strike involves all of the issues in the employees' original proposals and the carrier counterproposals. None of them have been settled. In the only courts that have granted the organizations a hearing on these injunction suits, these facts have been clearly established. In the Jefferson Circuit Court at Louisville, Ky., the L. & N. Railroad sought an injunction against the strike. The court refused to issue it without a hearing. suit was filed March 9 and the court set it down for hearing on March 10. It heard evidence in argument on March 10 and 11 and on March 11 rendered its opinion, fully discussing all the facts and the law, and denying the injunction. An appeal was immediately taken to the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, the highest court of the State, and the action of the circuit court was affirmed Saturday afternoon, March 12.

I regret to say that in Tennessee, however, both in Nashville and in Erwin, our courts issued restraining orders without hearing. These restraining orders did not define what was restrained. They are simple notations by the judge to issue the restraining order prayed for on the complaint of the railroad.

By this arbitrary process tremendous and irreparable harm might have been done to the railroad unions and the some twenty-four-thousand-odd employees whom they represent on the railroads involved in the strike.

Fortunately for the employees, however, the railroads were in a legal dilemma. In order to make even a plausible claim that there was anything unlawful about the strike, the railroads had to make the false claim that the threatened strike was for the purpose of coercing an agreement requiring de-duction from the pay of the employees. Since the claim of illegality is predicated on this false factual claim, it is only a strike for such a purpose that is restrained. Because the strike ballot and the strike call have made clear beyond doubt that the strike is for other purposes, the unions and the workers have processed with the strike notwithstanding the issuance of these restraining orders.

I am confident that if the courts of Tennesee had held hearings on the request for temporary restraining orders, even on short notice, as the Kentucky courts did, the restraining orders would not have been issued. What has happened here has illustrated again the vicious consequences of the use of injunctions to regulate labor relations.

I have said that this is the most extensive strike of nonoperating employees since the so-called shopmen's strike of more than 30 years ago. Many of you will recall that that strike was broken by the infamous Wilkerson injunction issued by a Federal judge at the request of the Attorney General. Although that injunction has been held up all through the years as the horrible example of what courts should not do, it operated to break the strike and initiated an era of company unionism and "yellow dog" contracts from which many crafts on many railroads did not recover until recent years. Because of this abuse of judicial power in the shopmen's strike and other

cases, Congress passed the Norris-LaGuardia Act depriving Federal courts of the power to issue injunctions in labor disputes except in very restricted circumstances involving clearly lawless strikes attended by violence which the police are unable to control and after showing that the employer has made every reasonable effort to dispose of the

dispute amicably.

A number of States passed similar laws with respect to their own courts but others did not The abuse of judicial power has continued in the courts in those States that do not restrict the power of their courts in injunctions in labor disputes. And under the impetus of the revived legalization of injunctions in labor disputes utilized in the Taft-Hartley Act, even the Federal courts and the courts in States having so-called little Norris-LaGuardia Acts have come more and more again to abuse their power and to throttle the legitimate exercise of

collective bargaining rights.

What has happened in Tennessee within the last few days is no isolated example of this abuse in the railroad industry. In 1951 Congress after thorough deliberation and after giving full consideration to issues of national policy, amended the Railway Labor Act to authorize union shop agreements. The same nonoperating organizations involved in the current strikes on the three railroads thereafter initiated a movement to secure union shop agreements. Their proposals in that respect too were progressed through all the procedures of the Railway Labor Act including recommendations of a Presidential Emergency Board. They made agreements with most railroads carrying out the recommendations of that Board. But suddenly, about 2 years ago, through obviously well organized, concerted, and well financed activities of interests hostile to organized labor in general and union shop agreements in particular, they were hit with a wave of injunction suits. Through temporary injunction and restraining orders the union shop movement was brought to a firm and abrupt standstill. Now, 2 years later, that litigation is still wending its weary way through the courts. Nothing short of a decision by the Supreme Court of the United States will again enable these railroad unions to resume pursuit of an objective that Congress expressly authorized them to pursue years ago-and no case has yet even reached the Supreme Court.

We have seen a repetition of this process with respect to the provisions for health and welfare contained in the agreement of August 21, 1954. Here again there is an apparently well organized, concerted, and well financed drive to stop the carrying out of the most comprehensive plan for hospital. surgical, and medical insurance that has ever been negotiated in this country. Although some 7 or 8 injunction suits have been filed. aside from the strike injunction suits I have already discussed, so far at least this drive has not succeeded in interfering with the operation of the plan. The courts have either refused to issue temporary restraining orders or temporary injunctions without notice, or where they have issued them, they have immediately vacated them after hear-

Nevertheless, what has happened and is happening in the railroad industry both with respect to the union shop and with respect the subject of health and welfare is a potent warning that we are witnessing a most dangerous revival of the abuse of judicial power in the handling of labor relations. The labor unions involved have shown great restraint in submitting to this abuse and have manifested a commendable respect for legal processes, even when abused. They cannot be expected to continue to do so indefinitely. We must take heed that if this abuse is not stopped the time is bound to come when respect for the processes of law

I mentioned that the courts of Tennessee have issued temporary restraining orders against the strike without giving our organizations an opportunity to be heard, but that because of the misrepresentations by the railroads involved these restraining orders prohibit the unions from striking to obtain agreements other than those they are seeking in their strike. Nevertheless, the courts that have issued these temporary restraining orders are still acting on the basis of the statements made by these railroads and have issued contempt citations against union officials for violating the restraining orders which prohibited them from engaging in conduct they have not engaged in.

This is the situation with which the railway labor organizations are now confronted on the three roads in question, the L. & N., the N. C. & St. L., and the Clinchfield Railroad. Developments in a strike are, of course, subject to change on a moment's notice, but the serious result of this flagrant disregard of due process by the L. & N. Railroad and its minions reemphasizes the need for serious reexamination of our processes with respect to labor disputes in the railroad industry.

Most Holy Trinity Church, Detroit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's observance of St. Patrick's Day had an extra significance for Most Holy Trinity Church located at Sixth and Porter Streets in the 13th Congresional District of Detroit, for the 100th anniversary of its edifice was celebrated. Few parishes in the United States have such a long colorful history in the service of the community and God Almighty. Many priests and sisters formly connected with the parish returned for the anniversary. Descendants of those who built the church returned from all parts of Detroit. They were greeted by Mexicans. Maltese. Chinese, and other newcomers-today's parishioners of the mother church of Detroit's Irish.

When Bishop Frederic Rese arrived here in 1833 to direct the newly established Detroit diocese, he received a petition from Irish Catholics for a parish and priest of their own. They were then attending St. Anne's Church, where sermons in English were preached for them.

Granting the request of the Irish here. Bishop Rese bought from the First Protestant Society its church, then located on Woodward Avenue between Larned and Congress. He had the frame building moved to Cadillac Square where now stands the Barlum Tower.

Before the building could be remodeled for Catholic services, the dreaded Asiatic cholera broke out and took a heavy toll. There were no hospitals or pesthouses. Bishop Rese ordered the proposed Holy Trinity Church turned into a temporary hospital and put it in charge of Father Martin Kundig. It was the first hospital in this part of the country.

After the plague had abated, on Trinity Sunday in 1835, the first church for the Irish of Detroit was dedicated. In lowing article from the Washington Post 1849 it was moved to Sixth and Porter in Corktown, the area bounded east and west by Third and Eighth Streets, and south and north by the river and Vernor Highway. In 1855 the early church was razed to make room for the present structure.

The new church cost \$30,000, a great sum for those days. When it was built Detroit had fewer than 25,000 inhabitants, there was no streetcar line, gas lighting was unknown, the eastern boundary of the city was Dequindre Street and the western limits were at Trumbull Avenue

In the old brick building, thousands of Detroiters, now prominent in civic and religious life, received baptism. Before its main altar hundreds of couples spoke their matrimonial vows and later moved into other parishes. Thousands of Detroiters received their religious and secular education in Holy Trinity Parochial School.

First pastor of Holy Trinity Parish was Father Bernard O'Cavanagh. In a short time he was succeeded by Father Kundig, who had charge a few months. One of the pastors of Old Trinity was the first priest ordained for this diocese, Father Lawrence Kilroy. Msgr. James Savage, known as the dean, served the parish 50 years, 10 years as assistant and 40 years as pastor. He died in 1927.

Successive pastors down through the years, including the present spiritual leader, Father Clement Kern, have been dedicated men whose conception of their responsibility encompassed all facets of community life. Under this conception by its leaders, parish members of Most Holy Trinity Church throughout the years have been principal factors in the growth and changing tone not only of our city of Detroit but, in the far-reaching effect of progressive community interest sensitive to the needs of humanity, they have heavily contributed to national welfare. America's position of world leadership, land of freedom and opportunity and riches, has been the attainment of such rightful conceptions of life and conscientious labors in making them a reality as represented in the efforts of the people of Most Holy Trinity.

It is fitting, therefore, that we here in the Congress of the United States, who recognize and appreciate the major role played by our great churches in fostering these ideals, in establishing these ideals as a bulwark in the struggle against godless international communism, pause and pay special tribute to the people of Most Holy Trinity Church of Detroit.

New Tariff Issue Puts Ike on Spot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the foland Times Herald of Wednesday, March 16, 1955:

> NEW TARIFF ISSUE PUTS IKE ON SPOT (By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

The Tariff Commission has sent to President Eisenhower a recommendation for higher tariffs, or possibly import quotas, on foreign bicycles, in the most explosive escapeclause case since the Swiss watch case last

The President must act on the recommendation, which is still not public, within 60 days of Monday, when the report of the Commission went to the White House.

Bicycles are a leading export of both England and Austria. Their volume is impor-tant, unlike many of the other escape-clause cases involving such items as briar pipes and clothespins.

Under the escape clause of the reciprocal trade agreements law, the Commission must recommend that a tariff lowered under the law be rated again if injury to domestic producers results. So far, out of more than 50 applications for relief, the Commission has found injury in only 15, and of those 15 Presidents Eisenhower and Truman rejected the recommendation in 10.

The present case takes on added importance because the President's decision may come just when the Senate is considering his reciprocal trade bill. Probably the major threat to the bill, which the President considers 1 of the 2 or 3 most important items in his program, is an amendment to remove most or all of his discretion in rejecting Tariff Commission recommendations.

Such an amendment, which raises a threat to all past tariff cuts negotiated in the 20 years of reciprocal trade, was rejected in the House by the narrow margin of 206-199. There is strong support for it in the Senate Finance Committee, which now has the bill before it.

If the President rejects the Commission recommendation, he will strengthen the hand of those in the Senate who want to remove his discretion. If he accepts it, then he will badly injure relations with both Britain and Austria and will raise the general question of which way American tariff pol-

icy is moving.
Should a tightening of the escape clause pass Congress, then the number of applications for relief can be expected to increase sharply. Recently the Commission has been approving a much greater portion of the applications, but President Eisenhower has rejected 8 of the 10 that have come before him.

Unemployment in West Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the House the timely statement presented by the very able Governor of West Virginia. William C. Marland, March 16, before the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Public Welfare, which is investigating the causes of unemployment at this

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that employment in West Virginia during the month of January 1955, marks the lowest level of employment reached in our State since January 1941. Governor Marland is to be complimented for recognizing this critical situation and presenting so ably the grave picture which faces West Virginia today.

The people are looking to the Congress for help in solving a problem that is beyond the limit of local resources. I invite your attention to Governor Marland's statement:

Mr. Chairman, I am William C. Marland, Governor of West Virginia. The barometer of prosperity is falling in West Virginia, and the ensuing storm of unemployment is posing a crisis surpassed only by the years of the past depression. Hardest hit have been the State's vast bituminous coalfields, but the devastation of unemployment has not stopped there. Already it has made many inroads into related industrial employment and has shaken the economic structure of our State.

Remedial measures are being taken by West Virginia. An industrial survey has been made to determine our future industrial potential. Efforts to attract more and diversified industry into the State have been intensified. Small new avenues of employment have been opened to relieve some of the growing pressure of unemployment. These measures largely pertain to the future prosperity of the State, however, and do not answer completely the present plight of West Virginia's unemployed,

During 8 of the 12 months of 1954, West Virginia had the highest ratio of insured unemployment to covered work force in the Na-The rate of insured unemployment reached a peak of 13 percent in May and averaged around 11 percent per month for 1954. At the end of May, 61,200 unemployed workers had applications on file with the State employment service offices, and averaged 52,500 applications on file per month for 1954. Estimated insured and noninsured unemployment rose to 70,000 at the peak in May and remained around 60,000 for the rest of the year. Unemployment turned up slightly in January this year, principally from seasonal factors, and is now estimated

The high level of unemployment resulting from the loss of employment opportunities in our State was augmented by the contraction of employment opportunities elsewhere. The number of workers who lost their jobs in other States and who filed claims for unemployment insurance in West Virginia more than doubled, increasing from 11,284 in 1953 to 25,921 in 1954. Migration has ceased to be a factor in alleviating our unemployment problem. Rather, the return of many of these former outmigrants has intensified our problem.

To further indicate the large amount of unemployment existing in West Virginia, 15 of the 16 labor market areas in the State are currently classified by the United States Bureau of Employment security as group IV since these areas either have substantial or very substantial unemployment. These labor market areas embrace 29 counties that have 75 percent of the population and 80 percent of the labor force of the State. The rate of unemployment is currently ranging from 6.7 percent of the labor force in the Wheeling-Steubenville metropolitan area to 22.3 percent in the Beckley labor market area. The median rate of unemployment for all of these areas is 13 percent.

The 26 counties, mostly rural, out of the 55 in the State which are not included in any labor market area, are also suffering because of inadequate employment opportunities. Farms in the State are, for the most part, too small to provide the farm family with satisfactory income. Many farm families, therefore, are necessarily dependent on some offfarm employment.

The trend of employment in West Virginia is not following that of the Nation. For example, when employment was rising 4.1 percent in 1952 and 2.8 percent in 1953 in the Nation, employment was declining 2.1 percent in 1952 and 2.6 percent in 1953 in our State. In 1954, employment was off 2.8 percent in the Nation, but employment in West Virginia was off a substantial 8.2 percent.

Nonfarm employment fell to 447,100 this January to the lowest January level since 1941. Employment this January was 93,400 or 17.3 percent below the January 1949 high of 540,500. Employment was off 33,600 or 7 percent from January a year ago. Over half (17,400) of the year's loss was in bituminous coal mining. West Virginia's manufacturing industries also suffered considerable work force retrenchment in 1954 with the decline amounting to 7,700 or 5.9 percent from January 1954 to January 1955. Cutbacks affected most major industry groups but were not severe in the durable goods groups of stone, clay, glass, and primary metals.

The 65,500 workers employed this January in the bituminous mining industry was only half the number employed in the industry in January 1948. Employment in coal was off 37,000 or 36 percent since January 1953 for an average monthly loss of 1,540 for this period of 24 months. In contrast to this steep rate of decline, the monthly loss was 458 for the period of 60 months from January 1948 to January 1953. In 1954, mining (traditionally the major industry of the State) for the first time fell below trade as the largest single nonfactory user of manpower.

The 25-percent drop in bituminous coal mining wages during the first 9 months of 1954 from the first 9 months of 1953 is most indicative of the distressed economic conditions in our coal-mining areas, mining payrolls were \$77 million less than the \$300 million payrolls for the first 9 months of 1953. Some of this lost purchasing power was sustained by unemployment compensation. During 1954, benefits paid to some 44,000 unemployed mineworkers amounted to \$17,894,487. This was 51.3 percent of all unemployment compensation benefit payments in 1954. However, 18,179 of the mineworkers or approximately 40 percent of those drawing benefits exhausted their benefits. A survey showed that 60 percent of those who exhausted their benefits had not been able to find work since drawing their last benefit check. The survey further showed that the majority of these workers who had exhausted their benefits had to depend on their relatives and surplus commodities for their subsistence.

In certain areas, the unemployment problem has been aggravated by the fact that glassware and pottery industries, which are concentrated in a relatively small number of citles, are suffering from the effects of foreign competition. Recently imports of glassware from Germany and Japan have increased in volume and threaten to cause further reductions in employment this year.

Average weekly hours in the pottery industry dropped from an already low of 34 hours in 1953 to 31.8 in 1954 for a loss of 2.2 hours. Average annual employment in the pottery industry was down from 6,800 in 1952 to 5,400 in 1954 for a loss of 1,400 or 20.4 percent. Since 1948, employment in pottery has declined 3,700 or 40.5 percent. Employment in glass products has likewise suffered, employment dropped from 15,300 in 1952 to 14,500 in 1954 for a 5.2 percent decline. Since 1948, employment in glass products has declined 3,200 or 18 percent. Wages paid in the pottery industry during the first 9 months of 1954 were 16.3 percent below the amount paid the first 9 months of 1953. Wages paid in the glass-products industry during the first 9 months of 1954 were 5.4 percent below the amount paid the first 9 months of 1955.

The seriousness of the unemployment problem in West Virginia can be illustrated by the fact that 107,568 individuals received one or more unemployment compensation payments during 1954. Benefits paid amounted to \$34,872,329 for 1,549,031 weeks of unemployment. This loss of manpower in unemployment is equivalent to 29,790 manyears. In addition to State unemployment compensation benefits, \$4,711,310 was paid to veterans under title IV of the VRA Act of 1952 to bring the total amount of benefits paid in 1954 to \$39,583,639.

To alleviate the unemployment problem in West Virginia, much can be done nationally. For example:

1. Encourage industry to locate in the State, particularly industry vital to the defense of the Nation since our geographic location is most favorable for such industries.

Open up Government plants which have been closed, such as the naval ordnance plant in South Charleston and rubber plant at Institute.

 Encourage expansion of those plants already in the State which are capable of producing defense materials by directing more governmental contracts into the State.

4. Make the operation of the Small Business Administration more flexible so that it can assist employers in obtaining contracts, and to make loans for expansion and working capital. The present system under which the Small Business Administration is operating is too limited to assist those employers who need assistance.

5. Eliminate those laws which permit residual oil to destroy the markets for coal and which permit the products of cheap foreign labor to undersell our products, such as glassware and pottery.

6. Further improvement of our natural resources, such as planned flood and watershed control.

These measures, if encouraged and initiated from a national level, will do much to calm the blowing storm of unemployment in West Virginia. Though not the complete answer to the unemployment problem, it will provide much of the needed time for projected State planning to become functional.

The General Accounting Office and the American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include therein an excellent speech by Mr. Ralph E. Casey, Associate General Counsel, General Accounting Office, at the national convention of the Propeller Club, 1954, on the subject of the General Accounting Office and the American Merchant Marine.

Mr. Casey's comments on the work of the General Accounting Office generally, and its connection with merchantmarine matters in particular, is most illuminating and informative as well as very ably presented. It is reassuring to all of us, I am sure, to realize that the important functions of the General Accounting Office of standing guard over the Public Treasury and checking the fiscal affairs of the Government are being so capably conducted. In addition, of course, it is a great source of pride for me to realize that my friend, Mr. Casey, whom I so greatly respect and admire, is making such a substantial and praiseworthy contribution

The speech follows:

THE GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE AND THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

(Remarks of Raiph E. Casey, Associate General Counsel, General Accounting Office, at the national convention of the Propeller Club, 1954)

I suppose that to many of you associated with the American merchant marine the General Accounting Office is known only as a place to stay away from. In reading the printed record of the proceedings at your last convention. I note one of the speakers said that some parts of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 should be clarified so that its objectives could not be frustrated and defeated by antagonistic agencies. It is not too difficult to guess the identity of at least one of the agencies to which he was referring. It is my fervent hope that I may be able to dispel some of the doubts and fears which you of the industry may have concerning the General Accounting Office by explaining some of the purposes and functions of our Office and its relationship to

the American merchant marine.

The General Accounting Office is an independent, nonpolitical agency in the legislative branch of the Government. It is headed by the Comptroller General of the United States who is appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate for a term of 15 years. He is not eligible for reappointment and may not be removed from office except by the Congress

Under the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921, the Office is responsible for auditing all public accounts, settling all claims by and against the Government, and for prescribing accounting requirements. The Comptroller General is also authorized to render decisions upon the request of department heads or disbursing officers as to the legality of a proposed expenditure of public funds. Finally, the Office is directed by law to investigate all matters relating to the receipt, disbursement, and application of public funds and to report to the Congress and its committees on fiscal matters. In addition to the general authority and direction to perform these functions insofar as concerns departments and agencies in the executive branch of the Government, the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 specifically directs that all financial transactions of the Maritime Board and Maritime Administration shall be audited in the GAO and that any departures by the Board from the provisions of the act shall be reported to the Congress by the Comptroller General.

These powers are broad; and the responsibility placed upon those of us who are called upon to exercise them is great. Naturally we strive always to be right—but I think I am safe in saying that if we erras we do, of course—we tend to err on the side of the public treasury. This is not as one-sided as it may sound because our decisions can be reversed in the courts by private individuals whose rights are affected and by the Congress upon the petition of department heads whose operations may be affected.

The history of the relationship between the General Accounting Office and the former Maritime Commission was an extremely unhappy one. For one thing, there was an ever-continuing disagreement as to jurisdiction. Then there was almost a feeling of resentment every time they were told they could not do, under the law, what they wanted to do. This situation, I am pleased to say, has entirely changed.

The change began under Admiral Cochrane as chairman though it received a setback with the final subsidy determination for the American Export vessels Independence and Constitution. Even there, however, the case was one where the trouble had started under the old Commission and the problems facing the board were tough ones to solve. But, under the relationship between the two agencies as it exists today, there is not, in my judgment, even a remote possibility of a recurrence of the extremely unfortunate situation which developed by reason of the old Commission's action on the construction subsidies for the United States Lines and American Export.

I do not wish to leave the impression that there never again will be areas of disagreement between our agencies. While the provisions of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 are, in my judgment, fundamentally sound, they are far from simple. There will always be problems arising under it and some of them involve situations which the Congress obviously never could have envisioned at the time of its enactment. The expenditure of millions of dollars may rest upon the construction of a single word or phrase. Every time the answer is "No," someone will be However, as former Comptroller General Lindsay Warren often said, "We in the General Accounting Office are in no popularity contest. Just be sure you have all the facts; do your best to decide the case the way Congress intended it to be decided; then let the chips fall where they may." wish to emphasize that so long as there continues to exist the present spirit of cooperation, the present respect for each other's views and responsibilities, and above all a proper regard for the fact that the Congress alone decides the extent of aid and support for the American merchant marine, the industry can expect and enjoy a sound administration of maritime laws and a willingness on the part of Congress to enact necessary legislation. As unfortunate as the past has been, let us hope it has taught lessons that will not soon be forgotten.

Let me relate a recent experience to show how GAO can help in the resolution of maritime problems. It seems that few people ever hear of these instances—and they happen almost daily—whereas the whole world seems to hear when we clamp down. The American President Lines expressed a desire sometime in 1953 to buy the steamships President Cleveland and President Wilson, two war-built vessels then under charter from the Government. After some negotiation with the staff of the Maritime Administration, a bill was drawn proposing to sell the vessels to the company for \$5,300,000 each. This bill was approved by the Maritime Administration and passed on to the Bureau of the Budget by the Secretary of Commerce.

As is customary with most bills, Budget requested the views of the Comptroller General before sending the proposal to Capitol Hill. I became convinced that the price fixed in the bill was too low and did not represent a fair return to the Government for the vessels. However, rather than return the bill to Budget, I made known my personal views informally to the American President Lines, to the staff of the Maritime Administration, and finally to the Administrator himself. I have a pretty good idea of what happened after my discussion with Mr. Rothschild.

At any rate, we sat down at a conference table, Maritime, GAO, and APL, and agreed upon a new price of \$6,500,000 for each vessel. Of course, it was not done quite as simply or as quickly as that, but the result was that the bill went through the congressional committees and became law without a whisper of opposition.

During the 83d Congress Public Law 574 was enacted authorizing a tanker trade-in and build program. It is my understanding

that the tanker industry has insisted that each transaction under this law be approved in advance by the Comptroller General, From our standpoint, that is not really necessary; but we are prepared to cooperate as the occasions arise. At the same time, we recognize that primary authority and responsibility for administering the maritime laws has been delegated by the Congress to the Federal Maritime Board and to the Maritime Administrator. We in the General Accounting Office have no thought or desire to usurp any part of that authority or share any part of that responsibility. We do have an obligation to the Congress (our boss, so to speak) to take action where administrative officials fail to administer the law properly. But in appraising the administration, it has always been our policy to resolve reasonable doubts in favor of the position taken by the agency itself.

Of course, experience has shown that the best way to work out these problems is to forget about jurisdiction and discuss the questions frankly and openly as they arise. For example, in connection with this tanker program, we have already had discussions as to the amount of the credit allowances for the old tankers, the treatment of speed as a national-defense feature, and many other facets. In the case of one company, we worked out an arrangement whereby two new tankers could be constructed now, with a third to be constructed later on, and yet permit the company to realize the advantages of a three-ship construction contract.

In conclusion, I believe that, though born of uncertainty and reared through turmoil, the existing relationship between the General Accounting Office and the Maritime Administration will help, rather than impede or restrain, the development of a strong privately owned American merchant marine. If there is any one thing that is more essential to the merchant marine today than anything else it is the creation in the public mind of a conviction that every financial transaction between the industry and the Federal Government is as clean as the driven That is the area where the GAO, as the agent of the Congress, stands to make its most valuable contribution.

Religion in American Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Record a Lenten message from our good Chaplain, the Reverend Dr. Bernard Braskamp. Recently I had the pleasure of having Dr. Braskamp as my guest on a radio program broadcast in my district. Dr. Braskamp commented on the subject of religion in American life, a subject to which millions of Americans today are giving renewed thought and meditation. With a view to making his views available to a wider audience, I include them herewith:

RELIGION IN AMERICAN LIFE

(A statement by the Reverend Dr. Bernard Braskamp, Chaplain of the House of Representatives)

I believe that a resurgence of faith in God, reverence for God's moral order, and obedience to God's will would be the noblest victory in the annals of American history,

for our national greatness cannot survive if we allow it to become eclipsed by a decline in spiritual idealism.

Materialism, as a philosophy, has well nigh run its course, but as a habit and way of life it still seems to have a very strong hold on many. The dream of an economic Garden of Eden is a very old one and there are those who feel that all that mankind needs is an abundance of food and drink and clothing and then all will be well. To be sure these are among the necessities of life and everything should be done to improve mankind's temporal conditions.

Man, however, is too great to be content with these, for man cannot live by bread alone. What we need to do is to help America cultivate the religious sentiment with the lofty idealisms, for then only can our Nation make a distinct contribution to the wealth of human aspirations and achievements and fulfill its responsibility for the welfare and happiness of all mankind.

It seems to me that the logic of the American way of life and the religious spirit of our Republic find their noblest expression when as citizens we seek to blend a virile and wholesome type of materialism with a noble and lofty idealism.

Our national spirit, at its best, embraces this dual aspect and these two must always be kept in close and cordial agreement so that our materialism shall incarnate our idealism and the great spiritual realities and sentiments shall pervade and permeate our materialism.

I believe that one of the most encouraging and hopeful signs of our time is just this, that there is a new feeling of God-consciousness among our leaders in public life. I frequently talk with the men in Congress about the place of religion in our national life and I find them very responsive and ready to admit that our national problems cannot be solved on a purely economic basis and that God must be brought into the picture. We are beginning to see that the weakness of our plans and programs for a finer social order has been just this, that we are working on the stupid assumption that an abundance of material things for struggling humanity is the universal cureall.

The manmade economic order needs to be coordinated with the God-made moral and spiritual order; otherwise there will be chaos and confusion, damnation and doom. Let no one say that the principles of Christianity have falled. The truth of the matter is that neither as a nation or as individuals have we ever given them an honest-to-goodness trial.

The time has come to put first things first. This is what Jesus said, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you." Roger Babson said many years ago, "The solution of the labor problem is wholly a question of religion." A leading commercial journal has said, "Above all else this country needs a nationwide revival of old-fashioned prayer-meeting religion."

Delays in Reaching the Goals of Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, from lawyers in Chicago I have been receiving enthusiastic comments on the address to the Chicago chapter of the able Bolitha J. Laws, chief judge of the United States district court for the District of Columbia.

The Chicago chapter of the Federal Bar Association prides itself on the quality of the speakers at its gatherings. It is interesting to recall in this connection that the first public address in Chicago of former President Harry Truman was made at an annual banquet of the Chicago chapter of the Federal Bar Association, my son and namesake at that time being the president of the chapter. and the present Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, the Honorable Thomas Clark, the national president of the Federal Bar Association.

Former President Truman was the Senator from the State of Missouri, the chairman of a committee that had aroused wide public interest. The Honorable Edward J. Kelly then was mayor of Chicago. The visit of Senator Truman to Chicago to make his first public address in that city as the guest speaker of the Chicago chapter of the Federal Bar Association brought Senator Truman and Mayor Kelly again into association. This circumstance may have been a contributing factor to historic events quickly to follow. In any event, Mayor Kelly not long afterward was a a vital factor in swinging the vice presidential nomination to Mr. Truman. That nomination eventually led to the Presidency and the brilliant era of Truman's administration of the high office of the Chief Executive. It was President Truman who placed Associate Justice Clark first in the office of the Attorney General of the United States and then on the Supreme Court.

The theme of Judge Laws' address was a trend which he thinks presents a serious threat not only to the cause of justice but to the very existence of the courts themselves. This is the trend to long-drawn-out trials both in courts of law and before administrative agencies and tribunals. He directed attention to

a few typical cases: First. Within the past 5 years a suit in the Boston United States court included 4,600 exhibits one of them containing over 1,000 pages. Objections were filed on 2,000 of the exhibits and the hearings then took months, lengthening the trial case to well over a year.

Second. The New York Medina case took more than 2 years and although Judge Laws forgot the number of exhibits he recalled \$1 million was spent to transcribe the records alone.

Third. In the District of Columbia a case required approximately 31/2 months to hear a motion to dismiss. There were 976 exhibits and 3 judges studied the motion for over a year. The Supreme Court reversed the decision.

Fourth. A case in the District of Columbia in which Judge Laws had a part contained thousands of exhibits in the preliminary stages. Judge Laws understands that the exhibits at the trial may reach between five and ten thousand and the lawyers estimate the actual trial will last from 10 months to a year.

Fifth. In the district court for the District of Columbia if all long cases now

Federal Bar Association of the Honor- on the calendar were tried promptly it would occupy no less than full time for four judges for a year.

Sixth. In studying the calendar in Chicago several months ago a judge told Judge Laws that there were approximately 85 lengthy trials scheduled most of which were antitrust. If all of these were tried it would take the time of 6 judges for 47 months to try them.

Some criminal trials cited:

First. The Bridges case took over 82 trial days and ultimately over 4 months. Second. Communist cases-Foster, et al.-took 35 trial days, over 2 months, and time used in selecting jury requiring 105 trial days-over 5 months.

Third. A sedition case in the District of Columbia took over 108 days for trial-61/2 months-and then the judge The prosecution case was not closed.

Fourth. The Judith Coplon case in the District of Columbia was estimated to take a week but took 48 days-21/2 months. The New York trial took 50 days for motions, 30 days for trial, a total of over 4 months.

It is a waste of time, expense, and effort. Judge Laws said-

Many times as I have gone through tedious trials I have thought of the words of the great Teacher: "Use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do; for they think they will be heard for their much speaking." I think of the Lord's Prayer, a petition of man to his Creator for guidance; a prayer of 66 words. I also think of our amazing Constitution, with its amendments. This instrument has withstood assaults of more than 160 years of crises, through war and peace, prosperity and This mighty document, simple, depression. concise, definite, with reading time of 18 brief minutes.

We of the law today must combine to find a way to the goal of justice that is shorter, less expensive, and simpler.

Juvenile Delinguency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald.

Juvenile delinquency has been described as a sort of bone that the reformers chew on when other issues grow stale. Nevertheless it has its serious aspects and can undoubtedly breed vice and crime in any community with certainty comparable only with death and taxes. It appears that the District of Columbia is no exception to the rule.

When many of us came to Washington we anticipated a sort of model city but our hopes may have been dashed before we even reached the Capitol Building by the absence of arterial highways, parking facilities, and of congested traffic conditions in general. Further observation convinced us that the responsibility for these conditions does not rest with the city fathers who number some of the most capable men in the country in their particular fields. They have done a remarkable job with the tools at hand, handicapped as they are by congressional and diplomatic immunity and a liberal sprinkling of codfish aristocracy, influential and otherwise. It is not likely that the Nation's Capital will soon be able to rid itself of these hazards to the path of progress.

There is no immunity however, from the neglect of Washington's youthful offenders nor from the circumstances that lead up to their classification as such in the first place. Our schools and our churches are undoubtedly doing the best they can under the circumstances and deserve much credit, but the fact remains that the foundation of good citizenship must be laid in the home. This is where the juvenile court and the social worker do their most effective work. They spend most of their time with preventative measures and punishment is incidental

I was astounded to learn that Washington's juvenile court is presided over by a single judge and the magnitude of her duties and the responsibilities of her office are difficult for a layman to comprehend. I commend the following article from this morning's local paper for the study and serious consideration of my colleagues who may be justly concerned over the problem of juvenile delinquency and its influence on the community's crime and immorality:

TWO MENTALLY ILL BOYS KEPT 3 MONTHS IN RECEIVING HOME FOR SAPEKEEPING

Two mentally ill 10-year-old boys have spent almost 3 months at the Receiving Home awaiting placement in another District institution which also lacks facilities to care for them.

One was found to be too emotionally and materially deprived to respond to out-patient mental health services offered to him prior to court commitment to the Welfare Department.

The other goes beserk, couldn't be restrained in school, once tried to attack a police officer with a paring knife.

Yet these boys are slated for placement at Junior Village, an institution for homeless, neglected children. When and if a bed becomes vacant at Junior Village they will go there simply because the District has not a single residential treatment center for them.

One of the boys has been held at the Receiving Home by the Welfare Department for 81 days. This will be the longest stay of any child in the institution after today, when a District court hearing is scheduled on the commitment of a feebleminded teen-age mother to the District Training School.

A bed finally became available for her at the school, so she will be able to vacate the bed she has slept in for 165 days at the Receiving Home.

The boy, who has been at the home for 81 days, was committed on a dependency complaint because his mother did not understand the degree of his disturbance and emotional limitations. Police found him riding streetcars late at night.

He received treatment at Freedmen's Hospital but the institution was unable to continue to help him. The Welfare Department placed him in the Merriweather Home for Children but they were unable to cope with

The Welfare Department asks: "What other institution does the District provide for this boy?"

I Speak for Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BRENT SPENCE

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following speech given by Miss Beverly Kunkel, a senior at the Simon Kenton High School, Independence, Ky., which won first place in the I Speak for Democracy contest in Kenton County, Ky .:

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY (By Beverly Kunkel)

"Democracy." What does that word mean to you and your friends? Yes; even to your foe and to me?

Democracy may be understood as an abstract concept, namely, power of the people. It immediately adverts to idealism in a broad sense and it signifies the what-is-itness of American freedom and pursuit of hanniness

American democracy affects the individual to accept or reject freedoms of religion,

thought, race, press, and felicity.
Since this kind of abstract conception influences the American way of living, we wholeheartedly enjoy its basic principles.

To me the greatest freedom in the world is the freedom to worship God; when, where, and in the manner I choose. Only through God can any man achieve what he really wants. If it had not been for their abiding faith in God, our ancestors could never have withstood the trials and perils of the wilderness; therefore, you and I would not be living in this democracy of modern conveniences today.

If the framers of our Constitution could visit us today, they might wonder how the Constitution had survived at all. They could hardly have foreseen that their weak, little Nation of 4 million people on about a mil-lion square miles of territory would become one of the world's greatest powers. Nor could they have guessed how the commerce, industry, and science which they had en-couraged would change the Nation's ways of living and thinking. Nor how the change would necessitate innumerable laws of as-sistance and regulations to keep our complex civilization balanced and healthy even in ordinary times.

Our Constitution had drawn the States together into a Nation and at the same time preserved and extended the spirit of de-

mocracy through the years.

I think our forefathers would find civil liberties better observed today. They would find that the United States for all its upheavals is still a Government of laws made by free people.

This would please our forefathers because they did their best to guard the Nation from

the tyranny of dictatorship.

To me it is a priceless privilege to be able to discuss with others, the problems, plans, and our already established great traditions which have laid the foundation for our democracy.

The right to learn facts is a basic right

in democracy.
In order to keep democracy alive it should live in the hearts of the 160 million free people in America.

As we realize our blessings under our Constitution, we will agree, I am sure, on these points-that is, beware of how you allow any man or group of men to lay their hands upon the great instrument-democracy. Do not let it be torn down-for if you do all the great advance in freedom which it represents will perish and we shall return to primitive forms of government which in ancient and in modern times as well have oscillated between anarchy and despotism, with at best, only brief intermissions of true and ordered liberty. In order to preserve our great democracy we must always exercise our freedom and duty to vote.

After observing the facts of almost two centuries one may therefore say of the American democracy that it has contracted public debt with moderation; paid it with unexampled promptness; acquired as good a public credit as the world has ever known; made private property secure; and shown no tendency to attach riches or to subsidize poverty, or in either direction to violate the fundamental principle of democracy—that all men are equal before the law.

We, the Americans of today, must never

forget that we are the inheritors and guardians of our democracy.

It is my humble prayer that I may, in my small way, help to keep America a great democracy.

A Tribute to the Late Senator Maybank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, JOHN J. RILEY

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. RILEY. Mr. Speaker, early on the morning of September 1, 1954, I turned on my radio to get the headline news which is given at that time. I was shocked and distressed to hear that my distinguished senior Senator and beloved friend, Burnet Maybank, had passed away during the night. I felt very deeply that my State and Nation had suffered one of its heaviest losses in years, in the passing of this very able and distinguished representative in the prime of his life. I felt very deeply, too, the great personal loss which had come to me.

While Senator Maybank had been active in the political life of my State and in the leadership of the Democratic Party in South Carolina, I did not know him intimately until I came to Congress during the dark days of World War II. Senator Maybank was even then a leader in the United States Senate, although he had been a Member of that great body less than a term at that time. He was most cooperative in assisting me with matters that came before me and most generous in the giving of his time and counsel in matters in which we were jointly interested. I learned to know him well, and he and I became fast friends working together on legislation affecting our State. We had many joint problems since I had the honor of serving on the Banking and Currency Committee in the House and later on the Appropriations Committee in the House, while Senator Maybank was chairman of the great Banking and Currency Committee in the Senate and served on the Appropriations Committee in the Senate. I can say, with all sincerity, that Senator Maybank gave, without reservation, of his great ability and unbounded energy in the service of

his State and Nation. I firmly believe that his life was shortened through his extremely conscientious efforts to cope with the many problems of his responsible position. Beyond a doubt, he was one of the ablest and most influential representatives from South Carolina to serve in the national Congress.

He had a rich background of culture, splendid educational advantages, rare ability, and a personality that won him friends, not only among his Democratic colleagues, but among those who served on the Republican side. He had the confidence of all of his associates.

He had the confidence and esteem of the people of South Carolina, for he had filled with distinction the many responsible assignments which the citizens of his home city of Charleston and his beloved State had given him. The affection, confidence, and esteem in which he was held is attested by the fact that he was never defeated for any office for which he offered, and by the fact that in his last race for reelection as United States Senator he was unopposed, a tribute accorded to no other candidate for the national Senate by the people of the Palmetto State.

He loved his family, and nothing gave him greater pleasure than to have his friends visit with him and his family. My deepest sympathy goes to these loved ones of his. They have suffered an irreparable loss, but they have the great heritage of a noble husband and father to comfort them in the passing of this true southern gentleman and outstanding statesman. Those of us who are left can but try to emulate the high ideals and principles which guided the life of Burnet Rhett Maybank.

Sale of Surplus Commodities for Foreign Currencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I include the following letter from the Associated Students of the University of California at Los Angeles relative to the authorization of the sale of surplus commodities for foreign currencies. It is stimulating to find the young people of this country coming up with such ideas. I sincerely hope my colleagues will take the time to read this letter:

ASSOCIATED STUDENTS. UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES, Los Angeles, Calif., March 7, 1955. The Honorable James Roosevelt, House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C. DEAR REPRESENTATIVE ROOSEVELT: Last fall the President authorized the sale of surplus commodities for foreign currencies. This program resulted in the accumulation of a large sum of money abroad that cannot be

utilized at the present time. I would like to

suggest a plan that was drawn up by a group of UCLA students to put those moneys to use; meanwhile, aiding the American world-

partnership idea.

The UCLA plan calls for the setting aside of a portion of these currencies to finance research groups and field teams of American and foreign college students to compile data in regard to:

1. Opportunities for private investment in

underdeveloped areas.

Extent of need for economic and sociological development necessary for a stable economy.

3. Ability of ERP recipients to contribute

to this program.

The students who discussed this plan feel that the assignment of the field teams would be to travel in underdeveloped areas investigating resources and methods of development, and to make recommendations for educational, health, and administrative improvements. The research units in the United States and the field teams in the foreign countries will work in close liaison with foreign universities and the United States technical-assistance organizations. These studies, evaluated, could be made available to Government agencies, educational institutions, and business organizations for implementation.

The student legislative council of UCLA would appreciate your evaluation of this plan and opinion as to whether it would be possible to secure funds to implement this program. Please inform us of the outcome of your judgment at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

GEOFFREY STORMSON, Research Group Chairman,

St. Patrick's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN LESINSKI, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker—

We invoke holy Patrick, Ireland's chief apostle. Glorious is his wondrous name, a flame that

baptized heathen;

He warned against hard-hearted wizards. He thrust down the proud with the help of our Lord of fair Heaven.

He purified Ireland's meadow-lands, a mighty

We pray to Patrick chief apostle; his judgment hath delivered us in doom from the malevolence of dark devils.

God be with us, together with the prayer of Patrick, chief apostle.

So prayed Ninine, Irish poet of the eighth century or earlier, and so we pray There is a green-and-gold glory today. about the world today, the sunshine on the grass reminding us of the dearly loved flag of ancient Ireland—the golden harp on a green field. All the year round we love the Irish, but this is the day we stand up and tell them so. This is the day when Irish song and Irish poetry mingle with flights of impassioned prose by orators of every race, all over the world. Everyone who feels the springs of courage in him, or claims to have a sense of humor, feels that he has a bit of the Irish in his blood.

All our hearts re-echo today to the music of these lines of William Drennan:
When Eire first rose from the dark-swelling flood,

God blessed the green island, and saw it was good;

The emerald of Europe, it sparkled and shone.

In the ring of the world, the most precious

In the ring of the world, the most precious stone.

In her sun, in her soil, in her station thrice blest,

With her back towards Britain, her face to the west, Eire stands proudly insular, on her steep

shore,

And strikes her high harp 'mid the ocean's deep roar.

All over the length and breadth of America people are wearing green—a shamrock, a green necktie, green suits and dresses. I have little doubt that some, in their unrestrained enthusiasm, are leaping this minute into vats of green dye. More power to them. May they live into a green old age.

We of Polish ancestry, you know, have a special feeling of kinship with the Irish. Poland, like Ireland, has a tragic and glorious history of bravery, of war and betrayal, of glorious victories and devastating defeats. But they are alike most of all in the courage that holds on to national identity and patriotism, through years and centuries of foreign rule; and in the faith that no promise of reward or threat of punishment can shake. It is out of defeat that we, Polish and Irish and American, draw our most glorious memories. Warsaw in World War II, with its history of oppression and murder, climaxed by the betrayal of General Bor and his gallant band of partisans, is a name to go down in history with Drogheda, of Cromwell's invasion of Ireland, and with the Alamo. But this background of gallantry and stalwart faith has a sadness about it that is foreign to the enjoyment of this day. Let us think, rather, of the double symbolism of the color green-the color of Ireland and the color of hope. Ireland, under the patronage of St. Patrick, won through to its independent place in the family of nations, after centuries of suffering and hoping, and to the unhampered exercise of the Catholic religion. May the green of hope and of St. Patrick carry today to every Polish heart assurance that Poland, too, will attain freedom and independence.

Today, though, the first thought of every Pole, and of every American, goes out to Ireland, whose sons are brave, whose daughters beautiful. Our hearts dance to the lilt of Irish melody and verse, until we half feel our own fathers and mothers must have been Irish, and we can read, with a feeling almost of nostalgia, lines like these of Father Charles L. O'Donnell:

A ROAD OF IRELAND

From Killybegs to Ardara is seven Irish miles,
"Tis there the blackbirds whistle and the
mating cuckoos call,

Beyond the fields the green sea glints, above the heaven smiles

On all the white boreens that thread the glens of Donegal.

Along the roads what feet have passed, could they but tell the story,

Of ancient king and saint and bard, the roads have known them all;

Lough Dergh, Doon Well, Glen Columcille, the names are yet a glory,

Tis great ghosts in the gloaming remember Donegal,

The harbor ships of Killybegs glistened with Spanish sail

The days Spain ventured round the world and held the half in thrall,

And Ardara has writ her name in the proud books of the Gael,

Though sleep has fallen on them now in dreaming Donegal.

Well, time will have its fling with dust, it is the changeless law,

But this I like to think of whatever may befall:

When she came up from Killybegs and he from Ardara,

My father met my mother on the road, in Donegal.

Report on Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the Right Reverend Monsignor William E. North, Ph. D., editor of the Los Angeles Tidings has reviewed the findings of Mr. Hearst, editor in chief of the Hearst publications, on his recent visit to Russia. Mr. Hearst's comprehensive observation of the Russian people, and especially the leaders of the Politboro, at a time when internal difficulties were at fever heat with the disposing of Malenkov and the seating of Bulganin as the head of the Soviet Union makes this review especially interesting.

I am including the following editorial by Father North as part of my remarks: REPORT ON RUSSIA

There will be some kind of prize, Pulitzer or otherwise, for the remarkable series of articles on Russia, written by the newly appointed editor in chief of the Hearst publications. To be in Russia not only at an acute stage in East-West relations but at a crucial time of internal upheaval is one of those fortuitous circumstances that happen rarely in the field of journalism.

That Mr. Hearst and his party made the most of their interviews and observations is evident from the conclusions in this scintillating and detailed reporting. Here is no hysteria, no cry of alarm with Russia imminently on rampage if we do not appease on all fronts. Here is sober, matter-of-fact appraisal of serious weaknesses that bluff and bravado could not conceal.

The conclusions parallel the findings of other serious students of the Russian scene and render untenable further timorous temporizing in the face of newer aggression and aggrandizement. The masters in the Kremlin may be cruel but they are cold, hard realists. They have lost none of the fervor for worldwide domination but they are free of the complexes that could only invite destruction in the hideous halo of hydrogen that rings them round.

Russia needs the peace for which we gird. We but need strength to keep the peace. Our policy of firmness, howsoever uncertain and sporadic, has given both Russia and China pause. Let but our resolution steel and there will be a turning of the tide. There is disaffection among the people so widespread and disagreement among the leaders so deep seated as to make conflict unthinkable. What communism needs more than ever now is a prolonged spell of hypocritical coexistence.

The one hope that remains for piecemeal nibbling at the perimeters lies in the falling out of friends on matters of policy. The only thing the Kremlin cannot brook is the unanimity of the free world. The hesitation of allies was its opportunity in Korea and their confusion its victory in Vietnam. Now Mr. Eden, Foreign Minister of a nation that holds Hong Kong, an island off the mainland of China, blandly demands the return of the offshore islands of Matsu and Quemoy to the Reds. This narrow and self-ish stand ill serves the hope that we had finally halted the enemy's march to power.

Religion in Russia is a topic given the full treatment in the current series. It comes as no surprise to read that religion is still rife in Holy Russia. Neither the sword nor the word has yet been able to root God from the hearts of men. Communism's is a longrange program of religious alienation. It is content to wait generations if necessary to "erase the infamy." Not persecution but propaganda will do the work. Persecution martyrs religion, propaganda atrophies it. These must be letups even in propaganda when weaknesses manifest themselves within and dangers loom from without. So there is presently a brave show of bourgeois re-spectability in the matter of religion which beguiles the unwary into thinking all is well.

Mr. Hearst's positive proposals for cabining the threat are less happy than his straight reporting. He calls for a board of experts frame a show-off program to sell way of life to the world-our hockey players can beat theirs, our ballerinas are nimble, our artists more creative, our industry more productive, our gadgets more widespread. The Voice of America has been spending millions doing this and we have won but envy and neutralism. The Russians have proved better propagandists finding falsity as easy to peddle as truth.

Our marshaled might is not without its impress on the realists in the Kremlin. From strength and resolve will come the high tide and the turn in the fortunes of freedom.

H. R. 3232

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include a letter from Andrew E. Danish, president, Northeastern Poultry Producers Council.

> NORTHEASTERN POULTRY PRODUCERS COUNCIL, INC., Trenton, N. J., March 17, 1955.

Re H. R. 3232. Hon. James M. Quigley, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN QUIGLEY: We are very pleased to learn that you have introduced bill H. R. 3232 to the House of Representatives, to amend section 335 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 so as to exempt poultrymen and others who grow wheat as feed on their own acres for their own livestock. We are notifying the poultrymen of the State of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania State Poultry Federation, who are members of this council, of your praiseworthy

The Northeastern Poultry Producers Counrepresents poultry producers from the 14 Northeastern States and we are very much in accord with the intent of your proposed legislation. We sincerely hope it will receive favorable consideration when it reaches the House floor. The approval of this legislation will materially aid the responsible poultry industry to continue its position to stand on its own feet and not ask for Government aid in the form of subsidiaries and other handouts.

If there is anything which we, as an organization of poultry producers can do to help you further this legislation, please do not resitate to let us know.

Our sincerest thanks, Congressman Quig-LEY, for your helpful support in attempting to solve this burdensome problem of the poultry industry. Sincerely yours,

ANDREW E. DANISH. President.

The Postal Field Service Compensation Act of 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, on Monday the House will consider, under suspension of the rules, the bill H. R. 4644, the Postal Field Service Compensation Act of 1955.

Because of the limited time, under such procedure, I am presenting here for the information of the Members a few facts concerning this legislation.

Our committee has worked diligently to develop legislation which would not only be fair and equitable to postal employees, but would also come reasonably within the bounds of the President's request for this legislation.

Our committee has recommended a good bill. I am sure the Members when in possession of all the facts will agree. The members of the committee are to be commended for the effort they have put forth and the results obtained. This extends not only to those who voted with the large majority of the committee, but also to those who have some slight reservations with respect to the ultimate product.

Basically, the bill provides a minimum of 6-percent salary increase, and, at the same time, will bring about a reclassification of postal employees' salaries through the establishment of a new salary plan for the postal field service.

Under the bill, 90 percent of the employees are covered by position specifically defined in the bill and are assigned to appropriate salary levels. Only 10 percent will be assigned by the Postmaster General, and these must be assigned in accordance with strict standards and subject to an appeal to the Civil Service Commission by the employee concerned.

Many Members have received letters expressing concern about certain provisions or lack of them in the bill as originally recommended by the Postmaster General, H. R. 2987. The committee, by its action, has eliminated virtually everyone of these objections. Even the views of the minority are only one-half of 1 percent apart on total amount of the increase. For the benefit of the Members there follows a discussion of the most frequently raised objections to the bill, coupled with corrective action taken by the committee. For the convenience of the Members, I have referred to appropriate section numbers in H. R. 4644.

1. THE POSTMASTER GENERAL HAS TOO MUCH AUTHORITY TO GRADE JOBS

While this was not entirely true, the committee recognized the concern of the employees and struck out references to Postmaster General and rephrased the language to make the provisions of the bill a matter of law rather than to be dependent on actions required of the Postmaster General.

The descriptions of duties, responsibilities, and relationships of 50 positions. covering more than 90 percent of the postal employees, and the establishment of salary levels, are made a matter of law by section 203 of the bill.

The detailed procedure for the establishment of salary levels for the remaining less than 10 percent are made a matter of law by section 201 of the bill.

Section 202 authorizes the employee to appeal to the Civil Service Commission any action taken by the Post Office Department in the assignment of a job to a key position or to a salary level. It also makes the decisions of the Civil Service Commission mandatory on the Postmaster General.

2. THE SALARY OF AN EMPLOYEE CAN BE REDUCED MERELY BY ASSIGNMENT TO LOWER DUTIES

The committee, in the language of section 204, allows the assignment of employees to other duties but provides (a) that the salary of no employee be reduced as a result of such action, and (b) that assignment of an employee to higher duties for more than 30 days in a calendar year shall be paid for at the higher rate of pay.

3. ALLOWS THE POSTMASTER GENERAL TO MAKE UNLIMITED APPOINTMENTS TO SUPERVISORY POSITIONS FROM OUTSIDE THE POSTAL FIELD

Section 501 limits this authority to appointment of persons who have been civilian employees in any branch of the Government and to positions in the regional and district offices and positions in the professional and scientific fields.

4. PERMITS THE APPOINTMENT OF AN UNLIMITED NUMBER OF SUBSTITUTES

The committee recognized that there was some desirability of eliminating the regular-substitute ratio in the interest of flexibility of administration. However, it also felt that the claims that no ratio would lead to abuses had merit. Section 606 (c) retains a ratio but

changes it from 6 regulars to 1 substitute to 5 to 1. This overcomes the objections of the employees. It also allows additional administrative flexibility.

5. THE PROPOSAL OF THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD ALLOW THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT TO DOWNGRADE ALL POSITIONS

Sections 201, 202, 203, 301, 302, 303, and 504 of H. R. 4644 establishes by law the grade and salary of over 90 percent of the positions and provides a mandatory procedure for establishing the salary level of all others.

6. PROVIDES GREATEST INCREASES FOR HIGHER PAID WORKERS

This statement would be true, if the principle of equal pay for substantially equal work and responsibility is to be ignored. The ranking of positions and salary levels as set forth in title II and III of the bill, H. R. 4644, recognizes this principle. There are some 1,100 employees in positions such as assistant postmasters, superintendents of mails, superintendent of transportation, and a few others who for some 10 years have been grossly underpaid. For instance, the Postmaster at New York is paid \$13 .-770 while the Assistant Postmaster is paid only \$8,470. This is a difference of \$5,300 between the postmaster and his first deputy. The provisions of H. R. 4644 will bring these salary rates into more reasonable alinement and will, for the first time, recognize the duties and responsibilities of the assistant postmaster.

The committee also recognized that the clerks and carriers in post offices in the first and second class have greater responsibilities than reflected in the salary level proposal by the administration. A new salary level 5—section 301—which provides higher salaries for these groups of employees was approved by the committee. The additional cost resulting from the insertion of this new level is estimated at over \$20 million.

7. THE PROPOSED EFFECTIVE DATES DELAY THE INCREASES FOR 6 MONTHS

Section 710 (c) of H. R. 4644 establishes the first pay period after date of enactment as the effective date of both the 6-percent minimum pay increase and that resulting from reclassification. The bill allows a maximum of 180 days in which to effect the assignment of all positions to salary levels. Once the assignment is made, the employee will receive a retroactive payment for the amount of his gross increase as of the first pay period after date of enactment of this bill.

Stability for the Pear-Canning Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, since his retirement from Congress, my predecessor, the Honorable Jack Z. Anderson, has done a most effective job in organizing the California Canning Pear Association.

Thinking it might be of interest to his former colleagues, I am inserting herewith in the Record his annual report to that association:

STABILITY FOR THE PEAR-CANNING INDUSTRY
(By Jack Z. Anderson, president, California
Canning Pear Association)

The California Canning Pear Association looks back with no small degree of pride on 2 years of accomplishment and looks ahead to a period of economic security for its growers. Almost every producer of canning pears in California will recall with many mixed emotions the spring and summer of 1953, when our association was trying desperately to get off the ground. The fact that the organization efforts were successful and that we now have a going concern is due almost entirely to the faith and cooperation of our grower-members.

No association of any commodity group can be a success unless the producers themselves make it so. The California Canning Pear Association has had a higher degree of cooperation from its members than any other farm group I can think of. New, untried, and almost unknown, our association survived its trial by fire in 1953 (during the cannery strike) and emerged as a determined group of pear producers who had decided that in order to insure their future security they must hang together or hang separately.

If 1953 was a year of trial and error, certainly 1954 proved to be a year of real accomplishment. Many growers felt that they reviewed too low a price for their 1953 crop of canning pears (California canners processed 186,000 tons), but with the all-time record crop of 1954 (canners processed 269,000 tons) these same growers realized that without the assistance of the association they might have seen a repetition of the 1948-49 debacle. In those 2 years, when the pear growers were entirely unorganized, the average returns to producers were: 1948, \$120 per ton; 1949, \$31

per ton. And the amazing fact about those 2 years was that the canners processed almost the same amount of tonnage in both years.

It becomes increasingly more apparent that the members of the California Canning Pear Association are primarily interested in stability. Stabilization of the canning pear industry, not only in California but on the entire Pacific coast, has been our slogan since the original meeting of California pear growers in Sacramento in September 1952. Furthermore, it is well to remember that when we speak of stability we are not talking about stability just for the grower. To be sure, the grower is always entitled to his cost of production plus a reasonable profit, but the average intelligent grower knows that he must sell his fruit at a price that the canner can afford to pay and still place that canned product on the grocers' shelves at a price that will attract the average housewife.

The stabilizing effect of our efforts for the past 2 years has attracted many favorable comments from the trade. The brokers, wholesalers, retailers, and consumers now know that they can buy canned pears and canned pear products without having to fear the wild fluctuations in price that have been so evident heretofore. Furthermore, our association keeps in constant touch with all industry advertising and sales promotion programs and assists in every way that it can to encourage the increased consumption of our processed fruit.

It is well to remember that the annual per capita consumption of canned pears at present is approximately two-thirds of a 2½ can. If this can be increased to one full can per capita, our so-called surplus problems will have been solved and we might find it difficult to supply the demand. Moreover, even a partial return of the historic export outlets which we enjoyed before World War

II would place every pear producer on the Pacific coast in a most enviable position.

Complete cooperation from the Bartlett pear growers in the Northwest now seems assured. A Washington State Canning Pear Association was organized in that State last summer in time to bargain for the sale of its members' 1954 crop. A price was set at \$77.50 per ton, \$2.50 over the Sacramento River price, and this was paid by the canners for Washington and Hood River, Oreg., canning Bartletts. Representatives from California, Oregon, and Washington are meeting from time to time in an effort to work out the type of program that will best meet the needs of the canning pear producers in all three States. Considerable progress has already been made and the ultimate completion of this task now appears to be only a matter of time.

December 1954 marked the first month when grower-members could withdraw from our association under the terms of their membership agreement. It is indeed gratifying to note that there were only three bona fide withdrawals representing only a nominal amount of tonnage. Our drive for new members is progressing satisfactorily and we now represent almost 60 percent of the free tonnage of canning pears produced in our State. The board of directors of the California Canning Pear Association is grateful for the fine support and cooperation of its grower-members. As long as we maintain our equilibrium and continue to operate on the theory that it can be done we will be an effective organization dedicated to the economic security of the canning pear producers in California.

New Jersey's Modern Courts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. T. MILLET HAND

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. HAND. Mr. Speaker, those of us in the legislative branch of the Government are sometimes inclined to overlook the coequal branch, the judiciary, in building the kind of society we hope for in America. The importance of a timely, effective, and just procedure in our courts cannot be exaggerated.

No man is laboring harder toward this end than the chief justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, the Honorable Arthur T. Vanderbilt.

A very interesting article regarding his efforts in New Jersey appeared in a recent issue of Time magazine, which is herewith appended for the information of the House:

COURT SYSTEM REFORM A PRESSING PROBLEM

"Justice," said Daniel Webster, "is the great interest of man on earth." But the focus of interest shifts. In Webster's day it centered on the courts; trials were closely watched, judges were appraised, lawyers had their bands of knowing followers. The present interest in justice is spotty. It concentrates on the detection of criminals, on new statutes, and on the public-welfare services encompassed by the phrase "social justice." The courts are so neglected by the educators, the press, and the public that reporters covering a rare sensation, such as the Sheppard trial, find that they have to pause for parenthetical explanation of the simplest procedures and the oldest rules of evidence. But no government will ever be much better than its courts. No system of welfare services, no multiplication of statutes or policemen can ever substitute for the ancient function in which society reflects the cosmic order, however dimly, by the dispensation of

justice between man and man.

While the public's back has been turned, a handful of lawyers and laymen have been trying to improve the courts of the United States. A leader in this fight is Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt, of the New Jersey Supreme Court, a distinguished jurist and the head of a State court system that has risen from one of the Nation's worst to one of the best in 10 years. Judge Vanderbilt notes that although some jurisdictions have made great improvements in the last two decades, in others the judges are substandard, procedures are unnecessarily complex, and court administration is inefficient. In a brilliant series of lectures at the University of Virginia, to be published in book form later this year, Judge Vanderbilt says: "It is in the courts and not in the legislature that our citizens primarily feel the keen, cutting edge of the law. If they have respect for the work of the courts affects them, their respect for law will survive the shortcomings of every other branch of government; but if they lose their respect for the work of the courts, their respect for law and order will vanish with it, to the great detriment of society."

To achieve and maintain this respect, Vanderbilt urges action on three fronts:

- Improving the quality of judges.
 Simplifying court procedures.
- Simplifying court procedures.
 Cutting delay by better management.

THE MEN OF THE COURTS

The history of the English Constitution is largely one of struggle toward an independent, qualified judiciary (in the Magna Carta, King John covenanted that "we will appoint as justices * * * only such as know the law of the realm and mean to observe it well"). The men who shaped the Governments of the United States and its States were acutely conscious of the importance of a judiciary free to act without fear or favor toward the executive and legislative branches. In the postrevolutionary period nearly all judges—State as well as Federal—were named by appointment and got life tenure "during good behavior."

In the mid-19th century a change occurred

In the mid-19th century a change occurred that Vanderbilt ascribes to the Jacksonian revolution, with its premise that all men are not only created equal but remain equal throughout life. While Andrew Jackson, once a judge himself, conceded that judges needed special qualifications, his followers took a more liberal view: jurors, lawyers, and judges, all being men, all were considered equal. As a result of this thesis, the trial judge in Maryland and Indiana to this day must instruct the jurors in criminal cases that they are judges not only

of the facts but of the law. An outgrowth of the equalitarian theory was a quantum jump in the number of men considered qualified for the bench, and pressures built up to rotate judicial offices. The result: popular election of judges for short terms.

The full effect of the Jacksonian idea was

The full effect of the Jacksonian idea was felt in 1846, when New York State switched to an elective judiciary—and paved the way for the reign of Boss Tweed. Other States followed suit, and as Judge Vanderbilt says, the "judges campaigned for judicial office in the hustings with the other candidates of the political parties from sheriff to hog reeve." Today all the judges of 36 States are elected political officers.

A knowledge of politics is by no means a disqualification for the bench. Said Justice Henry T. Lummus, of the Masachusetts Supreme Court: "There is no certain harm in turning a politician into a judge. He may be or become a good judge. The curse of the elective system is the converse: that it turns almost every judge into a politician." The elected judge, if he wants to be

reelected, must make all the commitments of a politician.

Arthur Vanderbilt eloquently describes the qualities that judges should have: "Judges learned in the law, not merely the law in books, but, something far more difficult to acquire, the law as applied in action in the courtroom; judges deeply versed in the mysteries of human nature and adept in the discovery of the truth in the discordant testimony of fallible human beings; judges beholden to no man, independent and honest and-equally important-believed by all men to be independent and honest; judges, above all, fired with consuming zeal to mete out justice according to law to every man, woman, and child that may come before them, and to preserve individual freedom against any aggression of government; judges with the humility born of wisdom, patient and untiring in the search for truth, and keenly conscious of the evils arising in a workaday world from any unnecessary delay-judges with all these attributes are not easy to find, but which of these traits dare we eliminate if we are to hope to attain even-handed justice?"

Vanderbilt urges that formal standards be set up stating the necessary qualifications for judges and that candidates for judicial office be selected by bar and lay leaders, none of whom hold public office. A list of qualified men can be drawn up, and the executive or the legislature required to choose from that list. After being appointed, judges would run for election only against their records on the bench, i. e., no other candidates would appear on the ballots, which would be simply phrased: "Shall Judge Blank be retained in office?" This system has been recommended by the American Bar Association, but so far almost all the States have ignored it.

ENDING THE SPORTING THEORY

Vanderbilt is in complete agreement with the late John Wigmore, dean of the North-western University Law School, who criticized and denied what he called "the sporting theory of law." Scoffed Wigmore: "To require the disclosure to an adversary of the evidence that is to be produced would be repugnant to all sportsmanlike instincts. Rather permit you to preserve the secret of your tactics, to lock up your documents in the vault, to send your witness to board in some obscure village, and then, reserving your evidential resources until the final moment, to marshal them at the trial before your surprised and dismayed antagonist, and thus overwhelm him."

But surprise is only one ploy under the sporting theory. Another is to take advantage of technical rules of pleading, many of which grew out of historical situations that have no counterparts in modern life.

After a long and little-reported fight, great strides were made in improving procedures in the United States Federal courts. Judge Vanderbilt says that the 1938 Federal Rules of Civil Procedure are models of simplicity and flexibility. So far seven States have almost entirely adopted the Federal rules, while 12 have followed to a lesser extent.

Under the new Federal rules a trial becomes more an orderly search for truth, less a tournament of wits. Key to the new system is the pretrial setup, which permits the free use of depositions, interrogatories, inspections and examinations, all almed at finding the facts on which the litigants are agreed and at defining the areas of disagreement. At the pretrial conference both plaintiff and defendant state what they expect to prove in the trial, thus eliminating tricky surprise. The judge dictates a pretrial order that supersedes the original pleadings and defines the questions at issue between the parties. Says Vanderbilt: "No longer does the trial judge have to fumble through the pleadings at the trial to find out what the

case is all about. • • • He has before him in a pretrial-conference order a complete outline of the course that the trial will take; he is master of the situation from the outset to the conclusion of the trial."

As used in Judge Vanderbilt's New Jersey case, the pretrial conference has shortened trials by from a third to a half. Vanderbilt notes—and condemns—the tendency of judges in some jurisdictions to use the conference to force settlements, but he contends that even without such coercion 3 out of 4 cases are settled soon after the pretrial conferences. Reason: the conference gives each litigant knowledge of his own weakness and his adversary's strength.

Vanderbilt says that with the various pretrial procedures at a judge's disposal there is no reason why, having also heard the evidence and the arguments at the trial, he cannot make his decision at once in cases without a jury. Says Vanderbilt: "He will never know more about it than he does at that time. The moment for decision has arrived, before other cases intervene to dull and blur his grasp of the pending case."

Then Vanderbilt adds: "How often have

Then Vanderbilt adds: "How often have you and I known judges burdened with so many undecided matters that they were exhausting their intellectual effort in determining which case to dispose of first and devoting what little strength they had left to telling all and sundry how overworked they were?"

DELAYS THROUGH MISMANAGEMENT

"So far as I know," says Vanderbilt, "the courts are the only nationwide or statewide businesses that have ever attempted to function without any administrative machinery." The Federal judiciary was dependent on the chief litigant in its courts—the Justice Department—for the conduct of all its business affairs, from buying pencils to presenting the judicial budget to Congress, until a 1939 law improved efficiency in the Federal courts by setting up an administrative office.

Mismanagement, or rather nonmanagement, of the States' judicial systems is the main reason for delay in the courts. In Queens County, N. Y., for example, it now takes 49 months for a jury case to come to trial in the State courts. Justice so long delayed can mean justice denied, as litigants die and witnesses disappear.

One chance for administrative improvement lies in the assignment of judges. Explains Vanderbilt: "It is intolerably bad business administration to have some judges everworked while others sit by half idle * *. This means that someone must be given the power to assign the trial judges to those courts where they are most needed." The obvious person to be given this administrative power, says Vanderbilt, is the top judicial officer in each State (in most cases, the chief justice).

If the chief justice is to have administrative responsibility in addition to his judicial duties, he must have full-time professional help. Only 13 States (plus Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia) now have such offices of judicial administration. An example of their work is seen in the weekly summary of reports from every New Jersey judge, listing hours spent on the bench, cases and motions heard, and decisions reserved. These reports on individual performance are distributed to all judges. The effect on indolent judges when their laziness is thus exposed has, Arthur Vanderbilt says tersely, been "truly remarkable."

The fight for improved court systems is not one that can be—or should be—confined to the legal profession. Judge Vanderbilt candidly says that "where cures have occurred they have generally been effected under the impetus of a popular revolt of laymen against the quaint professional notion that the courts exist primarily for the benefit of judges and lawyers and only incidentally for

the benefit of the litigants and the State." Against the members of the bar and the bench who stand in the way of reform, Vanderbilt issues a scathing indictment: convinced that the criminals, the gangsters, the corrupt local officials, and communistic subversives who would undermine and overthrow our Government with bloodshed and terror such as we have seen abroad * * * are no more dangerous to the country at large than the judges [and lawyers], many of the amiable gentlemen, who oppose either openly or covertly every change in procedural law and administration that would serve to eliminate technicalities, surprise, and undue delay in the law simply because they would be called upon to learn new rules of procedure or new and more effective methods of work."

Shotgun Shell Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the Associated Press has circulated an article by Dion Henderson which reports that sportsmen throughout America are alarmed by the rise in shotgun shells.

This AP dispatch apeared in the Milwaukee Journal for Sunday, March 13, under the heading "Shell Prices Stir

National Furor."

Following publication of my letter to Federal Trade Commissioner Edward F. Howrey, asking for an immediate investigation into price-fixing and monopoly in the shotgun shell business, I have received many protests urging that this investigation take place.

Many Congressmen, whose districts have as avid sportsmen as the Fifth District of Wisconsin, will be interested in the nationwide indignation which these frequent price increases have elicited:

SHELL PRICES STIR NATIONAL FUROR-IN-CREASES ARE PUTTING THE COST OF TRAP-SHOOTING BEYOND REACH OF MANY ENTHU-SIASTS, IS COMPLAINT

(By Dion Henderson)

Are increases in the price of shotgun shells—hit by 15 separate boosts since 1946 putting the cost of America's grand old sport of wing shooting beyond the reach of many shotgun enthusiasts "Yes," say spokesmen for 9 of 11 major gun clubs around the country, queried in a random sampling by the Associated Press.

Their comment came as Representative Rauss, Democrat, of Wisconsin, said in Washington that Fair Trade Commission Chairman Edward F. Howrey had advised him FTC would undertake the investigation into the shell-pricing situation as requested by REUSS.

These were some of the comments from

important trap-and-skeet clubs.

W. R. Beamish, president of the Twin City-Hopkins Gun Club at Minneapolis said, "Shotgun-shell manufacturers are pricing both professional and amateur shooters out of the target sport. High prices have caused the number of shooters to dwindle to near nothing. Youngsters can't afford to use established facilities to learn intelligent use of firearms."

Beamish said that many members of his club had taken up reloading used shotgun hulls with newly marketed devices similar in use to those used by rifle hobbyists for years in hand loading.

PRICE IS TOO HIGH

At Seattle, custodian Al Bonner, of the Seattle Gun Club, said that some members there also have taken up reloading, but that the average shooter has quit club activity

because of the cost of shells.

A spokesman at Chicago's Lincoln Park Gun Club said many members were pretty sore at recent increases and favored the FTC inquiry. Club members who have taken up reloading there report savings of \$1 a box.

Stewart Nevius, president of the Aqua Sierra Sportman's Club in Los Angeles, which he described as the largest private trap-andskeet club in southern California with 200 members and 10 shooting layouts, declared, "They're just pricing shells right out of existence."

On the other hand, B. B. Lotspeich, director of the Miami Trap and Skeet Club, said "everything else has gone up" and he sees no reason why shell prices shouldn't go up too. "Miami club members," he added, "are finicky about shells and wouldn't use reloads.

Eugene McLain, general manager of Nevada's Las Vegas Gun Club, repeated the opinion that prices were driving many trapshooters out of the sport and "working hardship on smaller gun clubs all over the country." He suggested that manufacturers be allowed to cut some of the trimmings off shells-waterproofing, fancy boxes and such-to reduce costs.

HALF CAN'T SHOOT

Again in the Midwest, Norbert Nielson, financial secretary of the Maywood Sportsman's Club at Eimhurst, Ill., said some of the club's 300 active members are "doing a respectable job" of reloading, with a substantial saving.

Fifty percent of the trap and skeet fans of the Long Beach-Dominguez Gun Club in California are unable to shoot now "because they can't afford it," owner-manager William

Ruth said.

Another dissent to the majority opinions in the sample came from Edwin L. Cozier of Springfield, Ohio, secretary of the Southern Ohio Trapshooters League. Cozier said that the most recent increase-10 cents a boxwould mean only \$8 more a year for the trapshooter who fires 2,000 shells in that time, "He may not like it," Cozier said, "but I don't think that's going to stop him."

But Robert E. Clyne, owner of the Troy Gun Club at Troy, Ohio, said he favors the FTC study because shell prices are ridiculously high. He said he's rigging a machine at his commercially run club to reload shells.

Use of Draft To Force Compliance With Farm Programs Is Unethical, Un-American, and Probably Illegal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, recently the House of Representatives repealed the so-called tie-in provision of the 1953 agriculture law, under which farmers who failed to comply with crop controls were ineligible to participate in the ACP program.

This was a wise move, for the Congress obviously felt that programs having separate and distinct goals should not be tied together.

It has come to my attention, however, that local selective-service boards are being advised to base agricultural deferments on compliance with crop controls established by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson.

Memoranda have been circulated among local boards in Pennsylvania setting forth benchmarks for use in reducing farm deferments. I quote two of these benchmarks:

3. Attention should be centered on the kind of farm produce and whether or not the farm in question is adhering to acreage quota of crops demanded by the Department of Agriculture.

And then the following:

Credit should be given only for farm commodities marketed. Therefore, for example, if a farmer is feeding 100 percent of his field crops or other produce to his stock he should be given credit for the milk or stock sold and not for the crops fed to produce that milk or other livestock. Further, any percentage of crops fed should be deducted from the unit value of crops sold.

Mr. Speaker, we recognize selective service as a necessary evil at best: a burden we Americans must reluctantly assume because of the existing world tensions. No one in this body who supported the extension voted earlier this year did so, I am confident, with the intent that it should be used to help Secretary Benson enforce compliance with his crop-control program.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include a portion of a memorandum dated February 1, which has been forwarded to local boards

in Pennsylvania.

This purports to provide answers to frequently asked questions. I submit, Mr. Speaker, that it is a most flippant, a most sophomoric approach to an extremely serious problem. Seldom have I had the opportunity of reading anything more ridiculous than this memorandum.

The memorandum follows:

PENNSYLVANIA STATE HEADQUARTERS, SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM, Harrisburg, Pa., February 1, 1955. MEMORANDUM TO ALL LOCAL BOARDS

Subject: Notes on agriculture

There follows a few answers to excuses given to the question, Can a registrant be replaced? If not, why?

Excuse. It would take years of training. Answer. He has been liable since he registered and the training should have been started some time ago.

Excuse. Registrant is not replaceable,

(Registrant is the son.) Answer. No son is replaceable. But he is still liable for service.

Excuse. Where can you get hired help to do what the owner will do?

Answer. Nowhere. But owner is keyman and he can train and supervise a replace-

Excuse. Not dependable.

Answer. A good many people are this way in other pursuits as well as agricultural. No excuse.

Excuse. Cannot pay off debt and wages at same time.

Answer. Neither can the businessman, but he is liable for service.

Excuse. Because it wasn't necessary.

Answer. Wrong. It is necessary. Excuse. Doing all right this way. Answer. So were we all until the lightning

struck.

Excuse. Who will work on farm from daylight to dark?

Answer. Better wages and living conditions would help to persuade someone to do this. Excuse. Because I own farm business and

Answer. So does the business and the professional man own his own business and

Federal Grants-in-Aid for Vocational Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I have received an enlightening letter from Wisconsin's State director of vocational and adult education, Mr. C. L. Greiber, of Madison.

This letter explains very clearly how Federal grants-in-aid have benefited vocational education in Wisconsin, without disturbing the independent and autonomous character of the system.

Mr. Greiber is well qualified to discuss this problem, since he is presently president of the National Association of State Directors of Vocational Education:

THE STATE OF WISCONSIN, STATE BOARD OF VOCATIONAL AND ADULT EDUCATION Madison, Wis., March 4, 1955.

The Honorable H. S. REUSS, United States House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C. DEAR SIR: This is in answer to your recent request for information regarding the control which Federal Government agencies exercise over funds made available to States and localities through Federal grant-in-aid pro-

The State Board of Vocational and Adult Education in Wisconsin administers the Federal aids appropriated by the Congress for the further development of programs of vocational education and the Federal aids appropriated for the rehabilitation of the handicapped. My experiences with Federal agencies through which grant-in-aid programs are carried on is, therefore, limited to the United States Office of Education and the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation of the Department of Health, Education, and Wel-

Federal aids for the further development of vocational education were originally made available under the Smith-Hughes Act which was passed by the Congress in 1917. This initial act has been supplemented by other Federal aid acts authorizing additional grants in aid for vocational education. The most recent of these passed by the Congress was the George-Barden Act which authorized additional Federal aids for vocational education in 1946. During that year I was President of the American Vocational Association which is a national organization of persons working in and interested in vocational education.

Federal aids for vocational rehabilitation were originally granted in 1920. The original appropriations have been increased by subsequent acts, the most recent of which was passed by the Congress in 1954 upon the recommendation of President Eisenhower.

It is true that certain minimum conditions apply to the expenditure by the States and localities of the Federal aids which are made available for vocational education and reha-

bilitation of the handicapped. These mini-mum conditions or standards, however, are essential if the programs shall be productive of the good results which were intended by the Congress when the legislation was enacted into law.

The Federal aids granted to the States under the provisions of the Smith-Hughes and George-Barden laws for purposes of vocational education may be expended only under certain rules and policies which have been adopted by the United States Office of Education. However, in arriving at the determination of these rules and policies, the Office of Education has sought the advice and assistance of the States through advisory committees of administrators on the State and local level. Accordingly, the States have had a part in determining the basic standards which should apply to the expenditure of Federal grant-in-aid funds for vocational education. From time to time these policies are reviewed in order that they may be changed in accordance with changing conditions in the States.

During the present year I am president of the National Association of State Directors of Vocational Education. It is the plan of our association to review both the Federal acts appropriating funds for vocational education and the policies governing the use of the funds at our next meeting.

I am sure that the United States Office of Education will be pleased to review any recommendations we may make and if changes are advisable to more effectively utilize the funds in the States and localities, I am sure that the Federal agency will make policy changes.

The Federal policies for vocational rehabilitation have been determined by the United States Office of Vocational Rehabilitation in a similar manner. The State officials responsible for the administration and supervision of programs of vocational rehabilitation are consulted regularly regarding the effect which existing policies have upon the operation of the program in the States. The Office is most cooperative in adopting recommended changes in rules and policies made by these officials which will result in a more effective functioning of the program in the States.

On the basis of many years of personal experience in the administration of Federal grants for vocational education and vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped on the State level. I feel that the United States Office of Education and the United States Office of Vocational Rehabilitation do not exercise undue control or restraint in the use of Federal grants for vocational education and vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped. Policies which provide for minimum standards in the use of grant-inaid funds are necessary to safeguard the proper use of these appropriations in the manner which was intended by the Congress when the laws were enacted.

With best wishes, I am. Sincerely yours,

C. L. GREIBER, State Director, Vocational and Adult Education.

Red Drive Continues in Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following editorial: RED DRIVE CONTINUES IN ITALY

Rome reports that the recent ignominious reversals suffered by the Communists have not induced them to give up the battle. On the contrary their defeats have still further enraged them. Their antinational activity has been intensified and diversified, evidently in the hope that they will be able to find the weakest spot in order to strike the Nation with a fatal stab in the back. They do not overlook the slightest pretext to re-new their attacks. They exploit every opportunity, even when they are convinced they will not gain their objective.

A typical deplorable act of bravado was that in the University of Rome used as a sad reprisal against the movement to pillory the infamous tyrant D'Onofrio, officially accused of sadistic outrages against Italian soldiers taken prisoners in Russia during World War II. Gangsters and hooligans of the worst order were recruited from faraway towns and, armed with clubs and iron bars, were integrated with the Communist university cell to treacherously attack the students who were alined against the torturer of Italian prisoners in Russia.

The police promptly intervened and those

responsible for the attack were arrested and brought to justice. The Government is quite determined to act and this is a source of satisfaction.

SUPPORT OF ALL CITIZENS

Naturally, the action of the authorities and the determination of the Government and the ruling classes to check Italian bolshevism will not be successful and will not be able to win over the masses and public opinion if they are not strengthened by the conscientious and courageous support of all the citizens who love their country and are ready to fight for its rebirth and to preserve it free and independent.

The password from Moscow to all Communists is to "sabotage the UEO." Sabotage the Western Defense Pact by obstructionist tactics and insurrection. Above all, sabotage the conscience of the people through a vast movement of violent agitation and a capillary action based on pressure and threats.

In his rabble-rousing address at the Adriano Theater, Italy's Commie leader, Palmiro Togliatti, declared: "We shall go from door to door to induce every Italian to reject the military pacts."

The ludicrous battle, launched in the House, and in the Senate, was ignominously lost. The Paris accords have been ratified and Italy has definitely become a part of the Western Defense Organization. De-feated in Parliament, the Kremlin mercenaries now propose to continue their intimidating activities in the public squares, in the factories and in the homes. Squads, formed mostly by women, are making the rounds with petition lists gathering signa-tures and intimating that he who does not sign is lost because some day soon these lists might become honor rolls and those not present naturally will be blacklisted.

ISOLATE THE TRAITORS

All this is absolutely intolerable and we are sure the Government will take the necessary measures to combat it. Together with the steps already promulgated and those planned by the constituted authorities, all citizens must set the example by showing the door to those who are participating in this insidious attempt at incitement.

Communists and their accomplices must be isolated.

The moment has finally arrived when it becomes necessary to conquer the subjection complex inspired by the Kremlin fifth columnists. Their strength is represented by the fear instilled in others. By conquering this fear bolshevism, which is still a grave threat to the Nation, will be destroyed.

History has proven that when Communists are forced to fight in the open, without allies, they have always been put to flight. The stupid episode of violence in the D'Onofrio case has shown their confusion when they find themselves isolated. It is therefor up to the honest and partiotic Italians to definitely quarantine them and leave them alone to face their evil responsibility.

Hoover Commission Proposal Would Kill Rural Electrification Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on March 16, 1955. The editorial entitled "A Proposal To Kill REA" follows:

A PROPOSAL TO KILL REA

"That the Rural Electrification Administration be reorganized on a self-supporting basis and secure its financing from private sources."

This apparently innocent recommendation of the Hoover Commission is one-half deceptive propaganda. The other half is poison for the rural-electrification program which has brought the fruits of the industrial revolution to more than 3 million farm families in the last 20 years.

families in the last 20 years.

REA does not have to be reorganized in order to be self-supporting. It is already self-supporting. The loans it makes to cooperative electric distribution systems are being repaid with an exceedingly low rate of default which private banking might

If private sources had had the enterprise and the courage to finance rural electrification in America, and if private utility companies had had the courage, enterprise, and sense of service to carry out the program, REA would never have been required.

The effect of the Hoover Commission's recommendations could be to paralyze REA immediately and kill it off entirely within a few short years. One might think that since more than I million miles of transmission lines have been built through the REA program, the systems are going concerns, and more than 90 percent of the Nation's farms are now reached by electricity, the program is safe. This is far from true.

Public-power systems do not stand still in this expanding economy, any more than private businesses do. They must expand to meet the growing needs of their customers, and their customers' demands are doubling every 5 years.

Electricity has only begun to do a few of the many things it can do on the farm. As just one example, two-thirds of the farm homes in this country still lack inside bathrooms dependent on electric home pumping systems.

In order to grow with their customers' requirements, cooperatives and other public power systems must be able to borrow money. In lending the money, the Government makes a safe investment at the same time that it performs a service for the people which no other agency stood ready to perform. Cut off from credit, a growing public power system would suffer the same fate a private power company would suffer under the same circumstances. It would wither, and be forced to sell out on any terms it could get to someone with adequate credit.

Quite likely the Government should get out of some of its lending activities, perhaps including some of those the Hoover Commission mentions. This was clearly true with respect to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, as we said at the time. But it is not true of REA.

There is, in fact, little evidence that the Hoover Commission made these recommendations with the welfare of rural electrification at heart. Former President Herbert Hoover, the chairman of the commission, is hostile to all public powers.

Another objective of the recommendations is to reduce the national debt, since the celling set on it by Congress has been a constant plague to the Eisenhower administration. The commission estimates that its overall recommendations, including REA, would reduce the national debt more than \$7 billion.

Insofar as REA is concerned, the money returned into the United States Treasury would not be savings or benefits, as the commission is fond of saying. It would be money taken out of productive work in the public's service.

Antarctica Is Strategically Important

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, an article by Walter Sullivan, appearing in the March 9 issue of the New York Times, points up the strategic importance of Antarctica. While other nations of the world are laying claims to portions of this vast continent, the United States, which has done more exploratory work than all the others put together, has failed to make any claim whatsoever. I believe that we are making a serious mistake not to do so. Our Nation ought to take action in the matter before it is too late.

The above-mentioned article follows:
(By Walter Sullivan)

Antarctica is literally at the end of the earth, but it cannot be ignored in looking to the future.

Methods of processing snow that have been developed since World War II enable wheeled planes to operate from atop an icecap. This has given new urgency to the problem of denying the Antarctic to a potential enemy.

The new snow compaction techniques mean that the ice sheet over the continent at the bottom of the world furnishes an airfield larger than Europe. The smooth snow surface is only rarely broken by mountains or crevasses. To a northern power seeking a foothold in the south, Antarctica has certain advantages. It is a continent virtually uninhabited and undefended.

Because landing places are far apart, the first force ashore would be difficult to displace. Modern icebreakers can reach the shore of Antarctica at a number of places, but it is more difficult to find any place to land. Almost the entire coastline consists of sheer ice cliffs. The U. S. S. Atka, which has arrived here after having circled half the continent, found only four accessible harbors along thousands of miles of coast.

A NONMILITARY MISSION

The voyage of the Atka was nonmilitary in in character. The ship sought to find suitable base sites for scientific observations in the International Geophysical Years 1957-58:

In this worldwide project nations will coordinate their measurements and observations of the physics of the earth.

Although the strategic importance of the Antarctic does not approach that of the Arctic, the South Polar regions command the waters linking the principal oceans of the world. Unless a ship passes through 1 of 2 vulnerable canals, at Panama or Suez, or unless it fights its way through Arctic ice it cannot go from the Pacific to the Atlantic, or from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean without sailing through sub-Antarctic seas.

There were several battles for control of these waters in World War I. They were finally resolved in favor of the British at the battle of the Falkland Islands. In World War II the Germans sent the pocket battleships Graf Spee and Admiral Scheer to harass Allied shipping in southern waters.

German mystery ships, whose operations have only recently become fully known, used the Antarctic for sanctuary. Four such vessels operated in the sub-Antarctic. Kerguellen Island was used as a rendezvous, as a watering station, and as a "dressing room" where the ships could change their disguises.

One of these merchant raiders, the Komet, had a bow reenforced for ice work. She penetrated the Ross Sea north of Little America to latitude 71°36′ south, longitude 170°44′ west.

NORWEGIAN WHALERS SETZED

Another, the Pinguin, seized almost the entire Norwegian whaling fleet north of Queen Maud Land. Three factory ships and eleven whale catchers were sent back to Germany. The Pinguin is described by the Germans as their most successful raider in either world war. She sank more than 84,000 tons of Allied shipping and sent 52,000 tons back to Germany under prize crews, cargo, and all.

With the help of one of her prizes as a Trojan horse she laid mines in the harbor entrances of the Australian ports of Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Hobart. She sank what appears to have been the first United States ship to go down in the war, the City of Bayville. The latter struck one of her mines between Australia and Tasmania on November 9, 1940.

on November 9, 1940.

The raider Orion circled the Antarctic continent, preying on Allied shipping. A sister ship, the raider Kormoran, sank the Australian light cruiser Sydney.

The raiders resembled innocuous cargo ship but carried numerous hidden guns, four torpedo tubes and a seaplane concealed in one hold. Their masts and stocks were rigged like telescopes so they could be holsted to any deeired height. The ships were specially equipped to build "scenery" so they could assume the silhouette of various types. The Pinguin began her cruise with her lull emblazoned with the hammer and sickle. She masqueraded as the Soviet ship Pechora.

BRITISH WARTIME MOVE

In 1943 the British learned that an Argentine ship had been surveying harbors among the islands off Palmer Peninsula. A base there would give Argentina control of both sides of Drake Passage, linking the Atlantic and Pacific.

London feared that such bases might be made available to the Germans and hence, although Britain was hard pressed at home. Operation Tabarin was initiated. Two small naval forces were established ashore. One was at Deception Island, which had been scouted by the Argentines. The other was at Wiencke Island.

Since the war, with the realinement of great powers, the problems in the Antarctic are considerably altered. Britain, Argentina, and Chile are all established in the Palmer Peninsula area. Their claims of sovereignty there have introduced the element of national prestige. Yet these quarrels are over-

shadowed by the cold war.

The United States has good ground for claims in that sector and Washington is certainly aware of the importance of controlling the south side of Drake Passage. But presumably Washington feels that the war must come first; that peace and unity in the Western camp is the primary consideration. The Antarctic must be considered as a whole, the task being to deny its use to a potential enemy.

County of Los Angeles Board of Supervisors Resolution Against Upper Colorado River Basin Projects as Proposed in H. R. 270 and H. R. 412

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON, CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do. I present to the attention of all the Members of this great legislative body the text of a letter to me dated March 16, 1955, of the action of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles, wherein the great 23d District. which I represent, is located.

I also present the text of the resolution which is referred to in said letter.

The letter and resolution follow:

COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES, BOARD OF SUPERVISORS,

Los Angeles, Calif., March 16, 1955. Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,

Member, House of Representatives,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DOYLE: Enclosed is a certified copy of a resolution adopted by the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles on March 15, 1955, opposing the upper Colorado River Basin projects as proposed in S. 500 and H. R. 270, and the Fryingpan-Arkansas project as proposed in S. 300 and H. R. 412, now ending in Congress. Sincerely yours,

RAY E. LEE. Chief Clerk.

Resolution opposing upper Colorado River Basin projects as proposed in S. 500 and H. R. 270 and the Fryingpan-Arkansas project as proposed in S. 300 and H. R. 412, now pending in Congress

Whereas the county of Los Angeles in the State of California is vitally dependent on a water supply obtained from the Colorado

Whereas California's rightful share of Colorado River water is threatened by the upper Colorado River Basin projects as proposed in S. 500 and H. R. 270, and the Fryingpan-Arkansas project as proposed in S. 300 and H. R. 412, now pending in Congress; and

the aforementioned Whereas would inflict on all taxpayers of this county and the Nation an unjustifiable burden of

more than \$4 billion; and

Whereas these political pump-priming schemes, if authorized, would furnish water to grow more surplus crops already heavily subsidized by the taxpayers; and

Whereas it would cost American taxpayers \$5,000 an acre to susidize the proposed irri-

gation project for farms located in high altitiude country which has a short growing season: and

Whereas the Colorado River Board of California, official State agency charged with the responsibility of safeguarding California's existing contracts for Colorado River water, has gone on record strongly opposing these measures: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved. That the enactment of these bills is against the interest of the county of Los Angeles in particular and the State of Callfornia in general and should be opposed;

be it further

Resolved, That the county of Los Angeles respectfully requests the Representatives of State of California in the Congress of the United States to actively oppose the enactment of the above-mentioned bills, or any similar proposals, and that certified copies of this resolution be airmailed to our congressional representatives, and that copies be made available to press and radio news

The Natural Law-The Family: The Basis of All Good Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the basis of all good government for orderly society, for the greatest good for the greatest number springs from the family unit, which springs from the natural Any government that overlooks the family or subordinates it to the state-the state which depends upon its very existence because of the family unit, controverts the natural law and thereby becomes a dictatorship, an oligarchy, an oppressive government,

against the family and the natural law.

Communism in the Russian Soviet Union and Red China are classic examples of the type of government which denies the family unit and violates the natural law. In these governments the state is supreme and all family units are pawns of and are dominated by the supreme state.

The United States is the direct opposite, we recognize the family unit as the basis of and the reason for the existence of the state and we also recognize that the family unit permits the state to exist and can abolish it, if the state violates the natural law. Here the family unit is supreme, not the state.

The following statement by Dr. William V. Lawlor is a clear and easily understandable expression of the importance of the family unit and its place in and relation to Government. The United States Constitution recognizes the great power and value of the natural law and the family unit in this free and independent Nation:

There is no authority or agency operated by the State that does not spring from the basic unit of society—the family. no organization or agency or power within the State or beyond it that has any claim to validity unless it operates in conformity with that natural law that has dictated the very existence of the family.

Just as the parent has the right to delegate his authority to the various segments of society, so has he the right to withdraw When the parent sees the State or any of its segments violating that natural law, he has not only the right to windraw such authority, but he has a duty to withdraw it. * * * The preservation of the family. The preservation of the family, operating according to the moral code upon which it is founded, is the only fundamental excuse for the very existence of the State.

Robert Cutler, Presidential Assistant, Retires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, Gen. Robert Cutler, special assistant to the President, is about to retire after 2 years of distinguished service to the Nation. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include in this connection the following article by Arthur Krock appearing in the New York Times of March 18, 1955, entitled "The NSC's Development Under Cutler."

THE NSC'S DEVELOPMENT UNDER CUTLER (By Arthur Krock)

Washington, March 17.-The impending departure from Government of Presidential Assistant Robert Cutler makes pertinent a review of the functions, activities, and growth of the National Security Council. In this high advisory group (the President alone makes the decisions) are ground out the policies which could mean the survival or death of the Republic. Cutler is responsible to the President for the processes lead-

ing to this policymaking.

Ferdinand Eberstadt, of New York City, under the direction of the late James Forrestal, conceived the NSC, and Congress wrote it in the Military Integration Act of 1947. The group is composed of six statutory members, including the Vice President; and Secretary Humphrey and Budget Director Hughes meet with them regularly.

The following comparative statistics of the Council's activities in the two administra-tions reveal how they have grown;

From the NSC's first assembling, September 26, 1947, to January 20, 1953, when President Eisenhower was inaugurated—128 meetings and 699 actions. From January 20, 1953, to the same date in 1955—104 meetings and 612 actions. On a 6-month com-parative compilation—8 meetings and 43 actions in the previous administration, and 26 and 134 respectively in this one. tions" means positive or negative disposal of topics on the agenda.)

THE PROCEDURE

The progress in the Government toward NSC action is as follows:

Meetings of the Planning Board in which deputies of the Council's members propose subjects for the NSC agenda and explain their reasons for the selections. These reasons are fully discussed at several meetings, after which Cutler chooses the issues to be presented for decision before the NSC. The Council staff (a small group of 38 persons, of whom 18 are secretaries) prepares a draft of the paper to go to the Council. This can be revised by the Board, and eventually is laid before Cutler for such revisions he may wish to make in the final draft.

Before Cutler approves a draft for the Council he insists that every word in it shall mean the same thing to everybody concerned. He also insists that demonstrative pronouns ("This means," etc.) shall have unmistakable ancestry. For the lack of such precautions Government documents often breed confusion.

This paper as approved is composed of a statement of the issue; the reasons why it calls for prompt Council action; a listing of the objectives; proposed courses of the action to be taken; a financial appendix estimating the costs of the action (a Cutler reform to determine "whether we are buying an elephant or a pony"); an appendix of the NSC staff studies on which the paper is based.

THE ADVANCE BRIEFING

On receipt of the paper several days before the NSC is to see it, Planning Board members brief their superiors so they will come to the Council meeting with their homework done. The President is a stickler for that. Cutier briefs him fully the day before each NSC meeting, but reading no more from the paper than he thinks essential. Council members say that in the art of saving the President's time while informing him fully Cutler is a master.

Occasionally differences arise in the Planning Board on the courses of action to recommend. In that event all points of view

are included in the paper.

After the Council has at length discussed the agenda—3 hours a week is the average—and the President makes the decision, it is Cutler's task to assure that the final paper reflects any changes the President may order—on his own or in acceptance of new points made in the discussion. Every Saturday morning Cutler lays this ultimate document before the President for approval. When the President approves, and only then, it becomes national security policy.

it becomes national security policy.

These labors have occupied Cutler 60 or 70 hours a week steadily since he joined the administration. That will not be as much news to certain of his fellow members in the Somerset Club, of Boston, as they are said to have found the increasing mention of his name in Washington dispatches. "I see," said one, according to the yarn, "that Bobby Cutler is becoming very prominent." "Only nationally," said the other Brahmin.

Article by Robert M. Stewart

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, when a

Mr. HEBERT. Mr. Speaker, when a newspaper editor, particularly the editor of a weekly newspaper, writes an article like this one by Robert Stewart of the West Bank Herald, of Algiers, La., and a Freedoms' Foundation award winner, there is nothing anybody can say about it except this: "Read it"—

(By Robert M. Stewart)

If we were non-Christians, if we did not have faith in God, and if we were certain that the promise of everlasting life was a myth fabricated to satisfy the insatiable hunger existing in the hearts of all people for something more than we have on this earth, I would still believe that the Sermon on the Mount is the greatest yardstick in human relations ever given to a troubled world.

Unfortunately many professed Christians do not put into practice the philosophy of Christ as expressed in the Sermon on the Mount. Many claim to be Christians, they attend church services and say they have faith in God. They make all kinds of gestures toward belief in Christianity but few put into everyday living—"to do justly, to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God."

Many of us knit our faith snugly and conveniently into our own little mean world of hypocrisy, greed, hate, and envy. The cruelties we inflict upon one another is an indictment against our professed Christian beliefs. Our lack of compassion for those in need of friendship, our consuming ambition at the cost of others, our envy toward the success and position of our fellowman is as anti-Christ as the tenets of Karl Marx. We go our merry way piously saying we are Christians while performing acts in our everyday life which Christ deplored, condemned, and despised. From children through adulthood we take our envy and frustrations out on others, and often, in so doing, break the heart of a friend or loved Sometimes we relish their discomfort and unhappiness. Many times we inhumanly add to it, enjoying the suffering and anguish of the unfortunates.

Of all the moral crimes of which man is guilty the worst, in our opinion, is that of malicious gossip and intentioned slander. Most of the trouble in the world and in past ages comes from the hypocritical mouthings of pious-frocked fabricators, tattlers, and traducers. Unsubstantiated charges uttered maliciously with the aim to injure the reputation of another, smear, defamation, and tarnishment of character is as vile a crime, in our opinion, as physical murder. The Sermon On the Mount teaches responsibility to ourselves and to others, besides inspiring us to greater heights of decency. How many of us honestly try to assume the responsibility as laid out by Jesus Christ? It is appalling how few.

Every man who has achieved high eminence has been confronted with the malevolence and venom which clearly define the sordid character of instinuators, liars, and hypocrites. Many of our patriots from Washington to Eisenhower have had to endure this lowest of human frailities. Campaigns have been knowingly entered into with a view toward destroying a man with lies. Gossipers and maligners tarnish and impair the characters of decent people. From backfence fabricators and praters to the highly organized destroyers of character this deceit and littleness exemplify the lack of Christian morals.

Most of the greatest and most successful people of our country knew reverses, failure, and poverty. Lincoin failed five times in business, Andrew Jackson and Thomas Jefferson died bankrupts. Yet their contribution to our country cannot be estimated in dollars and cents. It is often amazing to us to find ill will, out and out hatred, desire of evil to others, enmity of heart and an inclination to injure others displayed by people we previously had considered genteel and Christian.

All of us are talked about; many of our intentions are distorted, most of us have been the object of venomous gossip, yet most of us are guilty of the same charges against others. Many of us have heard the truth we've spoken, twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools.

All men who occupy controversial positions through which they deal with all types of people know what we mean. Perhaps that is why a recent quotation made by Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay to his wife struck home. When Mrs. McKay complained of unjust and unfair criticism the Secretary of unjust and unfair criticism the Secretary to the development of unjust and unfair criticism the secretary to bed, she should just say her prayers, tell everybody to go to hell and then go to sleep."

Nuclear Parity and Diplomacy by Ultimatum—A Prospect of the Immediate Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Cleveland had a grand celebration of the feast of St. Patrick. The toastmaster of the 88th annual dinner was Robert Emmett Sweeney, a tireless worker for the cause of the Ancient Order, who has earned the gratitude of the people of Cleveland for his fine civic spirit.

The principal speaker was the Honorable Edward M. O'Connor, Government official who is well known to many Members of Congress. The title of his stir-ring address was "Nuclear Parity and Diplomacy by Ultimatum-A Prospect of the Immediate Future." The essence of I.fr. O'Connor's penetrating analysis of world tensions is that we may have no more than 5 years of free action left to turn back the tyranny of Russian imperial communism. The prospect of nuclear parity is a real one. The prospect of what the Russians will likely do when they gain nuclear parity is not a happy one. I commend the reading of this address to everyone who believes our way of life is worth fighting for.

NUCLEAR PARITY AND DIPLOMACY BY ULTI-MATUM—A PROSPECT OF THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE

March 17 of each year has been set aside in the United States to pay tribute to good St. Patrick, patron saint of Ireland and a great inspiration to all the Irish, near-Irish, and Irish by adoption throughout the world.

This great tradition was inaugurated shortly after the American patriots signed the Declaration of Independence and began their historic struggle for freedom. The Irish volunteers in the Revolutionary Army were both numerous and dedicated. Gen. George Washington first paid tribute to the spirit of St. Patrick in a March 17 order of the day to the troops. On still another March 17 St. Patrick was the password of the day.

Since then we have observed the feast day

Since then we have observed the feast day of St. Patrick without interruption, enjoying its great spiritual and patriotic inspiration.

We here in America and the hearty sons of St. Patrick in Ireland by no means enjoy a monopoly on the festivities occasioned by March 17. Every nation on earth which opened its doors to the Irish immigrant pays appropriate tribute to good St. Patrick on this, his day. It has been said that in some distant lands far removed from the routes ordinarily taken by man, it is sufficient to claim that once an Irishman passed that way and good cause is established to vigorously celebrate today.

But wherever these festivities are taking place and regardless of the differences in custom, this is a day dedicated to things of the spirit. It is a day when spirited men rededicate themselves to God and country. It is a day of thanksgiving for the many wonderful blessings bestowed upon us who today enjoy the fruits of personal liberty.

Personal or individual liberty forms the basis for all the freedoms aspired to by man CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

since the beginning of time. Political liberty, economic liberty, religious liberty, in-tellectual liberty will fail to exist if we ever lose our personal liberty.

That is the fundamental lesson St. Patrick taught the Irish race. That is the fundamental belief the loyal sons and daughters of Ireland have taken to the four corners of the earth. They planted it deep in the most fertile soil of their adopted lands and fervently nurtured it. They have protected it against the many assaults of those who would degrade mankind including those who in our time argue that man is nothing more than animal, to be used as the state sees

It is quite natural, therefore, that we should associate St. Patrick with the cause of personal liberty and the basic freedoms which spring from that happy state of being. It helps us to understand why almost every struggle engaged in by man to throw off the chains of the despot has had the Irish somehow mixed up in it. This is especially true of movements for national independence and struggles against imperialism.

The Irish know well what the tyrannies of imperialism are, just as they know what life is like in an exploited colony. They also know what it is like to have one's nation

divided by unnatural barriers.

The experiences of history accompanied by great suffering and sacrifice have made the Irish implacable foes of imperialism or any other "ism" which preaches race superiority or otherwise advocates the right of one nation to exploit or submerge another.

It is for these same reasons that the Irish have always been stanch fighters for governments based upon moral laws and a social order built upon the recognition of the individual dignity possessed by each and every member of society. These are the fundamentals of the civilization of which we are a part. That is the legacy of St. Patrick.

Yet there is scarcely one of us gathered here this evening who would not agree that our civilization is under the most violent attack in all its glorious history. Not only are the cornerstones being put to the acid test but every grain of sand which comprises the mortar is subjected to severe stress and strain. Nothing that is an essential part of our way of life has been exempt from this warfare.

A new order seeks to take hold of and control even the smallest affairs of man in every hamlet and village of the world. That new order has declared that our way of life is reactionary, that we who believe are weak and timid and that life as we know it must be completely eliminated in order to make way for the new order.

The new order proclaims that all values are measured in material worth, that man is an accident upon this earth and therefore nothing more than one of many tools of production. That new order is militant, atheistic materialism, known more popularly as Russian imperial communism.

Contrary to popular belief, we have been under steady and increasing attack since 1918, the year the Bolsheviks took over the reins of terror in the Russian nation. One frequently hears reference made to the cold war, recalling that we are now in the 8th year of that engagement. The fact is that we as a nation did not awaken until 8 years ago to the fact that we had been the target for almost 30 years of an unorthodox type of warfare.

That unorthodox type of warfare is no less cruel, destructive, exacting, or corruptive the traditional forms of war most commonly known. In many respects, it is more cruel and exacting, in some respects less costly but more effective.

This type of warfare is new to us. The enemy is expert in this type of warfare, it is his creature and he has a vast, head start on us in both strategy and tactical weapons.

That the enemy is adept at his game of warfare is borne out by a long series of evil events which only recently have been clearly written into the official record. In setting the public record straight with respect to criminal conspiracy of communism a notable contribution was made by the House Select Committee on Communist Aggression during the 83d Congress.

That bipartisan committee sought out facts from the most expert witnesses available in the world-those who were themselves the victims of Communist tyranny, The reports of the committee, based upon testimony, documents, and other authoritative evidence taken by it, have filled a huge gap in our knowledge of the enemy. great city of Cleveland can take justifiable pride in knowing that its own son, the Honorable MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN, of the 20th District, was one of the distinguished and hard working members of that committee.

The record of Communist aggression stands as the most reliable index of the progress they have made toward accomplishing their goal of a new world order. It includes the following, among others, startling fact:

1. In the course of 37 years communism taken over and occupied no less than 25 nations, divided 4 others, and thrown an ominous curtain around 800 million people upon whom it wages a campaign of neverending terror.

2. Communism has accomplished the destruction of entire nations by mass deportations, systematically carried out in the course of 24 hours. There remains no doubt that the crime of genocide has been perpetrated against at least three nationsthe Crimean Tartars, the Chechin-Ingush, the Kalmyk Nations. These crimes involved more than 1 million people.

3. Manmade famines, carried out in basically agricultural nations at a time when the crops were normal or better, have been used by the Communists to break the national and patriotic spirit of the people. This type of grand crime against humanity caused the death of more than 5 million people in the Ukraine and in Turkestan in the course of 1 year.

4. Communism has brought about the massacre of thousands of people who resisted the tyranny of the new order or otherwise stood in its way. God alone knows the total number of mass graves of such victims hidden through the empire of communism. There is sufficient evidence on hand, however, to indicate that the murder of ten or twenty thousand people, followed by their burial in common mass graves, is an established part of Communist behavior. The Katyn Forest and Vynnytsia massacres are the most commonly known examples of this crime.

5. Communism has demonstrated an ability to use nonaggression pacts, treaties of mutual assistance, and all other solemn covenants to which it becomes a party as instruments to accomplish the goal of world domain. The only difference they see between the victim state and a state contracting by treaty with them is a matter of time. That is, the time when the Kremlin decides it is opportune to take over and occupy the contracting party.

6. The Communists have left no doubt of their intention to destroy civilization as we know it and to replace it with a universal superstate controlled by a small elite class. Immediately upon the takeover of a nation they set into motion a campaign of total terror calculated to utterly destroy all the institutions, customs, beliefs, culture, and aspirations of the people of the victim nation. Their methods may differ slightly in various parts of the world, but the final objectives always remain the same.

That is by no means the complete record. It is no more than a few selected items on which the recorded evidence is overwhelmingly conclusive.

All these things Lenin said must be done if communism was to triumph throughout the world. The evil legacy of Lenin has been diligently nurtured by his successors in the Kremlin.

Now, against that background I would like to review with you some of the issues which now confront our free society.

Let's take the prospect of peaceful coexistence between communism and the free world, an old-fashioned beartrap which the Kremlin recently revived from the archives of Lenin and is now enthusiastically promoting. Most of what now emanates from Moscow is dressed up in garments of sweetness and light. The new master—Krushchev—is described as just a boy from across the railroad tracks who, like Frank Merriwell, has made good and now wants to be accepted by polite society.

Tempting offers of trade, new markets, and lush profits accompany this latest siren song. The Kremlin is even trying to dignify its Iron Curtain by inviting carefully selected groups from the free world to take better-

conducted tours of its empire.

Since there has been no change in Communist doctrine and the objectives of Lenin remain as the guideposts of conduct, commonsense dictates that we ask what causes this sudden change in tactics on the part of the Kremlin. From reliable evidence at hand it appears the Communists need time to consolidate their slave empire, to stamp out all forms of resistance, to prepare a new civilization devoid of morality and responsive to the will of the dictator, and to gain nuclear parity with the free world.

The Russian bear has developed a wide assortment of camouflages but his strangling embrace has been the same for centuries.

Are we likely to plunge the world into to-tal war if we dare to take positive and overt action against the Communist conspiracy? This question has been magnified and put to the American people in a wide variety of ways. We have been advised by no less a personality than George Kennan, a Russian expert, and former diplomat, that our best interests would be served: "If we all sit quietly in our little boat and address ourselves to the process of navigation I doubt that it will tip over; but if we all leap up from our seats and go rushing around grabbing ourselves by the lapels and screaming 'Why don't you do something about it?' we will be on the surest way to making it capsize."

What Mr. Kennan falls to understand is that the little boat he speaks about is really not little at all because it holds a great civilization and before any captain of state concerns himself with navigation he makes sure the powerplant to propel the boat through stormy seas is in good working order. The obvious conclusion to be drawn from his advice is that we must follow a donothing policy and that by locking ourselves and our moral and political ideals in a vacuum the threat to our civilization will somehow subside.

This same type of expert is always ready with the gratuitous advice that these are days for calmness and unlimited patience and that anyone who suggests positive action is a dangerous firebrand or a hothead. this connection it is interesting to note that Khrushchev recently branded those who opposed his version of peaceful coexistence as hotheads. Here we have repeated, though in slightly different form, the theory that studious passivity is the formula for survival against the warfare communism has launched against us.

But here, again, the official record is clear that there will not be a hot war until the Russians are convinced they have a 50-50 chance of winning it. Make no mistake, however, once the Russians think they have an even chance of winning they will not hesitate to undertake a sneak, and possibly fatal, attack on the United States.

It has also been said that preventive war was the only alternative course of action to accepting the Russian trap of peaceful coexistence. This dangerous oversimplification has created false assumptions that the people of the United States would no longer stand up for what is right and that our philosophy was peace at any price.

This specious argument is calculated to break our national morale and weaken our

will to fight-when fight we must.

Then there are those who shamelessly state that the heroic ideals and dreams of wonderful accomplishments which brought us greatness among the powers of the earth are nothing more than American myths. They subtly tell us that in the America of our day there is no room for ideals or dreams—the substance that real men are made of.

These same spoiled children, products of a hothouse culture, tell us that we stand on the threshold of-a breathtaking new era if we will calmly adjust ourselves to the realities of life with communism. They boldly promise that somehow we will emerge from this tryst with evil as a new and better civil-lzation. There is a striking similarity between these politically immature observations and the theoretical writings of Lenin.

Recently Winston Churchill raised a question which the more timid of men have been avoiding for some long time. While we may sharply disagree with him on some matters we consider vital, we must admit there are times when he demonstrates a genius of leadership, such as that expressed in his stirring speech at Fulton, Mo., in 1946.

You will recall that he gave us the phrase "Iron Curtain" in that address, which shocked some people, but which since has been recognized as an accurate description of what the Communists have done to a

large segment of mankind.

During the course of a parliamentary challenge a few days ago on nuclear weapons and their possible use, he stated that the free world still had a decisive superiority over the Russians in types, destructive power, and ability to deliver. It was his opinion that this favorable balance was all that prevented the Russians from assaulting last ramparts of our civilization. estimated we might be able to keep this superiority for a period of 3 to 5 years, possibly less. Then we would likely enter a new era of nuclear parity in which the Russians would launch an allout campaign of diplomacy by ultimatum. By this brilliant analysis he sought to awaken us-to give us vigor and determination to make the best possible use of the few years of free action we may have left.

Some observers in looking foward to the so-called era of nuclear parity suggest the hope that both sides—the Communist and the free—will be frightened into an era of peace by fear of the terrible destructive power of these new weapons. There is little prospect of realizing this hope because it neglects to take into account that in the era of nuclear parity it is quite possible for the one who strikes first to so impair and demoralize his victim as to make retaliation of little or no consequence. There is nothing in the record of communism to indicate the Kremlin has any respect for human life or fear of destroying an entire civilization.

or fear of destroying an entire civilization. Lenin once said, "Three-quarters of mankind must die if necessary to ensure the other quarter for communism." Any school-boy can understand the meaning of that order given by Lenin to those who were to follow him. The inheritors of his legacy have never deviated from the basic doctrines. It would be sheer stupidity for us to believe they would hesitate to use any means to attain their goal of a new world order.

The basic issue confronting all Americans today is how shall we best use those 3

to 5 years, possibly less, which we still have before the Russians acquire nuclear parity? There are many suggestions and plans offered up on this question in addition to what is already being done by the Government, but I believe we must first accomplish these very elementary steps:

1. We must clearly identify the enemy,

 We must clearly identify the enemy, his objectives, tactics, and operating organs.
 Know thy enemy is a prime requisite for any successful defense. We must then unmask

the enemy.

2. We must recognize that communism is engaged in constant warfare against our civilization, leaving no course open to us but to destroy it or be destroyed by it. This is not our choice but a course forced upon us by the moral duties of our station.

- 3. We must have the courage to admit we as a Nation have been taken in by Communist tactics, that some of our most sophisticated citizenry have been its unwitting allies and that commonsense impels us to declare a public amnesty for those who knew no better or knowing have since learned what terrible fools they were. Such an amnesty would be aimed at eliminating attitudes which defend communism and causing all future public apologists for its cause to stand alone in their folly. It would not serve as an escape hatch for those who remain the hired hands of the conspiracy.
- 4. We must rededicate ourselves to the moral and political principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence and establish beyond any doubt in the minds of all people on both sides of the Iron Curtain that these same principles, without exception or reservation, govern our intentions toward all the nations and people of the world. We must reject the reactionary theory which holds that there is no morality or legality in the conduct of relations between nations.
- 5. We must learn to take better advantage of the means of communicating our ideals and intentions to the people of the world. For some time we have been in agreement that truth is the most powerful weapon in the arsenal of democracy. While we possess this weapon and all the means of communicating it to every quarter of the globe, we have not brought ourselves around to fully using these assets. The enemy disadins the truth but he makes maximum use of all means of communication to spread fear, uncertainty, suspicion, and unrest. The Congress should create a joint committee on United States overseas information programs and thus take the lead in fully utilizing our most powerful weapon.

If we can accomplish these fundamental steps we will have cleared the decks of some ugly debris as well as some excess equipment that has never been tested under fire. We will then be in a position to launch a bipartisan political offensive against the criminal conspiracy of communism and on behalf of the nations and people now enslaved by it.

Such a program could not fail because it would appeal to the most powerful force God has put on this earth—man's right to and desire for personal liberty. Such a program is the only one which gives us reasonable hope of avoiding all-out war.

The few years of free action we still have left might well be regarded as a period of probation imposed upon us by God. It could well be that extra, second chance that he seems to have reserved for us in time of crisis. It may well be our last real chance to prevent the holocaust of nuclear warfare which could destroy civilization as we know it. If we fail to rise up with all our strength to meet this challenge we will have betrayed St. Patrick and all his beloved teachings.

Who among us would want to be guilty of such an unbelievable crime?

Congressional Pensions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, I recently had occasion to make some critical remarks concerning a news story which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald under the credit line of the Associated Press.

Following my observation on the "coloring" of the piece I received a letter from Mr. W. J. Beale, Jr., chief of bureau of the Associated Press.

Obviously the Washington Post and Times Herald edited the original of the Associated Press story to its own convenience and, of course, wrote its own headline.

In order to be fair on the subject, I am enclosing the letter which Mr. Beale wrote me as well as the complete text of the story which the Washington Post and Times Herald did not print. They follow:

MARCH 8, 1955.

The Honorable F. Edward Hébert, House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HÉBERT: I have noted your extension of remarks in yesterday's Congressional Record relating to Bill Abrogast's story about congressional pensions.

A full copy of that story is enclosed. I believe you will find it makes all the points you raised. The ninth paragraph is based on Public Law 303, 83d Congress, making \$12,555 the lowest salary for purposes of retirement pay.

With kindest regards, Sincerely yours.

W. L. BEALE, Jr., Chief of Bureau, the Associated Press.

CONGRESS PENSIONS (By William F. Arbogast)

Washington, March 3.—The \$7,500 annual pay raise Congress voted its Members this year adds \$5,625 a year to maximum congressional pension benefits.

The maximum payment goes only to those who complete 30 years or more of congressional service. To qualify for the new top pension of \$16,875 a year, a Member would have to serve 30 years under the new pay scale.

Pension payments to Congressmen are based on average annual salary during a Member's tenure in office, with a limit of 75 percent of full pay.

President Eisenhower signed into law yesterday a bill raising Congress Members' salaries from \$15,000 to \$22,500 a year as of March 1.

The top pension any Member could draw under the salary scale in effect when the present Congress convened was \$11,250.

Pension payments are at the rate of 21/2 percent of average pay multiplied by the number of years of service.

Contributions to the pension fund also will increase as a result of the pay raise, since Members pay 6 percent of their salary into the fund. Participation is voluntary.

Newer Members of Congress stand to benefit most from the pay raise, since their pension base, or salary average, will be computed at the new and larger figure. Older Mem-

bers, however, will receive substantial benefits, since their average salary will be boosted

for pension purposes.

The pension law disregards congressional salaries paid prior to 1946, when salary was boosted from \$10,000 to \$12,500 annually. Subsequently, Congress voted to include a former \$2,500 expense allowance as part of the pension base starting in 1953, in effect making the base pay \$15,000.

A Congressman who first came to Washington in 1946 will, if he remains in office 30 years, be eligible for a maximum pension payment of approximately \$15,000 annually when he retires, if there are no future pay raises. That is 75 percent of his average annual pay of approximately \$20,000 during his tenure.

Without the pay boost made effective this week, the same Member would have drawn a pension of approximately \$11,000 after 30

years.

Members retiring or defeated before they serve 30 years draw pensions based on their years in office, with a minimum of 6 years of service required.

No pensions are paid below the age of 60 and to receive the maximum benefit participants must wait until age 62.

The pension plan provides for the same survivorship benefits—for widows or other dependents—that have long been a part of the Federal Civil Service retirement system.

For purposes of determining the amount of pension of a retired or defeated Member, all service in the Federal Government, whether continuous or interrupted, is counted. A defeated Congressman may count as part of his service any time he was employed by a Government agency, either before or after coming to Congress. He also receives pension credit for military service up to 5 years, even though his military service was prior to his election to Congress.

Democratic Plea for \$20 Tax Cut Seen Helping Cause of GOP in 1956, Winning Many Small Investors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I am inserting in the RECORD the following article by David Lawrence, which appeared in the Washington Star on March 16. It makes sense. When any political party attempts to make political capital for itself at the expense of the country's stability, it is certain to suffer at the polls. That political party which follows the course which best serves the interests of the country as a whole, putting country above any group and seeking special favor from none, is certain to win the support of the majority of the American people.

DEMOCRATIC PLEA FOR \$20 TAX CUT SEEN HELFING CAUSE OF GOP IN 1956, WINNING MANY SMALL INVESTORS

Maybe the Republican Party is as weak, on account of internal friction, as Vice President Nixon says it is, but even so he may be proved wrong about the ability of the party to win in 1956 should President Eisenhower decide not to run.

For the truth is the Democrats are unwittingly engaged in building up such a nationwide fear of their party that almost any Republican nominee may be able to poll a victory next year.

The Democrats are giving about the worst possible example of public relations from their own viewpoint—how to alienate the very group of voters most needed by them to

win a Presidential election.

The so-called low-income groups have always, for the most part, been registered on the Democratic side. Elections are won in America today by mobilizing the maximum number of independent voters who are concerned with the conservation of their savings and their jobs.

While the damagogs on the radical Democratic side spend their time trying to undermine confidence in the stock market and crying out about the removal of double taxes on dividends, they overlook the vast number of voters who have invested their money and now see their savings hurt in value by the Democratic propaganda campaign.

Homeowners and carowners of today are deeply interested in property rights. They have far more sense than the Democratic corators credit them with having. The idea that a \$20 tax cut, for example, would win all the low- and middle-income groups is failacious, as there are other factors far more important to them at work. To assume that the large body of independent voters who swing the balance of power would be ensnared by any such obvious bait is to underestimate the intelligence of a large segment of voters.

The mistake which the Democrats are making is to give the impression that, if they get in power, they will destroy American business initiative and that they will favor tax legislation virtually sabotaging the American industrial structure.

The nature of the speeches of attack made in Congress by the Democrats is well understood by the independent voters, who know that the derisive talk about the favors to "dividend boys" happens to strike hard at many millions of men and women who have invested a small amount of savings in stocks and who depende on dividends, directly and indirectly.

The Democratic spokesmen have set out to discourage the creation of jobs—at least that's the impact their remarks make on businessmen. The Democrats are back to the leaf-raking days of the 1930's, when they talked about the Government doles to increase purchasing power. Fortunately, the American people today are more investment-minded than this and will not accept the idea that prosperity can be achieved by bigger and bigger deficits in the Treasury.

If the Democratic Party keeps on frightening the property owners of the country, it will be a long time before the Democrats will win another natoinal election. Back in 1893, when the panic came, the voters made up their minds that the Democratic Party was unsound on money matters, and from 1896 to 1912 the Republicans won every presidential election on a platform of sound money. The Democrats will have to meet such attacks again, because the purchasing power of the dollar diminished considerably when they were in office. Here is what Senator Byra, conservative Democrat, says on this point:

"When public debt is not paid off in taxes, liquidation takes the form of disastrous inflation or national repudiation. Our form of Government cannot survive either.

"The continuing toboggan of the purchasing power of our dollar which, through the year just ended, has dropped more than 25 percent since the end of World War II, demonstrates our progress alnog this primrose path. * * * Our taxes are burdensome, but

we would merely increase the burden by borrowing money to reduce them."

The conservative Democrats unfortunately are few in number, as is shown by the latest vote in the Senate rejecting the \$20 tax cut, The radical leadership in both Houses on the Democratic side has accepted the same unsound doctrines which made the words Democratic Party a bogeyman among voters for many generations of American history.

Mr. Nixon needn't be so possimistic. Just as Harry Truman helped elect the Republicans in 1952, so, according to present indications, will the Democratic majority in Congress help the Republicans win in 1956. For when any political party generates fear and begins to tinker with the delicate mechanism of the dollar, it takes a risk of defeat at the polls.

Air National Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, on Monday last, March 14, I called the attention of the distinguished Members of this House to H. R. 4890, a bill I had introduced to extend to members of the Air National Guard and their survivors certain benefits presently available to members of other Reserve components of the Armed Forces and their survivors. My remarks at that time explaining this legislation were more or less general in nature and were for the purpose of drawing the attention of my colleagues to the existing discrimination against a small group of Reserve fliers. Since the introduction of H. R. 4890, a surprising number of groups and individuals have expressed their interest in this bill and made inquiries which suggest the need for more specific and technical information. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I have asked permission to further extend my remarks in order to include the following comparison which points out the obvious discrepancies in benefits now existent between the Air National Guard and the Air Force Reserve, bearing in mind that the Air National Guard units of our country are, for all practical purposes, an important part of the Air Force Reserve program.

Under existing law, members of the Air National Guard units are eligible for Veterans' Administration benefits only. To make the glaring inequities more apparent, let us take the hypothetical case of a member of the Air Force Reserve with the rank of colonel having accrued 30 years' service. If deceased during wartime, his widow would receive 40 percent of base pay or \$290.47 per month, and, in addition, 15 percent for each dependent up to 75 percent of base pay or \$544.64 per month. The widow of the same officer, mind you, if a member of an Air National Guard unit and deceased under identical conditions and while in performance of identical duties, would receive only \$87 per month with no dependents or \$121 per month with

one dependent plus \$29 for each additional minor dependent.

It seems only fair and right that since the Air National Guard and the Air Force Reserve are to all intents and purposes the same, that survivor benefits should be the same.

COMPARISON OF BENEFITS

AIR RESERVISTS ON ACTIVE DUTY

Under Federal Employees Compensation Act

Death benefits of basic salary to widow

until death or remarriage.

Widow with dependents, 40 percent plus 15 percent each dependent up to 75 percent of salary, dependents' allotment terminates at 18 years of age. Also for totally dependent parents, if only one, 25 percent; if both dependent, 20 percent each.

If disabled and subject has dependents receives up to 75 percent of base salary depending on degree of disability. determination is the sole prerogative of the Bureau of Employees Compensation.

AIR NATIONAL GUARD

Under Veterans Administration

If subject deceased during wartime, widow received flat \$87 per month if she has no children: \$121 per month with one child, plus \$29 each additional child. Dependent's allotment ceases at 18 years of age unless totally disabled or attending school, in which case allotment continues until 21 years of

If subject deceased during peacetime, widow receives \$69.60 per month; with one child, \$96.80 per month, plus \$23.20 each additional minor dependent. Dependency terminates same as war conditions.

If subject disabled, benefits depend on degree of disability not to exceed death

benefit.

All benefits to widow cease in case of remarriage or death.

House Resolution 151

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, I thank you and all the Members of this great legislative body for approving and granting my request for unanimous consent to put in place the following in our daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Herewith is the text of Doyle House Resolution 151, which resolution was several days ago authorized by the House Rules Committee to come to the floor of the House, and I am informed that it

will shortly do so.

I insert the text and the following editorials about it for the information of all concerned as it appears to me, for the present, that these editorials are informative and also indicative. I trust the insertion of the resolution text, together with these editorials will prove helpful.

House Resolution 151

Resolved, That rule XI (25) (a) of the Rules of the House of Representatives is amended to read:

"25. (a) The Rules of the House are the rules of its committees so far as possible, except that a motion to recess from day to day is a motion of high privilege in committees.

Committees may adopt additional rules not inconsistent therewith."

SEC. 2. Rule XI (25) is further amended by adding at the end thereof:

"(h) Each committee may fix the number of its members to constitute a quorum for taking testimony and receiving evidence, which shall be not less than two.

"(i) The chairman at an investigative hearing shall announce in an opening statement the subject of the investigation.

"(j) A copy of the committee rules, if any, and paragraph 25 of rule XI of the House of Representatives shall be made available to the witness.

"(k) Witnesses may be accompanied by their own counsel for the purpose of advising them concerning their constitutional rights.

"(1) The chairman may punish breaches of order and decorum, and of professional ethics on the part of counsel, by censure and exclusion from the hearings; and the com-mittee may cite the offender to the House for contempt.
"(m) If the committee determines that

evidence or testimony at an investigative hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person, it shall-

"(1) receive such evidence or testimony in executive session:

"(2) afford such person an opportunity voluntarily to appear as a witness; and

"(3) receive and dispose of requests from such person to subpena additional witnesses. "(n) Except as provided in paragraph (m), the chairman shall receive and the commit-

tee shall dispose of requests to subpena additional witnesses.

"(o) No evidence or testimony taken in executive session may be released or used in public sessions without the consent of the committee.

"(p) In the discretion of the committee, witnesses may submit brief and pertinent sworn statements in writing for inclusion in the record. The committee is the sole judge of the pertinency of testimony and evidence adduced at its hearing.

"(q) Upon payment of the cost thereof, a witness may obtain a transcript copy of his testimony given at a public session or, if given at an executive session, when authorized by the committee."

[From the New York Times of March 9, 1955] A CODE FOR INVESTIGATIONS

The excesses of some notorious congressional investigating committees have for years made it incumbent on both Houses of Congress to adopt general rules of procedure that would curb the worst of the abuses.

Congress is, in the last analysis, responsible for the conduct of its Members; and there is no doubt at all that the conduct of some of them, acting in their official capacity as investigators-or, more accurately, as inquisitors—has decply reflected on the prestige and the dignity of the Congress and thereby done injury to our democretic institutions. This feeling took tan-gible form in a well-merited censure resolution against one Senator last fall. the problem of establishing in each House a clearly defined minimum standard for congressional investigations remained.

Individual committees of both House and Senate have at various times adopted admirable codes for themselves, but what has been needed is a general expression representing the collective thought of each. The House Rules Committee has at last taken definite action in this regard. The resolution by Representative DOYLE, Democrat, of California, which it approved without dissent yesterday, represents no more than the pre-dicted minimum; but if that minimum is adhered to some of the worst abuses that have tended to give congressional investigations a bad name may be eliminated. The reforms are generally intended to give com-

mittee witnesses a little more protection than they have sometimes had in the past. This is doing nothing more sensational than treating them in accordance with our constitutional tradition; but that, too, has not always been adhered to in the past.

Under the Doyle resolution each committee of the House would still have the right to draw up its own rules, but they would have to be not inconsistent with the guide set forth by the Rules Committee. Anyone familiar with congressional practice will realize at once that this code is not going to guarantee fairness to witnesses, because a committee chairman retains great power, and rules can always be ignored or broken. But what it can and probably will do will be to act as a valuable restraint on chairmen and their committees; it will make them think twice about abusing their powers; and it will stand as the conscience of the House, by which their conduct will be judged. This would be a useful innovation.

We hope the resolution is approved by the House and that one certainly no milder will also eventually be accepted by the Sen-

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald, of March 14, 1955]

AIMED AT INQUISITIONS

The House Rules Committee has made a good start toward curbing irresponsible investigating committees. The proposed code of fair procedure it has recommended to the House is by no means complete, and some of its provisions would be wide open to evasion. But at least it nails down a few simple rules that would be of value in keeping the more reckless investigators in line. Witnesses could stil be mistreated, but they would have better grounds for protest and the House itself would become responsible for enforcement of the rules of fair play.

The Rules Committee did not attempt to bring all House committees into conformity with a single set of regulations. Rather, it set up a few minimum requirements that all committees would have to incorporate in their own rules. Each committee would be free, for example, to fix the number of members required for taking testimony, except that this could not be fewer than two. Thus one-man hearings would be ended. The chairman would have to state the subject of the investigation and provide each witness with a copy of the rules. Witnesses could be accompanied by counsel, although the counsel would be limited to advising the witness as to his constitutional rights.

Several other devices would give at least qualified aid to witnesses under suspicion. Their testimony would be taken first in executive session; they could appear voluntarily as witnesses; they could ask the committee to summon witnesses in their behalf, although this would be solely within the discretion of the committee. Similarly witnesses could submit sworn statements for the record, but these would be included only at the discretion of the committee. No right of cross-examination would be granted; nor would the right of silence be recognized when the committee fished for information beyond the proper scope of its inquiry. dence taken behind closed doors would not be released or used in public sessions without the consent of the committee, but nothing is said about leaks.

With all its shortcomings, the proposed code is a valuable contribution to the cause of responsible investigation. We hope the House will adopt it, with improvements on the floor if possible, and that this example will stimulate the Senate into action in the same cause. No rules can change a witch hunter or a smear artist into a scrupulous factfinder, but rules help to make investi-gators more conscious of the public demand for fair play. Careful selection of investigating chairman, along with stiff rules at both ends of the Capitol, could help bring the disgrace of congressional inquisitions to a timely end.

[From the Washington Sunday Star of March 13, 1955]

BETTER BREAK FOR WITNESSES

The House Rules Committee has done a constructive day's work in reporting out the resolution submitted by Representative Doyle, Democrat, of California.

This resolution proposes a variety of safe-guards for the benefit of witnesses appearing before congressional committees. No set rules or regulations will prevent all abuse of witnesses, for this is a matter which is governed in considerable degree by the attitudes, the taste for fair or unfair play, of individual Congressmen. But Mr. DOYLE's proposals, if adopted, should curb the worst abuses, especially the one-man inquisitions of recent memory. It is to be hoped that the House will enact the proposals now before it, and that the Senate will take comparable action.

Mr. Speaker, the three foregoing editorials, which I have herein identified are but a few of a goodly number which have appeared in various places in the Nation, I am informed, in support of the objectives of House Resolution 151. I recite this information as it further indicates public interest in, and approval of same.

I desire to also state that the final text thereof is not the "brain child" of only myself. For, some of the distinguished members of this great legislative body who also worked strenuously and consistently with me to conclude a text which it was believed would be sound, reasonable and constructive, and yet not unnecessarily elaborate, or which would in any way interfere with the jurisdiction of each investigative committee, on its own behalf to write its own rules of procedure, were Messrs. Walter of Pennsylvania, WILLIS of Louisiana, DAWSON of Illinois, and FORRESTER of Georgia. Also, we had the great benefit of counsel with, and material aid, by our distinguished Parliamentarian, Mr. Deschler. As to the final drafting thereof, we were greatly assisted by Mr. Charles J. Zenn, of the House Judiciary Committee.

I think it should be emphasized that a careful reading of the text of the above resolution will make it clear that it only applies to an investigative hearing. In the resolution see section 2, rule 11, subdivision (h), (i), and (m). Also please note, as provided in section 25, as follows: "Committees may adopt additional rules not inconsistent therewith."

On behalf of myself and colleagues herein named. I desire to herein express appreciation to all the members of the House Rules Committee for their most courteous and full consideration of the subject matter of my resolution and of the other similar resolutions which were considered by said committee. I consider my attendance upon the Rules Committee when they were considering the several resolutions dealing with code of procedures and ethics for investigative committees as one of the most pleasant experiences and sources of information which I have experienced during these more than 8 years I have already been a member of this great legislative body.

Federal Inspection Urgently Needed in United States Poultry Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the March 16, 1955, issue of the Belleville (III-) News-Democrat, which points to the need for thorough inspection of poultry before it reaches the dinner table.

I have called attention to the deplorable and shocking conditions in a segment of the poultry industry by reading published sworn affidavits by poultry workers into the Record. I have introduced a resolution calling for a full-scale congressional investigation.

The editorial "Sick Chicken for Dinner," which follows, supports my resolution. I earnestly appeal to my colleagues for their support and call upon the Rules Committee to approve the investigation so that proper legislation may result to correct the conditions so serious to the consumer.

The editorial from the News-Democrat follows:

SICK CHICKEN FOR DINNER

Pure food for American consumers is a legitimate concern of Government, and the measures it takes to make sure that certain foods are fit for human consumption are well founded. A serious fault of the present program, however, is that it does not reach far enough.

Notable lapses of jurisdiction occur in the butchering industry. Consumers are able to buy with confidence of quality in grade those carcasses of beef, pork, mutton, and other meats and meat products which bear the United States inspector's seal. The inspection begins when the animals are delivered to the stockyards and continue throughout the packing process until the final stage has been completed.

Yet even though poultry is a major food today there is no inspection at all in the poultry-packing business. It is urgently needed. So say the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, A. F. of L., in their new booklet, Congress Should Probe Sick and Diseased Poultry. The butchers union has intimate knowledge of prevailing conditions since 30,000 members are employed in the poultry industry.

Sanitary conditions in some poultry processing plants are absolutely abominable, and the volume of inferior, diseased, filthy, rotten, adulterated poultry unfit for human consumption that gets to market is appaling.

The poultry workers themselves have published sworn affidavits describing conditions in some of these uninspected plants. These affidavits assert that large quantities of poultry in advanced stages of disease and in the most revolting condition are slaughtered and processed—even birds which are already decomposing are packed and shipped out to unsuspecting consumers.

Officials of the United States Public Health Service have stated that "anyone who has observed poultry plant operations from a public health point of view does not have to be convinced of the need for poultry inspection programs." The March issue of Consumer Reports declares that it is well established by health authorities that certain poultry diseases are transmissible to man. * * * Among these are psitticosis (parrot fever), which has been traced to turkeys, and a virus infection known as Newcastle disease. In addition there are a large number of disease-causing organisms common to man and poultry; of these, the Salmonelia group of bacteria, which causes infections similar to paratyphoid or typhoid fever, are of the greatest concern to public health officers.

Every year thousands of cases of foodborne disease can be traced to poultry and

poultry dishes.

The situation stinks to high heaven. Obviously, something needs to be done about it, and quickly. Senator Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois, and Congressman Melvin Price, of our district, have introduced resolutions in the respective Chambers calling for a full-scale congressional investigation. Thorough airing of the poultry packing business would be wholesome in more ways than one.

Murphy General Hospital, Waltham, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the Record, I include therein a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the State of New Hampshire:

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, RESOLUTIONS

Whereas the closing of the Murphy General Hospital in Waltham, Mass., is scheduled at the close of the current fiscal year and no new patients will be admitted whose treatment cannot be completed by April 30, 1955; and

Whereas this is the only general Army hospital in the New England area and is of semipermanent type construction as opposed to the frame structure of the hospitals at most Army installations; and

Whereas needed medical and surgical treatment is available for both reserve and active members of the Army, as well as the Air Force and Navy personnel, and, perhaps even more important, to the dependents of such members of the Armed Forces; and

Whereas the closing of this hospital will work an undue and severe hardship on many such members of the Armed Forces and their dependents from New Hampshire as well as other New England States; and

Whereas operation of this hospital with the possible addition of an organized program of medical research and training could prove most valuable to the armed services and would insure the continuance of these necessary facilities: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the New Hampshire General Court request the members of the New Hampshire congressional delegation to study carefully all factors involved in the proposed closing of the Murphy General Hospital, with special attention to the effect of the addition of the aforementioned research and training program; and be it further

Resolved, That with due regard to ecomony and efficient operation, every reasonable effort be directed toward retaining the vital medical and surgical care now available; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to each Member of the New Hampshire congressional delegation.

CHARLES GRIFFIN, Speaker of the House of Representatives. RICHMOND H. SKINNER. Representative from Alton. ROBERT L. STARK.

Clerk of the House of Representatives.

The Future Direction of the Refugee Relief Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a transcript of a news analysis given over CBS radio on March 12, 1955, by the noted news commentator, Mr. Daniel Schorr.

Mr. Schorr's comments on the delays and confusion surrounding the administration of the Rufugee Relief Act deserve the attention of every American concerned with our overall immigration policies.

There being no objection, the commentary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We would like now to look at one item of news which is not in today's headlines. While Secretary of State Dulles traveled in Asia and wrestled with the terrifying problem of war or peace in the Far East, a number of minor problems accumulated on his desk. One of these, on which he will have to decide soon, is the future direction of the refugee relief program, so far something less than a brilliant success.

When President Eisenhower appealed to Congress, after the expiration of the Displaced Persons Act, to let him bring in some more refugees, in order to maintain our democratic posture in the world and to give hope of a haven to some of those we have tacitly encouraged to escape from behind the Iron Curtain, Congress responded hesitantly. It authorized a quota of 209,000 until the end of 1956, but laid down so many restrictions, such rigid categories, so much redtape, as to inhibit the program it enacted. And, symbolic of the prevailing mood, Congress directed that the program be administered by the Chief of the State Department Security and Consular Bureau, Scott McLeod. President Eisenhower is reported to have said that if he had to administer such an unworkable program, he would resign. And McLeod himself has said, as a rueful joke, that if he knew who was responsible for assigning the job to him, McLeod would have him assassinated.

The program got off to a halting start. It was difficult to get the necessary advance assurances of jobs and housing for each refugee. Those who escaped from behind the Iron Curtain without their possessions frequently could not furnish the required documents:

And worst of all were the requirements for security clearance which, by McLeod's reckoning, take 42 of the average 126 days needed to get a visa. Relatively few visas have so far been issued, and while the program is speeding up, it is doubtful, the way things are going, that all 209,000 can be issued by the deadline of December 31, 1956. Private refugee-ald agencies-mainly operated by religious organizations-whose cooperation is essential to the program, are dissatisfied, and some have threatened to withdraw their

In this situation, Secretary Dulles last January caled in a troubleshooter, former Immigration Commissioner Edward J. Corsi of New York, made him a personal assistant to the Secretary and also deputy administrator to Scott McLeod, a kind of confusing bureaucratic compromise of the sort common in Washington. Corsi soon concluded that if the program was to work, it would have to be deteched from the security and consular divisions of the State Department. Security officers are mainly concerned with avolding risks, not with opening our gates. In short, the issue was whether to keep out all foreigners, except the certified simon pure, or to get refugees in, except the really suspect.

Corsi has now summed up his recommendations in a memorandum to Dulles-a memorandum which, incidentally, went directly to Dulles' desk, with only an informational copy to McLeod.

But now Corsi himself has become a controversial figure—a controversy which, some suspect, has some connection with the ishe personifies. Representative Francis E. Walter, whose restrictive McCarran-Walter Immigration Act Corsi opposed, has accused him of serving in an organization, later listed as subversive, which Corsi has denied. And McLeod, whom Corsi, according to Representative EMANUEL CELLER, of New York, was supposed to be easing out of the refugee post, has asked the FBI for a full field check on Corsi before granting him security clearance for his post.

On January 16, the day he was sworn in, Corst told an interviewer, "I am very liberal and my record may be a little dangerous at times." He was speaking half-jokingly, but He was speaking half-jokingly, but he has since found out that this was no joke. There's a kind of irony in the fact that the man who believes security considerations play too much part in our refugee program is himself now the subject of a security investigation.

But, behind the controversy over Corsi, is the underlying issue of whether the refugee program will be controlled by those intent on bringing 209,000 refugees to our shores, or those more concerned with rigid security considerations. Yesterday, McLeod told a Senate subcommittee, speaking of State Department personnel, that he would not hesitate to hire a security risk if he was the only person available for a necessary job. He said, "Our policy is not to be so secure that we can't get the job done." Whether the same policy-not to be so secure that we don't get the job done-applied also to the refugee program remains to be seen. It may have to be decided by Secretary Dulles.

College and University Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President. a few days ago the 10th National Conference on Higher Education, a part of the National Education Association, adopted certain resolutions relating to title IV of the 1950 Housing Act, a title which provides assistance for college housing.

I may say, Mr. President, with some pride, that I was the author of that title of the Housing Act.

In the main, Mr. President, I agree with these resolutions. Particularly do I agree with the disapproval of the recommendation of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government that the college housing loan program be discontinued.

This program is self-liquidating and is serving a vital purpose in helping to provide needed housing for GI's and others who are attempting to obtain college training.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the resolutions and other information supplied by the National Education Association be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution and memorandum were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY 10TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HIGHER EDUCA-TION, CHICAGO, ILL., MARCH 2, 1955

COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY HOUSING

Whereas the present housing facilities on college and university campuses are entirely inadequate for present and anticipated enrollments despite the welcome assistance already given by the College Housing Program, title IV of the Housing Act of 1950 (Public Law 475, 81st Cong.); and

Whereas the regulations under which title IV of the Housing Act, 1950, now operates prevent the program from being fully prac-

tical for self-liquidating projects: Be it Resolved, That the 10th National Conference on Higher Education recommend a modification of the regulations governing the use of the funds by providing for the lowest interest rates consistent with the original act; reducing the reserve fund requirement to the lowest reasonable level; and by making available as soon as possible the full amount of the funds provided under the act; and

Whereas the 1953 amendment to title IV of the Housing Act of 1950 gives discretionary power to the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency to change the interest rate, thus introducing further elements of uncertainty for the colleges in the effective operation of the law: Be it

Resolved, That the 10th National Conference on Higher Education recommend that title IV of the Housing Act of 1950, as amended, be further amended to withdraw the discretionary power of the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency to change the interest rate.

COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY FACILITIES FOR AUX-ILIARY SERVICES OTHER THAN HOUSING

Whereas the existing facilities for auxiliary services other than housing on college and university campuses fall far short of meeting the needs of present and anticipated enrollments; and

Whereas facilities for auxiliary enterprises of colleges and universities may be of a selfliquidating nature: Be it

Resolved, That the 10th National Conference on Higher Education urge amendment of title IV of the Housing Act, 1950, to include financing the construction and equipment of facilities for auxiliary services other than housing on college and university campuses.

HOOVER GROUP DISAGREES WITH EDUCATORS (Article carried in March 1 and 15, 1955, College and University Bulletin, vol. 7, Nos. 10 and 11, published by Association for Higher Education, National Education Association, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D. C.)

That the Federal college housing loans should be completely terminated was 1 of the 48 recommendations made in the report of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, a 12member body headed by former President Hoover, prepared for Congress.

The report is the fourth in a series of 20 to be prepared for Congress by the Com-To date this report has brought the greatest difference in opinion from Commission members. As a matter of fact, 5 of the 12 members dissented from the majority report on certain recommendations.

The participants of the AHE's 10th national conference on higher education, however, held in Chicago recently, adopted resolutions in support of the college housing loan program urging: (1) That the full amount of the funds provided under title IV of the Housing Act of 1950 be made available as soon as possible at the lowest interest rates consistent with the original act; and (2) that the act be expanded to include college and university facilities for self-liquidating projects other than housing. (The complete texts of the resolutions will be carried in the April 1 issue of CUB.)

The Hoover report says some puzzling things about loans to colleges for housing. For example, on page 41, the Hoover Commission states that the interest rates are "only one-fourth percent higher than those of long-term Government bonds." Actually, the rates are substantially higher, following the 1953 amendment which gave discretionary power to raise rates to the Housing and Home Finance Administrator. In fact. a recommendation for the removal of this discretionary power is included in one of the conference resolutions.

Further, the Hoover Commission, in de-

veloping the conclusion that "this program is no longer necessary," states that on December 31, 1954, applications for only \$16.3 cember 31, 1904, applications for only \$10.0 million were pending; whereas inquiries by College and University Bulletin indicate that, at that time, applications for \$47.6 million were on file. More requests have been added in 1955.

Within the next few weeks, it may be expected that the President, after receiving comments from all interested parties, including college administrators, will decide whether or not he will ask the Congress to terminate the college housing loan program.

St. Patrick's Day Address by Hon. William F. Knowland, of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. KNOWLAND, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me last night at the Hotel Astor, New York, N. Y., before the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

Mr. Chairman, your eminence, Mr. Mayor, distinguished guests, members and guests of the Friendly Sons:

We are here to pay our respects to St. Patrick. In his day, as every wearer of the green will recall and all others should be advised, he drove the snakes out of his beloved Ireland.

He used a stout stick for he understood that in dealing with snakes they would have been unimpressed by the use of either mere talk or discussion backed up with only a feather duster. Even a good stout shillelagh would not work if its value was neutralized by the lack of will to use it to meet the threat at hand.

Today the world faces the serpent of communism which has spread its venom on a worldwide scale.

The age in which St. Patrick lived was one in which ancient institutions were breaking down and confusion reigned in men's The Roman Empire was disintegrating and with it the political structure of the civilized world. Christian civilization in north Africa was wiped out by the vandals. Because of the withdrawal of Roman troops, Britain, which had under Roman protection reached a high degree of civilized life, was left unprotected to the inroads of such marauders as the pagan band which carried Patrick off. Fear and uncer-tainty were everywhere in that chaotic

Into his part of that world Patrick brought two great and related ideas-faith and free-

He was first and foremost an apostle of the Christian faith. There were apparently Christians in Ireland before him, but he made the country dominantly Christian, and so throughly that Ireland became for the next 700 years a center of learning and a center of missionary activity. From Ireland missionaries went to Scotland, to northern and central Europe. Ireland was a kind of headquarters of culture and re-

ligion for western Europe.

At the time, and quite logically so, Patrick was an apostle of freedom. He had been a captive. Now he endeavored to make people free.

The story of St. Patrick is of peculiar relevance today. Fear and uncertainty reign in various places. Moreover, there

is a great, powerful, and concerted attack on just the things for which St. Patrick

Communism, which is stalking over the world today, is the denial of religious faith and at the same time the denial of human freedom. Communism is godless. It is also a system of slavery based on contempt for, and oppression of, the common man.

But there is that which will defeat communism. It is just the twofold vital quality which St. Patrick wielded as his weapon-faith in God and faith in human free-These are indestructible and while we cling to them we are indestructible too. This is the lesson of St. Patrick.

At the time of Yalta, just 10 years ago, less than 200 million people were behind the Communist Iron Curtain. Today, over 800 million people are enslaved by the most godless tyranny the world has ever known.

Despite the fact that the Soviet Union has violated its treaties of friendship and nonaggression with Finland, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and the Republic of China there are still some simple souls who believe that the way to deal with an international bully is by more appeasement.

At Munich the world should have learned that the road to appeasement is not the road to peace, it is surrender on the installment plan.

The Soviet Union has vetoed the admission of 17 nations into the United Nations, none of which have committed an act of aggression since the formation of that organization 10 years ago. Significantly Ireland, Portugal, and Spain were all "honored" by the Soviet veto. Ireland first applied for membership in 1946 and the Soviet Union has vetoed their application, three different times though more than two-thirds of the General Assembly has voted to approve the membership.

The Soviet Union is an admitted violator of the United Nations charter and the resolutions in support of the Republic of Korea, a victim of Communist aggression on June 25, 1950. Yet now the Soviet Union is supporting the admission of the aggressor, Communist China, into that organization.

Such action would violate the moral foundation upon which the United Nations is supposed to rest. It would be putting a premium on aggression. It would serve notice that the quickest way to membership is by shooting your way in. It would be a betrayal of the 140,000 American casualties including 35,000 of our dead.

The Chinese Communists, in violation of the armistice, admit they hold 15 American airmen; 11 of these have been sentenced to Communist prisons. There is strong reason to believe they hold several hundred other United States and United Nations military prisoners. prisoners. We know they hold over 30 American civilians who have been in jail for several years.

As long as one American in the armed services or in civilian life is unjustly held I shall not remain silent.

How can our associates even consider compromising principle and honor to that extent? What does the United Nations intend to do about it? What are the American people going to do about it?

Based alone on the Soviet Union's failure to support the United Nations action in Korea and to abide by its charter obligations the Soviet Union should have been expelled from membership.

Have we forgotten St. Paul's injunction in second Corinthians:

"Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship has righteousness with unrighteousness? And what communion has light with darkness?"

As for me, as long as I have a voice and vote in the Senate of the United States. I shall oppose the admission of Communist China.

We must always distinguish between the people of Russia and their Communist Kremlin masters. The Russian people were the first victims of the godless Marxian tyranny of Lenin and Stalin.

The struggle for power goes on in the Kremlin. The tactics may change with the faction temporarily in power. The long-term strategy for the destruction of human freedom continues throughout the world by Communist aggression from without or by subversion from within.

There will never be peace in our time in any real sense until the people of Russia and China have thrown out their Communist masters and established justice in their political system, freed their economy the dead hand of statism concentrated on armament production and, more important than all, reopened their churches so that the guidance of the Father of us all may replace the godless teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin.

The crucifix is a more potent force than the clenched fist of Communism.

When the people of Russia and China gain their freedom from the tyranny which temporarily rules them we should make it known that our friendship and our assistance will be available for the establishment of peace with honor in a truly free world of freemen.

We seek not 1 foot of their territory nor control over a solitary one of their people.

We only want for them the cherished freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience; to have in the hands of a truly free people the right of self-determination on who shall constitute their government and the right to change it by the decision of 200 million people rather than a cabal of less than a dozen power-mad men in the Kremlin who threaten the peace of the world; and to be able to enjoy the

fruits of their labor and a rising standard of living.

We should look upon the people within the Iron Curtain as our friends and allies. Indeed, should their totalitarian masters embark upon further aggression the temporarily enslaved people may turn out to be among our stoutest allies.

Such a policy does not contemplate aggression on the part of the free world. But it does require that we never by word or deed give our moral or legal blessing to the enslavement of the 800 million people behind the Communist Iron Curtain.

Such a policy does contemplate the application of moral, economic, and diplomatic sanctions against the international Communist conspiracy against the free way of life. Human freedom is a God-given right beyond the power of dictatorships to permanently destroy.

It is difficult for me to understand how the British Foreign Minister could urge the turning over of Quemoy and Matsu Islands to the Communists on the grounds they are close to the Communist mainland and be silent about Hong Kong which is closer and would be an even bigger feather in their

It may be clever, but it is not honorable to pay the ransom to the Communists with the other fellows assets. America should have no part of any such deal.

The United States and Ireland learned that people must be prepared to fight for freedom if they are to achieve it.

Another Patrick (Patrick Henry) March 23, 1775 (about 4 years after the friendly sons was organized), in the Virginia Legislature said:

'Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God: I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death."

In his day Lincoln understood that this Nation could not continue "half slave and half free." In the age of the airplane and the atomic and hydrogen weapons the world cannot long continue half slave and half

In 1865 at his second inaugural Lincoln expanded this doctrine when he said:

'Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history • • • we here have the power and bear the responsibility • • • in giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free. We shall nobly save or we shall meanly lose this last best hope of earth."

This I believe: Under the divine guidance that made us and kept us a free Nation this generation of Americans will not sacrifice principle for expediency; nor cringe in the face of brutal naked aggression and we will not barter friends and allies in the Western Hemisphere, in Europe, Africa or Asia in a dishonorable appeasement at a far eastern Munich or a second Yalta.

Civilian Conservation Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I herewith include a letter I have received from the secretary of the Cahokia Nature League in East St. Louis, Ill. Mr. J. W. Galbreath points out the apprehensions of the Cahokia Nature League, which are shared by all citizens interested in the conservation of our national resources. with regard to the disposition of many of our renewable resources.

The contents of the following letter should be heeded by all Members of Congress, and it is my hope that Congress will recognize the importance of acting to preserve and beautify the millions of acres of land which constitute our national resources:

> THE CAHOKIA NATURE LEAGUE, East St. Louis, Ill.

Hon. Melvin Price, Congressman, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PRICE: We wish to congratulate you on your recent stand on several bills pertaining to the conservation of our national resources.

We of the Cahokia Nature League are greatly perturbed concerning the disposition of many of our renewable resources; our water, our solls, our forests, and our wildlife. It seems that we have billions for defense from without but only pennies to save our beloved national parks and national forests and other renewable resources at home.

When nearly 48 million people visit these parks and forests every year, to seek mental relaxation, physical rest, and refreshment of the soul, we cannot afford to let them fall into a neglected state of repair and upkeep. Slum-like and unsanitary conditions do exist in some of our most frequented parks.

Why not revive the Civilian Conservation Corps instead of so much idle drilling and marking time in our Armed Forces. Let us plant some trees, dig some lakes, construct some rock dams for trout fishing, build some needed shelters, and lay out hiking trails, etc. There is no limit to the things that need to be done. This would not only save our national recreation areas but save a lot of young juvenile delinquents, idling their time away in all parts of our country. Why not give these young people a chance to do some conservative work, and obtain wholesome exercise in God's great outdoors; this will be the only time some of them will ever be permitted to visit our national parks and forests.

This is surely a cause above partisan politics, which will not only benefit present generations but generations yet unborn. have a rich American heritage, of which we should be justly proud. Let all of us fight and work to keep it thus, for our sake and the sake of posterity.

Respectfully yours,

J. W. GALBREATH, Secretary.

We Have a World Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Why Not a Home Bank?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, since the war, the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development has moved on projects at a brisk and profitable clip.

Here at home, a hitch in a finance formula holds up profitable and modern living when it slows up prompt and rapid redevelopment of outworn sections of our towns.

The below listed editorial on Ike and Jersey City-March 15, 1955, issue of the Jersey Journal-shows that we do not move with quite the speed on local projects that the World Bank does on projects abroad.

The World Bank moves with an ease that suggests it is free of legislative straitjackets.

It is not too flattering for the Congress to be told that the World Bank has been able to cull unto itself more experts with more time to translate more projects abroad into workable laws than the Congress appears to have been able to do for the citizen and the community at home. Perhaps a home bank for reconstruction and development is in the offing.

"Ike and Jersey City" tells a story. It

follows:

THE AND JERSEY CITY

President Eisenhower's housing program had twin objectives:

He wanted to help cities rebuild their outworn sections. He wanted to help private business recapture those phases of public housing in which it can do a satisfactory

The program has not gone too well because the men who translated it into law

did a hurried job.

As a result Ike's administrators find it difficult to bring his program into reality; they are straitjacketed by legislative shortcomings. To break that straitjacket they

1. Find interpretations which will allow them to reach Ike's objectives without violating the law.

2. Find a test area in which they can develop sound amendments to the law.

By a quirk of circumstances, Jersey Cityone of the Democratic strongholds of the Nation-may be the very laboratory in which this Republican national program can be refined and made practicable.

Here's why:

1. Jersey City is one of the oldest cities in the country and, therefore, one of those most in need of rebuilding.

2. Few urban spots offer a better opportunity for redevelopment than the space behind Jersey City's city hall (the Gregory project). This area was the heart of old Jersey City. It has everything except modern multiple dwellings. Within easy access are churches, schools, shopping, entertainment, and rapid transit. Redevelopment can give new life to these facilities by bringing in people to use them.

3. Well aware of its needs, Jersey City was one of the first communities to get into the urban-redevelopment program. The Federal Government, after a survey, designated 2 redevelopment areas (Gregory and St. John's) and already has put about \$5 million into buying and clearing these sites. All is ready for a private developer and private financing to move in and make the envisioned apartments a reality.

It is with this last step that the hitch comes. The shortcomings in the formulas for financing are such that urban redevelop-

ment moves hesitantly.

Commissioner Donald Spence, representing Jersey City, and Washington officials, representing Housing Administrator Cole, have been working closely for months. Now they are preparing for what may be a key conference in Washington.

If their work is successful, then the President's program for urban redevelopment through the cooperation of public and private agencies, will be on its way in Jersey City.

If that comes to pass, then here will be an example to which the Federal Government can point as a real achievement.

For Jersey City, it would be wonderful to have at last in progress the first phase of rebuilding our town for modern living.

Statement in Support of H. R. 4903, Chapter 7, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Dealing With Additional Payments to School Districts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to commend the Appropriations Committee for its action in including in the second supplemental appropriation bill, 1955, a provision for \$20 million as an additional amount for payments to school districts for carrying out the provisions of Public Law 874, and thus for the current year making available 100 percent of entitlements as the result of the suspension, pursuant to Public Law 732, of the 3-percent absorption feature of Public Law 874 as amended by Public Law 248, of the 83d Congress.

This is of tremendous importance to the First District of Florida, as it is to many other areas of the country where federally impacted areas exist, thereby placing a greater responsibility on the local school boards and taxpayers, to provide educational facilities. The existing appropriation of \$55 million for payment to school districts for the 1955 fiscal year resulted in the payment of only 65 percent of full entitlement to the school districts qualifying. The \$20 million additional appropriation provided in this bill will permit payment of 100 percent entitlement to the eligible school districts.

I received communications from the Honorable J. Crockett Farnell, superintendent of Hillsborough County public schools, which provide a concrete example of the tremendous importance of this supplemental apporpriation, in that it will mean approximately an additional \$35,000 to help bear a portion of the additional cost of educating approximately 2,000 federally connected pupils who must be absorbed by the educational system of that one county that has an average total daily attendance of some 50,000 pupils. Of the 2,000 federally connected pupils a sufficient number qualify for only a one-half pupil rating to reduce the number below 1,500, or below 3 percent of the total enrollment.

These figures will, it appears, clearly justify and substantiate the wisdom of the Congress in the last session eliminating the 3 percent absorption feature contained in Public Law 874, amended by Public Law 248, of the 83d Congress, said suspension for 1 fiscal year being contained in Public Law 732. Without this provision this county, which bears a tremendous burden of Federal impact, due to the existence of one of the largest Air Force bases in the country, MacDill Field, would be unable to qualify under the act and would thereby lose a hundred thousand dollars as an average per year as

a partial contribution toward the education of these 2,000 federally connected pupils. This contribution pays for only a portion of the educational costs and certainly this participation is justified on the facts involved, and I hope will demonstrate clearly the need for continuing the elimination of this 3-percent-absorption feature.

I am hoping that Congress will, in this session, recognize the tremendous importance of many areas of continued elimination of the 3-percent-absorption provision, and will enact legislation similar to H. R. 850 designed to accomplish this in subsequent fiscal years.

Speech by Hon. Leonard W. Hall, Chairman of the Republican National Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address delivered by Judge Leonard W. Hall, chairman of the Republican National Committee, at a dinner given in his honor by the Republican Finance Committee of Florida on March 17, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY LEONARD W. HALL, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, AT A DINNER IN HIS HONOR, GIVEN BY THE REPUBLICAN FINANCE COMMITTEE OF FLORIDA AT THE BISCAYNE TERRACE HOTEL, MIAMI, MARCH 17, 1955

One of the political tragedles of our times has been the departure of many of the leaders of the Democratic Party from the party's fundamental Jeffersonian principles. Of course, I, as a Republican interested in getting votes for Republican candidates, probably shouldn't complain, because it has caused hundreds of thousands of fine Democrats to come over to the Republican Party, particularly in the last Presidential campaign. This broadening of our own ranks I welcome, of course.

But the transgressions of the ruling minds of the Democratic Party are more than a mere political matter. They affect the welfare of our country and threaten our basic American system. I do not have to tell this audience what has happened. In the last 20 years we have seen these Democratic leaders in many parts of our country taken over by leftwing advocates of the planned economy, the welfare state—or, to use the correct term and a term they assiduously avoid—socialism. It has been this undeniable trend at the top of the Democratic Party that caused the creation of the States' Right Party in the South. It has been this trend which, along with the great personal appeal of Dwight D. Eisenhower, enabled the Republicans to carry Texas, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Virginia, and Florida in the 1952 election. It has been this trend which caused the voters of South Carolina to take the unprecedented step of electing a writein candidate to the United States Senate in 1954. It has been this trend which enabled Texas and Florida to give us a Republican Congressman, each, in the same election. It is this trend, as much as any other single thing, which has hastened recognition of the need for a strong two-party system in the South.

The philosophy of this group can be described, using basic American terms, as anti-Jeffersonian. It is a philosophy that is the antithesis of Jeffersonian principles. Jefferson believed in decentralized Government and States' rights. Jefferson believed in checks and balances, not only in the three coequal branches of the Federal Government but between the Federal, State, and local governments. Jefferson believed in the fundamental rights of individuals. He was dedicated to individual liberty.

But the anti-Jeffersonians—and I mean the Adlai Stevensons, Walter Reuthers, Hubert Humphreys, Neubergers, Douglases, and all the other ADA apostles—scorn States' rights and advocate an all-powerful centralized Federal Government. They subscribe to more and more powers for the executive branch of our Federal Government. They advocate Government planning on a huge scale for our people.

I have been in Washington almost steadily for the last 17 years. I have watched the tremendous inroads made on our American system, and I have seen Dwight D. Elsenhower and the Republican Party in the last of those 2 years doing everything possible to rectify the damage done in the preceding years. You could not live in the middle of events as I did all those years without seeing the pattern which these disciples of left-wing ventures have set.

The pattern is simple. The Government taxes the citizens more and more, so that the Government, not the citizen, spends for him the money he earns. This is accompanied by heavy Government spending, deficit financing, and Government-planned inflation. Then, to prevent inflation from reaching runaway proportions, controls are placed over prices, wages, and materials. As these controls are installed they unjoint other segments of the free-enterprise economy so additional controls have to be invoked to adjust the damage done by the initial set of controls. Soon, not only the economy but the people as a whole are under the regimented hand of Government, and socialism is upon us.

In short, the whole transformation is accomplished basically by economic moves by Government, not political or social moves by Government.

Now let us examine for a moment the nature of the attack which has been made on the Eisenhower administration since it took office. Let us see who has been one of the leaders behind the attack. Let us see where it is taking him.

The attack has not been made on the political front, on the legislative front, or on the social-progress front—but on the economic front.

Nine days after President Elsenhower took office in January 1955, Senator Paul. Douglas, a one-time fund-raising chairman for the Socialist Party candidate for President, began predicting a recession in America.

From that time on, all through 1953, Doug-LAS went up and down the countryside predicting a recession. Finally, on December 23, 1953, the Senator from Illinois formally announced that the country was (and I quote) "in a real recession."

From then on his cry was, I quote, "My concern is that the current recession shall not become cumulative and develop into a depression."

Thus, through 1954—for 21 long months—Senator Douglas, Hubert Humphrey, Walter Reuther, and all the rest of these apostles of gloom and doom did their best to convince America that it was in a recession. The truth was that America was not in a recession and

as big as these voices of gloom and doom they could not scare the American people into one. Why? Because of the fundamental soundness of our economy under the administration of President Eisenhower

and the Republican Party.

It was pointed out repeatedly that these very gentlemen in the days of President Truman had witnessed unemployment of almost 5 million in February of 1950 without so much as mentioning the words "recession" or "depression." Why didn't they mention them? Because America was headed down the road of their choosing under Harry Truman, but it was not and is not headed down the road of their choosing under Dwight D. Eisenhower.

No: they could not talk America into a recession or depression, and with the arrival of election day and the attendant victories which they scored by the scare campaign which they ran, they ceased fire. Why? Because the facts were slowly catching up with them.

For example, Senator Douglas in the 21 months preceding the 1954 congressional elections filled nearly two-score pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with contentions that we were in a recession. On November 4 he was reelected to Congress. How many pages has he put in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD since? I have had the Congressional Recone searched. The answer is: zero pages.

Now, it has only been a few weeks since one of the best answers to this recessiondepression talk was given here in Miami. By whom? By the American Federation of Labor at its executive council's meeting.

The AFL disclosed that wage increases during 1954 represented the greatest gain in real wages of any year since World War II, and they frankly added that these wage increases had been reached with fewer hours and less worktime lost through strikes than any year in that period.

Their report stated that these wage in-creases, and I quote, "were almost entirely over and beyond the amount needed to compensate for rises in the cost of living. other words, these were not cost-of-living wage increases that we had during the Truman inflationary period, but real wage in-

Do you wonder that the gloom-and-doom

boys finally had to sign off?

So what now? The attack has failed. The Eisenhower administration has stabilized our economy on a high, prosperous plateau, inflation has been stopped, our workers are now receiving real wage increases instead of cost-of-living increases, and the industrial and business world is most optimistic about the future, as indicated in every major business publication and our daily press

In the United States Senate we now have an investigation of the stock market. Nobody can quarrel with the right of the Congress to investigate such a vital instrument as the stock market. Whether this investigation is necessary or not I do not profess to know.

But if you will look at the membership of the committee, you will find one of the original instigators of the gloom-and-doom attack that started back in 1953. I refer to Senator Paul Douglas, of Illinois. You will also find that Senator Douglas' legislative assistant, Robert Ash Wallace, has been placed in charge of the investigation with the title of staff director.

Now, who was one of the first witnesses

called? One Prof. John Galbraith, of Har-

vard. Who is he?

Galbraith is an oldtime New Dealing, ADAtype of anti-Jeffersonian radical. He was credited with almost wrecking OPA during the war with his drastic ideas for controls. He was the father of the compulsory gradelabeling movement during those days. He flirted around with the customary pink fronts-not very many, 2 or 3. He wrote admiring statements about the Soviet system and the Communist leaders in Western Europe as late as 1949. His radical economic theories caused a well-known economist, Dr. David McCord Wright, to state at the 66th annual meeting of the American Economics Association in December 1953, and I quote. "albeit quite possibly unconsciously, I should judge Dr. Galbraith one of the most effective enemies of both capitalism and democracy."

That was the kind of "expert"-and I use the word advisedly-that was put on the witness stand.

What did he do? He filled the air with dire statements, spread gloom and doom by the yard, and generally pictured a terrible economic plight ahead. What happened?

The stock market immediately fell an average of 5 points. Now, I don't know whether Professor Galbraith caused this or not. Markets are sensitive things. They react to many factors. But the coincidence is certainly interesting.

I know this much: that the market has been uneasy, unstable, and on 1 or 2 days downright jittery since the professor took

the stand.

And I know this, as do millions of investors in this country: In the week ending last Saturday, stocks fell a reported total of \$7 billion. It was the biggest decline in 15

Now what does this drop mean? Who lost this \$7 billion? Just what do investments

mean to our American system?

First, let me say that the Eisenhower administration is dedicated to an ever-expanding economy. The President has stated this repeatedly and virtually every move of the Eisenhower administration and the Republican Party has been in this direction. Investing money in our great enterprise system promotes expansion, construction, invention, and, above all else, jobs.

Some people try to foster the idea that in America only a few people hold the stocks which represent investment and which are listed on the stock exchange. I read in the New York Times, Sunday, March 6, an estimate by one of its experts that there are 7.5 million separate owners of corporate stocks in the United States. I fell to wondering who these 7.5 million people could be, what income brackets they might be in. So I asked our research division to give me some figures and they handed me a study made by the Brookings Institution in 1952.

Here's what that study showed:

Nearly one-third-31.6 percent-of all the shareowners of this country are people with incomes of less than \$5,000 a year. Fortyfour and four-tenths percent of the share-owners are in the \$5,000 to \$10,000 income bracket. And only 24 percent have incomes exceeding \$10,000.

And let me tell you one other significant thing this study showed. A majority of the shareowners-50.6 percent-are women, I wonder if our left-wingers know that!

So I should say that when Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey the other day cautioned the investigators to go slow before they started undermining the confidence of the American people he was on sound ground. I call that speaking for the average American. Believe me, 7.5 million shareowners are a lot of people. I wonder if our leftwingers know that?

I say that the American public had better wake up to the real aims of these advocates of an all-powerful Federal Government, these admirers of socialism.

I think all of us can remember when Florida retired one of these gentlemen a few years back-one Claude Pepper.

I know this much. If these gentlemen of the left keep driving the Democrat Party farther and farther left, we, as Republi-cans, must make sure that we never close the door to thinking Democrats who want to

The American people are never join us. going to let this Nation go socialist if the facts are in front of them. Maybe they could be led into it by deceit, but never by truth. And it is our job to provide the American people with the truth. It is our job to see that the Republican Party enters candidates in every section of the country to give the voters a real opportunity to choose between these conflicting ideologies. In that we must not fail, either as Americans or Republi-

Now, I said earlier that I have been in Washington almost continuously for 17 years. Like you, during all those years I was disturbed by the trend of the New Deal-Fair Deal administrations toward the establishment of a socialist state. I am going to identify the things that bothered me.

The tremendous expansion of the Fed-

eral Government.

2. The corresponding colossal increases in expenditures and the ever-growing burden taxes, whereby the Government spending the individual's earnings for him.

3. The fetish for more and more Federal controls regulating the daily lives of all of

4. The encroachment of the Federal Government into areas properly belonging to the States and local governments under our sys-

5. The ceaseless warfare by the executive branch on first the judicial and then the legislative branch, with the idea of increasing the power of the executive branch, while destroying the faith of our people in the other two arms of our Government.

Now, what have the Eisenhower administration and the Republican Party done about these basic paths toward the socialist state? I am going to itemize them one by one:

1. The trend toward big government has been completely reversed, with entire bureaus abolished, 283,000 Federal employees eliminated from unnecessary positions and the process of reduction is still going on.

- 2. Government expenditures have drastically reduced each year and the Republican 83d Congress, in cooperation with the executive branch, cut appropriations (meaning future spending) by enormous sums, with the result that last year it was possible to give the American people the largest tax reduction in history-\$7,400,-000,000.
- 3. Despite cries of alarm from the New Deal-Fair Dealers, the President took off depressive economic controls-the OPA was abolished; price, rent and wage controls eliminated, etc-with the result that the awful spiral of inflation was halted and our economy has at last been stabilized on a highly prosperous plateau. To me, the most significant fact is that during the dangerous inflationary years our dollar dropped in purchusing power from 100 cents in 1939 to 52.2 cents at the end of 1952. The Eisenhower Administration in the 2 years that it has been in power has halted the drop at 52.0 cents, or a decline of only one-fifth of a cent in 2 years.
- 4. The President and the Republican Congress have reversed the invasion of State and local rights on countless fronts, notably, enactment of legislation returning the Tidelands to the States, development of a power policy called for the States and private industry to develop power, with the Federal Government entering into a partnership with the States only when the States and private industry are unable to act, and finally, the establishment of a commission to study which are the proper areas of government as between Federal, State, and local entities.
- 5. There has been a complete cessation of attacks by the executive branch on the judicial, and legislative branches, and in its place the President has encouraged, by pub-lic utterances and otherwise, the fact that the three branches of our Government are

coordinate coequal and all entitled to the respect of our citizens.

To me, the greatest single political event of the past 20 years has been this fundamental reversal of political trend in government and the credit for it must go to President Eisenhower and the Republican Party. It is overriding because it is so basic to our way of life. It is proof of what the President has said on so many occasions—that with respect to our Government and our physical possessions we must be conservative; in human relations and social matters, progressive.

The Real Alternative of Liberation in American Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I am including a very informative article by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, which appeared in the autumn 1954 number of the Ukrainian Quarterly. It deals with a subject of vital concern in our foreign policy and I commend it to the Members of the House who are interested:

THE REAL ALTERNATIVE OF LIBERATION IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

(By Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky)

One of the most serious misconceptions being harbored today is the false notion that the only alternative to peaceful co-existence is preventive war. Aside from the very valid consideration as to whether peaceful coexistence itself can insure peace-i. e., the prevention of a global conflict-it is evident to any careful and critical analyst that this misconception is a glaring product of the haphazard reasoning which accounts also for the pitiful lack of rational discrimination and distinction in regard to the many concepts employed in our characterization of foreign policy. The net result has been confusion, and the administration, in its indiscriminate use of the successive concepts of mass retaliation, peaceful coexistence, and now, in some quarters, competi-tive coexistence, has contributed in the greatest measure to this unfortunate beclouded condition. When one cuts sharply through these terminological innovations, the same essence of the containment policy. which ostensibly was repudiated in 1952, is found present.

In addition to preventive war, there is a real alternative to peaceful coexistence, or any other verbal brand of containment, and this is the policy of liberation. The spirit of this policy remains as one enunciated by both President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles. "Our determination," declared the President, "must go beyond the negative concept of containment to the positive concept of expanding by peaceful means the areas of freedom. If this is not done, we will once again find ourselves at war. It must be done. It can be done." The Secretary once rightly observed: "But liberation from the yoke of Moscow will not occur for a very long time and courage in neighboring lands will not be sustained unless the United States makes it publicly known that it wants and expects liberation to occur." This spirit has not been present in the policy of the administration since April 1953, at

which time a real reversion to the old containment policy took place but with new verbal embroidery. Thus, in examining our current policy in the light of the liberation alternative, it is logically sound to refer to it as containment.

THE CONCRETE MEANING OF LIBERATION

It is perhaps somewhat of an understatement to say that despite the extensive controversy that transpired 2 years ago on the liberation theme much misunderstanding and confusion remains as to the nature of the liberation policy, even among those who profess it. If one carefully reflects on the logically determining aspects of this issue, he cannot but come to recognize the general supportable proposition that any political course on the part of our Government that is not a policy of liberation is essentially a policy of containment. In the complex of contemporary circumstances there is a discernible internal determinism which establishes the complete validity of this proposition and sets the groundwork for our free dynamic action that is something radically different from the drift of uncreative adaptation to altered conditions contrived by enemy initiative. Fundamental in this respect is the fact that the concept of liberation rests on the unqualified rejection of the expedient Soviet theory of coexistence which, significantly, has baited the frequent support of Kennanism and the many now who wishfully impute to its intermittent use the success of containment and transient diplo-

This sound rejection rests on three forms of evidence establishing the Russian Communist design for world conquest, namely, abundant theoretic expressions in Russian Communist works, an imposing record of imperialist conquest since 1920, and the vast operation of the world Communist conspiracy directed by Moscow. It is also associated with a vivid awareness that the dynamics of historical movement disallow permanent statical relations, and that for their control they require more than what may prove to be the illusory deterrent of supposedly ma-terial power. The containment position depends exclusively on this power deterrent and the naive hope of institutional atrophy within the Red Empire. However, since 1950 it has borne an accruing disutility that with the passage of time can only result in unprecedented losses, not to exclude national disaster itself.

It is patently erroneous and misleading to identify the concept of liberation with the prosaic and hollow verbalism that we earnestly hope the captive nations will one day become free. Wishful verbalism of this sort can be found in abundance in the varied output of those who knowingly or unknowingly espouse different shades of containment. Such verballsms become meaningless when sober consideration is given to the animus of liberation, which in essence is practical, positive, initiative-bearing, realistic, moral, and, above all, supremely deterrent against a third world war: in short, outstanding policy characteristics that are inevitably obscured by self-defeating avowals of containment, no matter how described. To repeat, any policy that is not essentially and functionally liberationist belongs by nature to the containment species and, consequently, will be found wanting in these preeminent qualities. A quick glance at the confusing and tortuous character of our current policy is sufficient to impress one with the truth of this observation.

The spirit of the liberation policy is thoroughly practical because it is unquestionably in our fundamental national interest to furnish concrete aid to the captive nations in the vast Russian Communist empire. Practicable aid extended to Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Slovak, Hungarian, and other national patriots is a strategically well-placed investment not only in the de-

sired restoration of their national independence and freedom but also—in fact more so—in the very preservation of our own Nation. The full import of this will be appreciated when we shall consider the ultimate variables in the calculus of world conquest below.

Moreover, the liberation animus is positive in that it is oriented toward the strengthening of the forces of freedom everywhere which necessarily entails the expansion of the areas of freedom rather than their mere, negative conservation at the critical cost of the enslaved nations now undergoing genocidal consolidation. In its scale of values freedom precedes peace, for carried to its logical extent, peace can even be bought for total bondage. Where the world remains half free and half slave, the scaled precedence of peace to freedom, as fostered by Communist slogans of peaceful coexistence, creates an illusion concocted to serve as the opiate of the still free nations. In the illusion of peace we have shamelessly acceded to the tyrannical expansion of the Russian Communist empire far beyond the wildest dreams of the past tsars of Muscovy. Many who have succumbed to this illusion overlook the elementary fact that war, essentially a conflict of relationships, commences in the souls of men only to culminate on the battlefields of the world. Our record so far in the contest for the souls of men everywhere points to this disastrous culmination. And the most glaring effect of the opiate of peace over freedom is the insidious sensation that short-run truces add up into a long-run peace.

These qualities in themselves certify to the striking initiative-bearing characteristic of the liberation policy. With the fixed objective of expanded freedom, the imaginative employment of numerous, diverse means and a deep certitude of spirit, we can keep the unalterably self-dedicated enemy on a continuous defensive which alone is capable of exhausting the sources of Moscow's imperialist rule. The policy is realistic in that it is founded on a plain recognition of the mortal enemy and, with principled determination and courage, is formulated accordingly. In its full realism, without being emotionally crusading or sentimental in character, liberation postulates a moral commitment toward the captive nations, and this essential morality of the liberation idea is a primary fact. is this fact that fundamentally distinguishes it from any form of containment policy which, by reasoned analysis, can only show for itself the tenuous basis of comparative technologic power. In the maze of his countless confused speculations and errors Mr. Kennan at least strikes upon this truth when, in behalf of containment, he admits that "I see the most serious fault of our past policy formulation to lie in something that I might call the legalistic-moralistic approach to international problems."

Logically and by written evidence, containment in whatever form is by nature amoral. It involves no moral commitment because it is not predicated, as Mr. Kennan and other containment theorists well confirm, on determining moral and political principles. Little wonder that the eminent Father Walsh of Georgetown University was quick to score the above and similar statements uttered by Kennan. For an American foreign policy formulated in divorce from the constant guidance of moral principles would enjoy no better rational criteria than those underlying the policy of the Soviet Union. Contrary to Kennan's further error, had our past policy formulation adhered closely to absolute moral and political criteria, the course of contemporary history since 1918, notably with the dissolution of the Russian Empire, in real possibilities would have been by far more favorable for us and the world. tunately, numerous current expressions of this moral commitment toward the captive

Footnotes at end of speech.

nations may be found in statements by President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles, but these expressions will remain only verbalistic and hollow unless the commitment is functionalized by the only policy adaptable to it, namely the policy of liberation.

In the light of these outstanding qualities, how then can we define an American policy of liberation? Most succinctly, it is a policy girded to the concept of liberation which is a process of political warfare aimed at the defeat of the enemy and the independence of enslaved nations as a necessary and logical basis for European and Asiatic reconstruction along federative of free lines. Notwithstanding the misconception of many, liberation is not an end in itself, but a peaceable means to a double end, negative and positive in character. It engenders not only the fight against communism and its decisive defeat but also the positive fight for freedom and the independence of nations. It is the first vital link of a policy chain that makes for a rational, coherent and winning American foreign policy. As stated by the brilliant author of the most authoritative book on the subject, "Liberation, independence, federation: the three are links in the same policy chain." 4

THE LIBERATION CONCEPT IN OPERATIONAL STAGES

When thought through carefully and logically, liberation is an operational concept best fitted for the heavy requirements of the moment and of the desired future. In the present phase, that of the cold war, it provides the best possible insurance against the sudden outbreak of a hot war without appeasement, truce-like concessions and compromise of principle and national integrity. As an unfolding process of political warfare on the enemy's terrain, it affords us the only possible chance of curtailing the genocidal consolidation of the Russian Communist Empire which is the primary variable in the Communist calculus of world conquest. The containment policy in effect today allows the formation of this essential variable which is being executed behind lavish Communist professions of peaceful coexistence, wide Communist participation in international conferences, and timed contributions to an apparent lessening of world tensions. all calculated to generate the illusion of a prolonged peace in order to gain the neces-sary time for this consolidation.

To contend, as some superficially do, that liberation entails the risk of a hot war is obviously an argument oblivious to the constant presence of this risk. Liberation alone can lessen this risk, for an enemy confronted by an increasing insecurity within his own domain is surely less apt to embark upon world conquest than without this circumstance. To hope, as many in vain do, that, somehow, something might occur in the unaided slave world to precipitate an internal collapse, like the lost hope of a convulsion upon Stalin's death, is plainly indicative of an inadequate understanding of the highly technologized techniques of oppressive Communist rule. Pretty phrases of cultural erosion, territorial indigestion, and the like belong to diplomatic poetry, not to the field of real political action. To maintain, as several do in the very same breath, that the freedom of the enslaved nations cannot be attained without a hot war, arbitrarily rules out all hope founded on the liberating effects of a backed cacophony of unrest, dissension. and calculated opposition reaching into all vulnerable strata of the empire. These planned effects counter the absurd argument of aimless uprisings, and constitute a real possibility which for its very existence in the coming short-run can only be nurtured by liberation.

Footnotes at end of speech.

For the requirements of the ever-impending phase of a hot war it should be evident now that a policy of liberation places us in an infinitely more advantageous position than one of containment and its myopic wait-and-see attitude. Efficiently organized groups of national leadership, thriving in well-supported underground networks with roots deeply implanted in the respective populace, cannot be expected to materialize with a narrow policy of containment no matter how extensive our intelligence and espionage activity may be. We are dealing with enslaved national bodies that in their present grave state of systematic genocide require our complete national effort which, again, can only be expressed through a policy of liberation. Their hope, their courage, their will to exist and fight can only be sustained by our effective moral commitment to the goals of their freedom and independ-Thus in the final inexorable accountence. ing, to the degree that we fail in the concrete preparation and support of these truly natural allies, to that degree and more, in the event of a showdown, we shall be forced to underwrite the undoubtedly heavy losses of open combat in grossly disproportionate amounts of American lives and treasure. The great irony and paradox of our current containment policy reside in the inescapable fact that as we timidly attempt, on the insular bases of brute material power and passive institutional example, to stave off a global conflict marked by vast devastation, we are inadvertently, by the very nature of our present historical dilemma, contributing to this horrible outcome.

Let us honestly face the cruel fact that this is the tremendous responsibility of decision now weighing upon the shoulders of our policymakers whose anticipated pleadings of "we did our best in the cause of peace" could scarcely justify their failure to mold now the available alternative means to a swift, economical and certain victory in the case of a hot war. The simplistic notion that all that is required is the massive capacity to bomb out the enemy, is purely a product of vacuous thinking with a show of arrogance toward all the determining factors of geography, history, economics and sound psychological strategy. The detailed contents of these factors are certainly not the exclusive property of our policymakers to warrant the self-legitimating shroud of secret information upon which policy decisions are pre-sumably formed. In substantial degree they are accessible to anyone given to painstaking research and study, and in many instances are more easily acquired through unofficial channels. Those familiar with these factors inevitably encounter the consummate conclusion that our ineptitude in the strategic utilization of these factors for the current historic struggle might well seal our doom, The plain truth is that despite our past military successes, we can lose: and the ultimate phase of reconstruction, for which the universal principles of liberation prepare us best, may not be of our making.

THE DUAL NATURE OF THE ENEMY

Scholars are well aware of the many myths circulating in this country on the subjects of communism and the Soviet Union. Those who are unwilling or impatient to study the genesis of Russian communism, its genealogy and historical development to the present day, easily succumb to such myths as: (1) that Moscow-centered communism is not a Russian phenomenon and was initially imposed upon the Russian people; (2) that our enemy is merely ideologic communism, so to speak, born in a historical void; and (3) that any thought of dismembering the Soviet Union—the inner sphere of the Russian Communist Empire-would consolidate the Russian masses behind the Kremlin. To what extent these and similar myths are inspired by enemy agents and Russia "first" elements

in this country is always a fitting question. Nevertheless, they are media of disinformation blurring the necessary distinctions of thought and fact that must be observed in any realistic program of successful, political action.

From a historical-sociological viewpoint one of the most ridiculous notions entertained is that the Bolshevik Revolution represents an institutional hiatus in the history of ethnic Russia. Fortunately, competent scholar-ship refutes this politically inspired notion, and has increasingly shown the historic, autocratic Russian qualities of Muscovitic communism. As the learned Father Walsh points out, "Psychologically, the Russian peopleupon whom the revolution is based and without whose acquiescence it could not have been launched or so long sustained-have always revealed qualities of frustrated mysticism which inclines them to constant acceptance of contradictions and paradoxes." One of the most outstanding Russian authorities, Nicolas Berdyaev, stresses that 'However paradoxical it may sound, still Bolshevism is the third appearance of Russian autocratic imperialism; its first appearance being the Muscovite Czardom and its second the Petrine Empire." Sooner or later, thoughtful Americans, whose minds have not been completely infected by the hatched notions of puny Russia "first" advocates, will come to understand the full import of the warning given by this venerable Russian Christian scholar: "It is particularly important for western minds to understand the national roots of Russian communism and the fact that it was Russian history which determined its limits and shaped its character. A knowledge of Marxism will not help in this." *

Indeed, it is important for us to understand this in order to shape our policy accordingly. The enemy is dual in nature. In objective, experiential terms ideologic communism is bankrupt, but although, like the Muscovite and Petrine doctrines of the Third Rome and Pan-Slavism in the past, it serves the purpose of ideologic babbitry in the empire, it functions also as a conspiratorial weapon in the free world, attracting dupes, opportunitst, and traitors. The real substance of the enemy is totalitarian Russian imperialism driven, as one scholar puts it, by the historic Messianic obsession of "expansion, greatness of the state, ideas of grandeur, and Messianic ideas of world redemp-tion or world domination." This drive expressed itself at the very inception of Russian communism by the imperialist rape of independent Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Georgia, Poland, the Baltic countries, Hungary, and the other nations.

THE RUSSIAN CALCULUS OF WORLD CONQUEST

History has cast our role as the savior of nations, more so those genocided behind the Iron Curtain than those threatened in the free world. The plan for their necessary salvation can only commence with the policy of liberation. Except in hollow word, we are today acquiescing to Russian genocidal consolidation and in reality abandoning the captive nations. With millions of beaten robots at its disposal, Moscow will have achieved its psychological basis of reasonable expectation of success in its calculus of world conquest. Given the initial advantage of attack and a sabotaging world conspiratorial network, it does not even have to regard the second essential variable, a quantitative superiority in arms, as a necessary requisite for such expectation; although with concentrated specialization, it may easily attain it both absolutely and relatively as we are forced to dissipate our resources in side-The third basic variable, its fear of retaliation, will be inversely related to its estimated ability to create regionalized Pearl

Footnotes at end of speech.

Harbors. Allowing the first, and dangerously gambling through unprincipled containment on the second, we are contributing heavily to their lessened fear of the third variable

Time definitely favors Moscow, not the free world. Behind the Iron Curtain are formidable allies which in a sense are more important than France and England. They are, step-by-step, vanishing under the brutal Communist force and our nebulous foreign policy providing to them no hope of liberation. Are we prepared to sacrifice them by a compromised policy? In two World Wars England and France turned to us for their salvation. Whom can we turn to in the event of a third?

- New York Times, October 21, 1952.
- ² A Policy of Boldness, May 1952.
- * American Diplomacy 1900-1950, p. 95.
- * James Burnham, Containment or Liberation, p. 229.

 Total Empire: The Roots and Progress of
- World Communism, p. 44.
 - The Origin of Russian Communism, p. 120.
- Ibid., p. 7.
 Dinko Tomasic, The Impact of Russian Culture on Soviet Communism, p. 75.

The Natural Gas Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following joint resolution from the Utah State Legislature concerning the Natural Gas Act:

Senate Joint Resolution 12

Joint resolution of the 31st Legislature of the State of Utah memorializing the Congress of the United States to enact legislation recognizing that the sale of natural gas by producers or gatherers in interstate commerce for resale are an integral part of the production and gathering of that resource and exempting such sales from any and all regulation by the Federal Government

Be it resolved by the Legislature of the tate of Utah (both houses concurring therein):

Whereas the Congress of the United States in 1938 passed the Natural Gas Act which gave the Federal Power Commission regulatory authority over the transportation and sale of natural gas in interstate commerce and provided that the provisions of this act shall not apply to the production and gathering of natural gas; and

Whereas the Federal Power Commission ruled on many occasions between 1938 and 1951 that it had no jurisdiction over sales of natural gas by producers and gatherers, and the United States Congress in 1950 again reiterated its intention that sales by producers or gatherers were exempt from Federal regulation under the Natural Gas Act; and

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States in 1954 held that all sales of natural gas for resale in interstate commerce are subject to regulation by the Federal Power Commission under the Natural Gas Act whether made before, during, or after production and gathering, such decision re-versing a precedent of long standing; and

Whereas it is the consensus of opinion of the Legislature of the State of Utah that the resultant subjection of theretofore unregulated activities of producers and gatherers to Federal regulation is not in the best

interests of the people of the United States in that it will have a very detrimental effect on the future development and ultimate beneficial utilization of this very valuable natural resource, and will also result in an inevitable clash between the Federal regulating authorities and State regulation with respect to utilization of this resource, and will have the further effect of encouraging extension of crippling Federal controls to many other commodities in the American economy: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we do petition and me-morialize the Congress of the United States to propose and enact an amendment to the Natural Gas Act of 1938 which will clearly and positively exempt from Federal regulation the activities of producers or gatherers of natural gas including sale by them of natural gas in interstate commerce for resale; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted forthwith to the President of the United States, United States Senate, House of Representatives, and each congressional delegate from the State of Utah.

National Park Policies Need Revision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, peo-ple in the State of Washington believe that our national park policies ought to be revised to permit full development of facilities at Mount Rainier National Park in order that more people might enjoy the scenic wonders and winter sports potential in the area. A resolution adopted last month by the Pierce County Pomona Grange, No. 16, expresses the attitude of not only its own members but that of countless other citizens of our State as well. I insert it herewith in the Congressional Record: PIERCE COUNTY POMONA GRANGE, No. 16,

Puyallup, Wash., February 12, 1955. Hon. THOR C. TOLLEFSON,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR Sm: The following resolution was adopted at the last Pomona Grange, No. 16, held February 12, 1955, copies to be sent our legislators:

'Whereas Washington's No. 1 tourist attraction, Mount Rainier, is being denied its fullest development by the National Park Service; and

Whereas Mount Rainier National Park offers superior skiing terrain, picnic areas, and scenic grandeur; and

"Whereas the park area properly developed would be a wonderful drawing card for national and international meets: Therefore be it

"Resolved, Congress amend Park Service regulations to stimulate construction of privately operated park facilities, including an aerial tramway; and

"Resolved, That Pierce County Pomona Grange urge their Senators and Representatives to introduce and support legislation for the full development of the natural resourfes of Mount Rainier National Park.

We ask for your cooperation on the above resolution.

Thank you for your time and effort. Yours truly,

Mrs. LUCILLE A. OCKFEN. Secretary.

Valuable and Effective Work Performed by Mercy Flights, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, an outstanding and courageous job has been done in Jackson County, Oreg., by Mercy Flights, Inc. This group provides an air ambulance for patients who cannot be treated otherwise, and for whom such emergency service is essential to life or health.

In recognition of the valuable and effective work performed by Mercy Flights, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the Medford (Oreg.) Mail-Tribune of March 13, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MERCY FLIGHTS ANNOUNCES PLANS FOR PRICE. **OPERATION CHANGES**

Mercy Flights, Inc., Jackson County's nonprofit air ambulance organization, Saturday announced plans for administrative changes which will guarantee continuation of its service.

The group's air ambulances last week carried the 334th patient—an average of nearly 11/4 flights per week since service was started just over 5 years ago.

The nonprofit corporation has grown from nothing but an idea to a responsible organization with assets totaling several thousand dollars, including a metal hanger at the Medford airport, a twin-engine Cessna aircraft, a single-engine Stinson aircraft, both converted to ambulance planes by the use of stretchers and big loading doors, and considerable radio, first aid and other equipment.

To maintain its planes in top condition, and to plan for future purchase of replacement planes, the group's board of directors has found it necessary to increase its pre-paid subscription charge to \$4 per family per year. Subscription will be \$2 for indi-

The income from this higher fee will permit the corporation to set up a fund for the purchase of replacement planes, which will become necessary some time in the future, and will allow continuance of maintenance and operations at the present level.

The prepaid subscription plan "saved" Mercy Flights from going bankrupt when it was first instituted in 1951 about a year and a half after service was first started, and provided it with a regular and reliable source of income. Prior to that, the only income was from flight charges, which were irregular. And since Mercy Flights has never turned down a patient for inability to pay, the corporation once or twice was in debt with no prospects of getting out.

FOUR SERVICE CLASSES

Four classes of service are now offered: 1. For subscribers, emergency ambulance service, certified as necessary by a doctor, within a 400-mile radius (this includes Seattle and San Francisco), is free on both the planes.

- 2. For subscribers, nonemergency but necessary ambulance service is available at a rate of 25 cents per mile one-way in the Cessna and 171/2 cents in the Stinson.
- 3. For nonsubscribers living in Jackson County, the rate is 35 cents per mile in the Cessna and 25 cents in the Stinson.

4. For nonsubscribers living outside of Jackson County the rate is 50 cents for the Cessna; 35 cents for the Stinson.

Out-of-county flights are made only in medical emergencies, and only when other air transportation is unavailable. As a non-profit corporation, Mercy Flights does not compete with commercial operators. Its flights are limited strictly to ambulance operations.

PILOTS NET SMALL PAY

When the service began operations, the pilots were unpaid. Since the demand for the service has increased, however, and the calls for pilots are more and more frequent, they are paid at a rate of 3 cents per mile—which in most cases does not compensate them for the time.

All pilots are volunteers, and all observe strict flight safety_regulations. All are qualified and experienced in the type of flying done.

Other phases of the operation being changed includes the bonding of company officers who handle funds of the organization; the centralization of record-keeping, and setting up of a new accounting system. Officers believe these steps together with the increase in rates to provide needed income, will insure the stability and safety of the organization.

BILLINGS NOW UP

Billings going out this month will be for the increased amount which is still felt to be a small amount for the type of protection and service offered.

There are 12 directors who are responsible for the operation of the organization. They include George Milligan, who is also founder, chairman and chief pilot of Mercy Flights; Mrs. Jeanette Thatcher Marshall, secretary; Dr. L. Paul Walker, vice chairman, and Eric Allen, Jr., treasurer, and Dr. C. I. Drummond, Seth Bullis, Mrs. Stephen Nye, Frank Peri, Vern Smith, George Flanagan, Harold Frye, and Joseph Burns. Burns was recently elected to the board to succeed Dick Woods, who moved from Medford.

A chief pilot's committee, which assists in the formulation and enforcement of safety figing regulations, consists of Gene Kooser and John Childers, both Mercy Flights pilots. A technical advisory committee, responsible for plane maintenance, includes Milligan, Kooser, Childers, Allen, and Burns. The corporation's executive committee, which makes policy decisions between board meetings, consists of the four officers.

Our Present Currency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STYLES ERIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record, an article entitled "Why Our Present Currency Is a Wicked Type of Money," written by Frederick G. Shull and published in the Commercial and Financial Chronicle.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY OUR PRESENT CURRENCY IS A WICKED TYPE OF MONEY

EDITOR, COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL CHRON-ICLE:

Having devoted considerable time in recent years to a study of the subject, sound money—which quality of money has been denied our citizens ever since we were taken off the gold standard in 1933 and given the "printing press" substitute, with which we are still operating-the seeming lack of interest displayed by bankers and insurance executives toward a return to specie-backed currency has been rather distasteful, to say the least. It should be borne in mind that we started out with a specie-backed currency under Alexander Hamilton, in 1792; and, with minor exceptions, that quality of American dollar was maintained right down to 1933. But there has appeared a ray of sunshine stemming from a recent statement made by the president of a large insurance company, in which he correctly called our present money a wicked type of money. Following are the facts of that statement:

At a meeting in Washington on December 6 and 7, 1954, under the chairmanship of Senator Flanders, high officials of Treasury and Pederal Reserve, economists, bankers, and others were in attendance, among them Mr. Frazar B. Wilde, president of the Connecticut General Life Insurance Co., Hartford. Chairman Flanders raised the question as to whether the United States should return to gold convertibility—meaning, of course, to the gold standard. Comment by Mr. Wilde was not only forthright, it really hit the nail right on the head. Here are Mr. Wilde's own words:

"I may be biased because of the fect that my business sells money for future delivery, and to me it is a pretty wicked thing to consider the possibility that people will make present sacrifices for future protection, and then get dollars of much lower value." (Reference: U. S. Government Printing Office pamphlet No. 55314, p. 88, dated Dec. 6 and 7, 1954.)

Let's give some thought to Mr. Wilde's statement that his business sells money for future delivery. Is that type of business confined to Connecticut general? It is not; for every insurance company, regardless of type of insurance involved, sells money for future delivery. And is it confined to insurance business? No; it also applies with the same force to the entire banking business of this Nation; for every banker is selling money for future delivery. Let me enlarge upon that point.

When I deposit \$100 in a bank, I am paying that bank \$100 for, in effect, a guaranty by the bank to deliver \$100 to me at some future date. Am I entitled to receive back the same quality of money as I entrusted to that bank? There can be but one answer: Yes. I cannot, of course, hold the bank responsible for fluctuations in purchasing power of those dollars; but I am entitled to demand that since the dollars I deposited carried a value of \$35 a fine ounce of gold, the bank shall reimburse me with dollars of the same quality. And the same applies to insurance policies: When I pay an insurance premium with dollars carrying a value of one thirty-fifth of an ounce of gold per dollar, I am entitled to receive the benefits under that policy in dollars of the same quality. In other words, all I am saying is strictly in line with the forthright admission of Frazar B. Wilde-that "it is a pretty wicked thing to consider the possibility that people will make present sacrifices for future protection and then get dollars of much lower value."

And if one were to ask: Why all this worry—why not leave it to the dealers (bankers and insurance companies) in money "for future delivery"?—my answer would be: This isn't just "peanuts"—it involves hundreds of billions of dollars. For example, United States bank deposits as of December 31, 1953, totaled \$201 billion; and life insurance in force in 1954, \$339 billion—together, \$540 billion. Why, that is the equivalent of 528,000 tons of gold, avoirdupois, based on \$35 per troy ounce—it is 25 times as much gold as we have burled at Fort Knox and the other repositorics. And

does that mean that we can't restore the gold standard? No; it doesn't, and for the following reasons:

People want very little gold, and are never likely to want much gold; for possession of gold pays no interest—and it is much more profitable to have money in a bank at interest, or in an insurance policy for future protection, than to have gold hoarded in a bureau drawer or mattress at no interest. People merely want honesty and security—they want assurance that the standard of value, the American dollar, shall not be kicked around by politicians; that it shall be maintained unchangeable in value—maintained, at all times, as good as gold.

And this aim can easily be accomplished if Congress will only take favorable action on one of the gold-standard bills being currently introduced—bills designed to firmly fix the value of the dollar at \$35 a fine ounce of gold and restore the age-old sound principle of redeemability, on demand.

Must we continue to accept the theory that the national budget cannot be balanced in terms of honest dollars—that it can only be balanced in terms of "printing press" dollars?

FREDERICK G. SHULL, Connecticut State Chairman, Gold Standard League. New Haven, Conn., February 8, 1955.

United States Needs Compulsory Federal Inspection for Poultry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I have called attention on several occasions to the need for Federal inspection and grading of poultry. I introduced House Resolution 647 in the 83d Congress and House Resolution 57 in this Congress which calls for an investigation of the commercial slaughtering and processing of poultry.

A very graphic article entitled "A Sick Chick Goes to Market" appeared in the March 1955 issue of Consumer Report, and I hope that every Member of Congress will take the time to read it. I believe the housewives of the country will be greatly alarmed to read about some of the conditions existing in a segment of the poultry industry.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith the article appearing in this month's Consumer Report:

A SICK CHICK GOES TO MARKET

The average buyer of poultry or poultry products may assume that she is protected by the same Federal laws which dictate the inspection of most beef, pork, lamb, and other meats or meat products. She may take for granted the wholesomeness of the poultry she sets before her family, but she would be wrong. To this date there has never been any compulsory Federal inspection of poultry destined for the consumer market, and only a few States have any compulsory inspection laws of their own. There is a Federal inspection and grading program for poultry, but it is entirely voluntary. It is estimated that less than 20 percent of the poultry which reaches the dinner tables of America is covered by this voluntary inspection program.

Just how bad the situation is, is indicated by a booklet called Congress Should Probe Sick and Diseased Poultry, just published by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL, 30,000 of whose members are employed in the poultry industry.

If the poultry is in Interstate commerce, the Government can use its law-enforcement powers to protect the public from filthy, decomposed, or adulterated food. In 1952, inspectors of the Food and Drug Administration selzed over 200,000 pounds of poultry unfit for human consumption. But the amount of poultry inspection the Food and Drug Administration can do on its small budget is relatively trivial. Furthermore, a great deal of poultry is produced and sold within State boundaries, and law enforcement here varies with the local or State health departments involved.

Thirty years ago there were very few large poultry slaughtering plants. Poultry for the most part was marketed alive, and often slaughtered at home. The consumer had a chance to see the bird, and would naturally reject a dead bird or one that was severely Today, probably less than one bird in a thousand is seen alive by the urban consumer, and it is difficult, if not impossible to determine illness in a slaughtered bird, however apparent the symptoms were when the fowl was alive. The Food and Drug Administration complains that inferior and diseased poultry frequently appears on the retail market as cut-up pieces; it is obviously hard to tell if a chicken was diseased or well, when all you see of it is a drumstick. Diseased and inferior poultry also finds its way into restaurants and soup factories. When a number of soup manufacturers recently changed their buying policies, sellers of poultry unfit for human consumption complained that their market was seriously hurt

How bad are conditions in the processing plants, and how widespread is the traffic in diseased poultry? Poultry plants range from pot scalders to assembly line operations where 600,000 pounds of poultry is dressed in a 24-hour day, and conditions vary from excellent to repulsive regardless of size of plant, or type of equipment. It has been stated by officials in the United States Public Health Service that anyone who has observed poultry plant operations from the public health point of view does not have to be convinced of the need for poultry in-spection programs. The poultry workers themselves have published sworn affidavits describing conditions in some of these uninspected plants. These affidavits indicate that considerable quantities of poultry in the advanced stages of disease and in most revolting condition are slaughtered and procesesd; even birds which are already decomposing are packed and shipped out to unsuspecting consumers. In dressing, eviscerating, and packing such diseased and unwholesome poultry there is a strong possibility of contaminating the equipment, and thereby the carcasses of birds which were healthy when slaughtered.

A PUBLIC HEALTH MENACE

It is well established by health authorities that certain poultry diseases are transmissible to man. Among these are psittacosis (parrot fever), which has been traced to turkeys, and a virus infection known as Newcastle disease. In addition, there are a large number of disease-causing organisms common to man and poultry; of these, the Salmonella group of bacteria, which cause infections similar to paratyphold or typhoid fever, are of the greatest concern to publichealth officers. In a single year (1948), the United States Public Health Service reports. 2,492 cases of food-borne disease were traced to poultry and poultry dishes. These cases were reported in the 62 outbreaks which reached epidemic proportions; it is probable

that there were many thousands of individual or sporadic cases which were unreported. Only a fraction of the States require that cases of food poisoning be reported to the health authorities.

Obviously, the consumer must obtain more protection against diseased or contaminated poultry than he is getting at present. The appearance and odor of a bird that has had its viscera removed, and has been cut up ready to cook are the consumer's only guide to wholesomeness. But it is not an infallible guide, since certainty about the bird's health often requires examination of the live bird as well as the viscera and carcass to determine whether the fowl is diseased. Moreover, in the case of frozen poultry, appearance and odor are even less reliable.

It sems obvious that the consumer can be effectively protected only by effective regulation of the poultry industry. Poultry is a major food, and its consumption has steadily grown to an estimated 35 pounds per capita. Yet the slaughtering, inspection, grading, labeling, packing, processing, canning, sale, and transportation of poultry or poultry products that move in interstate commerce are subject to no Federal control.

The first step toward effective poultry regulation might well be a full-scale investigation of the commercial slaughtering and processing of poultry. Such an investigation was called for last July in resolutions introduced in the Senate by Senator Paul. H. Douglas, of Illinois, and in the House of Representatives by Congressman Mrivin Paice, of Illinois. Both measures—Senate Resolution 283 and House Resolution 647—were referred to appropriate committees. CU believes that both resolutions merit the support of consumers who want to be certain that the poultry they buy is wholesome, free of disease, and fit for human consumption.

When You Come to Life's Twilight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES E. POTTER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a very interesting article entitled "When You Come to Life's Twilight." The article was written by W. Earl Hall, editor of the Mason City (Iowa) Globe-Gazette, and was published in that newspaper on March 14, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHEN YOU COME TO LIFE'S TWILIGHT (A radio commentary by W. Earl Hall)

Curiously enough two of the most challenging problems confronting our country today have to do with the two extremes of our population's lifespan. On the one hand we're asking: "What shall we do about our rising number of youngsters?" and on the other we're asking: "What shall we do about our rising number of oldsters?"

The youth problem has a good many facets and I've dealt with most of them, I think, down through the years in these once-a-week visits with you. These include providing classrooms and teachers for nearly twice as many children as we've been accom-

modating up to now. And there's the matter of a mounting juvenile delinquency.

In this commentary I'd like to talk about what are being referred to as our "senior citizens." And arbitrarily I'm going to consider age 65 as the dividing line although there would be some justification for starting with age 45, or even 40, for that's when a great many employers begin looking askance at job applicants.

"IF GIVEN A CHANCE"

Each passing day thousands of men and women are turned away from jobs they could fill satisfactorily if given a chance. They are experienced, healthy, emotionally stable and eager to work. But employers, for what seems to be good reason, have a preference for somebody younger.

It doesn't take any sociologist to sense

It doesn't take any sociologist to sense that an inestimable sum total of skill, experience and mature judgment is going to waste in our society. And what's bad now is going to be worse 20 years from now because America's population is growing heavy at the top. Life expectancy is increasing every year.

At latest count there were 43 million persons in the United States over 45. That's well over a fourth of the total population. By 1975, it's calculated, there will be 63 million persons past 45 and they will make up nearly half of all Americans past 20. Thus we see it's a great and growing problem. Let there be no doubt of that.

RETIRE-BUT TO WHAT?

Now let's turn to those 65 years of age or older. That's the generally accepted age for retirement. And the question has arisen in stern form: Retire to what?

Two of my warmest friends, caught up in this trend themselves, are giving their best thought and effort to the problem. One of them is Maurice duPont Lee, long identified as a chemical engineer with the Du Pont Co. of Wilmington, Del. The other is R. K. Bliss, probably the Nation's best known authority in the field of agricultural extension work. To thousands he has been almost synonymous with Iowa State College for the past 40 years or so.

It has been my satisfying experience in the past few months to bring these 2 grand people together through the medium of correspondence. Their approach to the problem of geratology has been from somewhat different angles but between them, they'll be making a fine contribution to the science. Of that I feel confident.

CREATIVE WORK BEST MEDICINE

Both, I'm sure, would agree with another friend of mine, now well into his eighties and as keen of mind as when for some 20 years he served with distinction as State health commissioner.

"Occupation," says Dr. Walter Bierring, now head of the Iowa division of gerontology, heart and chronic diseases, "is recognized as the best of medicine. Work, particularly if creative, gives to life its most enduring purpose."

We can go on from there—and I dip first into a letter written by my Wilmington friend to my Iowa State College friend.

"It is my contention," writes Maurice duPont Lee, "that a person who has worked throughout his active career and accumulated a stock of this world's goods has no moral right to go to Florida, sit under a palm tree and wait for the undertaker.

"This man of means is no more independent than the 'senior citizen' who lives on a pension. He relies entirely on the labor which earns the dividends on his securities.

"HE OWES A DEBT TO SOCIETY

"He has no right to accept this labor and not give back something in return. He should work for the community, or the church, for civic affairs—and it is with this in view that I have been pestering them, with some satisfactory results, I might add." What Maurice duPont Lee has done in carrying out this fundamental philosophy made one of the most interesting articles ever carried by the Saturday Evening Post. I've reproduced it in 2 or 3 of my commentaries, at least in broad outline.

In simple statement, Mr. Lee surrounded himself with some other retired people with a broad business background and made their experience and counsel available to small businesses which were having a rough go of it. Many such have been put on their feet, saved from failure.

Along with this he serves without pay as park commissioner in his hometown of Wilmington. He finds pride in the fact that Wilmington is better served by its park system than any city of comparable size in the world.

HE'S A FRIEND OF HUMANITY

And even this isn't the end of the story. Maurice Lee still finds time to be the friend in need for all who are in distress. From a woman suffering with incurable cancer, I recently received a letter about his work. Let me quote a sentence or two from it:

"Practically every moment of his busy day he is doing something for some unfortunate. * * * I have never once heard him mention what he has done or what he is doing for people."

Turning now to Mr. Bliss, we find what I suppose might be called a more general approach to the problem. In his 10 years of retirement from the extension directorship, he has managed to keep busy in a number of fields. All the while, too, he has been a student of this relatively new science called gerontology. It has to do with the aging.

HERE ARE SOME RULES

From sitting in on conferences and from his own experience and observation, Mr. Bliss has come up with a set of suggestions which he thinks will add zest, and probably years, to the life of those who look out on their setting sun after retirement from their lifework:

- 1. If at all possible, keep on working at something you like and as your strength will permit.
- Keep on living among long-time friends if possible. As one grows older, it becomes increasingly difficult to make new friends and the old ones keep dropping away.
- 3. Be as independent as you can. If one cannot be independent, then accept the situation philosophically. This sometimes requires a good sense of humor.
- 4. Keep on enjoying life. Dress as others dress. Don't, if you can help it, let yourself be set apart. Be a part of the community in which you live. Powder your nose, put rouge on your cheeks if you want to, wear conventional clothes, nice neckties, be one of the community or group, play suitable games, relax—have fun.
- 5. Watch your food. Get plenty of protein, calcium (milk is the best source), protective foods, and vitamin B complex group. Take note of your waistline.
- Have regular physical examinations at least once a year and oftener if worried about your health.

These are guides which have worked well for Mr. Bliss and he believes they have much to recommend them for others similarly situated.

WHY WOMEN LIVE LONGER

Incidentally, he has an interesting theory about why women live longer than men on the average. It's because the great majority of them keep on working at the tasks to which they were accustomed. But let's have R. K. Bliss tell it in his own words:

"When Dad retires, does Mom retire too? Not on your life. She keeps right on preparing three meals a day. She keeps the house in shape, makes the beds, etc.

"All the while old Dad is reading the papers and worrying about the present state of affairs and speculating on what's going to happen in the future. Mom doesn't have

much time to worry.

"Mom generally has some grandchildren to take care of occasionally, to sew for and mother at times. And if she becomes a widow—as a rather surprisingly large number do, she may go to live with one of her children. If so, she keeps on working, taking care of her own room, mending for the grand-children, etc."

DAD'S LIFE DESCRIBED

Then Mr. Bliss presents this contrast in Dad's life after retirement:

"Somebody else makes his bed, lays out his clothes, sees that he has the easy chair, cautions him about overdoing. (He might hurt his heart, you know.)

"Actually I think the tendency of the retirement system is to make Dad think about himself and his troubles so much that after a few years of it, he gets bored and tired and just drops off.

"No amount of social security that merely provides pork and beans and a good place to sleep will remedy this situation. We were told long ago that 'man cannot live by bread alone."

A study conducted and evaluated not so long ago by the University of Illinois lends support to the view held by Mr. Bliss that society is the poorer for not taking advantage of what our senior citizens have to offer. It covered 1,025 workers in 20 companies, all past 60, some past 70.

BAR ON GRANDMA MOSES

In overall performance, in total production, in the quality of product, in cooperative spirit and in absenteeism, the study revealed a highly satisfactory record for the oldsters as compared with their juniors on the job.

Now for a final word of testimony on this point by my Iowa friend:

"If Grandma Moses, the distinguished painter now 94, had been teaching school or college, she would have retired 24 or 29 years ago." She would never have painted even one picture.

In politics, there is no such binding restraint. Churchill is 80, Adenauer is almost as old and we have a group of Congressmen in their seventies and eighties.

It's comforting to know that a problem of such importance is coming more and more into focus in our country.

Russia, China, and the Outlook in the

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on the evening of March 16, 1955, it was my privilege to address the Intelligence Chapter of the Reserve Officers Association. That is composed of the Intelligence Services of the Army, the Navy, and other groups. I spoke on the subject Russia, China, and the Outlook in the Pacific. I ask unanimous consent that my address be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RUSSIA, CHINA, AND THE OUTLOOK IN THE

As we look out on the world and ponder the problems that confront us, their very magnitude leads us at times to see only the dark side of the picture.

Unless those problems solve themselves, we must continue to seek solutions. And while seeking them, in association with our allies, we must keep up our guard, remain strong, and be prepared to meet any new danger which may threaten our security or that of the free world.

Yet the outlook is far from hopeless. Viewed superficially, or basing our conclusions on day-to-day developments, it might be thought fairly desperate. But if we dig deeper and look at the fundamentals, we can even be fairly cheerful.

There are favorable factors at work that justify an optimistic outlook. The facts of human nature likewise should strengthen our faith in the future.

The facts of history belie the concept that human beings will accept tyrannical rule indefinitely, or that tyrants cannot be overthrown.

The historic relationships of Eurasian peoples—including the Chinese and Russians—disclose more points of conflict, including conflicts of interest, than there are points of agreement.

Communism itself, although assuming malevolent form in its present incarnation, becomes a menace only as it is linked to nationalistic and imperialistic ambitions centering in Moscow and Peiping. In its basic philosophy it did not originate with Karl Marx. It is as old as mankind, and there have been communistic societies, or attempts to set them up, as far back as we can see in our study of human institutions.

To dispose of that subject first, and briefly, it is one of the simple facts of history that from the earliest times down to the present, these communistic communities have died out and either disappeared completely or passed through successive mutations into a pattern more nearly reflecting the competitive nature of life and the aspiration of human beings to pursue happiness and struggle for life's rewards in their own way. Communism has always failed when tried, because it conflicts with the fundamentals of human nature. It will fail in Russia and China for the same basic reason.

But it will fail for another reason also. It will fail because communism itself cannot compete with individualism. It must fail; because slaves and slave states cannot compete with free institutions and with free men living in free countries. It must fail because, under communism, and under dictatorial regimes and tyrannical rule, there is lacking the incentive to achievement which inspires free men to reach the heights they do.

A single illustration points the moral here: Russia and China are both suffering from food shortages. In the United States our problem is not shortages, but surpluses. Eisewhere in the free world the production of wheat, rice, meat, dairy products, and other dietary essentials is increasing constantly. The communist world, experimenting with collectivism, and with orders for food production handed down from above through a Communist bureaucracy, and with production at the source supervised by Communist overseers, suffers from hunger.

If the hungry peoples who are still free can be shown how to increase their own food supplies, and if we can help them to do this (meanwhile sharing our surpluses with them, as we have and will), they too will follow the path of freedom rather than fall into the lockstep of communism.

Now to be specific concerning Russia and China:

Moscow continues to growl and threaten, to abuse the rest of us, and to flood the free world with lying propaganda designed—though unsuccessfully—to convince it that the Soviet Union is the world's most power-

Can a nation suffering from food shortages, and which has to choose between guns and butter, consumer goods and the products of heavy industry, be so categorized? Hardly. With all of her progress of the last 25 or 30 years in some directions, Russia still cannot grow enough food for her people, and actually has fewer cattle now than when the Russian peasant was little more than a serf, but still had freedom enough to run

his farm in his own way. What about Russia's relations with China? Does this constitute a true partnership, or is Russia making China pay through the nose for whatever the Red regime getsmeanwhile pushing off on the Peiping government obsolete and surplus war equipment which Russia herself no longer wants?

To a limited extent it pays Russia to help Red China. As China develops economically, it can become a market for Russian products-when Russia has enough of anything to export. As China becomes stronger militarily, the Red regime and the Red Army can be used to threaten China's neighbors. But it also serves Russia's purposes; for by encouraging China to undertake military adventures in the Far East, Russia makes sure that there will be no Chinese thrust to the north or west-into Siberia or Mongolia.

China is kept in a state of subjection as surely as if she were one of the lesser satellites of the Soviet Union. And to the extent that China's resources go into her Army and Air Force, with no real hope that they can be used to enlarge her territory or advance her interests-China is kept weak economically, or at least weaker than if the whole energies of her industrious people were devoted to developing her resources for her

own benefit.

Thus, it may be suspected that Russia has a darkly ulterior, as well as a profit motive in giving Red China limited help. Moscow may even encourage Pelping to test our defenses in the Pacific for the double purpose, as they hope, of involving both China and the United States in a military conflict.

But certainly Russia can never afford to allow Red China to become a first-class military power. For whatever else they are, the rulers in the Kremlin are realists. They know their history. And they are not likely to forget that over the historic period the pressure of population on the Eurasian Continent has always come from the East. They will not forget that the Mongol hordes only a few centuries ago, as history is measured, overran Russia repeatedly, burned Moscow at least twice, and that for some 300 years Russia was forced to pay tribute to a Mongol Khan.

So there is a limit to the military and economic assistance Red China can expect from Russia.

Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai think of themselves as partners of Russia; but sooner or later they will learn-if they have not realized it thus far-that they are not partners.

Russia is using Red China and will use her, so long as it serves Russian purposes, and so long as the Peiping government permits

itself to be so used.

The Chinese rulers, for their part, will not be likely to forget the historic record. It is Russia that has hemmed China in. glance at the map will show this vividly. China cannot move either north or west into sparsely populated areas with presumably substantial resources awaiting development. without coming into conflict with Russia.

What country took over Mongolia at a moment of Chinese weakness? Russia.

What neighbor moved into Manchuria and forced concessions there from China? Russla.

What supposed friend led China into a hopeless war in Korea, draining Chinese resources and costing the lives of a million Chinese? Russia.

What country stripped Manchuria of Japanese industrial equipment after World War II, leaving Communist China with the problem of rebuilding that formerly busy area, as developed during the Japanese occupation? Russia.

Only twice in Chinese history-once during the Mongol period, under the reign of Kublai Khan, in what is known as the Yuan Dynasty, and again under the Manchushave the people of China gone south into Burma, Cambodia, and beyond, for purposes of military conquest.

These expeditions failed, and there is nothing in the present situation to suggest that any new Chinese military move in that direction would prove more successful, even without our intervention.

And the United States would intervene. Let there be no mistake on that point. And with a suddenness and strength that would

open Asian eyes.

The Red rulers of China know this.

As to Formosa, the answer is equally clear: There is no possibility whatever that the men who sit in Peiping could take Formosa against the opposition represented by the Nationalist government on that island, supported by United States naval and air strength. And the Red Chinese know this,

The Chinese never have been a maritime people. They could no more reach out into the Pacific over the opposition of the free nations, including the Asian people in countries nearby, and of course including ourselves, than they could march to Moscow against Russia's military might on land. The Chinese know this.

If they feel themselves bottled up in China, they might look at the map again, and see who it is that has bottled them up. map tells the story. The only territory formerly included in the Chinese empire which has been taken from China was taken from them by Russia.

When China has felt impelled to move into new territory in the past, the people of that country have moved-with the unsuccessful exceptions noted previously-either north or west. There has been trouble on her northern and western frontiers since before the Christian era.

It would not be altogether surprising if, at some future date, there should again be trouble there.

Moreover, the Chinese people, who enjoyed a high degree of culture before the first Russians emerged from the northern forests, certainly cannot enjoy subordinating themselves to the Russians now-or knowing that if Russia can prevent it they can never rise to equality with their neighbor to the west.

The Communists can settle down in China and behave themselves, so far as their conduct concerns others, or they can invite trouble, and undoubtedly find it in whatever direction they move.

And Communist Russia can do the same thing, as of today; for if they should move into Europe, beyond the present boundaries of the Communist bloc, they would invite destruction of all that they have gained, or built, in more than a quarter of a century.

That, then, is the picture.

These are some of the things we too often forget, or overlook, or fail to think about as we pass through this time of trouble.

On the whole, I think we have reason to be encouraged.

In the end, I believe the world will emerge into a better day.

Ultimately, we can hope, the Russian and Chinese people will throw off the tyranny of pseudo-communism, a dialectic screen for totalitarian rule by self-serving dictators and again join the ranks of the free nations.

For the present, we shall watch, wait, pray, keep our powder dry, our Seventh Fleet in the Formosa Straits, and our airbases around the perimeter of Russia.

And we shall have faith that out of this formula will come, before long, a happier world for all of us.

George Mason

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF UTPGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address made by Mr. R. Carter Pittman, a very distinguished member of the Georgia bar, entitled "George Mason, the Architect of American Liberty."

This address was delivered at the fall meeting of the Georgia Society of the Sons of Colonial Wars at Savannah, Ga., on November 17, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Vital Speeches of December 15, 1954] GEORGE MASON: THE ARCHITECT OF AMERICAN LIBERTY

(By R. Carter Pittman, attorney, Dalton, Ga., delivered at the fall meeting of the Georgia Society of the Sons of Colonial Wars,1 Savannah, Ga., November 17, 1954)

On Wednesday, June 23, 1779, the flagship Sensible, a French frigate of 36 guns, under Captain Chavagnes, was at half sail on a choppy sea 6 days out, en route from France to America. To starboard and to larboard were the Bonhomme Richard of 42 guns, under Capt. John Paul Jones, and the Alliance, under Captain Landais. In the convoy were three other able ships of the line, gunned. To complete the convoy were two ill-constructed and aggravating tubs whose sail seemed to ship more water than wind. Five knots in a fair wind was about all they could do. Trailing the convoy since the preceding Saturday were from 2 to 6 English privateers yawning for, yet fearing, the chance to close in for the kill. A few shots across their bows discouraged cordiality. On Tuesday night they had peeled off to be seen no more.

Aboard the Sensible was a French Commission deputed to a fledgling nation in the throes of the birth of freedom under the laws of God and man. Aboard also was John Adams and his 12-year-old son, John Quincy. The cargoes of human flesh and sinews of war were the answer of France to the subtle, yet fervent, plea of the Declaration of Inde-Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Livingston, and Roger Sherman had pieced together the Declaration of Independence from the products of American minds and the sentiments of the day and had deposited it in the laps of the gods as a hopeful prayer for aid in the American struggle for life over death.

Something about the sea, the mission, and the great part John Adams had played, and was yet playing, lifted him out of himself. At no hour of life had he felt so near the ideal of independence toward which American patriots had staggered so long, to find always beyond reach. The danger of capture at sea was now past. Something less

Footnotes at end of speech.

than relaxed conversation would have been out of place. Something less than sincerity would have been a travesty on the Sensible

M. Marbois, secretary of the French Commission, fell into easy conversation with Adams on deck during the afternoon of that Wednesday. In that conversation John Adams told a few secrets that the world has either overlooked or ignored. After the evening meal, the second future President of the United States put John Quincy, the sixth future President, to bed in his hammock and then retired to his nearby cabin. The conversation of the afternoon was rebounding in his mind. Sollicquy tortured him, Philadelphia haunted him, and drove sleep westward many knots. As the Sensible seemed to slumber, John Adams recorded in his diary some of his conversation with Marbois. Here is a part:

"All religions are tolerated in America," said M. Marbois; "and the ambassadors have in all courts a right to a chapel in their own way; but Mr. Franklin never had any."
"No," said I laughing, "because Mr. Franklin had no"—I was going to say what I did not say, and will not say here. I stopped short, and laughed. "No," said M. Marbois; "Mr. Franklin adores only great nature, which has interested a great many people of both sexes in his favor." "Yes," said I, laughing, "all the atheists, deists and libertines, as well as the philosophers and ladies, are in his train—another Voltaire, and thence—" "Yes," said Mr. Marbois, "he is celebrated as the great philosopher and the great legisla-tor of America." "He is," said I, "a great philosopher, but as a legislator of America he has done very little. It is universally be-lieved in France, England, and all Europe, that his electric wand has accomplished all this revolution. But nothing is more groundless. He has done very little. It is believed that he made all the American constitutions and their confederation; but he made neither. He did not even make the constitution of Pennsylvania, bad as it is. The Bill of Rights is taken almost verbatim from that of Virginia which was made and published 2 or 3 months before that of Philadelphia was begun; it was made by Mr. Mason."

That of "Philadelphia" (meaning Pennsylvania) "was begun" in late August 1776. The original draft of "that of Virginia—made by Mr. Mason" reached Richard Henry Lee in Philadelphia, in the handwriting of Mason, in late May 1776. It appeared in the June 1 issue of the Virginia Gazette which reached Philadelphia 4 days later. On June 6, it reappeared in the Pennsylvania Evening Post. On the 12th it reappeared in the Pennsylvania Gazette. The first paragraph was:

"That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain inherent natural Rights, of which they cannot, by any Compact, deprive, or divest their Posterity; among which are the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the Means of acquiring and possessing Property, and pursuing and Obtaining Happiness and Saftey." 2

Franklin, though a philosopher, was unwilling to deface those lines that firmed for the ages the profound wisdom of the Cato of his country. He copied Mason's words "almost verbatim" into the Pennsylvania Declaration of Rights, as follows: 4

"That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and inalienable rights, amongst which are, the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety."

Adams could not remember the first name, "George," so he let it go as "Mr. Mason." Seventy-five years later Charles Francis Adams, son of John Quincy and grandson of John, could remember neither the first nor

the last name. Nevertheless he recorded in the Works of John Adams, vol. 4, page 220, et seq., that his grandfather had no sooner disembarked from the Sensible to embrace his wife, grandmother of Charles Francis, than he was called away to write the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights. The grandson disclosed that in August 1779 his grandfather did exactly what Benjamin Franklin did in August 1776. He too copied "almost verbatim" from the Virginia Declaration of Rights, As prepared by John Adams the first paragraph of the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights was as follows: 4

"All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting their property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness."

It was in the month of June 1776 that John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson were in Philadelphia struggling to compose the Declaration of Independence. It was easy enough to catalog the sins of George III and call him what he was. That had been done by many others many times. The South Carolina Constitution of March 1776 and Judge William Henry Drayton's charge to a grand jury at Charleston, S. C., in April 1776, were certainly used as models. But their combined wisdom was not equal to the task of framing a powerful preamble justifying revolution with an appeal to the hearts, the reason, and the sense of justice of all men. Nothing like that had ever been penned by man. Finally they saw the manuscript in the hands of Richard Henry Lee and later saw it in newspapers. Eureka! "Where Eureka! Mason get it?" No one knew. Richard Henry Lee knew the man of Gunston Hall better than any other in Philadelphia so he was appealed to. Here is the answer re-ported by Jefferson in a letter to Madison near a half century later:

"Richard Henry Lee charged it as copied from Locke's Treatise on Government." 5

That was just one other time when Richard guessed wrong. George Mason was a prophet. Like Ezekiel, he had learned the gift of prophecy from the roll of a book, multiplied thousands of times. In his ample library at Gunston Hall he had filtered 5,000 years of history. The principles of the Virginia Declaration of Rights were the distilled essence of history's bitter fruits gathered from her Garden of Gethsemane.

Revealing as the John Adams Diary was, it did not tell all. It did not concede that the preamble to the Declaration of Independence was but a slight variant of the first three paragraphs of Mason's Declaration of Rights. The variance substituted the specious doctrine of equality of birth for the commonsense doctrine of equality of freedom and independence. It also substituted a fruitless pursuit of happiness for the ownership of property and attainment of happiness. The pursuit of happiness is but vain drudgery if it is not to be obtained. Happiness and safety may not be obtained in this world without the means of acquiring and possessing property.

and possessing property.

Franklin and Adams consented to deface Mason's words in their appeal to France in the Declaration of Independence, but they were unwilling to deface them as a rule of life for Fennsylvania and Massachusetts. The Declaration of Independence was written as an appeal to the simple-minded peasants and philosophers of France. Those who prepared it knew that it would never breathe the first breath as living law in America—and it never has. The Mason concept became living law in every American Constitution and is now in every world constitution except those of Russia, Mongolia,

Ukraine, and Guatemala. Disillusioned France struck the doctrine of unbounded equality from her motto in 1940 and from her Declaration of Rights in 1946. Equality beyond the range of legal rights cannot thrive in free soil. It thrives only in the sewers of Slavic slavery.

Alexander Hamilton expressed the idea well on the floor of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia on June 26, 1787: "Inequality will exist as long as liberty exists. It unavoidably results from that very liberty itself." Equality beyond the range of legal rights is despotic restraint. Liberty wears no chains. Equality homogenizes so that cream no longer rises to the top. It puts the eagle in the henhouse, that he may no longer soar.

Who was the "legislator of America"? His name was "Mr. Mason" aboard the Sensible in 1779. John Adams seemed never able to remember even that much of his name again. The biographers of Adams, Franklin, and Jefferson have likewise suffered equal lapse of memory.

George Mason was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. He refused to sign a proposed Constitution that sanctioned human slavery and omitted the rights of men. The first six words of his Objections were heard in every hovel and on every frontier of America: "There is no declaration of rights." He carried his deathless struggle for a Federal Bill of Rights to the people, and lived barely long enough to see his efforts crowned with victory and his name drowned in oblivion because of the bitterness engendered in that struggle.

Something about the man and his story sounds like a play back of a few tragic scenes along the road to the Cross, and to Tower Hill. Liberty must have her martyrs in every age. It is blood drained from their veins and abuse heaped upon them that neutralizes arbitrary power in governments and reasserts man's natural right to be let alone. Martyrs to human liberty and dignity are those who think in terms of ages gone and to come—ancestry and posterity. Mason thought of the ages, while others thought of the hour.

The best minds among the proponents of the Constitution tried in vain to answer Mason's Objections under a variety of pseudonyms. One of the efforts appear in the Virginia Independent Chronicle of January 30, 1788, over the pseudonym Civis Rusticus. This article seems to have never been reprinted or noted elsewhere. It contains one of the most remarkable tributes by one adversary to another to be found in all literature.

Civis Rusticus opened his attempted reply to Mason with an apology, and, as he put it, "with that deference, which is due to this respectable and worthy gentleman; to whose great and eminent talents, profound judgment, and strength of mind, no man gives a larger credit than he who presumes to criticize his objections * * *."

After attempting to answer each of Mason's objections categorically, he then said:

"I have now finished what I proposed to observe on these objections, and trust no person will conclude my design has been to condemn this respectable gentleman for not putting his signature to the Constitution. On the contrary, thinking as he did, I commend him. The man of abilities, firmness, and integrity will dare to think, to judge, and act for himself. His principles have not the pliancy of his gloves, neither has he his mind to make up at every revolution. An hour's authority with him is not the guide to truth, nor does infallibility rest in numbers. He has a surer monitor: his own judgment and the dictates of his conscience. Of such stern matter is the mind of Mr. Mason composed, if I am rightly informed, that it is never yielding itself up, when convinced of its rectitude, at the arbitrium of the popular breath, nor giving in to opinions that are not its own."

That picture, drawn in the heat of bitter controversy by an unknown adversary, aids us to understand why Jefferson regarded Mason the wisest man of his generation; why Madison described him the greatest debater he had ever heard speak, and why Patrick Henry named him the greatest statesman he had ever known.

At the Virginia ratifying convention of 1788 in Richmond, Mason prepared proposed amendments that were sent to New York and which formed the basis of the amendments proposed by the New York ratifying convention. He prepared those proposed by the Virginia Convention. Practically all of those proposed by North Carolina originally flowed from the pen of Mason. The amendments proposed by the committee in the First Congress were taken almost seriatem from those originally drawn by Mason and transmitted from the Virginia ratifying convention. Thus it was that the first 10 amendments to the Federal Constitution, that we cherish as our Bill of Rights, adopted in 1791, was a monumental attempt to satisfy with Mason's own proposed amendments some of Mason's objections to the Constitution. The 11th and 22d amendments were belated attempts to satisfy other Mason objections that time had proved to be otherwise unanswerable. The ill-fated Bricker amend-ment, defeated in the last Congress, was a proposed answer to another of Mason's objections to the Constitution. Others remain to be answered in ages to come.

As we have said, the Declaration of Independence never breathed its first breath as living law, while the Bill of Rights lives and shields our helpless people from tyrannical government every hour of every day. Since the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence is celebrated annually, thought not to be improper to celebrate the anniversary of the Bill of Rights if done once in 150 years. December 15, 1941, was the 150th anniversary of the Federal Bill of Rights. A committee was formed to celebrate the occasion headed by Herbert Bayard Swope as national chairman. Franklin D. Roosevelt was honorary chairman, and it seemed that every living man who had ever been President or who had ever run for President or who had ever aspired to be President was named as honorary vice chairman. Down below in small print the national committee was crowded in. It was an imposing list of people with awesome titles and chronic publicity seekers. This committee published a book entitled "Our Bill of Rights, What It Means To Me." It consists of short essays by so-called leaders of thought at that time. As one might expect, the chairman led off with the essay that set the pattern. In it, he said:

"Jefferson, shocked by the omissions in the Constitution, as promulgated in 1789, while he was United States Minister to France

* * drafted the additions to our great charter. Thus we were given the four free-doms * * *" etc. With all due deference to Mr. Swope, Jefferson drafted no provision of our Bill of Rights or the Constitution to which it was added. In fact, Jefferson never drafted a single liberty-preserving provision of any constitution or bill of rights that has ever been adopted in America. He never attended a constitutional convention in his life. He spent much of his life writing constitutions for Virginia that were all rejected by his contemporaries because they liked the one Mason wrote for them too well. The only connection Jefferson ever had with our Bill of Rights was that he favored it from Why Swope and many other Americans should believe that Jefferson was the author of or had the inspiration for our Bill of Rights is one of the great unsolved mysteries of the New World.

Swope was not the only leader of thought to skin his ignorance on the Bill of Rights. Many of the 59 contributors to that book skinned their ignorance in the same place, Justice Felix Frankfurter paid his usual lipservice to liberty and conceived that the Bill of Rights and Constitution are just convenient vehicles in which the people may ride helter-skelter, and with reckless abandon in a wild pursuit of happiness. He insisted that the "pursuit of happiness" is the one real inalienable right in America. He didn't reveal the obvious truth that happiness may be pursued in prisons or in chains or in the mines of Siberia with even more zeal than in freedom. The liberty to pursue happiness is enjoyed by slaves. It is nothing. Liberty to obtain happiness is everything. Happiness may be pursued in Russia but it is not obtainable there. It may be obtained only in a government in which every unnecessary restraint on the individual is expressly forbidden by stubborn laws, and where laws rule the rulers as well as the ruled with the same force. The difference between pursuing happiness and obtaining it is the difference between the fantastic philosophy of alien doctrinaires and the intelligent realism of Mason.

The late famous journalist William Allen White said his piece in that book. He tells us that "the libertles that are guaranteed to the American people by the Bill of Rights . . came straight out of the impulse of the Declaration of Independence. *

MIRABILE DICTU

George Mason's pen was the first in all history to elevate freedom of speech and of the press to the dignity of constitutional status, yet Mr. White knew him not.

Those of you the least acquainted with the truths of American history and who have a strange sense of humor will enjoy reading The Bill of Rights, What It Means to Me, by the leaders of thought in America.

Mason's contribution to liberty under law in the solid framework of the Federal Constitution and Bill of Rights and in those of the American states and many nations of the world is a story too long to tell here. He was not only the legislator of America, but may be justly called the legislator of the non-Communist world. He is history's grand champion of the guarded liberty and dignity of men against everencroaching governments, and is also her most forgotten man. As a libertarian he stood at the opposite pole from so-called liberals of our day.

In October 1792, George Mason was buried at the edge of an old field near Gunston Hall 13 miles downstream from Mount Vernon. His body was placed as close to the side of Ann, the wife of his youth and mother of his children, as her tomb would permit. He wanted it that way. Her tomb thus became his own. For 19 years his heart had been there anyway.

On the following day the 5 sons and 4 daughters gathered in the library of Gunston Hall for the reading of his solemn will. It had been written in 1773, just after the death of Ann and before the Revolution had begun. One paragraph of that will mirrored the man:

"I recommend it to my sons from my own experience in life to prefer the happiness of independence and a private station to the troubles and vexation of public business, but if either their own inclinations or the necessity of the times should engage them in public affairs, I charge them on a father's blessing never to let the motives of private interest or ambition to induce them to betray, nor the terrors of poverty and disgrace or the fear of danger or of death, deter them. from asserting the liberty of their country and endeavoring to transmit to their pos terity those sacred rights to which themselves were born.

Abnegation of self is not a creed. It is not a philosophy. It is a way of life. Narrow is its way and straight is its gate. Those who travel that way find few vistas through which to look down for a glimpse of mundane glory. Their vistas lie straight ahead and up. Straight ahead is in any and all directions unless the course is set by that from whence we came. is the way of philosophy. The latter is the way of experience. That is the chief reason why no frame of government has ever survived whose architect was a philosopher. The light of experience is never shed upon utopias. Such are not in the vistas of evolution's pioneers. Such are not in the vistas of the martyrs to human liberty and dignity. The crowns they wear are of thorns. The garlands they bear are crosses. They don't stand in marble on public squares. Had it been tinseled garlands they sought, they would not have traveled the narrow way and entered the straight gate.

¹ The introduction to Glimpse of Glory, by Marian Buckley Cox, published on the 10th of this month by Garrett & Massie, Inc., Richmond, Va., contains a part of this talk. Glimpse of Glory tells a story about the home life of the Masons at Gunston Hall. Royalties from the sale of the book are to be used for the benefit of Gunston Hall by the National Society of Colonial Dames, from whose membership the regents of Gunston Hall are selected. Mrs. Cox is a member of the society and the New York representative on the board of regents.

As revised by the Convention, the first

paragraph was:

"That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which when they enter into a state of society they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and

¹ Thorpe, American Charters and Consti-

tutions, vol. 5, p. 3082.

'The Works of John Adams, vol. 4, p. 220. The Convention changed the first line to read: "All men are born free and equal," thus substituting the specious doctrine of equality of men for the original Mason concept of equality of freedom and independence.

The Writings of Jefferson, Ford ed., vol.

VII, p. 304.

National Correct Posture Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTTI, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by him concerning National Correct Posture

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR ALLOTT

I wish to call attention to the increasing importance of a vital phase of our national welfare-the general health of all our citizens.

It has long been realized that the stress and strain of modern living have contributed materially toward the present-day afflictions of the American people.

The so-called high-pressure mode of living has brought an increasing awareness of the mental ills which beset the people of this Nation in disturbing numbers. The formation of many new mental-health associations attest to this fact.

Much work is being done by the National Chiropractic Association, which again this year—from May 1 to May 7—is acting as sponsor for National Correct Posture Week.

This association, through activities in connection with the special week and throughout the year, is bringing a simple, elemental, yet often overlooked basic-health fact to the attention of the Nation, and that is the importance of correct posture.

From the formative years of school age, on through to adulthood, it is vitally important that our people maintain their good posture as a firm foundation for general good

health and well being.

The value of this special week is indicated by the fact that many of our mayors and governors have issued special proclamations urging the people to participate in the special educational activities during National Correct Posture Week.

It is significant to note that our Nation's schools are paying special attention to this worthy program of training for our young

people.

I attach for the RECORD a statement prepared by Dr. Emmett J. Murphy, of Washington, D. C., who is director of public relations of the National Chiropractic Associa-

STATEMENT PREPARED BY DR. EMMETT J. MURPHY

No greater contribution can be made by the chiropractors of America to the Nation than by improving posture and thus increasing the efficiency of all our workers. Poor posture is expensive, and poor posture habits are responsible not only for many days of lost time, but for poor response to job needs, and eventually for a shortened life of top

The problem of poor posture and the low efficiency of workers which it brings on can

be approached in two ways.

The first is a long, careful, and well-planned program to teach Americans how to walk and stand and sit in ways which will promote health and efficiency. We have such an educational program underway, and it is having its effect.

However, that takes time. many postural faults can be helped by ditreatment, or the bad effects can be

modified or eliminated.

CHIROPRACTORS PLAY DECISIVE ROLE

In both programs individual chiropractors can play a decisive and important role.

They can continue to carry out the program of education. They can explain to their patients how to walk, stand, sit, and lie for the best effect on health. They can give their patients the publications of the National Chiropractic Association on the subject and win their cooperation.

They can also continue to relieve the bad results of poor posture by correcting the misalinements of the spine. Every chiropractor knows that the most minor displacements in the spinal column can bring on sharp pains, often far removed from the spine itself, which disappear under chiropractic treatment.

TEST YOUR POSTURE

Good posture is a result of holding your body in a balanced position. The easiest way to attain it is to think of an imaginary line running (side view) from the tip of the skull through your neck, shoulders, hips, knees, and insteps. When the head is bent forward, the abdomen thrust out, or the back bent, the line of gravity is shifted, and a strain placed on muscles to keep the body from falling.

To test: Stand with back to wall with head, heels, shoulders, and calves of legs touching it, hands by sides. Flatten hollow

of back by pressing buttocks down against the wall. Space at back of waist should not be greater than the thickness of your hand.

Stand facing close to wall, palms of hands touching front of thighs. If chest touches wall first, your posture is probably excellent, or at least good; if head touches first it is only fair; if abdomen touches first, your posture is really bad, and you should see a chiropractor.

Standing

When you stand straight your head should be balanced and erect. Your shoulders are relaxed and low; your chest is held high. Your lower back should curve to just a slight degree. Your abdomen should be flat. Have your knees straight but not stiff, and feel your weight in the outer borders of your feet.

Sitting

You should sit with your feet flat on the floor. Do not slump in a chair, but keep your back straight and your abdomen flat. As in standing, your head should be erect and well balanced. When you lean forward, lean from the hips, not from the waist.

Walking

Movement should start at the hips. Your head and upper part of your body should remain at right angles to the ground. Swing your arms freely. Look ahead, never down, Point your toes straight ahead. Knees should be relaxed and free.

EECOND LARGEST HEALING PROFESSION

Chiropractic, as an organized professional body, is 58 years old, and now ranks as the

second largest healing profession.

Licensed by law in 44 States, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico, and 7 Provinces of Canada, there are some 22,000 chiropractors in the United States (against a population of 161 million) and 1,030 in Canada (against a population of 15 million).

Chiropractic is an established but growing and dynamic profession, which has adopted high professional standards and ethics through formal action of the National Chiro-

practic Association.

Officials of the National Chiropractic Association believe it to be the most democratic professional body in the United States. It employs no sanctions of legal or economic force against nonmembers and strives to achieve its goal of professional unity through education and in a manner discussed and approved by the national membership.

FOUR-YEAR COURSE IS EDUCATION STANDARD

Chiropractic colleges are required to give 4,000 academic hours in a standard 4-year course to obtain accredited ratings from the committee on educational standards of the National Chiropractic Association. A basic course of 4,400 hours is recommended.

The curriculum and hours of study parallel the minimum requirements of the American Medical Association for class A schools.

Up to 2 years of preprofessional (college) education is required by State chiropractic laws of licensure. A large percentage of students entering approved chiropractic colleges today have college degrees.

CHIROPRACTIC COMPARES WELL

In every way chiropractic as a healing profession, compares well with other professions.

Sound chiropractic education is encouraged not only by the national council on education of the National Chiropractic Association but also by the student loan fund and other devices designed to provide aid for gifted students.

Chiropractic education has a lower gross cost than that of other professions, but average incomes for practitioners fall into the median group of all professions.

BASIC CURRICULUM

The following typical or basic curriculum for approved chiropractic colleges is based on the National Chiropractic Association

code for a minimum of 4,000 hours in a 4year course:

Subject:	Hours
Anatomy, including embryology and	
histology	740
Physiology	240
Biochemistry	180
Pathology and bacteriology	520
Public health, sanitation, hygiene_ Practice of chiropractic (principles and technique, neurology and psy- chiatry, pediatrics, dermatology	160
and syphilology, urology, ophthal- mology, otolaryngology, first aid and minor surgery, roentgenol-	
ogy)	1,960
Obstetrics and gynecology	200
Total	4,000

Jefferson-Jackson Day Address by Hon. Clinton P. Anderson, of New Mexico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. SAMUEL J. ERVIN, JR.

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a Jefferson-Jackson Day address delivered by the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Anderson] at Raleigh, N. C., on February 5,

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Toastmaster, Governor Hodges, Senator ERVIN, Senator Scott, members of the North Carolina congressional delegation, represent-atives of the Democratic National Committee, and the North Carolina State Democratic Committee, my fellow Democrats, ladies, and gentlemen, it is not from allegiance to a political party that I visit North Carolina today. I am not here because the Democratic National Committee selected me to speak at this occasion. Instead I come in the name of friendship and long association with men whose lives have touched my own-men whose fine character helped strengthen me in difficult days and whose confidence sustains me and will as long as I may live.

In such a list is your fine Governor. Thirty years ago we sweltered in the June heat of a Dallas hotel room and struggled to bring about the election of a fine citizen of North Carolina to the presidency of the World Rotary movement. We began then a friendship which has lasted through the

True friendship, of course, permits an occasional imposition upon it, and I imposed on Luther in an hour of great difficulty. It is a story that I must repeat here tonight.

When I took the oath of office as Secretary of Agriculture, the President made me as well War Food Administrator which led to the added chore of Chairman of the World Food Board. On the first day, I was handed a receipt which I was obliged to sign—a receipt for \$1.5 billion worth of garden seeds, cotton, corn, wheat, and potatoes-heavy on the potatoes—owned by Commodity Credit Corporation. I signed it, and then I phoned New York and found that Luther was back in North Carolina.

I notified Luther that we had just bought a business. He asked how much we paid for it and I told him a billion and a half dollars. There was silcnce on the other end of the phone line and finally I felt obliged to ask him, "Luther, do you have any questions?" "Yes," he said, "I would like to know what

we bought, where it is, and what shape it's in."

"Good," I told him, "Come to Washington and find out those three things for both of us."

Thus began a distinguished chapter of service to the American people. Luther Hodges sought to find out how the Department of Agriculture which had been required to ship billions of dollars worth of food and fiber to our armed services, both at home and abroad, and to allies across every sea and in every part of the earth, could now account for these enormous shipments and at the same time develop an inventory of the goods then on hand. He brought into the Department of Agriculture experts on physical inventories. He took in pay only an amount which covered a portion of each day's hotel bill; but at the end of his service, the Commodity Credit knew what it had, where it was and what shape it was in. There have been numerous investigations of Government agencies, charges and countercharges about fur coats and deep freezes, but the Department of Agriculture came out of that period without a breath of scandal. For that rare good fortune I owe complete thanks to a handful of men including the present distinguished Governor of North Carolina, Luther Hodges.

When he informed me that the Democrats of North Carolina were having a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner and asked me to make an address to the Democrats, I welcomed the chance because I have long desired to pay public testimony to his work and rejoice again in the privilege of calling Martha and Luther our friends as you delight to call him your governor.

Grant me now the privilege of a few words

about some other Carolinians.

North Carolina bows to no State in the excellence of its representation in the United States Senate. I am proud that SAM IRVIN

and KERR SCOTT are Democrats.

Few men in my time have so quickly achieved the Senate stature of your senior Senator, Sam Ervin. Long respected and esteemed here in North Carolina for his great judicial ability and dedication to high principle and purpose, he was little known in the Nation when, last June, he succeeded the beloved, late Senator Clyde Hoev.

Then suddenly he was named to the Senate select committee which handled the McCarthy censure resolution. His distinguished service on that committee was not only a great credit to North Carolina, to the Senate, and to the Nation; it also brought him nationwide attention and acclaim.

Many have predicted that Senator Ervin's speech on the censure resolution will rank among the great speeches of the Senate. It was a masterplece of logic and eloquence. Listen to these words from that famous address:

"The Senate," said he. "Is trying this issue: Was Senator McCarrhy guilty of disorderly behavior in his senatorial office? American people are trying another issue. The issue before the American people transcends in importance the issue before the Senate. The issue before the American people is simply this: Does the Senate of the United States have enough manhood to stand up to Senator McCarthy? The honor of the Senate is in our keeping. I pray that Senators will not soil it by permitting Senator McCarthy to go unwhipped of senatorial justice."

From that day on, the stature of Sam ERVIN in the Senate of the United States was established. His ringing words fell on the consciences of reasonable men. You know the verdict, and we know our colleague!

May I turn now to your junior Senator?

I first had the great pleasure of working with KERR SCOTT when I was Secretary of Agriculture. He was then your Commissioner of Agriculture, and an excellent one.

In 1948 we both left the immediate arena of agriculture. I went to the Senate. KERR

Scott became your Governor.

Under his vigorous, progressive leadership, North Carolina set a new pace of progress in many fields. Your new rural roads and highways, your hospitals and schools, your expanded electric-power facilities are monuments to an era of action. They are living tributes to the zeal, energy, and high purpose Of KERR SCOTT.

I would not want to forget those members of the North Carolina delegation who serve in the House of Representatives. When I came to the House in 1941, I found HER-BERT BONNER near me in the Old House Office Building. He had entered the House to take the place of the beloved and highly respected Lindsay Warren. Tonight I gratulate the State of North Carolina on HERRERT's elevation to chairmanship of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fish-

Of course, I have had many opportunities to watch the work and the fidelity to his task of the dean of your delegation, HAROLD COOLEY, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, and one of the top figures of our Congress in importance to his State and to the Nation. While Secretary of Agri-culture I had the benefit of his experience and counsel. Now in the Senate I take some interest in agricultural legislation; and while HAROLD COOLEY and I are not always on the same side and frequently are on opposite sides of agricultural questions. nothing has impaired my admiration for him, nor altered my conviction that he is a true friend of the farmers of the United States.

Obviously I must not prolong my praise of your congressional delegation of this remarkable State, but surely I would never forgive myself if I did not mention Carl DURHAM, who is my opposite number on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. When the Democrats control again the House of Representatives in the 1956 elections, CARL DURHAM will become chairman of the joint committee, and a very fine chairman he will We all admire him for the quiet, gentlemanly way in which he goes about his tasks. The Nation will be fortunate to have a man of his stature as head of that very important

With GRAHAM BARDEN, a long-time member of your delegation and now the able chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, these are the Congressmen with whom I served when I was a Member of the House of Representatives. You have added other capable and talented men and I would like to consider each one; but I will content myself with saying that this collection of strong men in the House of Representatives is a great political and economic asset for the State of North Carolina, and the Democrats over the Nation rejoice in your good fortune.

This mention of rejoicing seems automatically to bring me into the current economic and political situation. The last time I was moving around the country making Jefferson-Jackson Day speeches in any number was in 1948. That was a period when we were taking a rather vigorous pounding from critics across the Nation, and as a member of the Truman administration, I was allergic to the subject of mink coats and deep freezes, even though I had purchased my own deep freeze and had a legitimate, well documented sales slip to prove it. But in the recent campaign I found that the Republicans have developed a few deep freezes of their own. The most noted one from my standpoint was on display in the 83d Congress when the then junior Senator from Kentucky, John Sherman Cooper, sought to get into the White House to tell the President of the United States the facts of life about the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Dixon-Yates contract. When Senator Cooper got to the desk of Sherman Adams, whether in person or on the phone, he learned what a deep freeze really was (he couldn't talk to the President); and even though he got a momentary Presidential handclasp in the closing days of his campaign, it never succeeded in thawing out from the minds of the people of his State the autumn frostbite given him at the White House, and he went down to defeat by the

old warrior, ALBEN BARKLEY.

These and other Republican activities helped in additional Democratic victories in November. They made it possible for our party to redeem the Congress and bring it under Democratic control. We saw what Secretary McKay's partnership in resource development could do to the race of a conservative Senator like Guy Cordon of Oregon. We saw what an unsympathetic attitude on unemployment could do to a vulnerable Senator like Homer Ferguson of Michigan. We saw how vigorous campaigning could win for Senator Joseph O'Mahoney in Wyoming against the heaviest barrage of slush and slime that any western candidate ever faced. But most of all we saw Democratic candidates for governor sweep the Republican strongholds and show by their victories that there was an abundance of popular support for Democratic principles in every part of the Nation, and that the support was so widespread and deep rooted that a Democratic victory in 1956 seemed virtually as-

Let's take a quick look at the effect of those governorship races. We gained 9 governorships without losing a single one. made the greatest increase in governorships which was ever made in a 2-year period by either major party since the great Democratic landslide in 1932. Governors were elected in 1953 and 1954 in 36 States and we won 21 of them. Even in the States that we lost, the Democratic percentage of the popular vote improved in every one of them except two-Idaho and Massachusetts-and we think there definitely were local conditions which caused our troubles in those States.

When we count the States that swung into the Democratic column in these elections of 1953 and 1954, we sense that in the 21 States where the Democrats elected governors, there are 284 electoral votes. Now our Republican friends captured 15 States but those States had total electoral votes numbering only 124. As a matter of fact, if you add States where Democrats have hold-over Democratic governors to the ones we won, we then count 27 States which together have 347 electoral votes—far more than needed to make a Democrat President and about two-thirds of the total. So the future looks bright.

What brought this swing to Democrats? What helped us carry New York and Pennsylvania, and kept Ohio and Michigan heavily in our fold? What won back our governorships in Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona which had become part of the great Democratic desert?

For my part, I want to look at the plight the American farmer, for I think he may still influence deeply the economics of this Nation and that his distress has been the symbol if not the source of Republican political decay.

So let's talk about farming. Yours is a great agricultural State, and you have as deep an interest in farming as any State in the Union.

One of my hobbies has been checking on farm income, and I have made calculations to show what parity would have produced for the American farmer through the years and contrasted that with what the farmer actually received. I start with the year 1910 because that was the beginning of the parity base

We use 1910 through 1914 as the 5 years which are the golden age of American agriculture. Conditions were so ideal during that period that parity on many products and originally on all products was figured on that base.

So I've gone back to the beginning of that period and checked the income of American farmers from 1910 to 1953, and have discovered that farm income depends upon the zeal of the administrator of farm programs and not solely on the text of the current law.

Since 1910 Republicans have held power for 16 years. In that period full 100-percent parity income would have been \$103,153,-000,000. Actual farm income was \$92,030,-000,000, a deficit of \$11,123,000,000 during Republican control.

The Democrats were in for 28 years, and in that time estimated parity income, full 100percent parity, was \$209,208,000,000. Actual income to farmers was \$265,921,000,000, a surplus of \$56.713.000.000.

In other words, while the Republicans were in, farmers of this country got \$11 billion less than full parity. While the Democrats were in the farmers of this country got \$56,713,000,000 more than full parity.

That suggests to me that the party which knows how to do the job of protecting the American farmer is the party which has built the price support program, which set up the machinery, and which understands that no farm program is worth its salt if it doesn't save the farmer from the sheriff.

I'm going to talk about farm income this evening because I see things on the agricultural front that I don't like. Farm debt is getting bigger. There has been a 63-percent increase in farm mortgage debt in 8 years and yet we had 90-percent supports every one of these years and good administration of farm laws during many of them. I'm convinced that we will never do the job by price supports alone; that we have to do it by active markets at home and abroad, and have at the same time Secretaries of Agriculture who are fighting to get the highest possible level of agricultural income in this country. Secretaries who want to get the top dollar-not a part of it-for the farmers of our Nation.

I say that because I realize that the net income to farmers from farming in 1953 was only 4.3 percent of the national income. That was the lowest it has ever been in the history of this country. I look back for comparison at the figures when I was in the Department. In 1946 farm income was 9.4 percent of the national income; in 1947 and 1948 it was an even 9 percent of national income. And yet, the last year for which figures are fully available—1953—the percentage was 4.3 percent, the lowest we have ever known.

But brace yourselves, because 1954 will be found to have been even lower. Even in 1932, which was the year of depression, the farmers received more than 5.5 percent of the national income, but the preliminary figures for 1954 indicate that farmers' net income that year was less than 4.2 percent of national income-an all-time low. The farmer didn't get his share of prosperity but he gets more than his sshare of recesgion.

That's why I say that in the Department of Agriculture we need not so much a set of rules as a ruling spirit, not so much a program of supports as a Samson who will tear down but hold erect the pillars of agricultural prices. This Nation has not reached the peak of national income. Statisticians and economists predict that income will reach \$500 billion by 1975 and probably earlier than that. If the farm areas of the country then receive a full share, our farm income would be more than double what it now is. But instead of that, the figures reveal that since 1947 national income has increased more than \$100 billion; and farm income, instead of following it up and thereby increasing five to seven billion dollars since its 1947 peak of \$1634 bil-lion, has dropped \$414 billion. It is that tragic trend which must first be stopped and then reversed before farm prosperity is possible in America, and only Democrats will do the job.

I realize that some may comment that I have supported the President's Secretary of Agriculture. What possibly is overlooked is that he recommended an agricultural program which I had presented to the Congress 9 years ago, which incidentally had its beginnings in the flexible support system written into the Agricultural Act of 1938 and advocated with more or less consistency through the years of Democratic administration. Naturally, I was pleased to to find him recognizing the merits of Democratic programs. That wasn't the only Democratic agricultural program which he embraced. He sent us a wool bill which we incorporated into the last agricultural act. It followed the principles of a wool bill submitted to Congress in 1947 but its method of farmer payment was on all fours with the Brannan plan for supporting perishable farm prod-On top of that the perplexing dairy situation turned the Department again in the direction of the Brannan proposal to such a degree that the U.S. News & World Report commented that "Republicans, with a farm problem on their hands * * * are even exploring a modified Brannan plan," and the Scripps-Howard newspapers which were and are strong Eisenhower backers, published a headline reading, Brannan Plan Still Very Much Alive.

I predict, of course, that if the Department finally trics to sell butter, cheese and milk powder on the Brannan formula, the Secretary of Agriculture may catch the same sort of heat in his domestic problems that the Republican Senate leader poured on the President in foreign affairs. Of course. if Mr. Benson gets into hot water on the Brannan plan, it will be no novelty to him. No one could watch his handling of the Ladejinsky matter without realizing that he has a passion for hot water and 1 or 2 more plunges into it will be no novelty either for him or for the Republican administration. I wish him no misfortune. I seek only to keep the record straight on the origin of his agricultural programs.

That has been the best part of the Eisenhower administration—the facility with which it has adopted good Democratic doctrine.

In the very first state of the Union message, President Eisenhower announced that he was "unleashing" the forces of Chiang Kai-shek so that they might attack the Chinese mainland from Formosa. Here are his "I am issuing instructions that the 7th Fleet no longer be employed to shield Communist China." But here are his more recent words: "The Nationalist Chinese navy and air force have been ordered to cease attacks on Chinese Communist mainland targets as a result of United States The experience of 2 years with pressure a difficult Formosa problem has brought him to the point where he now favors an open commitment for all the world to heed and remember that we will prevent Red China from selzing the Pescadore Islands and Formosa-precisely what President Truman proclaimed 5 years ago. All Democrats should be glad that such a good American doctrine has found a new home.

I hear more favorable words these days about the doctrine of mutual aid and the Marshall plan. We find a new feeling of appreciation for trade, not aid; and an occasional comment as to how we may achieve a better balance in world trade by falling

back on the wisdom of a great Democrat. Cordell Hull.

Let us talk just a little about Mr. Hull's program of reciprocal trade. It seemed to find a new home when on March 30, 1954, the President sent to the Congress his message on foreign trade. He described as its main provision the continuance of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements for another 3

Those of us who were appreciative of the fact that only by an alert and aggressive foreign trade can we save our farmers were warmed by the President's strong message. We knew that once before he had put off a fight with those old-guard Republicans in Congress who believe in the highest of pro-tective tariffs, but now he seemed in his firmly worded message to be telling them that he was ready to fight it out.

Yet within 2 months he made public a letter revealing that he would not fight for his 3-year tariff-cutting program, but would settle for a simple 1-year extension. We Democrats thought that he shouldn't give up so easily. Senator Albert Gore, of Tennessee, led off a 90-minute debate on foreign trade in which the Senate Democrats freely joined, but not a Republican said a word.

Eighteen of us joined with Senator Gore in offering an amendment which would carry out the President's fighting words of only a few months before. We stood ready to make the fight even if the President wouldn't. The roll was called in the Senate, and 84 percent of the Senate Democrats supported the President's trade program, while 100 percent of the Republicans voted for the weak and feeble 1-year bill. Pretty soon we will be at it again, but this time we will be wondering how much help we will have from the followers of the President in putting across the President's program. These Democratic policies could be dusted off and win if we could only get some Republicans to follow the Republican leadership.

We Democrats enjoy comparing the promise with the performance.

The budget? The general in the 1952 campaign said, "We can reduce our budget * * * we can live within our means." But Treasury sources today say the deficit was big in 1953, big in 1954, will be big in 1955, and

that will continue to be the story.

The national debt? The 1952 Republican platform said, "Our goal * * * is a reduced national debt." But today the Treasury Department is preparing its annual request for permission to raise the debt limit.

Farm prosperity? The Republican plat-form of 1952 said, "The Republican Party will create conditions providing for farm prosperity and stability." The figures I have given you already tonight show that farm net income will be the smallest percentage of national income we have ever known, even in the bottom of the depression.

Family quarrels? The general in the 1952 campaign said, "We shall not allow our Government agencies to fight at the expense of the American people." CARL DURHAM and CARL DURHAM and I know something of their family fights. Indeed, I watched Admiral Strauss and Comsioner Murray of the Atomic Energy Commission argue one day face to face before our committee and I knew then that family quarrels were the order of the day.

Of course, I know what the Senator from Wisconsin has said about the man in the White House; what the Secretary of Commerce says to the Secretary of Labor; what the Senator from California has said about Formosa; and when I went home that evening after watching the argument in the Atomic Energy Committee I opened the Bible that lies beside my telephone and my easy chair and, strangely, my eyes fell on the 17th verse in the 4th chapter of Nehemiah: "They which builded on the wall, and they that bare burdens, with those that laded, everyone with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon." If ever there was a spot where the Commissioners worked with one hand and held a weapon with the other, it was and is the Atomic Energy Commission, and we are promised a replay of that record on Tuesday of this coming week.

Why, the battles of Washington determine even our dreams. One night after a particularly bitter day, my dreams took the pattern of an old-time minstrel show—end men, buck and wing dancers, barbershop quartets,

and all the trimmings.

Ed Sullivan had just put on television his tribute to the radio industry and that pageant may have colored my phantasy, for on stage strutted a male chorus, and they sang:

"I wish I were in the land of Dixon Big deals there are ripe for fixin',

Giveaway, giveaway, giveaway Dixon-Yates."

Then the fade-out and a strong singer with a parody on Gilbert and Sullivan—and

the Captain of the King's Navee.

What he sang proved that my dreams were getting better all the time—better and closer to reality. Dr. Lawrence Hafsted, the AEC expert on reactors, had just been hired by the Chase National Bank, the public relations man had joined a New York publicity firm, and the general manager himself had resigned to take a huge salary because he couldn't live on the \$20,000 we were paying him. So the singer on my dream stage sang: "Now friends and pals, wherever you may be

You'll never get rich in the AEC.

If you want to make a mark and a dollar

too,
Just take this advice I give to you.
The advice that I give is all for free

Get a new job in industry."

As they left our schooling and went out into the world of more and bigger bucks, they sang in tribute to their training ground and

their alma mater:

"There by Mississippi's waters
On a bank of mud
"Sits our generating station
Covered by a flood."

The real target of the Dixon-Yates feud, of course, was the TVA and the salute to TVA came in Clementine:

"In a canyon, in a valley
Generating tax-free juice
"Stands a hydropower project
Socialism on the loose."

Suddenly the male chorus sang again—this time the Notre Dame Victory March:

"Cheer, cheer for old Dixon-Yates, Cheer while we boldly jack up the rates

Send the bill to AEC
Pray that they keep from bankruptcy
What though our taxes be great or small
Old Uncle Sam will pay for them all.
Here's to those who foot our bills, and

Forward to Solvency."

Yes, in spite of the Gore amendment,
Uncle Sam will pay the taxes. Even my

dream wasn't wrong on that.

Of course, the Yale men didn't sing the
Notre Dame song. They just tip-toed around

in the currency singing, "Moola, Moola,"

But then the last scene—just Mr. Dixon

But then the last scene—just Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates alone on the stage for a final number.

What do you suppose they were singing? "My Country 'tis of Thee?" No. "America, the Beautiful?" No. "Carolina in the Morning?" Never that. "Bringing in the Sheaves?" Well, that's close, but they were really singing: "There's a Gold Mine in the Sky."

Now for a few words that I want to say on my own. I have been steadily in Washington for the past 14 years and had spent much time there in the previous ten. The battles over social security, collective bargaining, public resource development, and the like, which agitated us so severely decades ago, seem now about ended.

But we have some new problems: the menace of long-run inflation, the menace of long-run militarization, and the menace of mutual destruction through building our defenses so strong that they give security to none

Long-run inflation is all about us. Every time the stock market moves up, some trading specialist finds a new formula to explain the phenomenon. But in my book none is needed save the fact of our constant failure to balance the budget and the steady increase in the manufacture of personal and industrial credits.

industrial credits.

I stood in 1947 with Jesse Jones in his proud city of Houston while he pointed out to me the rising landscape as he brought his buildings up to a uniform height of 22 stories. I asked him why he did not retrench rather than expand.

"Because," said he, "we will be in an inflation cycle for years to come. We can't afford a depression with our huge national debt. We can't let the dollars shrink." How wise he was.

Long-run militarization we know too well. The powers of destruction gain faster than our ability to control them. Every year the planes fly faster and higher. Every year as their speed increases, the power to resist attack is lessened. But the planes of our enemy likewise improve until no man is safe, even in his own house.

So we come to the menace of mutual destruction—the odd chance that some desperate leader may trigger an atomic or nucleonic war where there can be no victory but only the destruction of all.

A week from tonight many of us will prepare to leave for a proving grounds to see if there is a new and promising crop of fantastic weapons. That is our responsibility and we must certify to the Congress that this Nation is ready.

Ready for what? To blow another people into powder or be decimated ourselves? Ready to loose new forces that we but partly understand, and whose potency surprises even the magicians who make them? I cannot believe that is the best this Nation can contrive.

Rather I would believe that our Senate leader, Lyndon Johnson, spoke for all the Democrats in Congress when he declared:

"I shall fight to keep my party on the road of freedom and progress for America. * * * I shall never permit partisan zeal to become the instrument of discord that will tear America apart in the face of a threatening enemy. * * I should like for the President to think, with justification, that Americans will back him—not as Republicans and not as Democrats—but as Americans who place the salvation of their Nation above all else."

This is a dark and troublesome hour in world affairs, but we can find our way to final peace if the Democrats of this Nation measure up to that leadership and determine that good faith to their Nation is more important than good fortune to their party.

North Carolina can help us to that goal.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily Record at \$1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

COVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

SENATORS WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON OFFICE ADDRESS: Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. [Streets northwest unless otherwise stated] Vice President, Richard Nixon Aiken, George D., Vt_____Carroll Arms. Allott, Gordon, Colo___ Anderson, Clinton P., 6 Wesley Circle. Barkley, Alben W., Ky..... Barrett, Frank A., Wyo..... The Woodner. Beall, J. Glenn, Md...... Bender, George H., Ohio... The Mayflower Bennett, Wallace F., Utah. Bible, Alan, Nev ... Bricker, John W., Ohio____The Mayflower. Bridges, Styles, N. H______ Bush, Prescott, Conn_____ Butler, John Marshall, Md_____ Byrd, Harry Flood, Va The Shoreham. Capehart, Homer E., Ind ... The Westchester. Carlson, Frank, Kans____Sheraton-Park Case, Clifford P., N. J____ Case, Francis, S. Dak____4545 Conn. Ave. Chavez, Dennis, N. Mcx ... 3327 Cleveland Ave Clements, Earle C., Ky____2800 Woodley Rd. Cotton, Norris, N. H_____ Curtis, Carl T., Nebr____ Daniel, Price, Tex Dirksen, Everett M., Ill Douglas, Paul H., Ill Duff, James H., Pa Dworshak, Henry C., Idaho_ Eastland, James O., Miss___5101 Macomb St. Ellender, Allen J., La____ Ervin, Samuel J., Jr., N. C ... Flanders, Ralph E., Vt____ Frear, J. Allen, Jr., Del____ Fulbright, J. William, Ark__ George, Walter F., Ga The Mayflower. Goldwater, Barry M., Ariz ... Gore, Albert, Tenn_ Green, Theodore Francis, University Club. R. I. Havden, Carl. Ariz_ Hennings, Thomas C., Jr., Hickenlooper, Bourke B., 5511 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Iowa. Hill, Lister, Ala____Sheraton-Park Hruska, Roman L., Nebr.-Humphrey, Hubert H., Minn. Ives, Irving M., N. Y Jackson, Henry M., Wash__ Jenner, William E., Ind____ Johnson, Lyndon B., Tex Johnston, Olin D., S. C___ Kefauver, Estes, Tenn....4848 Upton St. Kennedy, John F., Mass.... Kerr, Robert S., Okla..... Kilgore, Harley M., W. Va. 3834 Macomb St. Knowland, William F., Calif. Kuchel, Thomas H., Calif __ Langer, William, N. Dak___The Roosevelt. Lehman, Herbert H., N. Y_Sheraton-Park Long, Russell B., La ... McCarthy, Joseph R., Wis__ McClellan, John L., Ark____ McNamara, Pat, Mich ... Magnuson, Warren G., The Shoreham. Malone, George W., Nev___The Mayflower. Mansfield, Mike, Mont____ Martin, Edward, Pa_____ Martin, Thomas E., Iona ___. Millikin, Eugene D., Colo__ Monroney, A. S. Mike, Okla. Morse, Wayne, Oreg_____5020 Lowell St. Mundt, Karl E., S. Dak___The Capitol Murray, James E., Mont___The Shoreham. Neely, Matthew M., W. Va__ Neuberger, Richard L., Oreg. O'Mahoney, Joseph C., Sheraton-Park Wyo.

Potter, Charles E., Mich___ Purtell, William A., Conn__ Robertson, A. Willis, Va Russell, Richard B., Ga ... Saltonstall, Leverett, Mass_2320 Tracy Pl. Schoeppel, Andrew Scott, W. Kerr, N. C. Smathers, George A., Fla... Smith, H. Alexander, N. J. Sheraton-Park Smith, Margaret Chase, (Mrs.), Maine. Sparkman, John J., Ala___4920 Upton St. Stennis, John, Miss. Symington, Stuart, Mo Thurmond, Strom, S. C Thye, Edward J., Minn__ Watkins, Arthur V., *Utah*... Welker, Herman, *Idaho*....4823 Tilden St. Wiley, Alexander, *Wis*.....2122 Mass. Ave. Williams, John J., *Del*..... Young, Milton R., N. Dak__Quebec House So.

Secretary-Felton M. Johnston. Chief Clerk—Emery L. Frazier. Sergeant at Arms—Joseph C. Duke. Secretary for the Majority—Robert G. Baker. Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice. Chaplain-Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D.

OFFICERS OF THE SENATE

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

Messrs. Ellender (chairman), Johnston of South Carolina, Holland, Anderson, Eastland, Clements, Humphrey, Scott, Alken, Young, Thye, Hickenlooper, Mundt, Williams, and Schoeppel.

Committee on Appropriations

Messrs. Hayden (chairman), Russell, Chavez, Ellender, Hill, Kilgore, McClellan, Robertson, Magnuson, Holland, Stennis, Clements, Bridges, Saltonstall, Young, Knowland, Thye, McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Dworshak, Dirksen, and Potter.

Committee on Armed Services

Messrs. Russell (chairman), Byrd, Johnson of Texas, Kefauver, Stennis, Symington, Jackson, Ervin, Bridges, Saltonstall, Flanders, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Case of South Dakota, Duff, and Welker.

Committee on Banking and Currency

Messrs. Fulbright (chairman), Robertson, Sparkman, Frear, Douglas, Lehman, Mon-roney, Capehart, Bricker, Ives, Bennett, Bush, Beall, Payne, and Morse.

Committee on the District of Columbia Messrs. Neely (chairman), Gore, Bible, Mc-Namara, Beall, Hruska, Case of New Jersey, Allott, and Morse.

Committee on Finance

Messrs. Byrd (chairman), George, Kerr, Frear, Long, Smathers, Johnson of Texas, Barkley, Millikin, Martin of Pennsylvania, Williams, Flanders, Malone, Carlson, and Bennett.

Committee on Foreign Relations

Messrs. George (chairman), Green, Fulbright, Sparkman, Humphrey, Mansfield, Barkley, Wiley, Smith of New Jersey, Hicken-looper, Langer, Knowland, Aiken, Capehart, looper, Lan and Morse.

Committee on Government Operations

Messrs. McClellan (chairman), Jackson, Kennedy, Symington, Ervin, Humphrey, Thurmond, McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Cotton, Bender, and Martin

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Messrs. Murray (chairman), Anderson, Long, Jackson, O'Mahoney, Scott, Bible, Neu-berger, Millikin, Malone, Watkins, Dworshak, Kuchel, Barrett, and Goldwater.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Messrs, Magnuson (chairman), Pastore, Monroney, Smathers, Daniel, Ervin, Bible,

Thurmond, Bricker, Schoeppel, Butler, Potter, Duff, Purtell, and Payne.

Committee on the Judiciary

Messrs. Kilgore (chairman), Eastland, Kefauver, Johnston of South Carolina, Hennings, McClellan, Daniel, O'Mahoney, Wiley, Langer, Jenner, Watkins, Dirksen, Welker,

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Messrs. Hill (chairman), Murray, Neely, ouglas, Lehman, Kennedy, McNamara, Douglas, Lehman, Kennedy, McNamara, Smith of New Jersey, Ives, Purtell, Gold-water, Bender, and Allott.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

Messrs. Johnston of South Carolina (chairman), Neely, Pastore, Monroney, Hennings, Scott, Neuberger, Carlson, Jenner, Langer, Curtis, Martin of Iowa, and Case of New Jersey.

Committee on Public Works

Messrs. Chavez (chairman), Kerr, Gore, Thurmond, McNamara, Neu-Symington, Thurmond, McNamara, Neuberger, Martin of Pennsylvania, Case of South Dakota, Bush, Kuchel, Cotton, and

Committee on Rules and Administration Messrs. Green (chairman), Hayden, Hennings, Gore, Mansfield, Jenner, Barrett, Mc-Carthy, and Curtis.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St.,

Alexandria, Va. Mr. Justice Reed, of Kentucky, the Mayflower. Mr. Justice Frankfurter, of Massachusetts,

3018 Dumbarton Ave.

Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 3701 Connecticut Ave.

Mr. Justice Burton, of Ohio, the Dodge.

Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut

Mr. Justice Minton, of Indiana, the Methodist Building.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Clerk—Harold B. Willey, 3214 N. Wakefield St., Arlington, Va. Deputy Clerk—Reginald C. Dilli, 1329 Hem-

lock St. Deputy Clerk—Hugh W. Barr, 4701 Connecti-cut Ave.

Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Road. Reporter—Walter Wyatt, 1702 Kalmia Rd. Librarian—Helen Newman, 126 3d St. SE.

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS JUSTICES ASSIGNED TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frank-furter. Maine, New Hampshire, Massachu-setts, Rhode Island, Puerto Rico. Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frank-

furter (temporary appointment). Vermont, Connecticut, New York.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Burton, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Virgin

Islands. Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Loui-

siana, Texas, Canal Zone. Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Reed.

Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, Tennessee, Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Min-

Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Arkansas.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Washington, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, Cali-fornia, Nevada, Arizona, Alaska, Hawaii. Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Kansas, Oklahoma,

New Mexico.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building, Washington, D. C.
[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]
Speaker, Sam Rayburn Abbitt, Watkins M., Va
Abernethy, Thos. G., Miss_6278 29th St. Adair, E. Ross, Ind3971 Langley Ct., Apt. 596-B
Addonizio, Hugh J., N. J Albert, Carl, Okla
Alexander, Hugh Q., N. C Alger, Bruce, Tex
Allen, John J., Jr., Calif Allen, Leo E., Ill
Andresen, August H., Minn_
Andrews, George W., Ala3108 Cathedral
Anfuso, Victor L., N. Y 4815 Dexter St.
Ashley, Thomas L. Ohio Ashmore, Robert T., S. C Aspinall, Wayne N., ColoArlington Towers,
Auchincloss, James C., N. J_113 S. Lee St.,
Avery, William H., Kans Ayres, William H., Ohio
Bailey, Cleveland M., W. Va., Baker, Howard H., Tenn
Baker, Howard H., Tenn Baldwin, John F., Jr., Calif_ Barden, Graham A., N. C2737 Devonshire
Pl.
Barrett, William A., Pa Bass, Perkins, N. H
Bass, Ross, Tenn Bates, William H., Mass
Baumhart, A. D., Jr., Ohio_ Beamer, John V., Ind110 Maryland Ave. NE.
Becker, Frank J., N. Y1727 Mass. Ave.
Bell, John J., Tex
Becker, Frank J., N. Y1727 Mass. Ave. Belcher, Page, Okla
Berry, E. Y., S. Dak2720 Terrace Road SE.
Betts, Jackson E., Ohio
Bittch, Iris Faircloth, Ga. Boggs, Hale, La. Boland, Edward P., Mass.
Boland, Edward P., Mass Bolling, Richard, Mo Bolton, Frances P., Ohio2301 Wyo. Ave.
Bolton, Frances P., Ohio2301 Wyo. Ave. Bolton, Oliver P., Ohio
Bolton, Oliver P., Ohio Bonner, Herbert C., N. C The Dorchester Bosch, Albert H., N. Y
Bow, Frank T., Ohio4301 Mass. Ave. Bowler, James B., Ill
Bosch, Albert H., N. Y
Brooks, Jack B., Tex4413 46th St.
Brown, Clarence J., Ohio_Alban Towers Brown, Paul, GaBoston House Brownson, Charles B., Ind_
Brownson, Charles B., Ind Browhill Joel T. Va.
Broyhill, Joel T., Va Buchanan, Vera, Pa Buckley, Charles A., N. Y
Budge, Hamer H., Idaho Burdick Usher I. N Dak
Burleson, Omar, Tex2737 Devonshire
Burnside, M. G., W. Va Bush, Alvin R., Pa Byrd, Robert C., W. Va
Byrd, Robert C., W. Va Byrne, James A., Pa Byrnes, John W., Wis1215 25th St. So.,
Armigion, va.
Canfield, Gordon, N. J Cannon, Clarence, Mo Carlyle, F. Ertel, N. C The Washington
Carlyle, F. Ertel, N. CThe Washington Carnahan, A. S. J., Mo Carrigg, Joseph L., Pa
Carrigg, Joseph L., Pa Cederberg, Elford A., Mich
Cederberg, Elford A., Mich. Celler, Emanuel, N. YThe Mayflower Chase, Jackson B., Nebr Chather Thursday
Chatham, Thurmond, N. C. Chelf, Frank, Ky

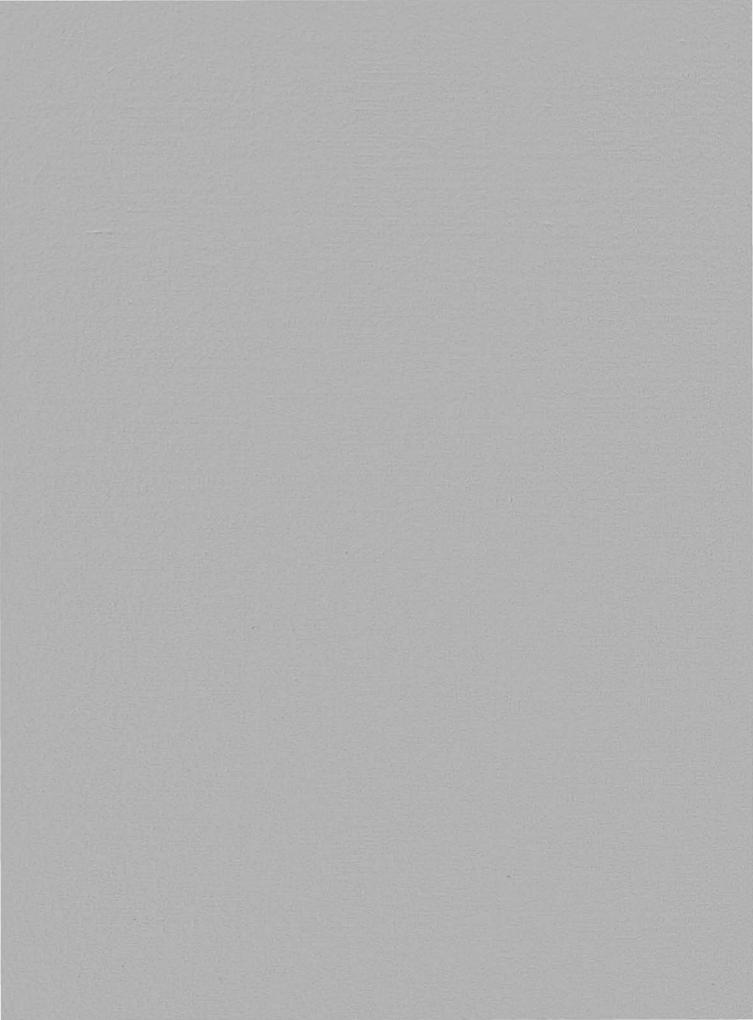
REPRESENTATIVES WITH

	Chiperfield, Robert B., M.	-1713 House Office Building
	Christopher, George H.,	
1	Chudoff, Earl, Pa Church, Marguerite Stitt, Ill.	
	Clark, Frank M., Pa- Clevenger, Cliff, Ohio- Cole, W. Sterling, N. Y- Colmer, William M., Miss- Cooley, Harold D., N. C-	The Jefferson
	Colmer, William M., Miss_ Cooley, Harold D., N. C	The Dorchester
	Coon, Sam, Oreg Cooper, Jere, Tenn	The Washington
	Coon, Sam, Oreg Cooper, Jere, Tenn. Corbett, Robert J., Pa. Coudert, F. R., Jr., N. Y. Cramer, William C., Fla.	
	Crevena, Arbert W., Cont.	4454 Tindall St.
	Grumpacker, Shepard J., Jr., Ind.	
	Curtis, Laurence, Mass Curtis, Thomas B., Mo	3314 O St.
	Dague, Paul B., Pa Davidson, Irwin D., N. Y	
	Davis, Clifford, Tenn	_4611 Butter-
	Davis, Glenn R., Wis	worth Pl. 2550 South Joyce, Arlington, Va.
	Davis, James C., Ga	
	Dawson, William L., Ill	
	Delaney, James J., N. Y.	
	Deane, Charles B., N. C Delaney, James J., N. Y Dempsey, John J., N. Mex Denton, Winfield K., Ind	.2500 Q St.
	Derounian, Steven B., N. Y.	
	Devereux, James P. S., Md. Dies, Martin, Tex	
	Diggs, Charles C., Jr., Mich. Dingell, John D., Mich	
	Dixon, Henry Aldous, Utah.	
	Dodd, Thomas J., Conn Dollinger, Isidore, N. Y	
	Dollinger, Isidore, N. Y Dolliver, James I., Iowa Dondero, George A., Mich	.3752 Jocelyn St.
	Donohue, Harold D., Mass.	500 00 500
	Donohue, Harold D., Mass. Donovan, James G., N. Y Dorn, Francis E., N. Y	
	Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C.	
	Dowdy, John, Tex	Arlington, Va.
	Eberharter, Herman P., Pa.	
	Edmondson, Ed, Okla Elliott, Carl, Ala	
	Ellsworth, Harris, Oreg	.4301 Mass. Ave.
	Engle, Clair, Calif	Arlington Va
	Fallon, George H., Md	
	Feighan, Michael A., Ohio. Fenton, Ivor D., Pa	.3725 Macomb St.
	Fascell, Daniel B., Flater Feighan, Michael A., Ohio. Fenton, Ivor D., Pa	.200 C St. SE.
	Fisher, O. C., Tex	Calvert-Woodley
	Flood, Daniel J., Pa	The Congressional
	Fogarty, John E., R. I	3627 Chesapeake
	Forand, Aime J., R. I	St. 4108 Dresden St.,
	Ford, Gerald R., Jr., Mich	Dr., Alexandria,
	Forrester, E. L., Ga	Va.
	Forrester, E. L., Ga Fountain, L. H., N. C Frazier, Jas. B., Jr., Tenn Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr.,	.3251 Q St. Fairfax Hotel 3014 N St.
	N. J. Friedel, Samuel N., Md Fulton, James G., Pa	
	Gamble, Ralph A., N. Y	
	Garmatz, Edward A., Md Gary, J. Vaughan, Va	
	Gathings, E. C., Ark	.6377 31st Pl.
	Gentry, Brady, Tex George, Myron V., Kans Gordon, Thomas S., Ill	3801 Rodman St.
	A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR	

Granahan, William T., Pa
Grant, George M., Ala4801 Conn. Ave.
Gray, Kenneth J., Ill
Green, Edith, Oreg
Gregory, Noble J., Ky2401 Calvert St.
Gross, H. R., Iowa
Gubser, Charles S., Calif Gwinn, Ralph W., N. Y
Hagen, Harlan, Calif Hale, Robert, Maine2722 N St.
Hale, Robert, Maine2722 N St.
Halleck, Charles A., Ind4926 Upton St.
Hand, T. Millet, N. J
Hale, Robert, Maine 2722 N St. Halleck, Charles A., Ind 4926 Upton St. Hand, T. Millet, N. J
Harris, Oren, Ark1627 Myrtle St.
Harrison, Burr P., Va4519 So. 34th St., Arlington, Va.
Harrison, Robert D., Nebr
Harvey, Ralph, Ind110 Maryland
Hays, Brooks, Ark
Hays, Wayne L., OhioThe Woodner
Hayworth, Don, Mich Hébert, F. Edward, La104 Cockrell St.,
Alexandria, Va.
Henderson, John E., Ohio125 Marthas Rd.,
Herlong, A. S., Jr., Fla
Heselton, John W., Mass
Hiestand, Edgar W., Calif
Hess, William E., Ohio Hiestand, Edgar W., Calif Hill, William S., Colo110 Maryland
Hillings, Patrick J., Calif Hinshaw, Carl, Calif
Hoeven, Charles B., Iowa 2108 Suitland
Terrace SE. Hoffman, Clare E., MichMethodist Bldg. Hoffman, Richard W., IU
Hoffman, Richard W., III
Holifield, Chet, Calif Holmes, Hal, Wash
Holt Joe Calif
Holtzman, Lester, N. Y Hope, Clifford R., Kans8541 Brandywine
St.
Horan, Walt, Wash
Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr.,
Ala.
Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md
Ikard, Frank, Tex
Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. SE.
Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio_The Mayflower
Jenkins, Thomas A., OhioThe Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat, Va
Jensen, Ben F., IowaThe Washing-
Johansen, August E., Mich_
Johnson, Leroy, Calif630 North Caro-
lina Ave. SE.
Johnson, Lester R., Wis3816 Pope St. SE. Jonas, Charles Raper, N. C_
Jones, Paul C., Mo3613 Greenway
Pl., Alexandria, Va.
Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala
Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala Jones, Woodrow W., N. C Judd, Walter H., Minn3083 Ordway St.
Karsten, Frank M., Mo Kean, Robert W., N. J2435 Kalorama
Road
Kearney, B. W. (Pat), N. Y.
Kearns, Carroll D., PaSheraton-Park Keating, Kenneth B., N. Y_1249 31st St.
Kee, Elizabeth, W. Va
Kelley, Augustine B., Pa
Keogh, Eugene J., N. Y The Mayflower
Kilburn, Clarence E., N. Y. The Gen. Scott
Kilburn, Clarence E., N. Y. The Gen. Scott Kilday, Paul J., Tex3507 Albemarle St. Kilgore, Joe M., Tex
Kelly, Edna F., N. Y
King, Karl C., Pa
King, Karl C., Pa Kirwan, Michael J., Ohio Klein, Arthur G., N. Y
King, Karl C., Pa King, Karl C., Pa Kirwan, Michael J., Ohio Klein, Arthur G., N. Y Kluczynski, John C., III
King, Karl C., Pa Kirwan, Michael J., Ohio Klein, Arthur G., N. Y Kluczynski, John C., IU Knoz, Victor A., Mich
King, Karl C., Pa King, Karl C., Pa Kirwan, Michael J., Ohio Klein, Arthur G., N. Y Kluczynski, John C., III

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Laird, Melvin R., Wis	Pilcher, J. L., Ga	Tumulty, T. James, N. J
Landrum, Phil M., Ga	Pillion, John R., N. Y	Udall, Stewart L., Ariz
Lane, Thomas J., Mass	Poage, W. R., Tex2309 Skyland	Utt, James B., Calif
Lanham, Henderson, Ga	Pl. SE.	Vanik, Charles A., Ohio
Lankford, Richard E., Md Latham, Henry J., N. Y	Post, Richard H., Va	Van Pelt, William K., Wis
LeCompte, Karl M., Iowa_Sheraton-Park	Polk, James G., Ohio Powell, Adam C., Jr., N. Y	Van Zandt, James E., PaThe Senate Courts
Lesinski, John, Jr., Mich	Preston, Prince H., Jr., Ga.	Velde, Harold H., Ill 4 Primrose St.,
Lipscomb, Glenard P., Calif.	Price, Melvin, Ill	Chevy Chase, Md.
Long, George S., La	Priest, J. Percy, TennThe Berkshire	Vorys, John M., Ohio2032 Belmont Rd.
Lovre, Harold O., S. Dak 1605 Sherwood	Prouty, Winston L., Vt	Vursell, Charles W., IllThe Congres-
Road, Silver	Quigley, James M., Pa	sional
Spring, Md.	Rabaut, Louis C., Mich	Wainwright, Stuyvesant,
McCarthy, Eugene J., Minn_419 Raymond St.,	Radwan, Edmund P., N. Y.	N. Y.
Chevy Chase, Md.	Rains, Albert, Ala	Walter, Francis E., Pa
McConnell, Samuel K., Jr.,	Ray, John H., N. Y	Watts, John C., Ku
Pa.	Rayburn, Sam, Tex	Weaver, Phil, Nebr9408 Crosby Rd.,
McCormack, John W., Mass. The Washington	Reece, B. Carroll, Tenn	Silver Spring, Md.
McCulloch, Wm. M., OhioWestchester Apts.	Reed, Chauncey W., Ill2009 Glen Ross	Westland, Jack, Wash
McDonough, G. L., Calif	Rd., Silver Spring,	Wharton, J. Ernest, N. Y
McDowell, Harris B., Jr.,	Md.	Whitten, Jamie L., Miss5804 Nebraska
Del.	Reed, Daniel A., N. YThe Woodner	Wiekensham Wieter Okla
McGregor, J. Harry, OhioThe Westchester	Rees, Edward H., Kans1801 16th St.	Wickersham, Victor, Okla
McIntire, Clifford G.,	Reuss, Henry S., Wis2750 32d St.	Widnall, William B., N. J
McMillan, John L., S. C1201 S. Barton St.,	Rhodes, George M., Pa1809 Franklin St. NE.	Wier, Roy W., Minn Wigglesworth, R. B., Mass_3257 N. St.
Arlington, Va.	Rhodes, John J., Ariz	Williams, Harrison, Jr.,
McVey, William E., Ill3130 Wisconsin	Richards, James P., S. C	N. J.
Ave.	Riehlman, R. Walter, N. Y_3210 Wis. Ave.	Williams, John Bell, Miss1001 26th Road S.,
	Riley, John J., S. C.	Arlington, Va.
Macdonald, Torbert H.,	Rivers, L. Mendel, S. C	Williams, William R., N. Y. 1241 Pa. Ave. SE.
Mass.	Roberts, Kenneth A., Ala_4545 Conn. Ave.	Willis, Edwin E., La
Machrowicz, Thaddeus M., 812 Park Ave.,	Robeson, Edward J., Jr., Va_	Wilson, Earl, Ind
Mich. Falls Church, Va. Mack, Peter F., Jr., Ill.	Robsion, John M., Jr., Ky1500 Delafield Pl.	Wilson, Robert C. (Bob),
Mack, Russell V., Wash	Rodino, Peter W., Jr., N. J.	Calif.
Madden, Ray J., Ind3250 T St. SE.	Rogers, Byron G., Colo	Winstead, Arthur, Miss
Magnuson, Don, Wash	Rogers, Edith Nourse, Mass_The Shoreham	Withrow, Gardner R., Wis_
Mahon, George H., TexAlban Towers	Rogers, Paul G., Fla	Wolcott, Jesse P., Mich3707 Thornapple
Mailliard, William S., Calif_	Rogers, Walter, Tex	St., Chevy Chase
Marshall, Fred, Minn	Rooney, John J., N. Y Roosevelt, James, Calif	Wolverton, Charles A., N. J_1336 HOB
Martin, Jos. W., Jr., MassThe Hay-Adams	Rutherford, J. T., Tex	Wright, Jim, Tex
Mason, Noah M., IllThe Baronet		Yates, Sidney R., Ill
Matthews, D. R. (Billy),	Sadlak, Antoni N., Conn	Young, Clifton (Cliff), Nev_3202 So. Stafford
Fla.	St. George, Katharine, N. Y., Saylor, John P., Pa	St., Arlington, Va. Younger, J. Arthur, Calif. 4545 Conn. Ave.
Meader, George, Mich3360 Tennyson St.	Schenck, Paul F., Ohio 3801 Conn. Ave.,	
Merrow, Chester E., N. H Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Apt. 307	Zablocki, Clement J., Wis
Miller, A. L., Nebr2801 East-West	Scherer, Gordon H., OhioThe Mayflower	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y
AMERICA, In Mr. 1100/ DESERBER 2001 AMOUNT OF		Dog was amad
Highway Chevy	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	DELEGATES
Highway, Chevy	Scott, Hugh, Pa	
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md.	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska.
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif	Scott, Hugh, Pa2331 Cathedral Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave.	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE.
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska.
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave.	Scott, Hugh, Pa2331 Cathedral Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif_4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr.,	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii,
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md.	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave.	Scott, Hugh, Pa2331 Cathedral Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St.	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St.
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio_	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H.	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va.	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr.
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FERNÓS-ISERN, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller.
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morano, Thomas E., Pa. 400	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D.,
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. 4420 Dexter St.	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moulder, Morgan M., Mo.	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y.	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio_ Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y Mumma, Walter M., Pa The Coronet	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y Mumma, Walter M., Pa The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y Mumma, Walter M., Pa The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FERNÓS-ISERN, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FERNÓS-ISERN, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane. Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St.
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. Official Reporters of Debate Senate James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane. Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace.
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio_ Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y Mumma, Walter M., Pa The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill Murray, Tom, Tenn Natcher, William H., Ky5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio_ Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y Mumma, Walter M., Pa The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill Murray, Tom, Tenn Natcher, William H., Ky5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y Mumma, Walter M., Pa The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill Murray, Tom, Tenn Natcher, William H., Ky5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y Mumma, Walter M., Pa The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill Murray, Tom, Tenn Natcher, William H., Ky5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Thomas J., I'll The Hamilton O'Hara, Barratt, I'll The Congressional O'Hara, Joseph P., Minn2313 31st St. O'Konski, Alvin E., Wis4201 Mass. Ave.	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FERNÓS-ISERN, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y Mumma, Walter M., Pa The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill Murray, Tom, Tenn Natcher, William H., Ky5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norbilad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Thomas J., Ill The Hamilton O'Hara, Barratt, Ill The Congressional O'Hara, Joseph P., Minn2313 31st St. O'Konski, Alvin E., Wis4201 Mass. Ave. O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr., Mass. Osmers, Frank C., Jr., N. J	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y Mumma, Walter M., Pa The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill Murray, Tom, Tenn Natcher, William H., Ky5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Thomas J., Ill The Hamilton O'Hara, Barratt, Ill The Congressional O'Hara, Joseph P., Minn2313 31st St. O'Konski, Alvin E., Wis4201 Mass. Ave. O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr., Mass. Osmers, Frank C., Jr., N. J. Ostertag, Harold C., N. Y100 Maryland Ave. NE. Patterson, James T., Conn., Pelly, Thomas M., Wash	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
Highway, Chevy Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R



Appendix

Wheat Certificate Plan Provisions of H. R. 12 Are Unsound

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN V. BEAMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, as a farmer, as a consumer, and as a legislator, I am vitally interested in H. R. 12 which deals with price-support programs for basic commodities, wheat, and dairy products.

The 83d Congress enacted legislation which would help to improve the farmers' condition and it does not go into effect until the 1955 crops are marketed. Government price fixing has produced lower returns for the farmers and surely we do not want to have H. R. 12 continued since the results of that type of legislation have been so detrimental to the farmers' interests.

I would like to place special emphasis upon the unsound provisions of the wheat-certificate plan in H. R. 12 as an example of the weakness of that entire

piece of legislation.

The certificate plan for wheat is a device for dumping surplus wheat in other people's markets. It calls for supporting a portion of the domestic wheat crop at a high and very profitable level so that wheat producers will be able to produce to capacity and dump their surpluses in the export food and domestic feed markets. As such, it is a proposal to authorize the most vicious, unfair type of subsidized competition imaginable. It would be unfair competition with wheat growers in every other country in the world. It would be unfair competition with every American farmer who grows corn or other feed grains such as oats, barley, and grain sorghums.

Foreign countries would be quick to take retaliatory measures against the adoption of any such scheme by this country. Importing countries, almost all of whom have some domestic wheat producers, would seek to protect these producers by imposing various types of trade barriers against a flood of cheap wheat from the United States. In competing exporting countries retaliatory actions probably would be directed against other American export crops, such as cotton, soybeans, lard, tobacco, fruits, and vegetables. The end result might well be a net reduction in our exports of both wheat and other farm products. Canada now buys 200,000 to 400,000 bales of our cotton and millions of dollars worth of other farm products annually. Do you think that we can

maintain our agricultural exports to Canada undiminished if we are going to adopt what Canadians certainly would consider to be an unfair method of competition in the world wheat market? I do not think so.

In view of American agriculture's urgent need for expanded export markets, we cannot afford to antagonize other trading nations, whether they are

wheat importers or exporters.

Why would the certificate plan be unfair competition? Let us look at it from the standpoint of the Canadian wheat farmer. Sponsors of this legislation say they only want to compete for the world market at the world price, but they only want to take the world price for the portion of their crop that is not used domestically as human food. The Canadian wheat farmer makes his living by selling wheat at the world price. He does not have a program which gives him a much higher price for half his production.

Let us look at it from the standpoint of our own corn farmers. The wheat farmer obviously has to realize a certain average price for his wheat if he is to pay his expenses and realize a satisfactory income. If he is to be permitted to sell a part of his wheat at a high and very profitable price in a protected domestic food market, he obviously can sell the remainder for a much lower price and still come out with a satisfactory average. In effect, the high price received in the protected market subsidizes cutrate sales in the unprotected market.

If he got enough for food wheat, the wheat farmer could give away his surplus without any pain. Would he produce a surplus under such condition? He certainly would under the certificate plan as now proposed, for each farmer's right to sell wheat in the protected domestic market would be based on the normal yield of the acreage he planted to wheat in the 3 years immediately preceding each food quota year. Any farmer who reduced his wheat acreage would risk a reduction in his share of the national food allotment. Therefore, he would try to produce to capacity as long as the average amount he received for his total production was satisfactory. This might be partially controlled by supplementary acreage allotments, however, H. R. 12 prohibits the use of acreage allotments when the certificate plan is in effect. If we were to have acreage allotments as well as food allotments, we certainly would compound our administrative problems without doing very much to improve the wheat farmer's plight. With uncontrolled production, the average or blended price of wheat might, and probably would, drop to the level that would prevail on a free market without any program. Under such conditions, the average wheat farmer would get no benefit from the proposed program.

The corn farmer makes his living by feeding corn to livestock or by selling it to others who do so, just as the Canadian farmer makes his living by selling wheat at the world price. If the wheat farmers are going to be allowed to dump hundreds of millions of bushels of surplus wheat into the feed market, the producers of corn and other feed grains certainly are going to be hurt. The inevitable results of subsidizing wheat into the feed market will be increased livestock production, lower livestock and corn prices, and a greatly increased movement of corn and other feed grains into Government bins under the pricesupport program. What will it profit us as a nation to reduce the wheat surplus by subsidizing the creation of an offsetting surplus of corn and other feed grains?

It will be argued that the amount of wheat that would be fed under the certificate plan would be small in relation to the total feed-grain supply. The facts, however, are that the quantity of wheat that could be fed under this program is neither small nor insignificant. On July 1, 1954, we had a carryover of more than 900 million bushels of wheat. Our 1954 crop under marketing quotas amounted to 970 million bushels, or about 135 million buhsels more than 1953-54 exports and domestic consumption. This adds up to a wheat supply that exceeds our present markets by more than 1 billion bushels. A billion bushels of wheat is the feed equivalent of nearly one-third of a normal year's corn crop.

Laying aside for the moment the difficulties involved in liquidating our accumulated wheat surplus, what would this program mean in terms of a continued annual addition to the feed market? On the basis of the record, we can easily produce 1,250 million bushels of wheat per year. Domestic consumption and exports amounted to only about 835 million bushels in the 1953-54 marketing year. There is no assurance that wheat exports would increase under the plan. If exports did not increase, the plan could throw as much as 400 million bushels of wheat into the feed market in a normal year. This amount of wheat may seem small in comparison with our annual consumption of over 3 billion bushels of corn, but it is the feed equivalent of two-thirds of the corn crop produced in Iowa, the leading corn State, in 1953. Iowa's 1953 corn crop was 592 million bushels.

Furthermore, we already have a more than adequate supply of corn. Acreage allotments were imposed in 1954 to reduce corn production, and are in effect again this year. Our 1954 corn carryover of approximately 920 million bushels was the largest on record. Despite drouth damage to the 1954 crop, this year's January 1 corn stocks were the highest on record for that date.

Corn farmers are perfectly willing to compete for the feed market provided the power of the Government is not used to stack the rules of the game against them. If the wheat farmers will accept support prices based on the feed value of their product in relation to the support price of corn for their entire crop, corn farmers will share the feed market with them on a competitive basis without complaint.

The argument is made that the certificate plan will make it possible for farmers to feed wheat in areas where little or no corn is grown. This in no way reduces the competitive impact of such a program. The end product of feed is livestock, and the livestock market is a national market. Any livestock that is injected into this market at any point affects the total national supply and the national price picture. If the corn farmers could be guaranteed 100 percent of parity in their major markets. I am sure they would be willing to accept a lower price in other markets. For example, they probably would be willing to absorb freight charges so as to undersell wheat in such areas as the Pacific Northwest. Or, if the corn producers could be assured full parity on all the corn that is fed to cattle and hogs. they undoubtedly would be willing to take a substantially lower price for the corn that is fed to poultry. Would this be fair competition for the hog and cattle producers, or for the producers of other products that are used in poultry feed? Of course not, but if we are going down the road of letting one commodity group charge a monopoly price where it has the least competition, so that it can sell at cut rates in the areas of greater competition, the producers of other commodities have every right to demand that they be allowed to take counter

The end result of this approach could well be a complete system of Government-administered prices and a collateral Government control over every aspect of American agriculture.

It is proposed that the certificate plan be placed in effect only if it should be approved by more than one-half of the wheat farmers voting in a referendum. This departs from the established legislative policy of requiring that control programs must be approved by two-thirds of the farmers voting in a referendum. Furthermore it would exclude from the polls many farmers whose income would be affected by the outcome.

In view of the fact that this is a proposal to subsidize the dumping of cheap wheat into the feed market, the producers of corn and other feed grains should be allowed to vote on the same basis as wheat producers. Wheat producers who grow less than 15 acres also should be allowed to vote.

Under the proposed program wheat producers could be required to comply with acreage allotments, production goals, and marketing practices—excluding marketing quotas—as a condition of eligibility for price support and marketing certificates. This provides a neat device for keeping corn farmers from establishing a base for a food wheat quota, but if we are going to allow wheat farmers to dump their surplus production into the feed market, it would seem that fair play would require that we let the feed producers go into the wheat business and get a pro rata share of the food marketing certificates on the basis of their production of wheat.

A little while ago, I said that there is no assurance that the proposed certificate plan would bring about an increase in wheat exports. In this connection, the Pacific Northwest Cooperative Extension Bulletin "Which Wheat Program"? recently issued by the State Colleges of Idaho, Washington, and Oregon says: "The plan has little effect on quantity offered for export, since wheat at corn support levels probably would be above world wheat prices most of the time"

We currently are paying subsidies that run as high as 76 cents per bushel on wheat exports both under the International Wheat Agreement and outside of it. If the proponents of the certificate plan believe that this plan would increase wheat exports, the burden of proof is on them. What countries would buy more United States wheat under this plan, how much more would they buy, and at what prices?

Let me elaborate on this point. Total world trade in wheat has been declining while wheat supplies have been building up in the major exporting countries. Our present supply of wheat exceeds our domestic needs by enough to supply the entire world market for well over a year. The United States, Canada, Australia, and Argentina together have enough wheat available for export and carryover to meet the present world demand for more than 2 full years. Competing export countries, and especially Canada. are prepared to sell wheat and to fight for their respective shares of the world market. We already have had some evidence of this. When we dropped the export price of wheat 10 cents per bushel a few months ago-by increasing our export subsidy-the Canadian Wheat Board promptly cut its export price by 101/8 cents. There is no doubt that we could break the world price by throwing our surplus wheat onto the world market. as proposed in the certificate plan, but would we sell more wheat? The certificate plan would not increase our quota under the International Wheat Agreement. It would not solve the problems that result from shortages of dollar exchange, and the fact that our wheat is not always competitive in terms of quality.

I recognize that the proposed certificate plan carries authority for the establishment of a price floor for surplus wheat through loans, purchases, or other operations, based on certain considerations, including the support level for corn, provisions of the International Wheat Agreement, and the foreign trade policies of friendly exporting

countries. Parenthetically, I would like to say that if we adopt this program, there probably will not be any such thing as a wheat exporting country that is friendly to the United States. The provision in the plan for a floor under surplus wheat prices in no way changes the nature of the proposal. It is still a scheme to get a monopoly price in a protected market, and to use monopoly profits to cut prices in other markets. Corn producers are perfectly willing to accept a support price of less than parity and to have their support price adjusted from time to time to take account of changing supply and demand relationships, in accordance with the principles of the Agricultural Act of 1949, but they don't want surplus wheat used to set a ceiling on corn prices at the support

Sponsors of the certificate plan sometimes call it a two-price plan, but it would end up as a multiprice plan. would have one price for human foodmaybe one for bread flour, a second for cake flour, a third for breakfast food wheat, and perhaps a fourth for dog biscuit wheat-then we would have a feed price governed by the support level for corn, and then we would have to have one or more export prices, since other countries could undercut any supported price. The whole program would take us in the direction of complete Government price fixing at home, and state trading abroad.

The certificate plan not only would work an injustice on domestic producers of feed grains and foreign wheat producers, but also would create inequities between domestic wheat growers. Wheat is not a single commodity. Different grades and types have different uses. The surplus problem is much greater for some types than for others, as the attached table I shows. The domestic consumption of hard red spring wheat in the 1952-53 marketing year amounted to more than 100 percent of our 1952 production, while the domestic consumption of white wheat was only 42 percent of the 1952 production.

The following table indicates the percentages of the production of the major classes of wheat that have been used domestically for all purposes in various recent periods:

Percentage of production for marketing period used domestically

Class	1949-53 average	1952-53	1953-54
Hard Red Winter Soft Red Spring Hard Red Spring Durum White All classes	50. 9	37.8	46. 3
	76. 0	68.8	67. 1
	77. 4	100.5	63. 0
	90. 1	121.7	114. 3
	44. 7	42.2	34. 5
	60. 2	53.4	52. 5

Under the proposed certificate plan, food wheat certificates would be distributed to all wheat producers on the basis of past wheat production without any regard to their historical participation in the domestic food market. This means that the growers of durum and hard red spring wheat, most of which is consumed domestically as human food, in effect would be taxed to subsidize

the dumping of surplus wheat of other International Wheat Agreement, is a types into feed and export markets. Further inequities would be created among the producers of the various clauses of wheat, for not all wheat of a given class is equally acceptable for domestic use as human food. Instead of rewarding the producer of high quality milling wheat, this plan might well tax him for the benefit of the producers of low quality wheat.

If the certificate plan were in effect today, a producer or processor of durum wheat could go into court and show, first, that this type of wheat is selling for above parity prices in the market, second, that the certificate plan, therefore, is unnecessary to return parity to the producers of durum wheat, and that as a result; third, the processing of durum wheat is being taxed in an arbitrary and discriminatory manner to provide benefits to the producers of the types of wheat that are in surplus. The same thing is true to a lesser degree in the case of certain qualities of hard red spring wheat. Is it fair to impose a tax on a type of wheat that is selling above parity to provide benefits to the types that are below parity? How do you think a court would decide this question?

Thus far, I have been dealing primarily with probable effects of the proposed certificate plan on foreign trade and on various groups within agriculture. Now let us look at some of the more general considerations involved in this proposal. The requirement that processors buy certificates in proportion to the volume of wheat they mill for domestic human consumption is in effect a processing tax. It might well be called a bread tax, in view of the fact that it ultimately would be passed on to the purchaser of bread and other wheat products. This inevitably would be brought to the conusmer's attentionperhaps in a printed eve-catching notice included with each loaf of bread. How do you think consumers would react to such a development? Is it constitutional to levy such a tax and use it directly for the benefit of a special group without going through the procedure of covering the revenues into the Treasury and then appropriating funds for the program by separate action? I doubt it. Processors historically have opposed processing taxes. They succeeded in getting the processing taxes established under the original Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 declared unconstitutional. They undoubtedly would attack the constitutionality of the current proposal and might well win their case in the courts.

The proposed plan would require a large amount of government administrative and enforcement machinery. The opportunity to make large profits by evading the purchase of certificates for wheat used for domestic human food inevitably would lead to enforcement difficulties. The fact that unscrupulous operators are known to have mixed Canadian feed wheat with higher grade United States wheat, which subsequently was milled or exported under the

clear indication that evasions would be attempted. It is quite true that the price of wheat makes little difference to the consumer who buys a loaf of bread at retail, but it is just as true that the price of wheat is very important to a miller or a baker.

The plan would provide a real incentive for research to develop ways of producing wheat products with less wheat. In some cases, this could lead to the discovery of substitutes with the capacity of permanently shrinking demand for wheat as a food. For example, it may prove possible to increase the use of surplus potatoes in bread if we get the price of wheat high enough.

The entire Nation has an interest in the conservation of the soil resources which are the basis of our abundant production. There is no question but what the good wheat prices of recent years have encouraged farmers to expand wheat production in areas where such action was not consistent with good land use. The return of the Dust Bowl problem is the result. The proposed certificate plan would encourage farmers to keep marginal land in wheat production. This in turn would require large appropriations for programs to remedy the damage caused by overcropping marginal land. If by chance we should be able to increase wheat exports under the program, we in effect would be subsidizing the export of our soil fertility.

Is it fair to the wage earners in this country to raise the domestic price of wheat by a tax so that wheat farmers can produce surpluses to sell to competing workers in other countries at a substantially lower price? This sort of program would provide an argument for increasing tariffs on the industrial goods we are going to have to import if we are going to build farm exports.

By proposing a multiple price plan for wheat, the sponsors of the certificate plan are admitting that the present support price of wheat, based on 90 percent of old parity, is too high to serve the long-run interests of the wheatgrower. Economic studies of the cost of producing wheat in efficient areas bear this out. Studies at the Kansas State College indicate that the cost of producing wheat on the basis of 1941-50 yields and farm costs at about the 1952 level runs as low as 71 cents per bushel in efficient producing areas. If, as appears to be true, the present wheat support level is too high, it is up to the sponsors of the certificate plan to prove that a multipleprice plan is the best way to lower the support level. This they cannot do because of the effects such a plan would have on other groups.

Farmers and Members of Congress who are interested in the support programs for other commodities had better take a careful look at this proposal. If it is sound to finance a program for wheat through what amounts to a processing tax, why would it not be sound to put the burden of other price-support programs on the producers, processors, and consumers of the supported product?

Our present wheat situation is admittedly difficult. It will take some time to make the necessary adjustments, but we can work out of this situation by gradually shifting to variable supports. based on a modernized parity, by recognizing wheat quality in the support program, by taking marginal land out of wheat, by selling wheat for foreign currencies, as recently authorized by the Congress, and by working with other countries to expand the total world demand for wheat. As a part of solving the problem, we probably will have to feed some of our surplus wheat. It is one thing to feed a part of our existing surplus as a part of an overall program for solving the wheat problem, and quite another to ask feed producers to take over the burden of absorbing a continuing surplus of wheat at cut-rate prices year after year. We cannot solve any problems by adopting a multiple-price plan designed to give the wheat farmers a monopoly price in the food market so that they can continue to produce surpluses and use them to disrupt the domestic feed and international food markets. The certificate plan should be rejected by the House.

Table I.—Analysis of the production, supply and disappearance of wheat in the 1952-53 and 1953-54 marketing years, and supplies for 1954-55 by classes

[In millions of bushels]

Class	Stocks, July 1, 1952	Produc- tion, 1952-53	1952-53 supply	Domestic consump- tion, 1952-53	Exports, 1952-53	Added to carryover
Hard Red Winter Soft Red Winter Hard Red Spring Durum White All wheat	15	715 199 182 23 180 1, 299	812 215 1 321 38 191 1, 577	270 137 183 28 76 604	184 40 17 3 77 321	261 22 - 18 - 8 27 284
Class	Stocks, July 1, 1953	Produc- tion 1953- 54	1953-54 supply	Domestie consump- tion, 1953-54	Exports, 1953-54	Added to carryover
Hard Red Winter	121 7 38	493 243 219 14 200 1,169	851 281 1 345 21 238 1,736	228 163 138 16 69 614	78 56 11 75 220	187 24 70 2 56 335

Footnotes at end of table.

Table I.—Analysis of the production, supply and disappearance of wheat in the 1952-53 and 1953-54 marketing years, and supplies for 1954-55 by classes -Continued

	Percent of 1953 production used in 1953-54 for—				1954 pro-	1954-55
Class	Domestic consump- tion	Exports	Addition to carry- over	July 1, 1954, stocks	produc- tion	supply
Hard Red Winter Soft Red Winter Hard Red Spring Durum White All wheat	46. 3 67. 1 63. 0 114. 3 34. 5 52. 5	15. 8 23. 0 5. 0 37. 5 18. 8	37. 9 9. 9 32. 0 1 (14. 3) 28. 0 28. 7	545 62 196 5 94 902	471 200 144 6 149 970	1, 016 262 1 344 3 12 243 1, 877

1 Stocks and production of Hard Red Spring wheat were supplemented by imports as follows: 1952-53 marketing ear, 22 million bushels; 1953-54 marketing year, 5 million bushels; 1954-55 marketing year, 4 million bushels.

* Stocks and production of Durum wheat were supplemented by imports of 1 million bushels in 1954-55.

Source: Basic data from table 11, p. 22, the Wheat Situation, WS-142, Feb. 28, 1955, Agricultural Marketing Service, United States Department of Agriculture.

Congressional Investigating Committees: Their Need, Their Enemies

SPEECH

OF

CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Speaker, a former very able, patriotic, and experienced member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, Kit Clardy, on February 12, 1955, at Chicago, in an instructive talk, made clear the need for congressional committees and the procedure they follow. That talk is as follows:

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES: THEIR NEED, THEIR ENEMIES

(Speech by Kit Clardy at Chicago, Ill., February 12, 1955)

A year ago last November while making a speech at Flint I was summoned to the phone on a Washington call. It was then that I learned that the chairman of my committee, Mr. VELDE, had just subpensed Harry Truman and Tom Clark. By sheer coincidence I was interrupted in the midst of advocating precisely the course the chairman had followed.

At the chairman's request I boarded the next plane for Washington. The next few days and weeks were indeed hectic and crowded. The left-wing columnists, radio and television commentators and those they could influence poured out their vitriol. We were the subject of abuse from one end of the country to the other. And all because we had dared to suggest that those who had guilty knowledge of how Communists had gotten into and remained in high places in government ought to be compelled to explain their part in the whole dirty business.

I'll come back to the Harry Dexter White case and what it really means but first I shall try to set the stage, so to speak. There are many things we must understand if committee investigations are to have meaning. We must get away from the misleading small talk and the smear campaigns. If the need for congressional investigations is to be really understood. And we must know the real enemies of such committees-we must know why they attack and smear. We must understand that their attacks are not accidentalthat they are in fact all part of a planned campaign.

What would you think if I told you that a number of past and present Members of both Senate and House have been either witting or unwitting members of or cooperated with Communist fronts? Yet, as I shall show you later it's literally true that even Members of Congress have been sucked in by the Communists and their friends or dupes.

Now I don't want it thought that I'm calling such folks Communists. I'm merely trying to show you just how effective the Communists have been in putting over their planned program of infiltration. I'm doing it to show you how really necessary congressional investigations are if an informed people are to defeat the Marxist determination to destroy us. I'm doing it to show you the lack of awareness we face in this fight.

Lenin long ago said that it was vitally necessary to Communist plans of conquest to get Soviet politicians into Parliament and that they must then disrupt the Parliament to prepare the ground for the Soviet's forthcoming task of dispersing Parliament. There's much more along this line but it all adds up to the fact that part of the Communist plan of conquest embraces the duping of folks in all levels of society including particularly people in government.

I'd like you to now ask yourselves some questions. What do you think would be the situation today if Dick Nixon and his committee had not gone after Alger Hiss hammer and tongs? What if they had not opened up the Harry Dexter White scandal? What if the Amerasia case had not been investigate? What if Truman's red-herring coverup had been successful? What if the tremendous unmaskings made by MARTIN Dies had been prevented—as Roosevelt tried to do?

And I'd like you to ask yourselves some questions along another line. What would be the world situation today if the early work of MARTIN DIES and those who followed him on my committee had been studied and used in making both foreign and domestic policy? Is it not plainly apparent that if, when Dies gave Roosevelt a list of 2,000 Communists in Government way back in 1941, the executive branch of Government had acted as it should, we would not be in trouble in Asia, in Europe or anywhere else on the globe? Has not there been enough disclosure of facts to show plainly that we were betrayed from within time after time? Not just at Yalta, Teheran, Potsdam or the other formal conferences, but day after day in little decision after decision so that the end result was a policy that surrendered everything the Communists wanted?

The Congress of the United States is not just a lawmaking body. As one of the three branches of Government, it has other functions that our left-wing enemies would have us forget. Congress has the all-important duty of keeping the people informed-of let-

ting them know what's going on behind the scenes in all the other branches. Woodrow Wilson put it most effectively when he said:

"It is the proper duty of a representative body to look diligently into every affair of government and to talk much about what it sees. It is meant to be the eyes and voice of its constituents. Unless Congress have and use every means of acquainting itself with the acts and the disposition of the administrative agents of the Government, the country must be helpless to learn how it is being served; and unless Congress both scrutinize these things and sift them by every form of discussion, the country must remain in embarrassing, crippling ignorance of the very affairs which it is most important that it should understand and direct. The informing function of Congress should be preferred even to its legislative function."

The history of the past two decades should dispel all doubts about the wisdom of those words. But yet another man said something in 1936 of even more direct application. Hugo Black, now on the Supreme Court has this to say:

"This power of the probe is one of the most powerful weapons to restrain the activities of groups who can defy every other power. Public investigating committees exist always in countries where people rule. They have always been opposed by groups that seek or have special privileges.

And another in the liberal tradition. Sen-

ator George Norris, said:

"Whenever you take away from the legislative body of any country the power of investigation, you have taken a step that will eventually lead into absolute monarchy and destroy any government such as ours."

Now ask yourself another question. What would have been the result if the self-serving denials of wrongdoing that issued from the executive department in the Teapot Dome case had been the end of things? What if the Congress had silently accepted these proclamations of virtue and taken the position it was none of the business of Congress?

Of course even the self-styled liberals of today will not agree that Congress should investigate graft and corruption. then do they balk at investigating a subject and a field far more important and danger-Why do they constantly attack everyone and every committee engaged in exposing and fighting a conspiracy we all know is dedicated to our destruction as a free

I think I know the answer. It's a manysided one. Of course, some of this opposition is honest even if wrong and based on misinformation or misunderstanding of the true situation. But most of it is definitely inspired by the Communists and their dupes. My friend MARTIN DIES, points out that:

"There were some 10 million gullible people who were enmeshed in the Communist conspiracy. * * * When it suddenly dawned on the country that these organizations were under the control of Moscow these people bitterly resented the exposure. Many of them claimed to be intellectual. * * * A great majority of them turned on the committee with great resentment and began to atack the committee in order to defend themselves."

But some of the people and groups are lined up solidly with the Communists because they want to be on that side. Some of them may honestly think they're in the right but the greatest percentage known better. You can put all the Communist fronts in the class of those who know the score. Let's look at a few samples.

The Communist Party put out a pamphlet last year entitled "The American Way to Jobs, Peace, Democracy." You may have seen it. On page 14 they say:

"We urge an end to the witch-hunting, the abolition of all congressional witchhunting committees, and a halt to Gestapo-like political activities of the FBI. The atempts to outlaw the Communist Party and to deprive Communists of their citizenship rights must be defeated. The Smith and McCarran Acts should be repealed."

Now, let's look at the published platform of a group that's been the loudest in urging the very things I've just cited for you from the Communist document. Americans for Democratic action is the leftwing outfit I They've written and said a great many things on the subject but a few sen-

tences will tell the story. They say:
"We oppose any legislation outlawing any political party. * * While we recognize the right of Congress to conduct investigations, the House Un-American Activities Committee has proved itself a threat to freedom of political opinion. We, therefore, call for its abolition."

And on the question of the FBI they said something that ought to be long remem-bered. They defended Judith Coplon and atacked the FBI with these words:

"It has given the public a chance to see how silly an FBI report can really be."

ADA goes right along with the Communist Party in advocating the claimed right of teachers and pupils to be Communists and to do their work without having to bother with loyalty oaths or tests. They grow quite indignant over attacks on teachers who are shown to be Communists or who teach communism. And they say no one should question the right of a Communist to be on the Government payroll.

ADA has long been promoting the idea of "peaceful coexistence" with Red Russia. And they favor our recognizing Red Chinaand admitting her to the United Nations. These and many other things openly advocated by the Communists are part of the

written platforms of ADA.

Yet this outfit parades before the American people as an anti-Communist organization. They depend on the inability of the people generally to learn of the things I've told you today. And so when they launch an all-out attack on my committee or its members it's almost impossible for the public to properly and accurately evaluate their statements. And in this they're helped by such leftwingers as the Alsops, Childs, Stokes, and others.

And while we're about it we should remind ourselves that the same crowd that runs ADA is the moving force in the outfit calling itself the "Committee for an Effective Congress." That's the gang that supplied Senator Flanders with his dirt last year. Let's look at some of those doing the planning and plotting for ADA and this "committee."

Now I haven't time for more than a thumbnail outline but here goes. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., is probably the most prolific in his writings and propaganda. Well back in 1929 the New York Times published a statement attributed to him in which it is

"I happen to believe that the Communist Party should be granted freedom of political action and that Communists should be allowed to teach in universities so long as they do not disqualify themselves by intellectual distortions in the

There speaks one who either lacks understanding of the Communist or who is deliberately promoting the cause. I can't believe he is naive. Freedom of political action means freedom to destroy us-nothing less. Over and over again from Lenin and Mark down to Malenkov they have told us this. I cannot believe anyone with an eighth-grade education could be mislead. and teachers and professors do not turn their Communist ideas on and off as they enter or leave a classroom.

Earlier Schlesinger was one of those urging that the deportation order of Harry Bridges be canceled. He was sponsor of a civil rights congress appeal for a meeting to be held at Detroit on April 27 and 28, 1946. This is the organization dedicated to the defense of Communists and which was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General. My committee branded it as controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it (September 2, 1947) and he re-cently rushed to the defense of J. Robert Oppenheimer in a long magazine article.

I could name other groups with which his name has been associated but I think this enough to give you the idea. Perhaps this will give you some insight into how groups work and why Flanders was used as the front man. And I have checked on some 14 members of the committee for an effective congress as listed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD last year by Flanders. I have not had time to run down the records of the balance but I found everyone I checked associated in one way or another with anywhere from 1 to 14 front groups. While one of them, Paul Appleby, has testified before my committee that:

"A man in the employ of the Government has just as much right to be a member of the Communist Party as he has to be a member of the Democratic or Republican

Party.

And several others have belonged to Communist fronts, I am not charging them with being Communists. That's something that could only be determined through hearings.

But that's not the point. I'm merely trying to show that people with sympathies of that kind are the ones chiefly responsible for the blatant demand that all investigations into communism be abandoned. These people may honestly believe the stuff they put out but that doesn't change the fact that they are doing for the Communists that which they cannot do themselves. J. Edgar Hoover, whom I admire very much, puts it

"The pseudo liberal can be more destructive than the known Communist because of the esteem which his cloak of respectability

Which brings to mind the name of another bleeding heart-Robert Hutchins-formerly with the University of Chicago. He has recently blown off steam on this subject as he has been doing for years. When in Los Angeles a little more than a year ago he was extensively quoted as being violently opposed to congressional investigations. He said that Cardinal Spellman was all wrong in saying that no one was being hurt in America by such committees. He said that:

"Congressional committees which pub-lished lists of subversive Communist and Fascist organizations were run by a bunch of characters. And that the lists should not be published."

He went on to say he didn't believe in loyalty oaths for teachers or professors. And

he said:
"I do not feel the Communist Party as dangerous as professed. Some people take it for granted that just because a person is a member of the Communist Party he is dangerous. This is not true."

Is it possible this man is that ignorant? He must know better. But that attitude pretty well sums up the apparent or public thinking of nearly all those who want an end to congressional investigations. It's exactly the same as the Communist Party posi-In the pamphlet I mentioned earlier the Communists say:

"Communism is not the issue in this country today or in the near future. * * * American Communists * * * deny that the Soviet Union or any country led and ruled by working people threatens our country, or could threaten our country. * * * But while the issue today is not communism, the

true nature of the Communist Party and the role which it plays in American life is very much an issue. The American people must know the truth about this issue lest the monstrous deception now practiced on them lead to the loss of democracy and freedom they prize so dearly."

I presume Hutchins knows these things, Draw your own conclusions as to whether he's promoting the cause of communism when he tries to sell the idea that communism and Communists are really fine and

pose no threat to us.

Hutchins and those like him who seek an end to investigations would have us forget the history of the last two decades. No one charges that the whole Democratic Party as such is guilty of condoning all the terrible betrayals that took place. I know many deplore them as strongly as any of us. But I don't see how anyone can avoid agreeing that their leadership did deliberately try to sweep all the dirt under the rug. Surely we have not forgotten that the guilty knowledge about Communists in Government was revealed to both Roosevelt and Truman years before it was brought out into the open by congressional committees.

Let's take the White case as an example, since it's typical. On December 4, 1945, the FBI informed Truman that White was in contact with six persons involved in the Amerasia case. That was some 3 years before our committee hearings. And it was 3 years before our committee exposed Alger Yet the FBI had told Truman all about Hiss, Abt, Pressman, Collins, Perlo, Kramer, and others along with White. And about 60 days after the first report the FBI

handed up another on the subject.

The first FBI report told of Chambers' statements of 1939. All of this of course long before the famous Pumpkin Papers episode. And Harold Glasser was named. He was an assistant to White. Yet after getting all this information Truman appointed White as United States Director of the In-

ternational Monetary Fund.

Now observe carefully what this sequence of events means. The FBI did a magnificent job. But it could get no results-except in reverse. When it made known to the President the information it possessed it could go no further. It is part of the executive branch. It has no power to compel action and it is commanded by law to keep its mouth shut. It cannot go to the public as can a congressional committee in an effort to force the President to act. And so in the White case every thing was cozy. Despite the obviously heroic efforts of the FBI to force action the Executive was the bossand so began the coverup. Nothing happened. The people of the country were entirely in the dark. In the words of Woodrow Wilson, "the country (was) helpless to learn how it (was) being served." The country was in embarrassing, crippling ignorance of the very affairs which it is most important that it should understand.

Is it too much so say that if, instead of covering up, the President had moved swiftly to clean out the nest we could have avoided Korea at the very least? Do you think we would now be debating what we shall do in Asia. Is it not clear that the Nation is now paying the penalty for enforced ignorance of its own affairs? Do you think that Congress would have gone along with the insane things done after things were privately revealed to the Execu-Rather do you not think that world would be free of most of the Communist inspired trouble?

But now observe what happened with passage of time and as a result of the energetic work of my committee. Elizabeth Bentley, Whittaker Chambers, and others came before the committee and began to unfold the sordid story we now all know. It was done with difficulty for on March 21, 1947, Truman thought to protect himself by issuing his

now famous order preventing Congress from getting at the records. Neverthless, the dis-closures broke things wide open with the results we now know. Of course there remains much to be done. The files of the Executive Departments, if opened to the Congress, could tell stories that would dwarf all that's been thus far revealed. I've had a glimpse--I know.

Now does anyone really think that the clean-up, reluctant as it has been, would have been started if the committee had not gone ahead regardless of the brickbats? Truman's famous " red herring" remark was far from the worst thing said about the committee and its work. The Washington Post, the Post Dispatch, the Sun Times, the Los Angeles Daily News and the Pittsburgh Post to name a few took out after the committee in hot pursuit. The practically accused the committee of committing a crime in even examining White in hearing Bentley. Completely without foundation the Post Dispatch said the committee "often shows scant respect for civil rights"-referring especially to the examination of White. Tom Stokes went overboard as usual in these things and said that "White has been a victim of a special sort of tyranny." the hearing was an, "American-style inquisi-And that prominent lady who is always quick to jump to the defense of anyone called before a congressional committee, Mrs. Roosevelt, pulled out the favorite of the Communists, character assassination, and called Miss Bentley, "this evidently neurotic lady.'

Now I hope you will bear these things in mind when you read or hear these papers, columnists, and others bearing down on congressional investagtions. I could cite many more examples of how they operate—and show how they have consistently been wrong. I remind you of just one more example-Alger Hiss.

I think it self-evident that those who constantly cry out, "Let the FBI do it." really mean something far different. The reccord shows plainly that the FBI can't do it unless those at the top are wholly in sympathy. And even then there is much the FBI cannot do or is prohibited from doing. Above all it is the duty of the legislative branch to exercise its watchdog and informative functions.

Of course its absurd to say that the Executive Department should be depended on to handle its own checkup and inspection. Its grown to such size that no one man can even know the limits of its domain. And you can depend on it that each man out for himself and doesn't seek trouble. Its sheer folly to argue that Congress should leave the policing job to those whose house is to be inspected. That's been the policy of the past-and its responsible for the situation we now know about. The FBI and the many other security agencies are all part of the executive branch. branch must always be suspect if we are to preserve our liberty for that's the only branch where real tyranny can arise.

But now I come to a very real and important reason why congressional commit-tees are to be preferred over the FBI or any of the other executive department agencies. The FBI cannot even touch the thing that's most important of all-the factor of political or other influence on policy and decision. Only a congressional committee can lay bare the facts about outfit like the Institute of Pacific Relations or any one of the more than 1,200 Communist fronts now operating within our borders. The FBI can act only in criminal matters. Even then it cannot speak out. It cannot subpena witnesses. It can never expose the secret workings and influence of the men and groups that seek to betray us from within.

We're in trouble all over the globe today, because the evil influence of men who could not be prosecuted for a crime, reached into the high councils of government and produced a Yalta, a Potsdam, a Tehran. We're in trouble, because congressional committees were denied access to files and information before and while things were happening. We learn too late something of the baneful influences that sold Chiang down the river and lost China, Korea, Indochina, central Europe, and now threatening even greater losses unless we're prepared to make a lastditch fight.

And don't make the fatal mistake of thinking it won't ever happen again, so long as the instinct of self-preservation exists, men in government will always cover up. The man at the top will never know; he can't unless Congress moves in. And since the Communists work 24 hours each day, the pressures will never cease. Congress should be on guard every day of the year if we are to be saved.

There has been much said about committee methods and procedure. Practically all of this started with the left-wing ADA crowd after prompting by the Communists. have only to attend committee hearings to find that witnesses are not abused. All this talk about civil rights started with the Communist Party's handbook. It's been taken up by people who either do not know the facts or are willfully helping the Communist cause. It's the committee that's on the receiving end. The Communist Witnesses are instructed on how to use their appearance as a means of putting over the party line. They are told to "bring out the class issues at the trial." And in answering questions they are instructed to "either answer your own way or not at all."

Those who accuse the committees of destroying civil rights never become specific. They cannot. Instead they set up a straw man to demolish. It's too bad they never sit in on our hearings. But then that would

ruin their story..

Now, earlier I said something about Members of Congress being taken in by the Communist conspiracy. Let me give you just a few examples. The American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born was long ago stamped a Communist front. It is per-haps the oldest and best known of the lot. The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has been identified as a front These facts have been common knowledge for a long time. Yet despite these wellknown facts, several Senators have taken part in or lent their names to the activities of both these groups. Of course, each one can point to the others and use that as an excuse for being duped. But that's no real excuse. A moment's investigation would have revealed the true nature of these groups. The fact that these men did not use the simple precaution of investigating ought to be a warning to others, and certainly argues for the necessity of investigating committees

One Senator supported a number of groups, including one of the most important Communist fronts while it lived-the American Youth Congress. That Senator has been listed as a member of the National Advisory Board of the American Friends of the Chinese people and as a sponsor of the American Investors' Union. Both were known Communist fronts. The first of these groups openly espoused the cause of the Chinese Communists. This Senator may say he didn't know these things, but in the face of known facts that would be hard to believe. And his record as an ADA member belies any such defense.

Several others were affiliated in one way or another with the independent citizens' committee of the arts, sciences, and professions. The Communist Party started that outfit. It has now been succeeded by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. Both have been exposed by the committee of which I was a member.

But why go on? This should give you ome idea of what I mean when I say that the Communists have reached up into the Congress itself with their influence. I'm not calling these men Communists, but the use of their name and influence with their consent has undoubtedly given aid and comfort to the very ones these men should be fighting. It may have been unconscious, but that does not change things for America. And does it not prove J. Edgar Hoover right when

"The pseudo-liberal can be more destructive than the known Communist, because of the esteem which his cloak of respectability invites."

The really frightening thing about all this is that it evidences a complete lack of understanding of what's going on in the world, and what the Communist conspiracy is doing and how it operates. It's obvious that these men do not yet understand that this Nation has been at war with communism since its birth in Russia in 1917. Of course, the real war against us started in a big way when Roosevelt made the greatest blunder of allthe recognition of Red Russia in 1933. It's been all-out war since that day. These men and many others do not understand that this is a war to the death; that the basic philosophy of the Communist world is that we must be destroyed. And that we must be first softened up from within by the very front method I've discussed.

Over 20 years ago those attending the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow were told:

'War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 or 30 years. To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down we shall smash them with our clenched fist."

Earlier Lenin had outlined the general plan of attack. It's passing strange that more people do not understand. Yet, as we know, Hitler's plans were laid out for all to see, but practically no one read or believed. Well, back in 1922. Lenin had this to say:

"First we will take eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States, which will be the last bastion We will not have to attack; it of capitalism. will fall like overripe fruit in our hands. We must secure the good will of teachers and professors in schools and universities, of liberal ministers of religion, and of the pacifists and reformers of the world in order to create a mental barrage in the minds of capitalistic youth, which shall forever bar them from participating in a carnal conflict with the Communist order."

Have not the past two decades brought us proof that these words were not idle ones? Is there anyone so blind as to not see that the Communist timetable has been followed right down to the present. Have they not used the means and methods they so plainly told us they intended using? Is there reason to doubt that they intend plowing straight ahead on the furrow they've been following?

Congressional investigating committees are part of the frontline troops in this very real war between godless communism and those of us who still believe in Christianity and individual freedom. We are the only important organized group combating the subversive influences that seek to lure us to our

doom. It's part of the duty of such committees to see to it that the Nation is not lulled to sleep. It's part of the committee job to see to it that the Communist conspirators are not allowed the luxury of surprising us. I am in complete agreement with Woodrow Wilson when he says that the informative function is to be preferred above the legislative one. I agree with Justice Black and Senator Norris in their appraisal of what can be expected if investigating committees are ended.

Those who would destroy the investigating committees looking into the Communist threat have scant knowledge of history. If our liberty is to be preserved, it will be because the elected representatives of the people make it their business to protect it. The eyes and ears of Congress are its committees. The Communists know this. Events of the last year should warn us that they have sucked in far too many to do their bidding. If Congress should now suddenly decide to call off the hunt for subversives there would be great rejoicing in Moscow, for that's their No. 1 goal at the moment. Let's not be suckers.

I am convinced that the concerted efforts the Communists made against all of us on these committees was but part of their overall plan to put out the eyes of the Nation so that, blinded, we will walk over the cliff into totalitarian slavery. You have their word for it that they're counting on us to do this.

I am now temporarily on the sidelines, so to speak, but my interest has not flagged. So long as the Stevenson, Reuther, ADA, leftwing philosophy retains control of the Democratic Party machinery—so long as they put up candidates who subscribe to the theory that we have nothing to fear from the Communists within our midst—the hope of the Nation must rest on the Republican Party and those real Jeffersonian Democrats who have not forgotten their heritage. God forbid that we go soft. If we do, the cause is lost forever.

Quirk of Photoplay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article written by Lawrence J. Quirk of Lynn, Mass., concerning his uncle, James R. Quirk, who for many years was the publisher and editor of Photoplay magazine:

QUIRK OF PHOTOPLAY—HE EDITED THE BEST OF THE FAN MAGAZINES AND SET THE PATTERN FOR ALL OF THEM

(By Lawrence J. Quirk)

The movie fan magazine of today is largely the creation of a colorful little man named James R. Quirk, who edited Photoplay magazine during its heyday.

A great many of the fan magazine's staple features, including the all important inside personality story, were Quirk innovations. While he himself usually wrote about movies with what Terry Ramsaye called glamorous appreciation, Quirk had his caustic moments. "Assistant producers," he once said, "are mice studying to be rats."

Producers, and even assistant producers, were fond of him. And no wonder, for he helped keep the masses movie conscious. And Quirk was shrewd enough to know he should regularly remind the movie industry of this fact. His reminders were reiterations of the following editorial advice: "Anybody who tries to get \$1.50 for a 50-cent movie is trying to pick your pocket."

Quirk was born in Boston—September 4, 1884—and at 18 got a job as a stenographer on a Boston newspaper. He quickly became a reporter, studied law at night, and landed a plum: he became private secretary to John F. Fitzgerald, an ex-mayor of Boston and father-in-law of Joseph P. Kennedy, at a time when Fitzgerald found it convenient to own a paper called New Republic (no; not the liberal weekly).

In 1906 Quirk removed to Washington, D. C., and utilizing the things Fitzgerald had taught him, rose in 3 years from rewrite man to managing editor of the Washington Times. He also got married—to Elizabeth North, by whom he had two daughters, Frances and Jean.

In 1909 Quirk was hired to go to Chicago and get Popular Mechanics out of its circulation doldrums. He succeeded in doing so, largely by enlivening its writing and typography. By 1912 Popular Mechanics was in the black.

Quirk then went to Wyoming to be a land operator. After a disappointing year ridding the State of fraudulent land grabbers, he returned to Chicago and opened an advertising agency. He and his wife and baby lived on crackers and milk.

Two well-to-do executives of the prosperous W. F. Hall Printing Co.—Robert M. Eastman and Edwin Colvin—had acquired, for an unpaid bill, a 3-year-old entertainment leaflet called Photoplay. It had little or no advertising and an uncertain circulation of 13,000. They needed someone to run it and offered Quirk the job. He and his wife were tired of crackers and milk and the starting salary promised an occasional lamb chop. Movies had meant little to Quirk, but since they now meant lamb chops, he boned up at a furious rate. He also set about finding writers—and ideas.

The first writer Quirk acquired was Julian Johnson, a Broadway press agent he heard about from Bob Davis—R. H. D.—who was then editing Munsey's Magazine. Here is Johnson's version—years later—of his first meeting with Quirk:

"Bob Davis called me at my office in the Princess Theater and characteristically delivered himself of the following: 'Kid, quit that press-agent stuff and get back in the real writing game. I'm sending a good guy around to meet you tonight at 8 o'clock—name's Quirk—has some sort of motion-picture publication—new field—great fellow—he'll make it—regular magazine doctor—big chance—get out of this town and make a stake for yourself and be happy—you'll team up nicely—I'm busy—so long."

"At 8 o'clock that night this fellow Quirk showed up. That was the first and last occasion on which either of us ever thought of keeping an appointment with the other on the minute, or even on the hour.

"We had a program of one-act plays at the Princess Theater and I was busy. Quirk saw the show and afterward we adjourned to the Claridge. He was wearing a tuxedo and all the garniture, from hat to toe, and used quite a lot of big words and told me no funny stories. I got the impression I was going into an Atlantic Monthly sort of atmosphere. I think that was his selling point—from press agent to highbrow in one jump—and it fascinated me.

"The audacity of his project also fascinated me. A magazine, edited by sensible men, and gotten out as a business proposition, devoted to the movies. I knew nothing about 'them.' As a lifelong reporter and dramatic critic my working years had been closely bound to the theater. The Birth of a Nation hadn't yet been produced, and like all theatrical fellows in 1914, I

regarded the difference between the nickel, or at most, the dime, one paid to see a movie, and the \$2 or \$3 one paid to see a play, even by an inferior company, the best yardstick of their respective merits.

"Quirk told me that he and Robert Eastman and Edwin Colvin had acquired a bankrupt little pamphlet called 'Photoplay' which had no standing, no advertising, and represented nothing but an increasing fan interest in the cheapest of amusements. But, oh, the visions of the future he had for it. Two or 3 weeks later I joined him in Chicago and the fun began."

Quirk's next acquisition was a young Irish girl named Kathryn Dougherty who began as office girl and general trouble-shooter and in time became the secretary-treasurer of the corporation, and for a while after Quirk's

death, publisher.

Miss Dougherty, who later became known in the film industry as Kay Dee, says that in 1914-15, when Quirk was welding his organization together, soliciting ads, keeping costs down, and worrying his head off in general, his blue eyes would snap and sparkle whenever he sensed her doubts. here," he would say, "this job is pretty nearly as new to me as it is to you, but you're Irish and I'm Irish and the Irish are never licked." She says Quirk believed all is well when we have the courage to face life with a laugh. "One of his favorite stories," she says, about a man who fell off a skyscraper and in his downward passage observed, 'I have just passed the 16th story and everything is safe so far.' "

The rest of Quirk's original staff consisted of Margaret Ettinger, cousin of Louella Parsons and now a well-known Hollywood press agent, Al Cohn, Randolph Bartlett, and Delight Evans. They outgrew their first office in Chicago's Hartford Building in a year.

In 1915 Chicago was quite a film center. Hollywood was still in its infancy and the Essanay and other studios were in active production. Film personalities regularly stopped over in Chicago on their way to and from New York and the coast, and Quirk's office became a meeting place. "Jim used to call his office the grand crossing because so many stars, directors, and producers met there," says Martin Quigley, editor of the Motion Picture Herald, and an early friend of Quirk's. "Jim had a gift for winning confidences. The stories that came from his lips and those he set down on paper were but a small part of what he knew about the living, loving, striving communities we call Hollywood and Broadway."

Quirk believed in getting out and meeting people and picked up some of his best story ideas that way. He frequented de Jonge's famous cafe on Monroe Street and was a moving spirit in "The White Paper Club" which met there and included in its membership James Oliver Curwood, Emerson Hough, Bob Munsey, Ray Long, Terry Ramsaye, Edgar Rice Burroughs, Edwin Balmer, and Watterson Rothacker, owner of the Rothacker film laboratories. Ray Long and Rothacker were two of Quirk's closest cronies.

In the nearby projection room of Mutual Pictures some of the "white paperites" began studying Chaplin films seriously. They were perhaps the first to nail down the essentials of Chaplin's art: a pantomimic technique that made the character of a tramp seem alternately pathetic and hilarious and caused audiences to recognize in the tramp's frustrations their own defeats, and in his small triumphs their own resiliency.

Quirk was one of the earliest Chaplin admirers. But when Chaplin tried to go arty, as he did in two pretentious flops released in 1919—Sunnyside and A Day's Pleasure—Quirk pleaded in Photoplay for Chaplin to "come back." Said Quirk: "Sunnyside was anything but sunny; A Day's Pleasure anything but pleasure."

Marshall Neilan, who knew both Chaplin and Quirk intimately, says that Quirk had a strong influence over the great comedian, and that had Quirk lived Chaplin would not be as discredited as he is today. Indeed, Quirk saw Chaplin for what he was—an idealist with the artist's touch of naivete, brilliant, simple, and profound when transposing his inner vision through the art of which he was master, ill-advised and inept when attempting to couple that inner vision with personal or socio-political theories.

Quirk induced some of the "white paperites" to write for Photoplay and one of them, Terry Ramsaye, became the foremost American film historian. Ramsaye was then a reporter on the Chicago Tribune and his first article for Photoplay, signed Terrence Eugene Ramsaye, was a report on how Ida Damon, of St. Louis, received the news that she had won the \$10,000 grand prize for her 100-word solution of the Million Dollar Mystery movie serial.

One of Quirk's first circulation gimmicks was refusing all motion-picture school advertising and announcing that "no ads to which the least suspicion is attached shall be allowed in this publication." The resulting publicity attracted the type of advertiser Quirk wanted. He kept this ball rolling by printing letters from leading scenario editors.

Capt. Leslie T. Peacoke, of World Film Corp., wrote that in the 2 years he was a staff writer with Universal no scenario was ever accepted from a pupil of a so-called school. John T. Pribyl, of the Selig Polyscope Co., said "the art of photoplay writing cannot be taught by correspondence." Lawrence McCloskey, of Lubin, declared "the only persons these schools appeal to are of such mental caliber as precludes their writing usable stories, even though they succeed in acquiring the 'hokum technique' the schools dispense." Added Horace Plimton, of Edison: "I have looked into the matter of manuscripts received from people who have taken a course of photoplay instruction, and none has ever been accepted."

Then, in May 1915, Quirk hired Captain Peacocke, who had written 400 produced photoplays, to conduct a new department called Hints on Photoplay Writing.

Quirk also went after promoters who offered stock in wildcat or nonexistent motion-picture-producing companies, and printed an article by Paul H. Davis, an authority on movie finance, who began his exposition of how movies are actually made, sold, and paid for, by saying: "Every great new industry's first tide of success is followed by a phalanx of kid-glove gentlemen and well-meaning but worthless promoters." Added Quirk in a foreword: "It is not the purpose of this article to close and bar the door against any investment in picture companies."

Another of Quirk's early editorial ideas was a questionnaire to 1,000 newspaper editors all over the country: "Do you consider the word 'movie' as applied to a motion-picture theater, or film, a good one, and do you approve of its use in your newspaper?" National discussion in newspapers resulted, "Movie" was approved 511 to 222 and Quirk ran a two-page spread with the head: "The Question Is Now Settled."

Although Quirk printed all the good writers he could find, some of Photoplay's bylines were fictitious, e. g., Cal York, the name over the gossip column containing the news from East to West, was an abbreviated combination of California and New York; Frances Denton and Jean North were the given names of Quirk's daughters. Quirk and Julian Johnson wrote under fictitious names for many years and used to boast they could put out three issues of copy a month if need be.

Photoplay's first Department of Comment and Criticism on Current Photoplays appeared in November 1915, and was edited by Julian Johnson. Said Quirk: "The reviews will be * * * without fear or favor * * * there is not today one authoritative department of screen criticism in any popular periodical."

In 1916 Quirk ran a beauty and brains contest in collaboration with the World Film Corp. The professed idea was to find the 11 most beautiful and intelligent young women in the United States and Canada and give them photographic and dramatic trials at World Film's studios in Fort Lee, N. J. The judges included Lillian Russell, William A. Brady, Lewis J. Selznick (father of David and Myron, and then general manager of World Film Corp.), and Julian Johnson. Those who did not pass the final trials were to be returned to their homes in a first-class manner and without any expense to them whatever.

The response amazed the Photoplay staff, to say nothing of Lewis Selznick. To indignant young males clamoring to know why Photoplay didn't allow men to compete, Quirk replied: "Ladies first, you know, is the law of contests as well as of the sea. Wait, your chance will come later."

Photoplay was soon boasting 250,000 circulation. Articles on how to plot a photoplay; new exposés; 3- and 4-installment articles telling behind-the-scenes stories of Chaplin, Griffith, Pickford, Lillian Gish; summaries of movie plots; rotogravure photos of stars; really discerning reviews; James Montgomery Flagg and Neyas McMein portrait covers—by trial and error the first great fan magazine evolved.

In one of his own byline articles in 1918 Quirk stated his ideas on what makes an authentic movie star: "Principally brains. Next to brains, physical attractiveness. Dramatic talent comes under the general heading of brains. Imitative dramatic talent is nothing by virtuosity. * * Mary Pickford holds her place by dominating mental force."

Two writers who became celebrated Hollywood figures—Adela Rogers St. Johns and Louella O. Parsons—first appeared in Photoplay in 1918. Mrs. St. Johns, the daughter of Earl Rogers, a well-known California criminal lawyer, had gone into newspaper work at a very early age, had retired briefly to domesticity after marrying her city editor, Ike St. Johns, and returned to writing as Quirk's gal Friday at the California end of Photoplay's news-and-feature lifeline.

As western editor of Photoplay, Mrs. St. Johns contributed scores of byline features. Her widespread personal contacts—she had lived in Hollywood since childhood and had known it as an expanse of open fields—proved invaluable and Quirk regarded her as one of Photoplay's greatest assets. Later her husband also wrote for Quirk.

Scriptwriter Herb Howe once described a typical Adela St. Johns day in the film capital in the early twenties: "Interview of a murderess for a Los Angeles paper in the morning; lunch with a star for a Photoplay story; an afternoon spent partly in Mrs. Wally Reid's pool and partly at her desk banging out a story for Cosmopolitan; partying and nightclubbing at night to pick up feature ideas and tidbits for the Cal York column of Photoplay."

Louella Parsons in her autobiography, the Gay Illiterate (1944), says Quirk gave her a helping hand when she lost a Chicago newspaper film reviewing job because of a change in publishers. "One bright spot in the whole mess was the encouragement James Quirk, editor of Photoplay, gave me. Jimmie was a lovable Irishman with a devastating wit. He had been my friend for many months, so when he telephoned I hastened to keep the appointment. I must have been the picture of woe, for he took one look at me and said, 'Look here, I used to think you were the gayest, brightest girl in this town and the most promising writer. Maybe I was wrong. If you don't believe in yourself how do you expect me or any other editor to believe in

you? The place for you is New York. But first, pull yourself together and write me a story on the part the movies are playing in the war effort (World War I) and I'll feature it.'"

"Jimmie pald me \$25 for an article he titled 'Propaganda.' It appeared in September 1918 and was, as he promised, featured on the cover. It was a wonderful lift to my morale."

A year after Louella had her first article in Photoplay her 12-year-old daughter Harriet contributed a byline interview with 4-year-old George Beban, Jr., son of the Italian film actor. Quirk billed it: "Daughter of the Press Interviewed a Son of the Screen Until Someone Mentioned Ice Cream."

Quirk's long friendship with Rupert Hughes began in 1919 when Hughes got into a controversy between Channing Pollock and Julian Johnson. Johnson had asked Pollock to discuss the movies from the author's standpoint and Pollock had seized the opportunity to lambaste the movies in toto. Johnson and Quirk took umbrage. Johnson called Pollock "a mad dog," and lashed out at "Prussian writing men." Rupert Hughes, fresh from a major's uniform, rebutted the observations of "the mad dogs" in the August 1919 issue of Photoplay in an article called "The Film and the Child." In a subsequent article, Hughes declared: "Instead of shovelling abuse on the frontlersmen of movie history or making too much ado about the rough ways or easy money of the early settlers, we should pay the proper tribute to their enterprise and appreciate the conditions that they endured rather than made."

In 1920 Burns Mantle, the Broadway dramatic critic, reviewed movies for Photoplay. Mantle's version of how he was hired: "Quirk asked what I knew about pictures. 'I know what I like,' I told him. 'Write it, then,' he replied. 'Write what you know about pictures and what you like.' 'Does that mean,' I asked, 'that I can write about even those I don't like?' 'It does,' Quirk said with a smile, 'and may the fillum Gods be with you.'"

Robert E. Sherwood also wrote for Photoplay. "I first started reviewing motion pictures for the old Life in the fall of 1920." Sherwood says. "Shortly thereafter began a friendly relationship with Jimmy Quirk. In 1921 the Arbuckle case, and the next year the Taylor murder, really put Hollywood on the map as the citadel of sin. Jimmy Quirk decided that we-he, Adela Rogers St. Johns and myself-should write The Mirrors of Hollywood, a la the best-selling The Mirrors of Downing Street. As I remember, Jimmy had discussed the idea with Ray Long, who was very enthusiastic and wanted to buy the serial rights for Cosmopolitan. The project was surrounded by the strictest secrecy for, like the other Mirrors books, ours was to be anonymous. Adela came to New York and we had many discussions in Jimmy's

"We drew up a list of principal subjects for dissection. It included all the prominent producers, directors, and stars of that period, with special emphasis on those about whom we could be most candid and unflattering, as the success of the Mirrors books depended largely on their debunking of important people.

"In the winter of 1921-22 I went for the first time to Hollywood, primarily for the purpose of gathering material for this proposed book, although I had a valid ostensible reason for the trip because, as a critic, I naturally wanted to study the processes of production on the west coast. Adela and her husband, Ike St. Johns, showed me great hospitality and facilitated introductions for me all over the place. Adela's brother, Bogart Rogers, was also extremely kind and helpful.

"Nothing ever came of the Mirrors of Hollywood project. I became more and more engrossed with my editorial work at Life and a couple of years later became editor, and my interest in motion pictures diminished. But I think the main reason for our waning enthusiasm was that exposés of Hollywood became commonplace."

In 1920 Quirk did the thing many regard as his chief claim to fame: Commissioned Terry Ramsaye to write a history of the

movies.

"I had grown weary of the making of much film," said Ramsaye, who had been editing newsreels, "and had fied to the pinelands of Long Island to raise a garden and dig clams. Jim and his business associate, Robert Eastman, came along to lure me back to labor to write a history of the motion picture 'to run in Photoplay a chapter a month until it is through.' It was of a piece with Jim's outlook on the industry to believe that a sincere telling of its whole story, shorn of myth and the elutter of falsehood which was deeply coloring all its traditions, would be a contribution to that industry.

"There is a tribute to Jim's professional integrity in the fact that he was willing to wait through almost 2 years of research before a chapter went into type, and that he most generously supported a continuously widening field of inquiry, here and abroad, for 3 years (1922-25), and printed no less than 36 installments of The Romantic His-

tory of the Motion Picture.

"About the time I sent him chapter 18, going into the second year, I was fishing a delectable pool in the Canadian wilds where Lake Nipigon starts down the wildnerness stairs to Lake Superior. A courier du bois, a glum Cree Indian, paddled 40 miles upriver from the railway to deliver me a telegram from New York: 'What year in your story will we get to Mary Pickford? Jim.'

It was his encouragement and enthusiasm, too, which helped me pile on more research and do the whole job over again and write

A Million and One Nights."

When Burns Mantle withdrew from Photoplay and resumed reviewing stage productions, Quirk worked out the mode of movie reviewing Photoplay used until he died, Quirk called the review section The Shadow Stage. The first pages featured the 5 leading films of the month and contained a still photograph from each film with a 7-line caption review. Nine smaller cuts, attached to capsule reviews, occupied the next two pages, which were devoted to what Quirk called B-grade pictures. Third-raters were reviewed together back in the magazine without cuts. Quirk himself wrote many of the seven-line caption reviews of the better films.

In 1920 Photoplay bestowed its first goldmedal award for the best picture of the pre-

ceding year to Humoresque.

By that time Quirk was visiting Hollywood regularly and was much courted, for Photoplay had become one of the instruments by which starlets were transformed into stars, and Quirk was often consulted before a decision was made to give a particular starlet

the all-out buildup.

In 1922 Quirk and Samuel Goldwyn cosponsored a contest to find new stars. not to be another hunt for girls who looked like Pickford, Talmadge, or Swanson, but a seach for "a real girl-not an ingenue, not a coquette, not a wise girl, not a beauty, but a real American girl." No girl would be con-No girl would be considered "regardless of the symmetry of her features, whose facial expression does not possess qualities of understanding, imagina-· · needs tion, and feeling. The screen * personalities capable of portraying mental as well as physical action in an individual way." The winner was to get a year's contract from Goldwyn, who would have a 3-year option on her services.

Quirk had to hire extra help and office space to handle the flood of photographs.

The winner was Jean Haskell, a Seattle society girl. She may have been too much the all-American girl—she did not make movies her career.

Notwithstanding his participation in such ballyhoo, Quirk believed motion pictures had reached a stage of development that entitled them to be considered a contemporary art. He also believed that apathetic audiences were to blame for bad films. "When you see a bad picture, kick," he wrote. "When you see a sex picture foisted on you under the guise of a picture with a moral, kick. Don't just tell your friends. Tell the man who got your money. Hunt for the owner or manager of the theater and tell him that you feel you have been cheated. Tell him the man who sold him the picture cheated him and that he in turn cheated you. Tell him he isn't going to get any more of your money if he shows inferior pictures. Don't be afraid of hurting his feelings. He wants to know what you think. He doesn't want to show pictures you don't want. He's a busi-nessman."

Quirk claimed that Photoplay had 2 million readers and that its movie reviews saved

them millions of dollars a year.

When, shortly after World War I, Photoplay moved from Chicago to New York, it roosted in offices at 25 West 45th Street. In 1922 Quirk moved to the top floor of 22I West 57th Street, where he got himself a paneled office in the rear overlooking Central Park. Photoplay was still printed by the Hall Co. in Chicago, and publishing and advertising headquarters remained there, with Kathryn Dougherty in charge. There was a west coast office in Los Angeles' Taft Building.

In 1926 Quirk acquired a controlling interest and became the publisher of Photoplay as well as editor.

Also in 1926 he remarried (his first marriage ended in divorce). The second Mrs. Quirk had been May Allison, the movie actress. They lived in the Buckingham Hotel on 57th Street, a few blocks from Quirk's new office.

Between 1928 and 1930, in addition to running Photoplay, Quirk worked for Hearst trying to put some vitality into the Hearstowned Smart Set and McClure's. The depression ended his hopeless task. Hearst continued to invite Quirk to San Simeon, however, to get his advice on Marion Davies' screen career.

Quirk also visited at Pickfair and was one of those who advised Mary Pickford to change her type. When her more sophisticated roles in Lubitsch's Rosita and Marshall Nellan's Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall were not appreciated, Miss Pickford asked Quirk to publish in her name an appeal for suggestions as to what she should do. This elicited 20,000 letters. The preponderant majority wanted "America's Sweetheart back."

Photoplay rarely ran pictures of men on its covers, but there was one Hollywood male who fascinated Quirk—Erich von Stroheim. Quirk could never make up his mind about Stroheim and would attack him in one issue and defend him in the next, and his reactions to Greed were typical of this. He said Greed was sordid, brutal, and depressing, but "reeks with good acting and wonderful direction. If only Von Stroheim could get rid of that little mental twist that inspires him to show dead cats instead of morning glories open to the sun, there wouldn't be a director who could surpass him."

Quirk had no such ambivalence about Garbo. He featured her in Photoplay but he eventually said in print that the reason Garbo was silent was she had nothing to say. Whereupon MGM removed its advertising. "If they can afford to keep their advertising out," Quirk said, "Photoplay isn't the magazine I think it is." The advertising was restored. Quirk was equally imperturbable in the face of denunciatory letters from Garbo fans. He believed that "if a magazine doesn't make its readers mad it has no vitality."

Quirk, who had once asked the newspapers of the country if they approved the word "movies," ran a contest in Photoplay to find out what the talkies should be called. He put Harriet Parsons in charge of it—the same Harriet who had written for him at the tender age of 12. The name that won the contest has never been heard since: Phonoplay.

Quirk was generous with writers and one of them, Adele Fletcher, went to him with an idea for an article: Is it beauty, brains, or backbone that makes a star? Quirk told her to expand the idea into three articles for which he would give her \$500 apiece. And he gave her a check for \$1,000 as an advance. "He sent me to my typewriter," says Miss Fletcher, "with more than the \$1,000—with faith in my idea and the desire to live up to his expectations. Today we are more and more aware of the miracles enthusiasm can work. Jim Quirk knew all about that long ago."

Quirk was also generous and loyal to stars he liked. For years after the Fatty Arbuckle scandal he tried to get Arbuckle reestablished as a director. He protected the reputation of Mabel Normand-the first star he had interviewed-during the debacle of her last years. He fretted over the cost to Lon Chaney's health of the extreme lengths to which Chaney went in his make-up for deformed and grotesque roles. When John Gilbert's first talkie was ridiculed because of Gilbert's weak voice, Quirk merely said "in a talkie you miss the vivacity and expressiveness of his eyes," and later praised all of Gilbert's pathetic attempts to regain his public. Quirk supported Valentino in the latter's famous fight with Paramount, and subsequently vainly tried to dissuade Valentino from going "arty." Long after Gloria Swanson ceased to be a boxoffice draw Quirk presented her in Photoplay as a ranking star.

There were others he did not shield. In fact, in the last months of his life Quirk was sued for libel—unsuccessfully—by the mother of Alma Rubens.

Quirk died at 47 in Hollywood on August 1, 1932, from heart failure induced by a stomach disorder. The physician at his deathbed was Louella Parsons' husband, Dr. Harry Martin.

¹ Among other writers who wrote for Photoplay from 1928 to 1932 were Ruth Waterbury, Frances Kish, Ruth Biery, Harry Lang, Katherine Albert, Mark Larkin, Gladys Hall, Sara Hamilton, Leonard Hall, Marquis Busby, Donald Ogden Stewart, Jimmy Fidler, Mark Hellinger, "Sylvia" (the beauty expert), and Rilla Page Palmborg.

Denver Needs Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a statement made by the Honorable Quigg Newton, mayor of the city and county of Denver.

We of the metropolitan area of the city and county of Denver are in desperate need of water. Our future growth and development is limited unless adequate water supply is assured. Adequate relief can be secured if pending legislation is adopted. The situa-

tion is well explained in the statement, which is as follows:

STATEMENT OF QUIGG NEWTON ON BEHALF OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF DENVER, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON IN-TERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 84TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION, MARCH 1955

My name is Quigg Newton. I am the mayor of the city and county of Denver, Denver owns and operates its own municipal water system upon which over 600,000 people are totally dependent for their water supply. Of that total about 485,000 people reside within its city limits and the additional 115,000 reside in adjacent suburban areas. The population served by Denver's system has grown over 20 percent in the last 5 years; it has fully doubled since

At the present time Denver gets about twothirds of the water it uses from the South Platte River. It has not been able to make any substantial increase in the amount of water it gets from that source for the last because all of the waters of the South Platte have been completely developed for the use of the 825,000 people dependent on it for domestic, agricultural, and industrial water. Denver gets the remain-ing one-third of its present supply through transmountain tunnels from small tributaries of the Colorado River, such as Fraser and Williams Fork. Denver's total water plant investment is fully \$75 million, of which more than one-half represents reservoirs, tunnels, and canals for the diversion and storage of raw water.

Denver has less water than it needs right now. In part, the reason is severe drought for the past 2 years. In part, the shortage comes from our rapid rate of growth. By extension and complete development of its Praser and Williams Fork collection sys-tems—on which work is presently being pressed-Denver can increase its water supply enough to take care of an urbanized area of just about 800,000 inhabitants. We will have that number within the next 8 years unless within that time regional population

trends change radically.

To support our growth beyond that point we have no practicable source of supply other than the Blue River, which is one of the tributaries of the Colorado River within our own State.

Denver has made an appropriation of water from the Blue River and our engineers have designed a tunnel 23 miles in length and 2 large reservoirs to catch this water during flood periods of the year and bring it into our water system. These 3 structures are the things called the Blue River project in section 11 of House bills 2836, 270, and 4488 presently before this committee. Denver has spent to date on this project over 81 This has covered detailed plans, million. rights-of-way, and geological tests and studies. The tunnel part of the project, which will take fully 8 years to complete, is under construction and has been driven over a mile and a half.

The completed project will cost over \$75 million, which Denver now expects to finance without Federal contribution. That project is designed to yield in average years, when fully complete, about 175,000 acre-feet of water per year. That amount of water added to our present sources will supply Denver in a continued growth to about 1,600,000 people. We believe that point may be reached in the next 25 to 40 years.

To make that growth possible and even to protect the number of people who will assuredly be dependent upon our water supply within the next 10 years, Denver needs the enactment by the Congress of the provisions embodied in section 11 of Senate bill 500 and House bills 2836, 270, and 4488. The reason we need this legislation is very simple. The date of Denver's Blue River water appropriation has now been finally established by our supreme court as June 24, 1946. That is a date several years junior to the priority date to which the United States is entitled for its Green Mountain Reservoir and powerplant located on the Blue River some 35 miles downstream from the intake point for

Denver's tunnel.
That United States powerplant is big enough to take all the water of the Blue River, including what Denver needs for continued growth. Denver believes that under the terms of the Colorado River compact and of the Boulder Canvon Project Act, which followed the compact, the use by the United States of this Blue River water whenever that use is solely for generation of electrical power is subservient to Denver's taking of water for municipal uses and cannot interfere with or prevent diversion of water by Denver, even though Denver's priority date is junior to that of the United States. Final decision of that legal point may take years and no matter how it is decided the need of administrative power clearly to solve all possible problems of conflict will still exist. The United States still owns much of the land on which Denver needs to build the 2 reservoirs for its Blue River project, and at 1 of these sites the United States has withdrawn the land as a Federal power site. Direct authority in the executive branch of the Government to sell, for value, the required areas is needed to facilitate the project. Applications for acquisition of some vital items have been pending for many years under the usual routines of permits and land exchanges.

If Denver is to take any flood water from the Blue River and if concurrently the United States is to make maximum lawful use of its reservoir and powerplant, it is very necessary that there be express power in the appropriate agencies of the United States to negotiate with Denver's engineers a workable modus for operation of both projects with minimum interference, including, if that be necessary, relinquishment by the United States of some water which would otherwise be used solely to generate power. Section 11 makes such negotiation possible. Denver needs it

I want to make it very clear that in asking legislation to facilitate this adjustment of Federal power uses to Denver's municipal needs, Denver is not seeking, and under section 11 would not get, any right to interfere with the operation of the Colorado-Big Thompson project at its maximum agricultural and municipal possibilities. Neither is Denver asking to impair in any way the efficient functioning of Green Mountain Reservoir as a supplement to the water rights of other users in western Colorado for agricultural or municipal purposes.

There are many water rights in Colorado on the Colorado River system long senior both to Denver's Blue appropriation and to Green Mountain Reservoir. These must continue to be recognized both by the United States and by Denver. We ask no change in that.

Green Mountain Reservoir has two primary storage functions aside from any utility for generating electricity. One is to catch and store replacement water for the Colorado-Big Thompson project. About one-third the capacity of Green Mountain Reservoir accomplishes this purpose, even under extreme conditions. We seek no right to interfere with that. Green Mountain Reservoir also acts as a supplement to the water supply of the group of canals that serve the Grand Junction area. 1954 was a very dry year. Much less than one-third the capacity of Green Mountain Reservoir proved adequate to give those canals the water they needed for agricultural and municipal purposes even in that drought year. We seek no right to interfere with the continuation of that prac-

What we do ask is to be able to negotiate with the United States for the reservoir sites we need and for an operating modus governing our respective projects, which may invoive relinquishment by the United States of some of its power water. That power water yields the United States only about \$1.35 per acre-foot. Denver expects the cost of development of water for its vital municipal purposes to be so great that every acre-foot it gets from the Blue will represent over \$20.

Denver feels a strong sense of obligation to be able to continue its service of water to the many Federal installations dependent on its water system in the Denver area. Requirements arising from Federal installations alone require about a fifth of the total capacity of the Denver water system.

The Denver area represents nearly half the total population of Colorado. Denver needs water from the winter snows of western Colorado for its continued development.

This involves what is commonly called transmountain diversion. Such a diversion is perfectly lawful. It is the same sort of lawful diversion by which Los Angeles, at a considerable distance from the Colorado River, receives over 4 million acre-feet of Colorado River water per year, as shown in the Senate hearings on this legislation.

Denver is not as large as Los Angeles, but it is second only to Los Angeles in size among the cities dependent upon the Colorado River. Denver asks the chance to complete, at its own expense, a project which when fully developed and operated at capacity will not divert more than 180,000 acre-feet of Colorado River water in any year.

The inclusion of Denver's Blue River project in this legislation was expressly approved by the Colorado Water Conservation Board in resolutions adopted January 14, 1954. That board is the official policymaking body of Colorado in all water matters. That support has never been withdrawn or modified.

Denver water system facts and figures (Population)

Area	1940	1950	1954
Denver city limits (71 square miles)	322, 000	416, 000	493, 000
(114 square miles)	345, 000	473, 000	580, 000
square miles) Metropolitan area as defined by United States Census (4-county area,	358, 000	499, 000	622, 000
2,918 square miles) Persons served by Den-	408, 000	564, 000	684, 000
ver water system	370, 000	490, 000	600,000

MAJOR FEDERAL INSTALLATIONS SERVED BY DENVER WATER BOARD

Rocky Mountain Arsenal. Fort Logan Hospital and housing project. Federal Correctional Institution. Fitzsimons Army Hospital. Lowry Air Force Base. Denver Federal Center. Rocky Flats Atomic Energy Plant.

FEDERAL PERSONNEL IN DENVER, 1954

 Military personnel
 16,500

 Nonmilitary employees
 19,500

 Dependents
 70,000

Total _____ 106, 000

Raw water used

Year	Acre- feet	Persons served
1935 ¹	67, 000 84, 000 94, 000 121, 000 142, 000	340, 000 370, 000 414, 000 490, 000 600, 000

¹ Water use restricted.

Raw water yield

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
South Platte River Moffat Tunnel Williams Fork	64, 600 29, 800 9, 000	34,000	125, 100 31, 500 6, 800		19,600
Total	103, 400	131, 700	163, 400	114, 100	84, 300

Note.—In each of the above tables water distributed by Denver through the city ditch for use of parks, institutional grounds, etc., within its urbanized area (approximately 2,000 acre-feet per year) has been included; all water delivered by Denver for agricultural use outside the urbanized area (approximately 5,000 acre-feet per year which Denver is obligated to supply by contracts under which it acquired certain of its water rights) has been excluded.

Storage

	icre-jeet
Total capacity for storage	220,000
Water in storage:	
Nov. 1, 1952	175,000
Nov. 1, 1954	80,000
Mar. 1, 1955	71,000
EXPANSION POSSIBILITIES OF DENVER	WATER

South Platte: Fully appropriated—no expansion feasible except by extinguishing present profitable uses in agricultural areas of permanent value.

Moffat: System now being completed by:
(a) Full extension of collection system as rapidly as possible.

(b) Completion of 42,000 acre-feet reservoir No. 22 by spring, 1955.

(c) Completion of South Boulder Creek Channel improvements. In an average year these improvements will add 40,000 acre-feet; in a dry year 20,000 acre-feet.

Williams Fork: Studies are rapidly being completed to determine the best method of taking Williams Fork water directly into the city distribution system, present use being through exchanges.

In an average year these improvements will add approximately 20,000 acre-feet, and in a dry year 10,000 acre-feet.

Blue River project

Pilot tunnel, 23 miles, 10 by 10 feet, and collection works	\$40,000,000
Dillon Reservoir, 50,000 acre- feet	8, 000, 000
Two Forks Reservoir, 140,000 acre-feet	15, 000, 000
TotalAverage cost per acre-foot per vear:	63, 000, 000
Amortization, 2 percent (50 years)	1, 260, 000
amortized balance	945, 000
Total	2, 205, 000

Yield: 177,000 acre-feet. Average cost per acre-foot per year: \$12.46.

Summary of revenue and expense

	1950	1951	1952	1953
Revenue	\$4, 528, 770, 59	\$4, 854, 501. 17	\$6, 178, 704, 52	\$6, 707, 860, 27
	1, 510, 507, 81	1, 771, 738. 32	2, 018, 259, 89	2, 173, 357, 44
Net operating income	3, 018, 262, 78	3, 082, 762, 85	4, 160, 444, 63	4, 534, 502, 83
	723, 007, 81	733, 255, 18	810, 692, 39	872, 821, 04
Net income before depreciation	2, 295, 254, 97	2, 349, 507, 67	3, 349, 752, 24	3, 661, 681, 79
	659, 447, 40	675, 119, 48	744, 989, 29	785, 836, 21
Net Income	1, 635, 807. 57	1, 674, 388, 19	2, 604, 762, 95	2, 875, 845, 58
Acre-feet used	129, 338	119, 708	129, 084	131, 285
	\$13, 59	\$13, 99	\$20, 18	\$21, 90

Capital invested in Denver water plant as of Sept. 30, 1954 (Blue River excluded)

	Plant investment Dec. 31, 1953	Construction in progress Sept. 30, 1954	Total plant investment Sept. 30, 1954
Raw water development. Filtration and treatment. Internal distribution. Miscellaneous	\$23, 980, 942, 39 14, 197, 318, 41 18, 954, 448, 55 3, 074, 922, 37	\$11, 669, 134, 56 1, 403, 146, 51 180, 225, 50	\$35, 650, 076, 95 14, 654, 400, 66 20, 357, 595, 06 3, 255, 147, 87
Total.	60, 207, 631, 72	13, 709, 588. 82	73, 917, 220. 54

180, 225, 50

13, 709, 588. 82

Construction in progress excluded), Sept. 30,	
Raw water development: Reservoir 22 Monat collection system	\$10, 785, 777. 20 883, 357. 36
Total	11, 669, 134, 56
Filtration and treatment: Moffat settling basin	407, 579. 03
Moffat filter drain line Miscellaneous	21, 098. 58 28, 404, 64
Total	457, 579. 08
Internal distribution	1, 403, 146, 51

"SECOND CAPITOL OF UNITED STATES" PROBLEMS

1. Within the political limits of Denver there is located \$36,902,000 of tax exempt federally owned property. (1953 city mill levy 39.55 mills; \$145,947.41 lost taxes). One-sixth of Metropolitan Denver's population consists of Federal employees or dependents. Denver supplies these people with all municipal services without the benefit of a corresponding industrial tax base, the most prolific source of revenue to meet the cost of government, or for that matter, any other commensurate tax base.

2. Denver has a split water rate, one rate applying to Denver citizens who have invested almost \$74 million in their water plant, and the other, a higher rate, for outside users. Most of the Federal installations using Denver water are outside Denver's political limits, but enjoy the lower rates.

Subsidy to the Federal Government from this source in 1953 was \$82,433.19.

INDIRECT BENEFIT TO FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FROM DENVER-BUILT BLUE RIVER PROJECT

Diversion of an average of 177,000 acrefeet of water into the Denver water system will result in return flow to the South Platte River through Denver sewers of 140,000 acrefeet of water per year. If additional reservoirs are built to catch and hold this return flow for release during the irrigating season, more than 50,000 acres of what is now dry, unproductive land northeast of Denver can be irrigated. The annual benefits thereby derived, computed in the same manner as those reported for H. R. 236 (Frying Pan-Arkansas project), are as follows:

Direct benefits each yearIndirect benefits each year		
moto!	ene	000

If no additional reservoirs are built, the return flow to the river during the irrigating season, plus some increase in supply for existing reservoirs, could be used beneficially. Under these circumstances, about 21,000 additional acres could be irrigated, and the annual benefits would be:

Direct benefits each yearIndirect benefits each year	\$558,600 964,300
Total	1.522.900

Conference of Jewish Organizations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following program of the Conference of Jewish Organizations, March 5-6, 1955, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

Conference of Jewish Organizations, March 5 and 6, 1955, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C.

Representatives of 20 national Jewish organizations participated in a conference on March 5 and 6 in Washington to consider recent developments in the Near East.

They included representatives of Zionist and non-Zionist organizations, the three major religious bodies-conservative, orthodox, and reform-and the leaders of local Jewish communities in major cities. organizations were: American Jewish Congress, American Trade Union Council Labor Israel, American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs, American Zionist Council, B'nai B'rith, Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, Hapoel Hamizrachi Organization of America, Jewish Agency, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans of the United States, Labor Zionist Organization of America, Mizrachi Organization of America, National Community Relations Advisory Council, Progressive Zionist League, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, United Synagogue of America, United Zionist Labor Party, Zionist Organization of America, and Zionist-Revisionists.

The declaration of policy adopted by the conference follows:

The representatives of the major American Jewish organizations have gathered in Washington to consult together and recommend action on problems of common interest and mutual concern.

This conference is the first in many years to bring together the representatives of so many organizations of varied viewpoint. The fact of this assembly is in itself a source of gratification, for it is clear evidence of the desire of the vast majority of the Jewish people of the United States to work together in the pursuit of common objectives:

The defense of America and the welfare

of its people;

The spread of freedom and the attainment of peace throughout the world; and

The attainment of peace, development, and security for the people of Israel in their ancestral homeland.

We are dedicated to our country's welfare, and to the preservation of individual freedom and to the strengthening of our democratic institutions. We shall defend and maintain and advance our country's high ideals and moral integrity.

In common with all Americans, we are concerned with the security and welfare of the free and democratic world. The deterioration of international morality, which be-gan after World War II and which has continued in the postwar period, shall not deter or deflect us from the purpose which has sustained democracy through this long period of conflict and which has assured and will eventually attain victory over totalitarianism. We shall continue to support all effective measures by our Government, taken by itself or carried on in concert with other freedom-loving democracies through the instrumentality of the United Nations, to combat the threat of Communist aggression throughout the world and to spread freedom to the four corners of the earth.

The American Jewish community has always been concerned with the welfare of Jews in other lands and has been eager to obtain for them the security and freedom with which we have been blessed in our own beloved country. This concept of aiding others to live in human dignity is consistent with American tradition. One of our proudest chapters in 30 decades of history was the contribution of the American Jewish community to the rebuilding of the land of Israel.

We take pride that our Government has championed the cause of Israel's redemption and that both the administration and the Congress have approved generous assistance to Israel to enable her to receive and absorb the refugees who have sought sanctuary on her shores and to develop her economy.

Through the gift of our own resources, we have helped Israel carry out a historic and humanitarian mission, the rescue and resettlement of 750,000 Jews, the survivors of Nazi brutality, Communist persecution, and Arab hostility.

Hundreds of thousands of Jews live behind the Iron Curtain, helpless witnesses to the grinding destruction of their religion, culture, and civilization by Communist totalitarianism. Tensions and civil strife in north Africa and other parts of the world have exposed Jews to new danger, and many thousands more are now on their way to Israel in escape from their mounting peril. It is our task to maintain our support for Israel so that she may receive and integrate those who may win their way to freedom.

Israel's progress has been due, in large measure, to the economic development assistance and the technical assistance given by our own Government. We hope that our Government will maintain this assistance to guarantee continued progress and to speed the day when Israel becomes self-supporting. independent of external aid.

It is a source of deep anxiety that, 7 years after her establishment, Israel has not yet been afforded peace and the opportunity to live as a normal and free people, undisturbed by the continued threat of war.

This conference meets as tensions in the Near East have once again taken a deplorable toll of life on both sides of the Arab-Israel frontiers. The continuation of these incidents makes it manifest that the existing armistice agreements are inadequate to maintain order and emphasizes the need for renewed efforts to transform the armistice agreements into a durable peace.

We trust that our own Government and other democratic nations in the United Nations will take effective steps to bring about peace in the Near East. Such a peace can best be secured by direct and honorable negotiations, carried on by the Arab States and Israel in fidelity to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

An Arab-Israel peace is indispensable to all the peoples of the Near East and to the defense of democracy and the free world, for it would inaugurate a new era of cooperation in which all the states of the region could work together to raise and improve levels of living, strengthen and stabilize democratic institutions, and complete regional arrangements for effective defense against subversion and external aggression.

It is our conviction that the friendship of all the peoples of the Near East may be won for democracy if we help them improve their intolerable economic, social, and cultural conditions and if we help them gain the human rights which are now denied to them. Our country should give them the tools to lengthen life and to help them to proficiency in their use.

We fail to understand how the cause of peace, stability, development, and defense is served by the grant of arms to governments which persist in open hostility toward their neighbor. The grant of arms to Arab countries without the requirement that they end their war against Israel will encourage them to believe that an Arab-Israel peace is not imperative, and, however well-intentioned the grant of these arms, in the absence of such a peace, there are no effective guaranties against their reckless misuse in new aggression against Israel.

We call attention to the fact that while arms are being offered to Arab States which waver in their allegiance to democracy, Israel's request for arms has gone unanswered.

If the system of treaties and alliances now under negotiation in the Near East is to strengthen democracy's resistance to subversion and aggression in this region, this objective is not attained by the palpable exclusion of the most stable democracy most dedicated to the cause of democracy's defense. There has been no indication of how Israel is to be integrated into the defense arrangements for the region. Such an exclusion from the fraternity of our defense and security arrangements—particularly in view of the tangible security advantages accruing to the Arab States from their network of treaties and agreements with the Western Powers-increases Israel's vulnerability to attack and deprives the Western World of an impressive security potential.

We believe it just and in the best interests of democracy that our Government should make it clear that Israel will be included in whatever arrangement will be developed for the defense of freedom in the Near East. Such an undertaking would contribute to stability and peace, for it would discourage aggression, encourage reconciliation, and thus promote true regional cooperation.

In summary:

I. We urge our Government to make a determined effort to bring about direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab States, looking toward a peaceful settlement.

II. In the absence of an Arab-Israel peace, we urge the suspension of arms shipments to the Near East, particularly in view of the fact that no arms are being given to Israel.

III. We believe that Israel must be in-

cluded in any defense arrangements for the

region.

IV. We favor continued economic and technical assistance to Israel and the Arab peoples to raise living standards, facilitate the resettlement of refugees, and strengthen and stabilize democratic institutions.

V. We shall continue to promote friendship between our own democracy and the de-

mocracy of Israel.

We believe that this program will contribute constructively to the attainment of peace, development, and defense in the Near East, and thus faithfully serve the highest interests of the security and welfare of the peoples of the United States and the free

Gas Rates Affecting the Cities of Kentucky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BRENT SPENCE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following statement issued recently by Hon. John J. Moloney, mayor of Covington, Ky., in regard to the existing controversy as to gas rates affecting the cities of Kentucky:

Utility rates can become involved. Historically, the more involved they become the more they increase. Also the consumers, de-fense is weakened as the complication of rate structures stretches out into unknown fields.

Oil and gas companies have studied rate structures for many years. They have a wealth of experience behind them. There are few things that they do not know about the subject. Originality is one of their chief assets. While experience is a valuable asset, a monopoly is of far greater value than ex-perience. And the oil and gas producers do have a monopoly.

The dictatorships criticize the democracies because they claim their form of government is more efficient. This is quite true, but the efficiency rests in the fact that there is no opposition; if there is the slightest suspicion that opposition is forming it is quickly liquidated. Monopolies are dictatorships.

The present gas-rate case is one of the most startling examples of how a monopoly works; it is estimated that there are 4,000 gas-producing companies in the United States: but about 2 percent of them supply more than 85 percent of all the gas that is sold. This makes them a close-knit organization, monopolizing the industry and holding, if permitted, a dictatorship over the consumer.

On the consumer's side of the case, such a monopoly is hardly possible. There are 20 million gas consumers in this country, whose interest in the gas rate is only aroused when the rate is increased. He doesn't know why he must pay more and if he inquires, such a deluge of exhibits, figures, and charts are showered upon him that he wishes he had not asked in the first place. This is because rate structures have become involved; the monopoly has made them that way. He usually gives up by saying that he supposes everyone is entitled to protect his investment.

But what of this investment? The 20 million consumers have over \$3 billion invested in gas-burning equipment. The gas producing, carrying, and supplying companies, in fact the entire industry, have little more than half of that amount as a total investment. In a democracy it would seem that the greatest number of people, with the greatest amount of money invested, should be protected first. The monopoly is trying to bring about conditions whereby they will be protected and the consumer must pay and pay to satisfy their greed which will never be quite as great 1 year as it will the following year.

And what is the relationship of the protection of the consumer against the producer? The consumer's investment is strictly an out-of-pocket-expense, for which he is guaranteed nothing. He pays for it with his own money and many continue to pay for long periods of time through finance companies. (The finance companies charges are not part of the \$3 billion investment.) The producer, on the other hand, is allowed a 27½-percent depletion charge. This means that out of each million dollars he collects he has \$275,000 free of taxation. He is also given the same exemption for explora-

tory expenses.

The theory behind the depletion allowance is that a well will not produce forever. is quite true they will not go on indefinitely producing large quantities of gas or oil, hence the depletion charge. The owner is given an opportunity to lay a nest egg aside. it need not be an ostrich egg. If a well will yield a million dollars a year for 5 or 10 years, the owner will have better than a quarter of a million dollars tax free for each year and the remainder subject to no more than normal taxation. The allowance, as it stands, practically says that each company or individual who owns an oil or gas well, must by some unaccountable reasoning become a millionaire because the life of his income from this source is limited. The earning period of an athlete's life as an athlete is also limited but he is given no such depletion allowance.

But the depletion allowance is designed to make a few multimillionaires in the fields of the Southwest; the remainder of the industry has other means of raising their income at the expense of the consumer. This can be done with or without increasing the unit wholesale rate. The complicated maze of pipelines leading to the consumers, undermany companies of various names, provides ample opportunity to raise costs at as great a distance from the consumer as possible. To understand this, it is best to trace the gas as it follows its tangled way from the wells in the Southwest to the consumer.

Gas, at the well-head, cost 1%0 cents per thousand cubic feet to produce. At the farthest point from the market, the cost to the first pipeline is 81%00 cents per thousand cubic feet. At the wells closest to the consumer the unit price usually rises on the basis of the fact that it would cost to pump from farther points so this is added so the gas producers gets the advantage of geography. The fact that it does not have to be pumped and thus the consumer could be saved this cost does not enter into it. It is strictly a seller's market and his every move is to protect himself against the consumer and avoid regulation as much as possible.

The first pipeline company usually carries the gas to a processing company. It is the function of the processing company to take moisture and other materials from the gas. Some of these other materials, while they do not detract from the burning or heat-producing qualities of the gas are marketable, but not to any great extent. In the overall it does add some expense to the production chain.

It may or may not be significant that the processing companies are not subject to any

regulation by either Federal or local regulatory bodies. Their charge is strictly their own business, although they do form a definite function in the production and distribution lines of a vital utility.

From the processing company to the consumer the mystery deepens. There is a maze of pipelines all over the South, moving ever northward and eastward, reaching out to pick up markets in thickly populated centers as they go. Most of these lines are in some way interlocked. Each has a name of an owner company.

The gas itself cannot be identified. It can move over any of these lines to any point beyond a line from any source. There can be little doubt that there are times when the draw on one line is heavier than on other lines. At such times the system proves valuable in that it is flexible. The supply for the lines that are heavily used can be drawn from the lines where the demand is lighter. But there is no way for the consumer, or the retail supplier to know just what lines his gas actually follows.

It is not known how closely the lines are united or the means whereby they are bound together. There does seem to be a very close working agreement between them. One thing is apparent from the beginning: they all follow the same pattern.

There are many things common to all carriers. Facilities are needed that the nature of the industry require. This is not peculiar to any one company but necessary in greater or lesser degrees to all of the lines. Principal among these needs is storage facilities. Much is made of such a requirement and there can be little doubt that such needs are expensive to install and require continuing charges for operation and maintenance. They are usually installed in out-of-way places, where land values are rather low as are taxes, because they are far removed from urban centers. This peculiarity may add some to continuing costs, but certainly reduces installation expense.

Storage is nothing peculiar to the gas industry, but is something necessary to nearly all types of commercial or industrial enterprise. Certainly the retail grocer must be able to carry more than one of each item on his shelves because the convenience of his patrons make it mandatory. He theremust have ample space for storage which adds to his costs. His wholesaler must have considerable warehouse space, in most cases on ground that is very costly because they are usually located in thickly populated areas subject to high taxation. This also adds to costs but they make no special issue of the fact because it is generally accepted and recognized costs. Both the wholesaler and retailer, in the instance of the grocery business, must expand these storage facilities as their volume of business increases. There should be nothing peculiar about the gas industry being subject to the same commercial axiom.

Yet much is made of these storage facilities in all of the charts and exhibits presented in supporting the tariffs they propose for acceptance by the regulatory bodies of the Nation.

There can be little doubt that such facilities add to the assets of the companies and increase their value. Such values add to the total wealth of the company and on such they are entitled to a fair return on investment. But this is not what they seek, as an analysis of their rate structure will demonstrate.

Returning to the physical structure of the industry and the entire system as it serves this area and the cities to the north and east of us, it becomes apparent that any increase either at the wellheads themselves or any point beyond the wells would necessarily increase cost to carriers and suppliers that follow in natural or unnatural sequence.

A natural sequence would exist if the lines followed each other in direct sequence, but this is not necessarily the case. Conceivably the rate could be raised by a small pipeline in northwest Alabama which, in turn, would increase rates on all of the lines north and east of this point. The gas may even move through this line and, no doubt, in some instances would. But the source of the cost is so far removed from the consumer that it becomes a difficult matter for those representing him to learn just who is increasing his rate. This is what is meant when the cities say that they find themselves confronted with a phantom foe.

By divorcing themselves, either partially or wholly from retail outlets, monopolies can make as much money selling wholesale as they could from both wholesale and retail. This has the added advantage of relieving

them of local resentment.

When the Union Light, Heat & Power Co., and the Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co. publish notices of their intent to raise these rates they were naturally asked, Why? Their reply was that their supplier, Kentucky Central Fuel Co., had raised their rates; Kentucky Central's reply was that their supplier, United Fuel, had raised their rate. Kentucky Central and United Fuel are both part of the vast Columbia system, Columbia's reply was that their suppliers, Tennessee Pipeline and Gulf Interstate had raised their costs.

And so it continues, through devious ways, to confuse the consumer and make the cities who must represent the consumers strain their every resource in their efforts to keep

rates fair and equitable.

But in the quest for the head of the trouble it was discovered that something far more vicious than rate increases had been added to the rate structure. This is the contract-demand clause. It is something new and in this we must recognize all of the experience that the gas monopoly has in rate structures as well as give due credit for originality.

The contract demand brings to American commerce a different type of rate structure as well as a new method of capital financing. Its novelty must be admired but its purpose deserves no plaudits as it certainly contains no designs on public interest or consumers consideration. Because of its viciousness and novelty it deserves a separate study within itself.

Carriers of all types of commodities are entitled to some protection on their investment in their carrying units. Their tariffs usually set up this protection in some form of minimum to assure a profit on the full use of the container. A truck or freight car is designed to carry a given amount of weight. Should a shipper choose to utilize the full capacity of these shipping containers, but load it with a commodity that by its nature is comparatively light, his tariffs will contain a rate that is considered fair for the commodity to be shipped and a minimum weight to be used as the basis for the bill should the commodity weigh less than an amount that would make it economically sound to allow its use for the period of the shipment. When the shipper has no use for the container, the carrier cannot expect to collect from him.

The contract-demand clause is based on the minimum charge commonly allowed carries of all commodities. But it goes far beyond the actual purpose of the minimum allowed carriers to protect investment as to make it more a compulsory investment item in which the investor is not entitled to a return as it is a carrier's protective safeguard.

The basis of the contract demand is that the highest day's use of 1 year provides the minimum use for all days' use of the following year. They have allowed two 5-percent easements under certain conditions,

which in effect means that a retailer in 1 given year must pay the supplying line for at least 90 percent as much gas each day as he paid for when he needed the most gas

for 1 day in the previous year.

As gas is used primarily as a heating medium, it is certain that more gas will be consumed in the winter than in the summer months. Summer months use being confined to water heating and cooking while space heating, a considerably larger item, is added in the winter months. It therefore follows that less gas will be consumed in July than the cold days of January or February. Yet under the contract-demand clause the retailer knows that he will have to pay for at least 90 percent of as much gas on any summer day as he did on the coldest day of the previous year.

Under these conditions the rate becomes incidental so far as the amount of money that the wholesaler will collect is concerned because he has established a minimum so high that his income is no longer effected by warm weather, but is set by the coldest weather. The retailer has no choice other than to adjust his rates to meet this in-

creased cost.

Of course, they must in some way try to justify this exorbitant minimum. The gas and oil producers claim that certain storage facilities are necessary to meet demands of cold-weather consumption, and use this as the basis for this unusual minimum.

Storage facilities are necessary and desirable if they are to be able to assure their consumers an ample supply of gas when needed. The installation of these facilities is expensive and certain expenditures are necessary to their maintenance. But this is not peculiar to the gas or oil companies. It has already been established that nearly all commercial enterprises must be provided with storage facilities.

In establishing these facilities they also add to the value of their properties, which is nothing more than raising the capital assets of the company. On the basis of these property or capital assets they are entitled to a fair return on their investment. As the assets increase so should the investment.

Under most such conditions a company would issue more common stock to raise the money, or have bonds or some other form of guaranteed security issued, in which some of the current profits would be sacrificed to pay for the increased assets. The former method would stretch the profits over more shareholders and the latter would assure a greater income per shareholder after the obligations issued against the profits were retired.

But the contract demand immediately strikes for quick amortization; in fact so quick that the consumer, through the increased rates forced on the retailer, pays for the increased storage facilities. The consumer therefore pays for the added assets of the gas-carrying company, and in effect donates it to the carrier so that he (the carrier) can ask for increased rates as a fair return on an investment that he did not make.

The real evil in this procedure is that the consumer makes the investment, but the gas-carrying company receives the return on the investment and the consumer must pay the bill. He not only in this way increases his present bill, but all future charges, because the carrying company will show this as increased investment on which he is entitled to a return.

We must give due credit for originality in this proposal, but we cannot overlook its evils. For it is nothing more than a plan to socialize an investment to form an oligarchy. Historically, we know their method of operation, and in view of proposed legislation to further supplement the plan, it can only result in the most despotic form of dictatorship over a vital utility.

Permanent Peace in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, over a period of the last month I have had a most interesting and informative exchange of correspondence with the Department of State. The matters of principle which are involved and their effects on the possibilities for the development of permanent peace in the Middle East are of such importance that I believe my colleagues will be glad to give it their attention. I am, therefore, inserting under unanimous consent three items-first, my letter to the Secretary of State: second, the reply from the Honorable Thruston B. Morton, Assistant Secretary of State; third, my reply to him. In order to bring them within the limitations of material allowed in the Appendix, I have divided them into two separate insertions on subsequent legislative days-i. e., first, the letter to the Secretary of State; and, second, Mr. Morton's answer and my reply.

FEBRUARY 4, 1955.

The honorable the SECRETARY OF STATE,

Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Secretary: May I venture to write to you in connection with recent developments in the Middle East.

Like many of my colleagues, I am particularly interested in the attainment of a peaceful settlement in that troubled region. Like most Americans, I was very proud that our country was able to play an important part in the establishment and the growth of the State of Israel. It is one of the significant achievements of the last decade. I am fully aware of your deep interest in the difficult problems in this area, and I am familiar not only with your own personal contribution in the establishment of Israel but also with your efforts to strengthen the entire region.

The issue which dictates this letter is the news that we have now sent military equipment to Iraq. I had been pleased to hear several weeks ago that the administration was evaluating its whole policy in the Near East. I had been looking forward, therefore, to the measures which the administration planned to take to reassure both Israel and the Arabs against any renewal of hostilities. Accordingly, it had been my hope that, pending some revision in the attitude of the Arab situation or the development of some positive program to promote an Arab-Israel reconciliation, we would have refrained from sending arms to the Arab countries.

I am sure that it is not necessary for me to review all the arguments against the supply of arms to the Arab countries. But I am firmly convinced that this policy will neither strengthen our defenses in the area nor will it win us new friends. On the contrary, I have felt that the program will weaken our defenses because it will make peace more difficult to attain; it will certainly tend to weaken the one country that is firmly alined with the West; it will raise false hopes among Arab leaders; and, in the end, it will earn us more enemies than friends.

If we give arms without requiring that there is substantial progress toward a real and lasting peace between Iraq and Israel as a condition of our support, we would be failing to utilize one of the few remaining instruments for peace at our disposal. Moreover, if we pour arms into the Arab countries, we shall whet unhealthy appeties. No matter how much we give, we shall reap a harvest of disappointment. In this connection, I call your attention to the interesting dispatch from Baghdad which appeared in the New York Times on January 14. I quote:

"Considerable disappointment was expressed here when the first United States shipment, said to have been composed exclusively of vehicles and engineer equipment, arrived as Basra December 19. Opposition deputies in Parliament wanted to know why heavy weapons had not been delivered and they charged that the United States program had been cut to \$25 million a year.

"The Government replied that United States material would be initially devoted to increasing the mobility and improving the communications of Iraq's forces. Negotiations on larger items are now in progress, it was said."

This suggests that our experience may not be dissimilar from that of the British who learned to their bitter disappointment that the gift of their assistance and weapons did not necessarily win them friendship.

I do not imply that our policy indicates any lack of friendship or good will for Israel. But the course we pursue may have the appearance of coolness toward Israel and may be interpreted in the Arab world in a manner opposed to the best interest of peace and cooperation. Under the circumstances, it is my hope that the administration will soon come forward with a clear program which will, without question, clarify that their goal in the Middle East is the friendship and reconciliation of all the peoples there. To attain that goal, it seems to me to be imperative that we suspend further arms shipments until the Arab States have agreed to the machinery of negotiation with Israel and to call off their present boycotts and blockades. Unhappily, I see no indication of this today. Indeed, the Egyptian reaction to our criticism of the Suez blockade indicates that Egypt remains firm in its hostility toward Israel and has little or no inclination toward a program of peace. (I hasten to add that it was most gratifying to see that our United Nations delegation spoke so definitely on this issue during the recent discussion at the United Nations Security Council.)

I am keenly aware of the strategic importance of Iraq, of their inclination to be friendly with the other objectives of the United States and of the necessity of our development of this friendship. I hope that we are not compelled to go forward with further arms shipments to Iraq, but if we are for some unknown reason to me, I would like to see an expression from the administration to the effect that Israel is being included in our regional defense planning. It is difficult to see how we can justify the exclusion of the Israel fighting forces from our program.

Above all else, however, it seems to me that the time has come for some assurances that none of the arms shipped to any country in the Near East will be used in acts of aggression against any other country with which we have relations, and most certainly we need the assurance that these arms will never be used except for a strictly defensive To this date I have seen nothing from Baghdad which expressly assures the Western World that our arms will not be used against Israel. On the other hand, I have seen belligerent statements from Premier Faris el Khoury of Syria summoning the Arabs to accept our arms for use against Israel. The alarm thus caused is, therefore, substantial and real.

The kind of guaranties which could be meaningful or feasible under these circumstances can best, of course, come from the studies of the State Department made on this problem. If, however, a positive pro-

gram and statement could be made that any aggressive military action by any country of the Near East to whom we have given military or economic aid and assistance would immediately justify our active intervention to prevent its spread, it would, I believe, receive widespread congressional and nationwide support. I am certain that many of my colleagues, as well as our constituents, share our deep apprehensions on this issue.

I would appreciate hearing from you.
With assurance of my high respect and
desire to be of constructive assistance, I am,
Very sincerely,

JAMES ROOSEVELT.

House Resolution 164

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. T. JAMES TUMULTY

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. TUMULTY. Mr. Speaker, on March 2 I introduced House Resolution 164, the purpose of which was to have the Weather Bureau to desist from the trivial handling of hurricanes. The policy at present is to name hurricanes after feminine names. I include herewith an editorial entitled "Hurricanes Not Funny," which appeared in the March 18, 1955, issue of the Standard-Times, New Bedford, Mass., which is very much to the point. The editorial follows:

HURRICANES NOT FUNNY

Representative Tumulty, of New Jersey, along with millions of other eastern-seaboard inhabitants, knows from experience that hurricanes are deadly serious business. Tumulty is determined to do something about the Weather Bureau's inappropriate use of feminine names to designate tropical storms.

The Congressman will seek House approval of a resolution requesting the Weather Bureau to abandon its present system of naming hurricanes and to replace it with some form of designation which would convey to the public the seriousness of these death-dealing storms. His resolution would not have the force of law, but Mr. TUMULTY believes House adoption of the proposal by a large majority would be sufficiently persuasive to spur the Weather Bureau to remedial action.

The first hurricane of 1955, which formed in the West Indies in January and remained at sea, was named Alice. The next one will be called Brenda, followed by Connie, Diane, Edith, and so on to Zelda, although there seldom are more than 10 hurricanes a year.

As Congressman Tumulty said, these names tend "to treat a serious matter frivolously and may even add to the deaths, injuries, and destruction" caused by hurricanes by unconsciously encouraging the public to regard them lightly. He attributed the use of feminine names to a "poor sense of humor" on the part of weather officials. "After years of dealing with disasters," Tumulty said, "the Bureau may think they are funny. But they aren't funny to the people who have to go through them."

New Englanders, recalling the hurricanes of 1954 and previous years, will echo Mr. Tumulit's sentiments, as will residents of other States who know firsthand the terror and havoc that result when nature goes on a rampage.

Hurricanes are not to be treated lightly and they should not bear lighthearted names.

It is to be hoped Congressmen from all sections of the country will support Representative Tumultry's resolution and the Weather Bureau will take steps promptly to rectify its distasteful practice.

ment loan insurance covenant not to discriminate against minorities in the sale and rental of housing.

It short, the colored homeseeker must no longer be required to "pay the hangman's fee to have his neck broken for a crime he did not commit."

Federal Housing Program—This Is a Serious Charge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial from the Washington edition of the Afro-American, dated March 18, 1955, which graphically points up how the Federal Government is a party to discrimination against non-whites in the sale and rental of housing. Information is continually being brought to my office which substantiates this claim. No true American can evaluate these facts without becoming alarmed about the inaction of the Veterans' Administration and Federal Housing Administration in developing a policy which will guarantee protection of minority group members in this field. In view of the deep social significance involved, our patience has become threadbare.

The editorial follows:

THIS IS A SERIOUS CHARGE

A serious charge was leveled at the Federal Government and its agencies during the meeting of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing held here on Monday.

Loren Miller, a Los Angeles attorney, an expert on racial segregation in housing, accused the Government and its agencies of sanctioning and giving support to segregated housing.

"Government agencies which are giants in the regulation of everything from interest rates to floor covering become quaking pygmies when they are asked to use their power to curb discriminatory practices," Mr. Miller asserted.

He described the widely heralded 1949 nondiscrimination policy of the Federal Housing Administration as more a myth than fact

It was pointed out that while borrowers of FHA money are prohibited from practicing racial discrimination, the builders are left free to discriminate in sale and rental of such housing.

As a result, only 2 percent of housing units built with FHA-insured loans were open to nonwhite occupacy as late as 1950.

This undemocratic and unjust practice has exacted a tremendous dollar and cent toll from colored homeseekers.

More important, however, is the fact that racial residential segregation can practically nullify the effect of the Supreme Court's 1954 school decision.

If the Government is serious about the promise of equality for all, FHA must discontinue its sanctioning and support of segregated housing.

It should immediately adopt a policy which would require every applicant for Govern-

Secretary Humphrey's Blooper—A Billion-Dollar Blunder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch said editorially a few days ago that Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey appears to have contracted a case of the affliction that has bothered some other officeholders before him—a peculiar infirmity or virus under the spell of which Humphrey has become obsessed with the idea that he cannot afford to admit having made a mistake.

That "bug" showed up in the Secretary when he testified before the House Committee on Ways and Means on what some committee members have called Humphrey's billion-dollar blooper.

The committee was concerned about a loophole in the Eisenhower 1954 tax law, under which corporations can reduce their tax liability substantially by taking double deductions for certain business expenses.

Humphrey admitted to the committee that the loophole exists and he now proposes amendment of the law to remove it.

However, the Secretary attempted to pass the buck to Congress in fixing the responsibility for the loophole.

"You gentlemen passed the law, we didn't," Mr. Humphrey told the committee. "If you made a mistake, I'm sorry."

An ungracious remark from an Eisenhower Cabinet member, if I have ever heard one, and especially coming from Mr. Humphrey, who quickly took credit for the Eisenhower administration on excise-tax reductions last year which he and President Eisenhower actually opposed when they were under consideration in committee, after being proposed by Democratic members.

Mr. Humphrey's strange contortions places him in the position of taking all credit for things that turn out well and disclaiming all mistakes. For the past year Humphrey has been hailing the Republican tax law of 1954 as the greatest work of tax architecture in history. His tax experts labored for months over the bill. They should have been aware of the billion-dollar bloopers that were in it.

And, of course, the committee had responsibility. Its tax experts also should have caught the loophole. But need I remind anyone that the Eisenhower tax law was completely in Republican hands, both from the department level to the committee level? From this we can fairly conclude that whether it was Hum-

phrey's billion-dollar blooper, or the committee's billion-dollar blooper, it most certainly was a Republican and an Eisenhower administration billion-dollar blooper.

The billion dollars, of course, went to big business.

A Trinity for St. Patrick's Day; a Laugh, a Tear, and a Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES C. MURRAY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. MURRAY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include herewith an address delivered on March 17, St. Patrick's Day, at the Mayflower Hotel, before the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, Washington, D. C., by the Honorable T. James Tumulty, Representative from New Jersey. Mr. Tumulty's address was eloquent, thoughtful, and moving. Mr. Tumulty was with Chief Justice Earl Warren, guests of the Friendly Sons.

The address follows:

St. Patrick's Day is a holy day but a happy day. It is a day which can be described by three words: "A laugh, a tear, and a prayer." Certainly we must laugh when we see how everyone wants to get into the act, a la Durante. The English try to crash the party by claiming that early Christianity in Ireland was the work of the English saints. The French, not just because they have a brandy by the name of Hennessy, claim Patrick was born in France. The Italians claim Patrick was an Italian. The Israelites climbed on the bandwagon by pointing to Douglas Hyde's Literary History of Ireland where they tell the story of Gael Glas who was wandering in Palestine years before the Irish discovered Ireland. Gael, the leader of the Irish, was bitten by a snake and cured by Aaron, the brother of Moses, who predicted the Irish would find their isle of destiny on the rim of the world. When later the Irish did discover and land on Ireland, they gave it among other names the name of Innisfail, the Isle of Destiny. The Chinese—the free Chinese—have a St. Patrick and they erected a pagoda to him, except that their St. Patrick was a soldier of fortune named, "Fighting Pat McCarthy," who used to direct the old empire's armies. The Spanish claim the right to tango on Paddy's Day because the Irish traveled through Spain in their search for Ireland and the armada was wrecked on Irish shores. The Danes, Finns, Norwegians, Normans, etc., etc., all lived at one time or another in Ireland. So it is, indeed, laughable to see the Irish celebrate a day in which they have so little part originally and a day named after saints, neither of whom were

It's a day when the Irish outboast the Russians in claiming for themselves all the great inventions and discoveries of the world. Sure I had direct from my Irish grandmother that the first one to discover America was an Irishman. In fact, there are two claimants for the honor. The first none other than St. Brendan, the busy voyager, whom I am going to nominate for the patron saint of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries sailed for Greenland, and when he arrived in America, introduced bingo to the North American Indians who played it with

beads and later called it wampum—the Gallic word for bingo.

Also, never forget Willie Gallagher from Cork who sailed with Columbus and was the 7th son of a 7th son and so he had preternatural gifts and could see through the dark dead of night better than a cat. Willie was in the prow of the Santa Maria on the great voyage of discovery when one night after Columbus had left the bridge to go below and get some sleep, leaving Willie at the prow piercing the dark night with cat's eyes, when sure enough didn't Willie spy land and didn't he "Lep" over the prow, swim ashore and become the first man to set foot on American soil and if you don't believe me there is to this day in the Dublin Museum his salty shorts and sneakers, worn on that historic occasion.

Another historic landmark occurred on the occasion of the settling upon the 17th as the true date for St. Patrick's day. As you know, the day we celebrate is the day of the death of St. Patrick, that is the second St. Patrick (Patrick of Britain). At one time there was an argument over the date. St. Patrick of Britain died near midnight on the 8th or 9th of March according to the old calendar. So when they, in the long ago, started to celebrate, some celebrated the day on the 8th, some on the 9th, and some both days. Things got confusing, not to say exhausting, so a grand meeting was called on the high hill of Tara, as my grandmother told me, to decide whether it was the 8th or 9th. Well, they argued and argued till my great, great, great, great, great aunt Molly Griffin—the first suffragette in history—rose up to say, "Quiet, the whole lot of yez. Add the two dates to-gether and celebrate it on the 17th and all will be right," which they promptly did and it has been so celebrated to this day.

Then we all know, and it can be revealed for the first time, that St. Patrick discovered the secret of the atom and the H-bombs. Patrick discovered the secret and was experimenting with the bomb to see if he could use it for good when it exploded in a remote part of Ireland and scared all the living creatures off the island. St. Patrick was saved by a miracle but the causeway leading to Scotland now known as the Giants Causeway, was destroyed and all the snakes were driven out of Ireland and a hurricane ensued. Thus the date in history has been placed as the year of the big wind or the year when Paddy chased the snakes out of Ireland. St. Patrick, because of the awesome nature of the H-bomb, placed a formula into a bottle and threw it into the sea where it floated for thousands of years until it was picked up by Einstein while walking on the beach at Long Branch, N. J. Since Einstein recognized Gaelic as a relative language to Hebrew he had no difficulty translating the formula and perfecting the H-bomb as we have it today. All the foreging I have on the authority of my grandmother.

Laugh as we do with these stories of the past, laughter is never very far from tears. The tear we should drop today is for a man who symbolizes the greatness and heroism of the men called to the greatest vocation the world has known, the priesthood or ministry of God. I am not speaking of the Patrick after whom the day we celebrate is named. I now mean the forgotten Patrick whose mission, through no fault of his own, did not succeed. In 431 the Patrick who landed in Ireland was Patricius Palladius. He has been called by some the elder Patrick. He and his companions were of Fallic and Italian origin, and they brought Ireland into direct contact with the Continent. There is some dispute as to how long the forgotten Patrick labored in Ireland.

The Two Patricks, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1942, Thomas F. O'Rahilly declares that he labored for 30 years before he died.

The Review of Politics, July 1948, Ludwig Bieler, however, states that the mission of Patricius Palladius was short lived and says that "Perhaps the truth about his death is contained in a faint and sporadic tradition to the effect that he suffered martyrdom." It is typical of the "Irish luck," as O'Rahilly 'Ireland has two Patricks, either of whom could be considered its national apostle. The first and forgotten Patrick brought, as did the traditional Patrick, the faith to Ireland, but in addition, the culture of the Continent. Too bad for him, cirthwarted his mission brought it to an end, erasing his name from history. The second Patrick from Britain-Patrick the Great-established for all time Christianity in Ireland.

Although Patricius Palladius was the first bishop of Ireland, nevertheless, "The Lord gave Ireland not to Palladius but to Patrick, because nobody can take from the world that which is not given him from above."

At any rate, the Patrick who failed is the subject of my remarks tonight, because he represents so many thousands of priests and clergymen whose missions are doomed to failure because of the rising tide of atheism. Thousands of modern Patricks like the forgotten Palladius are today being harassed and hunted from place to place all over the world. Clergymen of all sects, like Cardinal Mindszenty and Lutheran Bishop Ordass are languishing in prison. Thousands of them are marked men, and today on the holy day we pause before the tomb of the unknown Patrick, not only to remember him but to think of the persecuted men of God, these fugitive apostles of charity, of the hunted men of heaven, who today in obscurity forgotten by the free world are suffering in Red jails. For them and for the forgotten Patrick let our tears drop and crystalize as they flow and be carried as a rosary of remembrance for the suffering ministers of God of all sects. For them we can but give a prayer which completes the trinity of my talk tonight. You will remember I said St. Patrick's Day could be described with three words-a laugh, a tear, and now a prayer. The prayer I offer tonight is the prayer of the great St. Patrick, the traditional St. Patrick whose mission was successful and who gloriously and miraculously was preserved from all harm.

Patrick made this hymn It was made in the time of Loegaire son of Niall. The cause of its composition, however, was to protect him and his monks against deadly enemics that lay in wait for the clerics. And this is a breastplate of faith for the protection of body and soul against devils, men, and vices. When anyone shall repeat it everyday with diligent intentness on God, devils shall not dare face him, it shall be a protection to him against every poison and envy, it shall be a defense to him against sudden death, it shall be a breastplate to his soul after his death. Patrick sang this hymn when mabuscades were laid against his coming by Loegaire, that he might not go to Tara to sow the faith. And then it happened, it appeared before those lying in ambush that they (Patrick and his monks) were wild deer, with a fawn (Benen) following them, and its name is Deer Cry of Patrick's Breastplate.

"I arise today
Through the strength of Heaven:
Light of sun,
Brilliance of moon,
Splendor of fire,
Speed of light,
Swiftness of wind,
Depth of sea,
Stability of earth,
Firmness of rock,

"I arise today
Through God's strength to pilot me:
God's might to uphold me,

God's wisdom to guide me,
God's eye to look before me,
God's ear to hear for me,
God's word to speak for me,
God's hand to guard me,
God's way to lie before me,
God's shield to protect me,
God's host to secure me—
Against snares of devils,
Against temptations of vices,
Against inclinations (?) of nath
Against everyone who shall wish me ill
Afar and anear,
Alone and in a crowd.

"I summon today all these powers between me (and these evils)—

me (and these evils)—
Against every cruel and merciless power
that may oppose me body and soul,
Against incantations of false prophets,
Against black laws of heatherry,
Against false laws of heretics,
Against craft of idolatry,

Against spells of women and smiths and wizards,

Against every knowledge—that endangers man's body and soul.

"Christ to protect me today
Against poison, against burning,
Against drowning, against wounding,
So that there may come abundance of
reward.

Christ with me, Christ before me, Christ behind me.

Christ in me, Christ beneath me, Christ above me,

Christ on my right, Christ on my left, Christ where I lie, Christ where I sit, Christ where I arise,

Christ in the heart of every man who thinks of me. Christ in the mouth of every man who

speaks of me.

Christ in every eve that sees me.

Christ in every eye that sees me, Christ in every ear that hears me,

"I arise today

Through a mighty strength, the invocation of the Trinity.

Through belief in the Threeness, Through confession of the Oneness Toward the Creator.

"Salvation is of the Lord,
Salvation is of the Lord,
Salvation is of Christ,
May Thy salvation, O Lord, be ever with us."

So on this holy day we celebrate, I offer you a toast to the suffering and forgotten priests and clergymen of the world now enduring their Gethsemane. Wherever they may be, may God protect them, may God preserve them, and may God bless them.

Imports of Canned Ham From Communist-Dominated Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PHIL WEAVER HON. ROBERT D. HARRISON HON. JACKSON B. CHASE HON. A. L. MILLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following resolution:

"Legislative Resolution 14
"Whereas farmers are watching their hogs sink to new price lows; and "Whereas imports of canned hams imported from Communist Poland increased 55 percent over January 1954, or from 2,339,000 pounds to 3,627,000 pounds; and

"Whereas imports from the Red-dominated country during 1954 ran up to almost 20 million pounds; and

"Whereas it has been revealed that further tariff cuts on canned hams are under consideration: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the members of the Nebraska Legislature in 67th session assembled:

"1. That the Congress of the United States be urged to investigate the importing of canned ham from Communist-dominated countries and take immediate action that such imports be stopped.

"2. That copies of this resolution be transmitted by the clerk of the legislature to the Vice President of the United States as President of the Senate of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Member from Nebraska in the Senate of the United States and in the House of Representatives of the United States.

"C. J. MANNER,
"President of the Legislature."

I, Hugo F. Srb, hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of legislative resolution 14, which was passed by the Legislature of Nebraska in 67th regular session on the 17th day of March, 1985.

Hugo F. SRB, Clerk of the Legislature.

Need for Pay Increase for Classified Federal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN F. BALDWIN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, with your permission, I would like to insert in the Congressional Record the following statement which I made before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee on Friday morning, March 18, relative to the need for a substantial pay increase for classified Federal employees:

Mr. Chairman, I am appearing before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee in behalf of a substantial increase in the pay scales of the classified Federal employees.

In my district in California there are four large Federal installations. These are: Mare Island Naval Yard, with approximately 11,500 Federal employees; Benicia Arsenal, with over 3,000 Federal employees; Travis Air Force Base, with approximately 1,000 Federal civilian employees; and Port Chicago Naval Magazine, with approximately 1,000 Federal civilian employees. In addition, many other Federal workers live in my district who are employed at Federal installations in Alameda County and in San Francisco.

I have discussed the necessity of adequate compensation for Government civilian employees at length with the commanding officers of Mare Island Naval Yard and Benicia Arsenal. These employees have rendered a tremendous service to our Government over the past years. We have called upon them for literally heroic work at times during periods of crisis, such as the urgent days of World War II and the Korean war. They have always responded and done a remark-

ably effective job. The work of the Federal employees at these military installations has been outstanding.

At the present time, we are in danger of losing our most competent employees because of the fact that their pay scales are not comparable with the pay scales of comparable positions in private industry. This would be a tremendous loss to the efficiency of the Federal service. It also would have an adverse effect on the appeal of the Federal service to new young people who are considering it as a career.

For these reasons, it is most essential, in my opinion, that this session of Congress grant a substantial increase in pay to our Federal classified employees. I believe that this increase should be at least comparable in amount to the increase that has been proposed for Federal Post Office workers. In other words, if the Congress adopts an increase for Federal postal workers of somewhere between 7½ and 10 percent, as now appears likely, it would appear essential that an increase of at least comparable proportions be granted to Federal classified employees.

A New Way To Combat Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following letter from Mr. R. D. Russell, of Seattle, Wash. Mr. Russell, in writing of the proposed visit of the Russian farmers to this country, makes a highly interesting comment on the history of high rigid price supports:

Bringing these Russian farmers to our country to inspect our farming program is one of the most constructive steps ever conceived to combat communism.

If the Russians are shown the true picture about our farm program and then institute it into their country, not only will it create overwhelming deficit spending in the Kremlin but it will tie up their boats in such a useless manner that any idea about war would be asinine. Their airplane hangars would be so full of grain the Air Force would be stifled. Guns, tanks, planes, etc., couldn't be built because all their taxes would be exhausted by subsidies. Why, they couldn't even hide from an atomic bomb attack because their caves would be filled with eggs, cheese, butter, and peanuts. Even their warehouses would bulge with meat to such an extent that they would have to invent the phony hoof and mouth disease to shut out imports. Thus, trade with their allies would be so impaired that they, too, would have to give billions in foreign aid.

Just think how many of their soldiers would have to be used in guarding all this storage. At least half of their armies would be necessary as I understand the Russians do not permit graft as we do. The Commies are noted for perverting the truth and this would be a good opportunity to prove that Solomon was wrong when he said in Proverbs II: 26: "He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him; but blessing shall be upon the head of him that selleth it."

Yes, by all means, bring those Russian farmers over here. Let them see for themselves how socialism will destroy communism in their country as socialism has ruined our free enterprise.

Utilization of Surplus Property

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, this bill is a simple one. However, it does have a very important and far-reaching effect on the possible physical facilities throughout the country of universities, colleges, schools, and hospitals. The basic intent of the bill is to improve the administration of the program for the utilization of surplus property of the Federal Government, for schools and hospitals.

A short history of the background of this bill should be stated at this point in the Record. The Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 provides that property, both real and personal, which becomes surplus to all Federal requirements may be donated to schools and hospitals. The act also permitted the donation of real property for

hospital purposes.

In addition, the Congress has in recent years enacted some 15 pieces of legislation designed to make available to schools and hospitals quantities of property acquired largely for war activities. The Congress has repeatedly decided that the best course of action is to give schools and hospitals this surplus property if useful and needed.

The Congress has been fully aware of the small return to the Treasury from the sales of surplus property made to date. It is my understanding that the average return of the cost of the property

has been only 5.7 percent.

The legislation before the House today is necessary because of a decision of the Comptroller of the Department of Defense which practically nullifies previous legislation on the donable property program. To the credit of the Comptroller. may I say that the misunderstanding has been honest and has been pursuant to a regulation drafted by the Army, Navy, Air Force, Bureau of the Budget, and the General Accounting Office. It was their understanding that under one regulation of the Department of Defense-no consideration could be given to the donable program. This bill today clarifies this situation beyond any doubt.

My own State of Illinois has benefited from this donable program of personal and real property to schools and hospitals since 1946 to the extent of \$37,834,795. This is no inconsiderable sum. I find on investigation that much of this property has gone to communities and areas which would have been unable to acquire this property in any other manner. That is, due to the local tax situation, it would have been impossible to purchase the property.

Section 2 (a) of the bill clarifies the authority of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to enforce compliance with the terms and conditions of the donated property. The committee in bringing in this bill has taken a strong

position that any donated property must be put to a maximum continuous use in order to enhance the educational and public-health programs of the Nation.

Another new feature has been added in section 3. The Secretary may now enter into cooperative agreements with State departments of health or education and with other State agencies for the utilization of surplus property for educational and health purposes. This section will greatly implement the program. It will permit voluntary agreements between the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and State agencies with respect to standards of requirement, audit, and inspection.

Sections 4 and 5 are intended to facilitate and reduce administrative costs at both the Federal and State level. In addition, the Secretary will be required to submit quarterly reports as to the amount of both real and personal property donated and, also, who is actually in possession. This will enable the appropriate committees of Congress to determine whether such property is being equitably distributed among the States.

This, in short, is a review of the previous program and the effect of the legislation before the House today. Mr. Speaker, in my opinion this is one of the most appropriate humanitarian proposals that has been brought forward in this session. During the recent war there was a heavy and necessary demand by the military on a major share of our taxes. Both health and education suffered during those years. This, in a small way, is helping to add to those services which were handicapped during all those years that we were engaged in mortal conflict.

Hospitals, universities, and schools will be enabled as a result of this legislation to acquire needed facilities which are made available by our Government.

I have received a number of communications from local school boards and other educational agencies of my district who are struggling to provide adequate education—all strongly in favor of this bill. I am sure that any property made available to the hospitals and schools of my area will be well used.

In my opinion, this bill serves a wholesome and needed purpose and I am pleased to urge and support its enactment. I also support the rule which would allow the bill to be heard.

To Our Irish Neighbors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. T. JAMES TUMULTY

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. TUMULTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include herewith an editorial entitled "To Our Irish Neighbors," which appeared in the Nowy Swiat, of New York, N. Y. As an American of Irish descent I am grateful to the gallant

Americans of Polish descent for their greeting on St. Patrick's Day. The Americans of Irish descent in turn pray for the day when the great Polish Nation is again free and independent. The editorial follows:

TO OUR IRISH NEIGHBORS

We shall be watching you today while singing and playing, your banners high, your faces aglow with joy and faith, you will be marching and telling the world.

From Dublin to New York.

And you will be wearing the green, the color of spring and hope—Ireland's color.

Your patron saint fought and died for God and freedom. So do you to this day. So do the Poles.

You have the fight in you against oppression and slavery. You have the faith in you, in justice and victory, and you hate snakes.

No one understands you better, no one has more compassion and admiration for you than have the Poles who, like you, know what oppression and slavery mean. We also hate snakes. Nobody loathes subversion and compromise with evil and power more than the Irish and the Poles.

Know then that on this, your day of joy and hope, we salute you, our good neighbors.

Your faith is our faith. Your hopes are like our hopes.

Top o' the day to you.

Was News of Scandal in Handling Surplus Food for School-Lunch Program Held Back To Protect Republican Candidates in Illinois?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the Collinsville (III.) Herald on March 16, 1955. The editorial, entitled "Abusing Freedom by Neglect," follows:

ABUSING FREEDOM BY NEGLECT

Newspapers generally maintain the right of freedom of the press. But those who insist upon it most strongly often are the most guilty of violating it. They exercise the freedom not to print news which they find unpalatable,

Such a situation has arisen in connection with the dealings of Vernon L. Nickell, State superintendent of public instruction, with James W. Dunbar, of Springfield, in the hauling of Government surplus food to the schools of the State.

Some 2 months ago the Chicago Sun-Times broke the story about Nickell awarding a contract to Dunbar, probate clerk of Sangamon County, and a contributor to Nickell's campaign fund, on Dunbar's terms. The other Chicago papers refused to touch the story at that time, and the Chicago Tribune ignored it until a week or so ago when the matter was taken up in the Congress at Washington. Federal investigators have stated that Dunbar has made enormous profits out of the business, estimated at \$600,000 to \$800,000, or 310 percent. Nickell disputes this percentage of profit, but has announced

cancellation of Dunbar's contract effective April 1.

But the most recreant attitude of the Chicago papers now appears to be the fact that they were told of this contract and its fraudulent possibilities before the election last November. All of them at that time declined to give the affair any publicity, presumably for political reasons—the expose would have hurt Nickell's chances for reelection. David Mallett, candidate for State treasurer, who was defeated by a majority of less than 1 vote for each Illinois precinct, thinks that the expose would have hurt the Republican candidates enough to have assured his election and probably the election of Nickell's Democratic opponent, Mark Peterman. Judging by the present furor about Dunbar, I agree with him. The expose of Governor Green's dealings with coal mine operators and Peoria gamblers in 1948 resulted in his defeat by half a million votes while Governor Dewey was losing Illinois for President by only around 30,000 votes.

Unequal Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM E. HESS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. HESS. Mr. Speaker, the President now has before him a decision which will have a profound effect upon one of the basic premises for the continued progress of the Republic—free competition and free enterprise. Northwest Airlines now enjoys a monopoly on its traffic to the Orient via the Great Circle Route out of Seattle.

Pan American Airways seeks to fly this route in free competition with Northwest. Since pioneering days into South America in 1929, across the Pacific in 1935, and to Europe in 1939, Pan American has been paralleled over virtually every one of its routes by at least one United States flag carrier. In every instance Pan American has had tremendous competition from foreign-flag lines which, in almost every case, are owned by foreign governments and heavily subsidized by those governments.

Pan American does not enjoy the privilege of flying domestically. Northwest Airlines has direct operations out of Washington and New York to Seattle, giving that carrier a tremendous preliminary advantage.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the significant points of an argument for free competition is best illustrated by an editorial which appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer on March 12. Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include the Enquirer editorial in the Recorn:

[From the Cincinnati Enquirer of March 12, 1955]

UNEQUAL COMPETITION

Some time ago, Northwest Airlines was given the right to fly from Seattle to Tokyo, on the principle that competition is a good thing. Pan American Airways, already flying the Pacific, should not have a monopoly of American-flag service, it was argued. That

was sound logic, except for one thing. Northwest received the privilege of flying the great circle route, which is 4,770 miles. But Pan American was required to continue via Honolulu or Wake Island. By that route, it is 6,970 miles.

That imposes on one airline a handicap of 2,200 miles to the Orient from Scattle, and about 1,000 miles from San Francisco. That is not the way to create competition. Furthermore, it obliges many travelers to make a stop they do not want to make. And in addition, it costs the taxpayers excessively. For as long as overseas airlines are subsidized, as they now are, each weekly round trip by the circuitous route costs the Government \$220,000 a year.

There was a good reason for the original requirement of the Hawaii route, for airplanes in earlier years could not fly the Pacific nonstop in any case. Now, however, Pan American is buying DC-7's which will be able to make the Seattle-Tokyo flight nonstop—all the time eastbound and most of the time westbound. An arbitrary rule demanding a midocean stop cancels out the gains achieved by improved aircraft.

gains achieved by improved aircraft.

We hold no brief for either of these competing airlines over the other. And obviously there is room for both of them on the Pacific route, in competition. But the competition ought to be fair. And it is not fair while one airline is compelled by Government regulation to fly 1,000 to 2,000 miles farther, to take equivalent passenger loads to the same destination.

If the Government wants competition on overseas air routes, for which there is much to be said, it should set up rules to make the competition equitable.

Ninety Percent Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I am inserting in the Record the editorial entitled "Ninety Percent Politics," which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of this morning.

The editorial pertains to H. R. 12, reported by the House Committee on Agriculture, to return to 90 percent mandatory price supports of certain farm products.

That is it, Mr. Speaker, just "90 percent politics," and nothing more. By this bill it is proposed that we return to a program that has not proved successful without or even so much as trying the flexible price support program we enacted into law last year but which has not yet gone into effect.

NINETY PERCENT POLITICS

More political mesmerism than economic logic is reflected in the bill approved by the House Agriculture Committee to raise mandatory basic farm price supports to 90 percent of parity. The committee makes a convincing case that farm income has gone down 22 percent since February 1951, that the January parity ratio was the lowest since 1941 and that farm debt is increasing. This is all true. What the committee neglects to point out, however, is that these conditions developed during a period when basic price supports were pegged at 90 percent. The

new law permitting flexible supports down to 82½ percent this year had nothing to do with these conditions, because it will not take effect until new crops are harvested.

No one ought to be deluded that flexible supports are a complete answer to the problems in agriculture. The law came too late to prevent the accumulation of \$7 billion worth of surpluses; and it may not be flexible enough. We should like to see the Department of Agriculture give more attention to the problems of low-income farmers through retraining and resettlement. But rigid price supports in the main have helped big farmers, not little ones; and it is the little farmer who is hurt the most by the acreage restrictions that inevitably stem from high fixed supports. High income, in other words, does not necessarily accompany high supports.

Rigid supports, moreover, produce other bad consequences. A good example is the bastardization that has taken place in wheat. Only about one-fifth of the present billion-bushel carryover is millable wheat; the remainder is inferior quality fit only for feedbut still eligible for support. So long as this inferior wheat is commingled, it doubtful how much more wheat the country could expect to export even under the twoprice system the committee recommends. The investigation in Texas has amply demonstrated that a racket has developed in the commingling of inferior wheat with quality wheat for export purposes. The committee might well give some attention to curbing such abuses by requiring the Department of Agriculture to recognize quality as a basis for acreage quotas under the price-support system.

But while there is plenty of room for improvement in the price-support operation, it makes no sense to argue that the remedy for today's distress is the same system that helped cause the disease. This is what the House committee is arguing, and we hope that the House will understand the fallacy when it considers the bill this week. Even opponents of flexible supports ought to recognize that the flexible principle cannot be tested until it has a chance to work.

Postal Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from Postmark of March 1955:

LEGISLATIVE COMMENTS

As this is written, we are waiting anxiously to learn what action will be taken by those who have the power to improve our marginal status. We have presented the facts honestly and fairly and a just decision should prevail. But never before, has such a determined effort been exerted to prevent enactment of an urgently needed pay adjustment.

Previously, unity of purpose and desire was the firm axis around which the postal service revolved. And it was this service, held in high esteem by the public we serve, that placed the Post Office in the enviable position of being universally trusted and respected by our entire society.

Now, this unity is gone, smothered out by statistics. It was deliberately and ruthlessly destroyed by the Department in an effort to gain certain objectives which, we are told, will benefit all and greatly improve the service.

The death knell for unity sounded when the Department-sponsored bill was introduced and the tactics being used to gain its enactment into law show the lengths to which the Department will go to force its adoption.

This bill provides large benefits for only the minority groups and has thus gained their support. The clerks and carriers, which are the two largest groups, will get but a pittance. So they are forced to carry the brunt of the battle. The Postmaster General insists on reclassification and has taken the unprecedented action of promising a Presidential veto unless his demands are granted. Is this a change in the democratic method of lawmaking?

We have been taught since birth, or shortly thereafter, that a legislator voted as his conscience dictated; that his conclusions were reached only after careful, unimpeded hearings and investigations. Some of our friends in the Congress who have voted for beneficial postal legislation in the past have now become reluctant to state their views. We have been told that it would be poor policy to vote for something which they knew would be vetoed. Is this a just decision based on facts? Oh, what manner of men are these and what has caused this condition to come about?

Just what is this reclassification that is so vital to the Department? Reporter John Cramer, of the Washington Dally News, has written an article on this subject titled "Job Racket Exposed." The first paragraph reads:

"The often-phony Government job-classification racket got itself caught bare naked yesterday—and just as you suspected, it has bow legs and wears falsies."

The article goes on to expose misrepresentation, doubletalk, and phony job descriptions. Some of the bill was so obviously phony that even its strongest supporters agreed to delete or rewrite many of the provisions it contained. Remember, this is the bill which the Department contends is designed to improve the service.

Imposing statistics have been compiled to justify the Department's claims but statistics per se are worthless; they can be used to prove or disprove anything, and it is indeed unfortunate that the Department seems inclined to maximize statistics and to minimize human values because statistics cannot expedite and deliver mail. Mail is handled by people, men and women who are grossly underpaid.

It seems likely that the Department will be successful in attaining many of its objectives, but is the victory worth the cost? Possibly the service will be improved by uprooting and destroying unity and creating cleavages and maybe the end will justify the means. It is not for us to judge.

We have been misrepresented as greedy, grasping creatures when all we asked for was the chance to earn a decent living. Our needs have been ignored so that the statistics will work out and we are counted religiously every 6 minutes. But, come what may, we are sure of one thing.

If the intransigence of any man, or group of men, prevents us from getting what we need and earn, we will not falter or deviate from principle. We will always strive for the improvement and betterment of the service to the public for whom we work.

We are dedicated toward that end, and it is this dedication which will sustain us in what could well be our most dismal hour.

THOMAS NOLIN, Legislative Representative.

The Yalta Papers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following newspaper editorials:

[From the New York Times of March 20, 1955]
WHAT COUNTS IS THE FUTURE

What happened at Yalta 10 years ago this month is less important than what is going to happen this year and next year and 10 years from now. The Yalta Conference, concerning which readers of this newspaper have had the opportunity to read several hundred thousand words, was the result of forces then in operation. Likewise it released new forces. We may argue as long as we like about the effect of personalities on history and the importance of isolated events. Yalta was not and could not be isolated. It touches all our lives today.

The forces acting in the world during that historic week were already visibly crushing Germany. Japan was as surely defeated as was Germany. The trouble was, as far as the United States and Britain were concerned, that this truth was not fully realized American troops were locked in the bloody battle on Iwo Jima, which was to cost us more than 4,500 dead. They still had to take Okinawa at a loss of more than 12,500 dead or missing. Manila fell on the eve of the Yalta Conference. Wise military men estimated casualties in landings on the main island Japan by the hundreds of thousands. The A-bomb was known to the President and his advisers to be "reasonably certain" "produce the equivalent of a 10,000-ton TNT explosion."

Still, it was thought necessary to persuade and cajole the Russians to stay in the war in the West and to go into the war in the Far East. The Western Powers accepted a government in Poland which could not be, and was not, free. They accepted unfair Polish boundaries. They gave concessions to Russia in the Far East at Chinese expense—and felt so unhappy about this that the facts were not made public for some 2 years.

As one reads or skims these tragic documents one gets two impressions: first, that the chief participants did not know all the factors with which they were dealing; second, that they were, so far as the Western Powers were concerned, caught in a struggle between two moralities—the morality of the democratic process versus the morality involved in saving lives. Mr. Roosevelt, particularly, was desperately anxious to prevent the shedding of American blood in an unnecessary assault in the Pacific. He could be political when he thought of the Polish vote in this country. He could also be deeply humane.

The Russians suffered from no such handicap. Human life literally means nothing to Premier Stalin if it came in the way of any purpose of his. Respect for promises or respect for truth did not stand in his way, either. There is something sadly naive in the hopes and intentions expressed at Yalta that the future of Europe and of the liberated Axis satellite nations be settled "by democratic means." We know now that Russia never had the slightest intention of settling such problems by what we would call democratic means.

Yalta is in the past. We can learn much from it, including the imperfections of the leaders of men, the limitations on their knowledge, even the desirable course of future top-level meetings. In any future meeting, for example, we might assume that words without effective guarantees would not be accepted as sound currency as they were in 1945, when Russia expended so many such words.

Ten years after Yalta we in this country at least know with some precision where we stand in most parts of the world and on most international questions. We stood for freedom in central and Eastern Europe in 1945. We still stand for freedom there, but we will not go to war in the hope of liberating the satellite countries. We stand for freedom in Korea, but we will not violate the truce to liberate North Korea. We stand for freedom in Indochina, but we will not shed American blood to extend it. We stand for freedom on the mainland of China, but we will not start a war or encourage a war in the hope of restoring it.

We will fight if we or our friends are attacked on certain boundaries. In Europe these boundaries are well known. In the Far East they are not so well known—and they should be made known. They should be made known, not to cause war but to prevent war.

One of the two western heads of state at Yalta had only 2 months to live on the day after the conference closed. The other lives on, has regained the titular power he lost and talks again of high-level conferences. Some parts of the American record of what happened at Yalta seemed to him inaccurate and the revelation of other parts dismays him. But this is no time to judge the living or the dead. It is no time for politics. It is a time to draw from past mistakes and past victories guidance for the months and years to come.

[From the New York Times] REACTION IN BRITAIN

LONDON, March 19.—The British Government was professionally dismayed at the publication of what it considered the one-sided and tendentious accounts of the Yalta Conference so soon after it took place.

Sir Winston Churchill, the only surviving member of the Big Three, said with restraint, "If this became the established practice, it might hamper the free exchange of views at future conferences."

The public reaction was influenced more by the manner of publication than by the contents of the papers. Secretary Dulles is widely blamed for weakness and clumsiness in letting the documents be forced out by partisans in Congress. The London News Chronicle called this "one of the least glorious (stories) ever told about any foreign office anywhere."

The Times, London, dealt with the motivation of the publication in measured words:

"There can be little doubt," the newspaper wrote, "that the United States administration's motives in publishing * * * are bad. Not one single objective reason can be found for making public the whole mass of papers * * * at the present time. It is an act of domestic political warfare."

The Times said the administration's political leaders "scarcely trouble to deny it. They wish to discredit the late President Roosevelt, and through him, the present leaders of the Democratic Party."

So securely established is Franklin Roosevelt in British hearts that his secret approaches to the Soviet dictator over Hong Kong did not seem to have cut very deeply.

The British Government's basic rule about such documents is that full publication is

permitted only after 50 years. But the rule is flexible and allows interim declassification of masses of relevant material of much more recent date.

[From the New York Times] REACTION IN GERMANY

BONN, GERMANY, March 19.—The publication of the Yalta documents by the United States rudely awakened the Germans from their pleasant dreams and forced them to look on a moldering cadaver they had been trying to forget.

The Germans became grumpy and irritable. They asked why it was necessary to remind them now that not so long ago they were described as savage. They also wanted to know why it was necessary to remind them of plans to amputate German national territory and destroy Germany as a national state.

They say these events are a part of history and an understandable part of history when the temper of 1945 is taken into account. But to resurrect this bitterness and violence, after the vigorous courting by Washington, is regarded as little short of folly by Germans who are genuinely concerned with the psychological preparation of their people for an active role in the Western alliance.

"This is another unfortunate example of hitching one's wagon to American domestic policy when acting in concert with the States in the field of foreign affairs," one pro-United States deputy said.

Fortunately the disclosure of the Yalta documents came after ratification of the Paris and Saar agreements had been decided.

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's government had good cause to refrain from commenting on the publication of the Yalta documents. Most of the coalition leaders, recognizing the peril, took refuge in silence. But this was not the case with the West German press.

The front pages Friday morning were devoted to the publication story.

The newspapers considered the publication of the Yalta documents embarrassing but said the documents contained little that was new to historians. They all underlined one theme—why was it necessary to publish the documents at this time?

[From the Washington Star of March 20, 1955]

ANGRY EUROPEANS DERIDE UNITES STATES FOR RELEASING YALTA PAPERS—MALICE AND STU-PIDITY CHARGED—EXPLANATION NOT TAKEN SERIOUSLY

(By Crosby S. Noyes)

PARIS, March 19.—Europeans are not buying American explanations as to why the Yaita papers were made public last week. The more they think about it the angrier they get.

Their almost unanimous conclusion is that the motive behind publication was compounded in equal parts of malice and stu-

The explanation that the State Department was forced to release the material to prevent premature unofficial disclosure is not taken seriously. Nor is the argument that the Department acted out of pure devotion to historical accuracy in an effort to prevent distortion by setting the record straight.

"DELIBERATE MISCHIEF"

The fact that the papers were published in accordance with a program and an appropriation established by Congress 2 years ago does not help, in European eyes. Regardless of all explanations, most conservative European comments start from the assumption that release of the documents at this particular juncture was a piece of dangerous and deliberate mischief on someone's part.

This is a fact with which Washington must

reckon, whatever Secretary of State Dulles' intentions may have been.

From the European viewpoint, the damage done by the Yalta publications is obvious. It is all very well to argue that there is much in the record that is not new. The point is that this is a poor time to reopen even the oldest wounds and to spread bitterness and controversy over the front page of every newspaper in the Western alliance. And this has been the immediate result of the Yalta publications in this part of the world.

BRITAIN MOST AGITATED

In Britain, where election fever is in the air, the outcry against the State Department action is fiercest. Prime Minister Churchill, as one of the leading figures of the Yalta drama, is caught up in a whirlwind of controversy, and there is new talk of his resignation as a direct result.

And yet there can be little doubt that, in relation to American interest, the major damage of the Yalta papers may be done in France, where the whole future of Western policy hangs on the upcoming debate on ratification of the Paris treaties by the French Senate.

No one would predict that the Yalta texts by themselves could defeat the treaties. But it is hard to think of anything the American Government could have done to make the verdict more doubtful or embarrass the French Government more in its efforts to force an unpopular measure through Parliament.

INSULTING TO FRENCH

In France the suspicion of malice is particularly strong. No one has falled to notice the fact that the "censored" portions of the papers are gratuitously insulting to the French, and that a number of these passages can be clearly read through hastily inked deletions. These comments, quite naturally, have been produced in full in every French newspaper.

Specifically the French seize on three portions of the Yalta papers which bolster the case against the Paris treaties. They start with the most obvious: The overwhelming hostility to the Germans which obsessed Western leaders at the end of the war, and the harsh measures of repression then considered, which stand in such dramatic contrast to demands for German rearmament now being pressed on the French people.

now being pressed on the French people. Second, much emphasis is given to highly cynical statements of the Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill regarding France's status as a member of the great-power team and the dependability of France as an ally. Sir Winston's comment to the effect that France deserved no place in the club and should be satisfied with such small crumbs as participation on the German Control Council has drawn fire from all sides.

NO HELP TO FAURE

Interesting as they may be, these historic recollections are no help to French Prime Minister Faure in his present job of convincing the French Senate that France's position as a respected member of the free world depends on ratification of the Paris treaties. Says Le Monde: "For those who still cherish delusions as to the love and attention given us, the publication of this text will erase any kind of doubt."

Finally, the late President Roosevelt's mercliess judgment of Gen. Charles de Gaulle and his lack of sympathy for the French problem in Indochina provides grist for the opposition mill. It is an unfortunate fact, perhaps that ratification of the Paris agreements depends on the dubious support of certain followers of General de Gaulle in the French Senate, most of whom base themselves on a strongly nationalistic philosophy.

Behind European criticism of the release of these documents there lurks a dark suspicion. They ask themselves: Are the Yalta papers an attempt by our State Department to discredit big-power conferences as such?

Soon after the Paris treaties are ratified the United States can look forward to a concerted move from its European allies for talks with the Russians. Sir Winston has not abandoned his hope of a top-level agreement on control of atomic weapons. The French and Germans—for widely diverging reasons—will plug for a broad overall settlement to remove major causes of friction between East and West, agreements which might conceivably make German rearmament unnecessary.

Until now the attitude of the State Department to these suggestions has been chilly. If there should in fact be any thought that they can be headed off by the publication of 10-year-old documents, someone has made a very poor guess.

[From the Washington Star of March 20, 1955]

FRENCH ARE BITTER—CENSORED PORTIONS OF PAPERS PUBLISHED

Paris.—Here, as quoted in French papers, are censored portions of the Yalta papers which have caused particular bitterness in France:

From page 614 of the Record: "The Prime Minister (Sir Winston Churchill) replied that he felt that he could anticipate what would be French opinion and repeated that he did not wish France to be included in the present club which he felt was very exclusive, at least for a while. He added, however, that he felt the fact of permitting France to join the Control Commission would keep them quiet for a while."

From page 621 of the RECORD: "Prime Minister: I do feel that if the French are given this little sop it will keep them quiet, for I feel strongly that they should not be at this table. This is an exclusive group (smiling) and the entire subscription is at least five million soldiers or the equivalent.

"Stalin: At least three million."
In the documents as released in Washington, these pasages were lightly inked out.
It is understood the deletions were respected in the American press. French correspondents, however, featured them in their dis-

patches. The censor's ink merely saved them the time they otherwise would have had to spend looking for the offending sentences.

[From the Washington Star of March 20, 1955]

EAST GERMANY CHARGES "PLOT" IN YALTA RELEASE

Berlin, March 19.—The party newspaper of Communist East Germany said today the United States State Department released the Yalta documents to overcome worldwide opposition to West German rearmament.

Neues Deutschland claimed it was part of a plot to prove that Russia is responsible for the division of Germany.

for the division of Germany.

"Unluckily for the liars, there exist undisputed documents which tell the truth," the paper said. "Authentic" documents—"signed by leading Western statesmen"—prove that Stalin was the only man who fought plans to divide Germany, the paper said, adding that Stalin did this at the Potsdam conference, 5 months after Yalta.

[From the Washington Star of March 20, 1955]

INDIAN PRESS CRITICIZES RELEASE OF YALTA
PAPERS

New Delhi, India, March 19.—The Indian press continued sharply critical today of United States State Department release of the Yalta papers. The influential Times of

India said "neither Dulles nor anyone else in the State Department is able to provide a coherent explanation of why the documents, rich with potential embarrassment and misunderstandings and which undoubtedly place the Western Powers in the darkest possible light, should be released for the edification, if anyone, of the Commu-

The nationalistic Hindustan Standard said "the suspicion hardens that perhaps some domestic need for damaging the Democrats lies at the back of these disclosures.'

State Department's Blunder in Yielding to Political Pressure on Yalta Papers Could Have Bad Effects on Future International Negotiations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an editorial which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on March 18, 1955. Titled "Yalta, Yesterday and Today," the editorial follows:

YALTA, YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Although the prospect of independent newspaper publication probably made the action inevitable, the State Department hardly merits congratulations on its on-again-off-again handling of the massive collection of documents covering the Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin talks at the 1945 Yalta Conference. For the sudden decision to release these papers, even though not likely to be nearly so harmful as some overseas reactions suggest, certainly has rekindled national and international controversy in a way that promises to be less than helpful to American foreign policy in the present delicate and dangerous world situation.

Thus, to begin with, Prime Minister Churchill, our best and most powerful friend abroad, has not only challenged the accuracy of this American version of Yalta, but has also indicated that he and his government regard the State Department's action as a blundering departure from normal diplomatic usage—a departure that could have a bad effect on future international negotiations. Further, wholly apart from the propaganda howls to be expected from the world behind the Iron Curtain, there can be little doubt that some of the released documentssince they will be read out of the context of the temper prevailing in 1945-will stir up resentment against our country among the free Germans, and perhaps to a lesser extent among the French, the Chinese, the Japanese, and others. And finally, in terms of our own domestic situation, it seems obvious that the papers will revive a lot of demagogic "politicking" at a time when nothing could be more important than bipartisan cooperation in foreign affairs.

Yet, in fairness to the State Department, which has been under extremely heavy pressure in this matter, certain other facts need to be kept in mind. After all, for one thing, the released documents-which contain deletions and fall far short of being a precise stenographic account of the Yalta proceedings-have been published at this time, instead of some months from now, primarily because of an apparently inescapable forcing action. More than that, as far as substance is concerned, they actually disclose nothing that has not been disclosed before in piecemeal fashion. Their chief significance is that they supply much greater detail than the earlier revelations. But beyond thatat least on the first reading-they do not seem to offer basic new material impressive enough to settle the long-standing controversy over whether or not the late President Roosevelt, who was then entering upon his last sickness, sold out to Stalin and thus paved the way for the Kremlin's present menacing position in both Europe and Asia.

In other words, the American version of the fateful Yalta Conference does not substantially affect the pro and con arguments that have already been heard at great length. That is to say, depending on one's viewpoint and preconceptions, the papers just released by the State Department can be read in support of either side without really settling anything. In truth, because there is no way of exactly measuring what went on in the minds and hearts of the principals involved, it would seem that this issue can never be satisfactorily resolved. For the simple fact is that nothing has been revealed to date to destroy the pro-Roosevelt theses (1) that Yalta's provisions for free elections in Poland and neighboring East European countries failed only because of the Kremlin's bad faith and (2) that the concessions granted Russia for entry into the struggle against Japan were based on the urgent feeling that otherwise the war would cost a tremendous amount of American blood.

Hindsight, of course, is a wonderful illuminator of past events, and most of us know now, with its help, that the late Presidentwho did not have it at his disposal-could have been much tougher, much wiser, and much more farsighted in his dealings with Stalin. But yesterday is dead, its opportunitles lost beyond recall, and what we must chiefly think of at this stage is today, the present-a period so full of devasating and harrowing potentialities that resolute unity is imperative among all Americans and likeminded peoples everywhere. The publication of the Yalta documents should not be allowed to distract anybody in the free world from that overriding central reality of our

The Way of Reason

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mr. William E. Dickinson, Spring Street, Deep River, Conn., has brought to my attention a thought-provoking editorial printed in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on Sunday, February 27, 1955.

At Mr. Dickinson's request, I ask permission that the editorial may be printed in the RECORD so others may have the opportunity to read it.

The editorial follows:

THE WAY OF REASON

A disarmament conference opened in London Friday. It is a measure of the jaded state of world opinion that nobody seems to be taking it very seriously.

Yet if men could behave the way reason tells them to behave, every one of the five powers participating in this London conference would be treating it as the first order of world business, an indispensable condition for the survival of civilization. All other matters, national and international, would be laid aside until the world's leaders worked out an agreement for enforceable general disarmament.

Consider the meaning of the Atomic Energy Commission's belated report on the devastating character of radioactive fallout from hydrogen bombs. Is it not the most wicked kind of self-deception to pretend to ourselves, after thus contemplating the dreadful power of hydrogen and atomic weapons, that a war fought with these weapons is a practical, thinkable, feasible instrument of national policy?

It is utterly fantastic to think of engaging in a war in which hundreds of millions of people try to live off the countryside while their cities are being destroyed, and then, after waiting for the fallout to decay, creep back among the blasted craters and the windrows of corpses to take up the production of more hydrogen bombs for the devas-

tation of more continents.

We can talk all we like about contriving new plans of civil defense, about radar nets and yellow alerts, about grandiose plans for urban dispersal (a peaceful way of accomplishing what the war would accomplish), about evacuation plans and shelters and fighter interception. But all this talk only conceals the basic fact.

The basic fact is that a war of atomichydrogen weapons is inherently irrational, a stratagem of madness. So long as men make any pretense to being reasonable beings, nuclear warfare must be ruled out of the range of consciously willed possibilities.

Yet it is not ruled out. On the contrary, nuclear warfare is made the keystone of military planning-in this country, among our allies, among our potential enemies.

Some Americans, like Elmer Davis, believe that the world has already gone beyond the point of no return-that nuclear warfare cannot now be avoided, that our only hope is to make sure that we win it. But the evidence is abundant that "victory" in a nuclear war would be almost indistinguishable from defeat. We dare not accept the counsel of despair which regards such a war as inevitable.

Some Americans believe that the possession of nuclear weapons by both sides creates a balance which neither side will dare upset. The belief has much sound backing. But there is always the risk of miscalculation, of the trigger being pulled by accident. Nuclear stalemate would be safe only so long as no one were foolhardy enough to break it. We dare not stake so much on the hope that all men will be uniformly wise and prudent.

And so there are really only two alternatives-either continue the nuclear arms race with all its risks, or find a way to disarm the world.

Within the framework of a national struggle for power, of course the arms race must continue. When national security rests entirely on national strength, and no instruments of enforceable international law have yet been forged, of course national armaments must exist. Unilateral disarmament would be folly. Disarmament without international inspection and supervision would be folly.

What is needed, however, is some way of changing the emphasis-of making disarmament the primary object, rather than a remote ideal subordinated to the immediate goal of more and bigger weapons. We need to break out of the propaganda arena, where each side tries to prove that it favors disarmament without actually disarming, onto a new plane of action.

Is civilized mankind really incapable of the effort it would take to achieve a workable and safe disarmament plan? We do not know. We only know that an effort of the magnitude required has not yet been made. There has been much talk of disarmament, but not enough facing up to the truly basic changes in attitude required to achieve it.

All nations would have to be willing to revise their military thinking in a drastic and revolutionary way. All would have to consent to thoroughgoing international inspection and supervision. All would have to give up the weapons in which they excelled, as well as those in which they lagged—disarmament must be general and universal. At every point, national decisions would have to be subordinated to international agreement. As every major nation's military power would be reduced, the major nations would have to rely less upon power and more upon persuasion to express their influence.

Yes, it would be an extraordinary task, But no more extraordinary than the weapons which create the crisis. Surely the human powers which created hydrogen bombs can create means to control them, if only they are given the chance, and the needed political leadership.

Why should not that leadership come from the United States Government?

Why should it not come from President Fisenhower?

Why should not the American people call on their Government and their President to make a supreme effort to lead the world in the way of reason?

Roosevelt Was Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL ELLIOTT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the March 18, 1955, issue of the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser:

ROOSEVELT WAS RIGHT AT YALTA

The uncorking of the Yalta papers is causing a misbegotten effort to discredit the war leadership of Franklin Roosevelt * * *.

The current controversy over Yalta is an effort to prove that our troubles with Russia would not exist had Roosevelt not made unnecessary concessions to Stalin in order to get Russia to come in against Japan.

Many mistakes were made concerning Russia, and you can argue to good effect that Roosevelt's enormous vanity led him to suppose that he could handle the Russians. But making concessions to get Russia into the war against Japan was no error. He could not have done otherwise without betraying a million and more American soldiers and their families.

It must be remembered that at the time of the Big Three meeting at Yalta, Germany had not been vanquished. The A-bomb success was 5 months off. As Churchili records in his Yalta memoirs, American war planners thought it would take 18 months after the surrender of Germany to defeat Japan.

It was further thought that the storming of the Japanese islands would be one of the bloodiest events in the history of warfare.

But it would be much less bloody if the Russians joined in, assailing Japanese forces on the one hand and preventing the large and powerful Japanese Army in Manchuria from marching to the defense of Japan.

This reinforcement with Russian forces was a great prize to be won, and we should not forget how anxious we were in those days over whether Russia would come in. With the frightful vision of the bloody Japanese beaches before him, Roosevelt would have

registered a colossal failure indeed had he not nailed down the help of the Russians. He owed that to every American soldier, sailor and airman.

There are a lot of wise ones today croaking and rasping that Japan was by this time already used up and hence it was not necessary to entice Russia into the fray. Such was the case, but the same military leaders who had provided the brilliant victory in the ETO were convinced that Japan would slaughter many Americans in her death convulsion.

There are those who contend that, actually, there was no way to keep Russia out of the war on Japan. Probably that is true, but there never was a time when any man, not even Churchill, knew what the Russians would do in a given situation.

As for the Yalta Agreement, what matter is it what Russia might have been induced or coerced to sign? Russia would not have honored the agreement in any event.

New Era Dawns for Philadelphia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the New York Times of March 20, 1955:

New Era Dawns for Philadelphia—City Gains Repute as Honest and Progressive— Serves as Model of Civic Reform

(By William G. Weart)

PHILADELPHIA, March 19.—Once known as corrupt and contented, Philadelphia today is gaining a reputation as honest and progressive.

That has been the view of officials and civic leaders who have come here from many cities to "pick up ideas that could be used back home." These observers have complimented the metropolis on its recent achievements.

Delegations from New York and Detroit were impressed with steps taken to keep traffic moving through narrow center-city streets, most of which were laid out in the horse and buggy era.

Chicago and Newark have studied the advantages of Philadelphia's new home-rule charter, a set of ground rules designed to modernize local government. A delegation of 60 from New Haven noted the emphasis being place on the "urban renewal" problem.

Officials of the city's first Democratic administration of the century contend that if a 275-year-old city, such as Philadelphia, is to survive, it must renew itself. Thus far, the main advances in this field have been in slum clearance and construction of low-cost housing.

The switch from what Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., calls "Republican misrule" to "good government" has been attributed largely to a suicide note left by a city-hall official in May 1948.

In the note, Wiliam C. Foss, head of the amusement-tax office, named himself and eight others as thieves. Subsequent investigations disclosed widespread graft, corruption, mismanagement, and outright thievery. These revelations brought arrests and convictions.

FREE HAND FOR MAYOR

In the municipal elections of 1949 and 1951, Philadelphia voters uprooted the Republican machine that had ruled city hall for 67 consecutive years. Mr. Clark, a Harvard graduate with a law degree from the University of Pennsylvania, and Richardson Dilworth, a crusader with a law degree from Yale, carried the Democratic standard to victory at both elections.

In 1949, they were elected city controller and ity treasurer, respectively, and in 1951 they were elevated to 4-year terms as mayor and district attorney.

Under the new charter, Mr. Clark had a free hand in the election of subordinates. He recruited department heads with outstanding records in other communities. The GOP called them "carpetbaggers" and patronage-minded Democratic politicians took up the cry in vain.

Today, Mayor Clark feels that his administration, all things considered, had done a good job. What is more, he is convinced the people like the way things have been going. To impartial observers, that appears to be so.

Mayor Clark contends, without contradiction, that the municipal government has been restored to the people, that the spoils system has been abolished, and that the alliance between corrupt politicians, the police department, and organized crime has been broken.

Among other accomplishments, Mr. Clark lists increased services, the redevelopment of many blighted areas, the erection of a \$15,000,000 airport terminal building, increased port business and facilities, a greatly expanded recreation system, traffic and parking improvements, and the establishment of a civil service that prohibits political activity by city workers.

Also the adoption of the 40-hour week for some 26,000 municipal employees along with a pay and classification plan that enables the city to compete with private industry for personnel of ability.

There have been complaints of waste, extravagance, and an increase instead of a promised decrease in the number of employees on the payroll. Also the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Philadelphia has been especially bitter over a 3-mill mercantile tax on gross business.

Walter P. Miller, Jr., president of the

Walter P. Miller, Jr., president of the chamber and an independent candidate for the Republican mayoralty nomination in 1951, said the mercantile tax had driven business firms from the city.

SHORTCOMINGS ADMITTED

The mercantile levy and a 1-percent tax on real-estate transfers were passed by the Democratic-controlled city council in 1953. Together, Mr. Miller charged, they have provided surpluses that will get the administration through this election year without additional taxation.

Mayor Clark agreed that the mercantile tax was a bad one. But, he insisted that under the State constitution there was no other method of making business, in general, and corporations, in particular, pay their fair share of city taxes.

He also asserted that his administration, now in its final year, had fallen short in some areas. Generally, he said, the short-comings have been due to the inadequacy of city resources or the fact that crime, traffic congestion, air and water pollution, and similar problems ignore city, county, and State lines.

Mr. Clark said he was getting a little tired of repeating for the benefit of the paid staff at the chamber of commerce that many more than 2,000 drones have been dismissed or have resigned.

He explained a 2,875 increase in the city's payroll by noting that 1,012 new workers were required by the installation of the 40-hour week and 589 represented women guards for school crossings. The remainder, he said, resulted from the expansion of services and additional hiring to eliminate overtime and thus save \$65,000 this year in the streets department.

Reappraising Yalta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker. under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Youngstown Vindicator dated March 20, entitled "Reappraising Yalta":

In the renewed discussion of the Yalta conference two factors must be kept constantly in mind. One is that the meeting took place during the most terrible war in world history, with Germany our foe and Russia our ally. The other is that the destruction of liberty which followed Yalta was wrought, not by Roosevelt and Churchill, but by Stalin.

Anyone old enough to recall the violently agitated days of World War II can remember their atmosphere. Tremendous, history-making events were taking place on the battlefields and in the governments of nations. The psychology of the time was molded by fervent determination utterly to destroy Hitler's Nazi regime and all it stood for.

The men who met in the Crimea had the paramount goals of completing what General later called the Crusade Eisenhower Europe, and then of winning the war against The general belief was that purposes required wholehearted cooperation by Russia. In this conviction Roosevelt and Churchill went further than they should in granting Stalin's cold-blooded demands.

Even so, there was no handing of territories and peoples to Russia on a silver platter. The western leaders exacted from Stalin pledges of free governments based on fair elections in Eastern Europe. In the Far East, Stalin was to assist Chiang Kai-shek's government, and a time limit was put on the concessions he was given in Manchuria, which was to be governed by Chiang.

Russia held a dominating position which the western powers could not modify. Her armies were on the spot in Eastern Europe and Manchuria. The Yalta pacts may in fact have limited the extent of Russian gains.

The damage came after Yalta, when Russia broke all her pledges. The central fact is that liberty was destroyed, not by Roosevelt and Churchill, but by Stalin. The seizure of China and the enslavement of Poland Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria were the evil work, not of the democratic West, but of the Communist east.

Later events of 1945 (the Yalta Conference was held in February of that year) offer a greater cause for American self-reproach. Churchill, highly suspicious of the Russians, urged Eisenhower to take Prague and Berlin in order to reduce the Russian advance into Europe. When Eisenhower refused, Churchill went to Truman. The new President had come into leadership wholly unprepared. He took the advice of his military leaders and allowed the Red army to march into the heart of central Europe. Yet this decision, too, must be appraised in the light of the time when it was taken.

All this was known before the Yalta records were published. The dismay and anger abroad over the publication are aroused by details-remarks made in passing or in jest which now look serious in cold print. Also there is anxiety that such revelations may hamper ratification of the Western European union.

Yet now there is to be more of the same. The State Department announces it will

publish records of the Teheran and Potsdam Conferences, and a statement intended to refute the white paper issued by the Truman administration, which laid heavy blame

on Chiang for the loss of China,
Particularly in respect to China, the intention seems unwise. If the paper is factual it will have to tell of gross corruption and incompetence in the wartime Nationalist Government. If it glosses over the Nationalist abuses which impelled the Chinese population to welcome the Reds, it will be unrealistic. Now that the Chiang government has been reformed and we are supporting it to the point of war, the old scandals should not be raked up.

Because of these considerations, publication of the Yalta and other memoranda in these times seems to have mainly a political motive. This view is supported by the demands of Republican politicians for the Yalta record. Secretary Dulles' obvious unhappiness over it, and Senator Knowland's demand that the new revelations be made next year, during the Presidential campaign. rom this view the matter has the aspect of a fresh attempt by some Republicans to win an election against Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Hidden Profits in Dixon-Yates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an editorial entitled "Blue Sky in Dixon-Yates," which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on March 1, 1955. The editorial follows:

BLUE SKY IN DIXON-YATES?

A startling new objection to the Dixon-Yates contract—that its recipients might obtain \$5 million to \$10 million a year in hidden profits on a \$5,500,000 equity investment—has been brought forward. The objection cames from Walter von Tresckow, of New York, head of a group of 8 financial, engineering, and legal interests which tried to compete for the Atomic Energy Commission contract but was brushed aside.

Mr. Von Tresckow explains the possibility of these exorbitant and hidden earnings thus: Dixon-Yates is allowed under the terms of the contract to sell its operating companies all power produced at the new steam plant which TVA does not require to the city of Memphis. The Memphis demand will amount to only about 60 percent of the plant's capacity.

The remaining 40 percent of capacity would thus be avallable for sale by the two holding companies in the Dixon-Yates combine to their operating companies. Mr. Von Tresckow says the contract allows Dixon-Yates to sell this surplus at a price exclusive of overhead costs, since overhead would be paid for out of the amount required for Memphis.

This would mean, the financier says, that Dixon-Yates could sell 40 percent of the plant's capacity to its operating companies for less than 2 mills a kilowatt-hour, and that the Dixon-Yates operating companies would resell it at 5 or 6 mills or more a kilowatt-hour and pocket the difference for

their holding companies.

This difference is what Mr. Von Tresckow estimates as possibly amounting to \$5 million or \$10 million a year. Such hidden profits, he said, would not be affected by a

fixed ceiling of \$600,000 a year which the contract puts on profits from the plant. For these hidden profits, the fixed ceiling would be the sky.

Mr. Von Tresckow's charges deserve the closest examination by the Senate-House Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, headed by Senator Anderson, of New Mexico. Here is a new reason, on top of plenty of old ones, why this committee should go into Dixon-Yates with a fine-tooth comb, and why the contract meanwhile should be held up.

Ike Should Repudiate Hoover's Banker Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an article from the editorial page of Labor under date of March 19:

IKE SHOULD REPUBIATE HOOVER'S BANKER BILLS

Just as Mike and Ike used to look alike in an old cartoon series, the Hoover Commission and the Eisenhower administration now seem not only to look alike but to think alike-to have the same policies and the same philosophy of government.

That adds to the significance of a report Issued this week by the 12-man Commission, which is headed by former President Herbert Hoover. He and three other members were appointed by President Eisenhower. other eight members were picked by Vice President Nixon and Congressman Joseph W. MARTIN, Republican, of Massachusetts, when he was Speaker of the House.

Judging by the Commission's report to Congress, the banker bills proposed by the administration up to now were only warming-up practice for more and bigger such bills still to come.

In general, the report recommends: First, that Uncle Sam stop lending money at low interest rates to farmers, rural electric coops, small-business men, and other groups; second, to let private bankers do all the lending at higher interest rates than Uncle Sain now charges.

If Congress enacts that program, it would largely undo historic reforms and humanitarian legislation passed since 1913-in the Woodrow Wilson administration, even in Hoover's administration, and particularly during the New Deal and Fair Deal years.

For example, farmers could no longer get Government loans to tide them over periods of low farm product prices. Farm mortgages would be turned over to the tender mercies of the bankers from whom Uncle Sam rescued debt-crushed farmers in the depression 1930's. The low-interest loans which help farmers get cheap electric power through their REA systems would end, and control be handed back to the bankers and the power

All sorts of housing loans would be stopped, particularly the public-housing loans which help poor families get decent homes at rents they can afford. Uncle Sam would still assume the risk of sium-clearance loans, but bankers would get all the profit. War veterans' housing programs would be allowed to die as soon as possible.

Those are only a few boiled-down samples

of the 48 recommendations in the report.

Mixed in with them are some proposals which would end a few of the private profit at public risk schemes which Labor has been pointing out and criticizing. In these cases, however, bankers would get more control and bigger profits in return for giving up Government guaranties.

Four members of the Hoover Commission dissented on a few of the recommendations, particularly one which would reduce Government short-term loans to exporters, and leave this foreign-trade field exclusively to bankers.

The only member who registered a sweeping dissent was Congressman CHET HOLIFIELD, liberal California Democrat. He acknowledged that some of the report's proposals may have merit, but then added this:

"By and large, the recommendation would

"By and large, the recommendation would make it harder for American citizens to buy homes or to get loans for their farms or businesses. The recommendations would tighten agricultural credit, slow down housing construction, restrict rural electrification, and limit aids provided by the Federal Government.

"These programs intimately concern the affairs and well-being of millions of Americans and the strength of the Nation's economy.

"Congress created the Hoover Commission to study the organization of the Government. I do not believe Congress wanted advice from the commission on public policies of every sort. This report indicates that the commission is willing to roam far and wide in the field of public policy."

Holifield pointed out that the Hoover Commission—while charging that Uncle Sam's loans are "subsidizing" ordinary people—made not a single proposal to end the multibillion-dollar Government subsidies to "manufacturers, publishing firms, ship operators, airline companies and other big business interests."

The California Congressman recalled that "Congress has authorized subsidies throughout our history, to develop the Nation and keep it strong. The Hoover Commission made no systematic study of the whole subject of subsidies. It compains only of 'subsidies' which bring widespread benefits to all the American people, particularly those of modest means."

Labor hopes President Eisenhowet will make it clear to Congress just which parts of the Hoover report he approves and disapproves. Hoover left the White House as the most discredited President in American history. No President can afford to have the country think the policies of his administration are being dictated by Hoover.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—"It is doubtful if the American people understand the powerful influence Herbert Hoover exerts on the Eisenhower administration," Columnist Thomas L. Stokes said this week, "Hoover has come back strong. He offers advice in many fields to the Eisenhower regime. The latest Hoover report recommendations would turn back credit control, with a nice profit, to the bankers. More and more, this administration is taking on the colors of a bankers' administration.")

United States Constitution Stands Tests of Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL ELLIOTT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, I was impressed with an editorial expressing

faith in the Constitution of the United States which appeared February 17 in the Cullman (Ala.) Tribune, a newspaper published in the Seventh Congressional District of Alabama. I believe Members will get a renewed inspiration in the Constitution from reading it. The editorial follows:

STANDING THE TEST

The way a plan works after it has been drafted and put in operation is the important test.

One is impressed with the bigness and the greatness of the plan—the Constitution of the United States—that has endured for more than a century and a half. During this period has been the industrial revolution, two global wars, and the coming of the atomic are

And the strength of the United States, built on the Federal Constitution, is the greater when one considers Russia, France, and China. The Soviets, with their one-party system and dictator, changed leaders a few days ago. They are trying to find someone like Stalin. The French, with their many political parties, are organizing another government. And the Chinese are cursed with civil conflict.

Effect of Imports of Japanese Tuna on the American Tuna Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the hard-hit tuna industry, which has been imperilled by a flood of imported frozen tuna, has just received disconcerting reports that Japanese interests are now planning to flood the country with tuna packed in brine. It is my understanding that the administration does not intend to let established domestic industries go down the drain because of foreign competition, yet this danger exists today unless official steps are taken immediately to protect this vital food-producing industry.

Under unanimous consent, I include as a portion of my remarks the following letter on the subject from Mr. Harold Cary, spokesman for the great tuna fishing fleet of California.

AMERICAN TUNABOAT ASSOCIATION, San Dicgo, Calif., March 15, 1955. The Honorable Bob Wilson,

United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR BOS: Upon leaving Washington I promised that I would keep you currently advised as to the trend of events in the tuna industry. I think there are a couple of items which have a direct bearing upon the statement I made before the Committee for Reciprocity Information and before the House Ways and Means Committee in regard to H. R. 1. This latter statement contained a restatement of the material presented to the Committee for Reciprocity Information.

The deliveries of tuna to Southern California canneries are an item of interest and a measurement of our activity. For the first seven weeks of 1955 domestic vessels have delivered 9,936 tons to these canneries. In 1954 domestic vessels delivered 20,369 tons, Therefore, we have had a decline in deliveries of 10,433 tons.

Imported fish has shown a completely opposite trend. In 1954 deliveries for the 7-week period were 2,453 tons, while this year they totaled 6,516 tons. Therefore, there is an increase of 4,063 tons in the amount of fish imported by southern California canners.

In the aggregate, therefore, canneries have received 6,370 tons less than the comparable period of 1 year ago, although that reduction of fish purchases by them embraces an increase of 4,063 tons in imported fish and a decrease of 10,433 tons in fish bought from domestic vessels.

The decline cannot, of course, be attributed to a necessity to purchase abroad in order to supplement suplies, inasmuch as somewhere between 8,500 and 9,000 tons of tuna is in the holds of fishing vessels in the ports of San Diego and San Pedro at the present time awaiting purchase. The canners thus far have not been interested in negotiating an agreement to take this fish and, inasmuch as we went out on a gamble that they would take it, thus far no solution has been reached.

Another important development has been the release of statistics by the Japanese Fisheries Agency. I believe you have in your files a copy of my statement before the Committee for Reciprocity Information. page 30 of that statement there is an Item entitled "Tuna Fleets—A Comparison." The statement is made there: "In November of 1954 it is reported that there are 30 large tuna vessels in the 300-500 gross-ton class now under construction in Japan." The Japanese Fisheries Agency figures indicate that for vessels ranging from 101 gross tons upward (from approximately 50 tons carry-ing capacity and upward) there have been 31 wooden vessels added to the fleet, totaling 4,559 gross tons, and there have been 17 steel vessels added to the fleet, totaling 6,746

If, then, the figures given in the presentation to the Committee for Reciprocity Information are updated it will show that as of December 31, 1954, the Japanese tuna fleet of roughly comparable size to our own totaled 436 vessels and 89,989 gross tons, as of December 31, 1954.

This may be compared with the trend in our own fleet. Since December 31, 1941, we have declined a total of 42 vessels and something over 6,400 tons. The Japanese, in the meantime, have increased 164 vessels and something over 49,000 tons. In fact, their fleet has more than doubled in this period of time. If this represents any need for concessions to Japan to stimulate her tuna industry I would like to have that proved If it demonstrates that our fleet is in a healthy condition I would likewise like to have that demonstrated. I believe it appropriate that that question be asked of the Department of State and of the Trade Agreements Committee people.

A further comment on the activities of the Japanese Fisheries Agency is that it has a currently effective policy (that is, effective until July 1955) to encourage the conversion of fishing boats from the inshore fisheries to the offshore and high seas fisheries, which are largely for tuna. Therefore, there is no end in sight of this expansion of the Japanese fleet.

I think these two items of information would certainly be compelling if they were placed before people of reasonable judgment. It is my intention to write to the President and various others pointing out these facts and again pointing out to them the necessity of concluding an agreement with Japan, even though it is informal in nature, which will cover this tuna situation.

I read with interest President Eisenhower's letter to Joe Martin and am giving some thought to just how the statements made in there square up with the actions which appear in this set of facts which I

have given you and which have previously been shown in the Committee for Reciprocity Information presentation.

Maybe you ca figure out some type of communication to somebody to ask what they think of all this.

Yours sincerely,

H. F. CARY, General Manager.

Alabama's Waterways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include editorials which recently appeared in the following newspapers: the Anniston Star, the Montgomery Examiner, the Selma Times-Journal, and the Talladega Daily Home. These editorials are in reference to a meeting held in Montgomery, Ala., on March 5, 1955, and are entitled "Exploiting Coosa Potentialities," "General Pick and Our River," "Alabama's Waterways," and "An Important Meeting," respectively.

The editorials follow:

[From the Anniston Star of March 6, 1955] EXPLOITING COOSA POTENTIALITIES

While one could have wished for a more positive and definitive approach to the problem by the organization itself, there were hopeful indications that yesterday's meeting in Montgomery of the Coosa-Alabama River Development Association will speed consideration by the Congress of navigation locks in the dams soon to be built by the Alabama Power Co.

The presence at the meeting of Calhoun County's Kenneth A. Roberts, as well as Congressmen Grant and Selden, augurs well for helpful assistance from Alabama's congressional delegation. Congressman Rains, of Gadsden, who has done yeoman work on the project, was prevented from attending because of illness and other representatives sent messages of endorsement and promises of assistance.

Secondly, and highly important, was the presence at the meeting of representatives of Governor Folsom, who promised aid and action in connection with the Governor's industrial development program.

The immense potentialities of the Coosa-Alabama were perceived by pioneer citizens of this area who, despite repeated frustrations and disappointments, never flagged in their efforts to bring their great dream to fruition.

Indeed, it is to their everlasting credit not only that they labored so tirelessly themselves, but also that, in notable instances, they were able to pass on their enthusiasm to younger men who now are carrying forward in their image.

Mr. Everett "Pat" Lay, of Gadsden, heads the organization led for years by his father. Other officers include Mr. Robert Henry, of Montgomery: Mr. James Mann, of Rome, Ga., and Mr. Walter B. Mills, of Gadsden.

The Anniston Star believes the organization should be placed on a sounder economic footing, with sufficient funds to establish a permanent office with a paid official. He would work unceasingly with the agencies concerned with the engineering, land acquisition, political steering, and finally, keep

the general public informed with respect to the progress of the overall program.

For this position, we would like to nominate Gen. Lewis Pick, retired, who served 37 years with the United States Corps of Engineers, and who has had direct charge of planning the development of a number of river basins. Personable, capable, enthusiastic in his chosen field, he has many contacts that would be valuable to the Coosa-Alabama organization, and he would lend substance, sincerity, and success to any venture to which he directed his valuable talents.

Alabama has over 2,000 miles of waterways, greater than any State in the Union. The Warrior-Tombigbee development is well underway as the result of efforts of a similar organization in that part of the State. The same results can accrue—but in larger measure—to our own great watershed.

The Alabama Power Co. is proceeding with plans to build a series of integrated dams on the river for generating hydroelectric power, but since the Nation's earliest days, the Federal Government has shouldered the respensibility—and properly so—for providing navigation facilities and terminals on inland waterways.

This newspaper has pointed out time and again that there is no way of assessing the benefits that could be expected from Coosa-Alabama Rivers development.

The hydroelectric potential is enormous, and in addition, the Coosa River area would enjoy the great economic benefit of cheap water transportation, plus improved flood control and greatly expanded recreational facilities.

[From the Montgomery Examiner of March 7, 1955]

GENERAL PICK AND OUR RIVER

After retired Gen. Lewis A. Pick had made his fine speech on the proposed development of the Coosa-Alabama River here on Saturday, Congressman Kenneth A. Roberts said to a friend, "I wonder if Alabama realizes how lucky it is to have a man like him living in the State and making his great knowledge available for nothing, when other States and other countries are trying to get him at great expense?"

General Pick is a native Virginian who, on retirement from Chief of the United States Corps of Engineers last year, came to live at Opelika. As one of the Nation's top engineers, he helped build the famous Burma Road in World War II, had much to do with the St. Lawrence Waterway, built the great Louisiana-Texas coastal canal back in 1928. River basins and harbor developments in many places are his monuments.

At Saturday's meeting of the new Coosa-Alabama River Development Association, to which the Montgomery Chamber of Commerce played host, and in which the Alabama Power Co. is taking such a leading interest. General Pick said:

"I, for one, have found romance in studying river basins; I, for one, have found romance in developing our great natural resources; and development of our natural resources is only just beginning."

Plucking from his memories great engineering projects of the past 30 years, he showed how most industries seek abundant water. He quoted amazing figures to show industrial growth which has followed river basin developments. He drew particular attention to the Missouri River Basin billion dollar development, and the results it is already bringing; "and they had much less to work with in Missouri than you have here in Alabama," the general said.

He pointed out the number of industries already huddling along the two rivers from Rome, Ga., to Montgomery. "Open up the river and industries will bloom," he said, admonishing his listeners that they already

had spent too much time talking about the project, and that they should by now be up and doing something about it.

Only last week General Pick refused a splendid offer for his services in Lebanon to advise on the development of a river basin in about the oldest part of the old world.

The Examiner thinks we need General Pick in the most rapidly growing part of the New World—Alabama and the Southeast.

But the Congressmen need help before they can get help from the Congress for this proposed development. They need the support of a well administered publicity campaign to acquaint other parts of the Nation with Alabama's needs; what the development of the river will mean to the economy of this whole region, and how important that will be to the entire Nation. Alabama is sold on the project—we've got to sell the idea to other regions, so that Congressmen from all States can justify their votes needed to secure Government aid.

[From the Selma Times-Journal of March 9, 1955]

ALABAMA'S WATERWAYS

Alabama will probably see more industrial expansion than ever before if and when the contemplated system of waterways in the State becomes reality. Indications are that it has at least a good chance.

Strenuous efforts are being made by counties which flank the Coosa-Alabama Rivers from Rome, Ga., all the way down to Mobile, to persuade the Federal Government to install locks for navigation in the dams proposed along that system by the Alabama Power Co. Communities vitally affected include Selma, Montgomery, Childersburg, Pell City, Gadsden, Centre, and Rome, Ga.

The Warrior-Tombigbee system, running from Mobile up through Demopolis, Eutaw, Tuscaloosa, and Birmingport, is being modernized.

North Alabama is already extremely fortunate in having the Tennessee River navigable the entire width of the State. Tonnage each year continues to set new records.

Huntsville, not to be left in the cold, has an industrial committee working on a program to develop commercial dock facilities in the Whitesburg area.

Gen. Lewis Pick, former head of the Army Corps of Engineers. Saturday told a group of river boosters that no large city today can continue to grow without taking advantage of the most economical form of transportation possible—water.

Alabama seems ready to do just that. (The Huntsville Times.)

[From the Talladega Daily Home of March 7, 1955]

AN IMPORTANT MEETING

Of importance to all inhabitants of this region of potential industrial greatness was the meeting at Montgomery last weekend of the Coosa-Alabama Rivers Development Association.

Maj. Gen. Lewis Pick, head of the United States Corps of Engineers, summed up what these important waterways already have meant to the people of Alabama and Georgia.

"Along the rivers at the present time." he said, "are hundreds of textile, coal, steel, and papermaking mills and plants."

And of the era ahead:

"With the opening of the river system from Mobile to Rome, Ga., the production in these plants can be expanded and the cost of shipping the raw materials as well as the finished product cut by 20 percent."

Of primary interest to people of the Coosa Valley now is the giant \$100 million development program inaugurated by the Alabama Power Co. under a Republican administration which looks with a kindly eye toward

private progress with its resultant rich re-

wards in the form of payrolls and tax pay-

Engineering studies now are well underway and it should not be too many months before the company announces specific plans for building the first of the great dams to be constructed, with the entire project glated for completion in a 10-year span.

Industries already are finding this region

attractive.

With the Coosa development this is certain to be within the lifetime of most of those now living in one of the major industrial regions, of the entire United States.

Any agency which works for that end deserves the support and the appreciation of

us all.

The 7th Fleet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an editorial which appeared in the January 26, 1955, issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. The editorial, entitled "As to the 7th Fleet," follows:

As TO THE 7TH FLEET

While supporting President Eisenhower in his request for a resolution on defense policy in Asia, Congressman Paick, of East St. Louis, calls attention to an aspect of the message that corrects the Presidential record in an important particular.

In his 1953 state of the Union message, Mr. Eisenhower said: "I am issuing instructions that the 7th Fleet no longer be employed to shield Communist China." This charge that Harry S. Truman, as President, had sent the 7th Fleet into Formosan waters to protect Chinese Communists was a political statement intended for political consumption. It was spoken in the flush of the GOP victory at the polls in 1952.

As Congressman Price points out, the President now takes a different view entirely when he says in his extraordinary message to Con-

"Our Government was prompt, when the Communists committed armed aggression in Korea in June 1950, to direct our 7th Fleet to defend Formosa from possible invasion

from the Communist mainland."

The purpose Mr. Eisenhower now gives was of course the reason why Harry S. Truman put the 7th Fleet on guard duty. Mr. Truman did not want the war in Korea to spread through Communist attacks on Formosa or some abortive attempted invasion by Chiang Kai-shek against the Chinese mainland.

It took 2 years to get this record set straight and while it requires each citizen to contrast the President's 1953 statement and what the President says now, straight at

last the record is.

This gain can be credited to the change in party control in Congress and the President's desire for bipartisan support of his policy.

As for employment of the 7th Fleet, every American citizen may hope it will not be necessary to consider using our Navy in evacuation of Chiang Kai-shek's troops and sup-plies from the Tachen Islands. The first evacuees have already arrived in Formosa. If the Chinese Nationalists will get busy and remove their personnel and equipment from these indefensible coastal islands as rapidly as possible an evacuation crisis may be avoided entirely.

Armed Robbery of Government Property

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, early last Friday 2 masked gunmen raided the 107th Light Armored Cavalry Regiment Armory in Shaker Heights, Ohio, and wounded a warrant officer while stealing 4 federally owned machineguns.

The FBI immediately joined local police officials in the search for these desperadoes and a statewide alarm was put out for their apprehension. The FBI should be commended for their swiftness in joining this important search for two men dangerously armed and presumed to be on the path of further robbery and violence.

Mr. Speaker, this is an appalling situation. But it could be even worse if these men were part of a conspiracy to overthrow our Government by force-if they were part of an uprising against civil authority-or if they were bent upon sabotaging our defense effort.

We must take-we are compelled to take-stringent measures to assure that a similar robbery will not be attempted again. There are two ways of obtaining such assurance. One is to increase the criminal penalty for armed robbery of Government property and the other is to increase the security guard of all weapons storage centers.

Today I have introduced two bills. One increases the present penalties for robbery and burglary of Government property and the other provides new statutes providing a stronger penalty for the burglary and roberry of weapons and firearms. The texts of these bills are as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 2111, title 18, of the United States Code, be amended as follows:

"Whoever, within the special maritime and territorial jurisdiction of the United States, by force and violence, or by intimidation, takes from the person or presence of another anything of value, shall be imprisoned not more than 25 years."

SEC. 2. Section 2112, title 18, of the United States Code shall be amended as follows:

'Whoever robs another of any kind of personal property belonging to the United States shall be imprisoned not more than 25 years."

SEC. 3. Section 641, title 18, of the United States Code shall be amended as follows:

"Whoever embezzles, steals, purloins, or knowingly converts to his use or the use of another, or without authority sells, conveys. or disposes of any record, voucher, money, or thing of value of the United States or of any department or agency thereof, or any property made or being made under contract for the United States or any department or agency thereof; or

"Whoever receives, conceals, or retains the same with intent to convert it to his use or gain, knowing it to have been embezzled, purloined, or converted-

Shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than 20 years, or both; but if the value of such property does not exceed the sum of \$100, he shall be fined not

more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

"The word 'value' means face, par, or market value, or cost price, either wholesale or retail, whichever is greater."

Be it enacted, etc., That whoever within the special maritime and territorial jurisdiction of the United States, by force and violence, or by intimidation, takes from the person or presence of another any firearm or weapon, shall be imprisoned not more than 50 years.

SEC. 2. Whoever robs another of any weap-

on or firearm belonging to the United States shall be imprisoned not more than 50 years.

SEC. 3. Whoever steals, purloins, or knowingly converts to his use or the use of another, or without authority sells, conveys, or disposes of any firearm or weapon of the United States or any department or agency thereof, or any firearm or weapon made or being made under contract for the United States or any department or agency thereof; or whoever receives, conceals, or retains the same with intent to convert it to his use or gain, knowing it to have been stolen, pur-loined, or converted, shall be fined not more than \$50,000 or imprisoned not more than 50 years, or both.

Mr. Speaker, also, I have dispatched letters to the Secretaries of Defense, Army, Navy, and Air Force asking them to immediately take an inventory of all Government weapons and to increase the security guard on all places where weapons are stored. And I have also asked the FBI to join with the Defense Department in an appraisal of the entire weapons storage problem.

In these days when our national security is threatened from within as well as from without, we must take all steps necessary to prevent any group from taking our own weapons and using them against us. If it is this easy to get weapons out of Government arsenals, then potential revolutionaries would have no trouble at all in arming themselves on the eve of an attack. We must prevent this.

Make Columbus Day a Legal Holiday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK M. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my views on making Columbus Day a legal holiday.

Christopher Columbus' name stands supreme among the world's daring explorers. In selfless service to his fellow man, to Spain, and to God, he ventured out on uncharted waters, with a reluctant crew, in frail and tiny vessels, and kept on, through murmurs rising to threats of mutiny, until that glorious moment when a seaman's cry brought all on deck to view a new world shining in the dawn. That is a moment to remember. That is a moment to celebrate. The city of Genoa and the land of Italy are proud to claim Columbus as a native son. Spain counts it among her chief glories that Columbus sailed under her banner. But all we of the Western Hemisphere can look upon him, not as our son or servant, but as father of us all.

In token of this filial reverence, most of the countries of this hemisphere, and most of the States of the Union, already observe Columbus Day as a bank holiday or a school holiday, and as a day for ceremonies in honor of Christopher Columbus and his discovery.

I am glad to add my voice, on behalf of my constituents, to the enthusiastic support being given in this House to H. R. 577, a bill declaring October 12 to

be a legal holiday.

Nation's Postmasters Approve Increase of Postal Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks. I am inserting in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Commercial News, Danville, Ill., on March 2, 1955.

I am definitely in accord with the view therein expressed that our postage rates should be made realistic so that our Post Office Department may be operated on a businesslike basis.

The editorial follows:

NATION'S POSTMASTERS APPROVE INCREASE OF POSTAL RATES

For the first time in its history the National Association of Postmasters, including John Wherry, of Danville, went on record in favor of increasing postal rates on first-, second-, and third-class mail to bring the Post Office Department on a more nearly paying basis.

For years politicians of varying philosophies have argued the question of whether any Federal Government Department should be operated at a profit or whether, as a service to the people, its deficits should auto-

matically come from taxes.

Today, official and unofficial opinion leans in favor of operating the Post Office Department on a businesslike basis. It is viewed as a business-type enterprise within the Government, requiring the use of the most modern methods, practices, and policies so that the American people may receive the best possible service at the most economical cost.

At present the Department is being operated on a prewar-price level and a postwarcost level. Hence, it is losing money at the rate of at least a million dollars every working day. The loss totals \$4 billion since World War II. Interest alone on this debt costs taxpayers \$100 million a year.

The mailing charges for a letter, magazine, or a book have been called the "biggest bargains on earth." Most other nations, including Canada, run the post office on a break-

even or profit basis.

Raising postal rates is quite understandably not a popular issue. But Americans always face up to financial necessities-when they understand them. The American people are adult enough to know they only deceive themselves by keeping postal rates artificially low, and taxing themselves to pay the difference.

Recent Gallup poll results published on January 23, 1955, show that majority opinion today favors raising the rate on first-class mail from 3 to 4 cents. Other surveys showed substantially the same sentiment. Obviously, somebody has to pay for postal services. Low postage rates are misleading when the difference is paid by the taxpayer. It is fairer to charge those who receive the direct benefit rather than transfer a large part of the cost to the general taxpayer.

With these views in mind, the Post Office Department has proposed to Congress moderate increases on first-, second-, and thirdclass mail. It has also recommended establishment of a permanent Postal Rate Commission to provide a flexible system of scientific rate adjustments under policy guidance of Congress.

President Eisenhower on January 11 stated that "approval of this program will be in the public interest for it will further assure efficient service by the Post Office Depart-

Most Americans do not realize that postage rates on first-class letters are the same today as they were in 1932. Costs since that time have almost doubled. Since 1932 there have been five general wage increases for postal employees and another may be on the way.

First-class mail service under present rates does not carry its fair share of postal costs. In 1954 the cost of handling the average first-class letter was 3.12 cents and the Department predicts it may rise to 3.35 cents in 1955. This contrasts with 1.89 cents in 1932. If the letter rate was fair in 1932, it is obviously too low now.

The proposed 4-cent letter rate will still be a bargain. Compare it with the 5 cents paid in Canada; the 8.5 cents in Sweden; the 9.6 cents in Germany, and 4.17 cents in England.

Proposed legislation would increase postage on first-class letters by 1 cent on the first ounce only. This would hike revenue by \$237 million and go a long way toward eliminating the deficit. The proposals also would increased postage on domestic airmail by 1 cent on the first ounce only. Moderate increases also are proposed for second-class mail consisting principally of magazines and newspapers. Rates will remain the same for nonprofit religious, educational, scientific, and like organizations. The increase on second-class mail would increase publishers' rates by about 15 percent per year.

Hard commonsense indicates there is only one way to solve this dilemma-namely to increase postal rates equitably so that the Post Office Department may operate on as nearly a pay-as-you-go basis as is practical-with the actual users of mails paying a larger share of the costs instead of transferring this financial burden to the shoulders of American taxpayers.

New Code of Fair Play For House Committees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the proper procedure to direct or control the committees of the House in the conduct of hearings of an investigatory character has long been a subject of consideration. The Rules Committee of the House has arrived at a conclusion. We realize the sincerity with which the study has been carried on by the Committee. It is gratifying to realize that it has met with approval. In this latter connection, I include as part of my remarks an editorial appearing in the Courier-Post newspaper, published at Camden, N. J., in the issue on Saturday, March 12, 1955. It reads as follows:

NEW CODE OF FAIR PLAY FOR HOUSE COMMITTEES

March 21

The Rules Committee of the House of Representatives has completed the draft of a fair play code for investigating committees which the House will be asked to approve.

The code is the outgrowth of excesses by some committees and subcommittees (of the Senate as well as the House). It would apply to all House committees, including those which (like some Senate committees) have adopted fair play codes for themselves but of course lack the authority to do so for any groups but their own.

The Rules Committee recommendations are mild and moderate. They seek to strike a middle ground between permitting abuse of the investigative power and letting irresponsible or guilty witnesses go undis-

ciplined.

Under the new code, individual committees would still draw up their own rules, but these would have to conform with the minimum standards set forth by it. Some of the regulations that would be generally applied:

Each committee would fix the number of members required to constitute a quorum for taking testimony; this number must be at least two, to eliminate the one-man hearings that have caused such protests in the

Witnesses would be given a reasonable idea of what they were to be questioned about, so as to have answers prepared, but the committees could go beyond the original questions as material new angles developed in the testimony.

Every witness would get a copy of proce-

dural rules for his guidance.
Witnesses would be permitted counsel to

advise them of their constitutional rights. Testimony would be taken first in closed session, and closed-session testimony would not be made public without the approval of the whole committee or subcommittee.

Committee chairmen could punish breaches of decorum and legal professional ethics, by citation for contempt of Congress if so determined.

Persons accused in testimony would have the right to appear as voluntary witnesses in their own defense.

Despite the criticism of committee procedures that has been so widespread during the last year or two, and despite the Rules Committee's present report, it is a difficult task to get either the Senate or the House to change their rules in such a way as to restrict the freedom of members or committees. Many members, while agreeing with recent criticism of investigation procedures, do not believe that formal changes in the rules will bring about a cure.

However, the changes the Rules Committee has recommended have a better chance to be adopted than such proposals normally do. There is less likelihood of similar changes in the Senate, though the Democratic members of its Rules Committee are planning hearings on a list of recommendations.

The proposed changes in House and Senate would tend to bring committee procedures more into line with those of the courts. Yet most Congressmen agree with former Senator Guy Gillette (D., Iowa) that committee hearings "cannot be subjected to the rules of evidence, determining this is material and that is immaterial."

Most Congressmen also are aware, as the public is not, that the situations which have given rise to criticism of committees are relatively few in proportion to the thousands of hearings held annually.

In short, most Congressmen, Democrats as well as Republicans, think the problem is a bit more complex than the public realizes. They are inclined to say you can't substitute rules for a sense of decorum and decency.

Nevertheless, most of them want to operate under the best rules possible. The ones the House Rules Committee recommends seem worthwhile, and it may be hoped both House and Senate will adopt codes approximating at least the minimum safeguards these embody.

Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I should like to have entered my testimony before the House Education and Labor Committee which was considering prospective legislation for Federal aid to school construction.

The testimony follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, may I first say that I greatly appreciate the opportunity to appear before this committee to testify on the very important matter before this forum. I sincerely hope that my request for hearing will not be construed as indicating a personal presumption of my expertness on the varied problems plaguing our educational system. I am sure that this committee has heard, or is scheduled to hear, qualified educators in regards the technical aspects of the question. message I should like to bring this committee deals with the broader governmental concepts that rest at the base of our important social, economic, and political problems.

This committee has recently heard from our very able colleague from Arizona, Representative STEWART L. UDALL, who very concisely disclosed two very important, as he termed it, "stumbling blocks" that have blockaded much of the thinking in the area of Federal aid to school construction. The clarity of his reasoning, I am sure, has shed a brighter light upon a segment of our thinking made dark by such ominous forebodings of late as: "Get government out of buselness, get government out of public power," and "Keep government out of education." Even the most credulous individual cannot fail to recognize the fraility of these manifestations—it smacks more of emotion than reason; and as such, I fear, unable to cope with the immense problem of properly providing our youth with adequate educational facilities.

In deference to the plan proposed by the administration, which I'm sure this committee is giving arduous study, I feel that its half-way approach fails theoretically to understand this Governments obligations to its citizenry by subjecting the school districts to an unreasonable indebtedness. Our desperate school districts cry for relief, but their supplications, I fear, have been answered by a master bond-issuing program designed, not for their relief, but rather their insolvency. To peg an unrealistic interest rate on our Nation's school districts for the sake of attracting risk capital to the safe confines of municipal securities, which guarantee a safe return, is neither a service to our school system nor a discharge of our responsibility to it. Educating America's youth is a public responsibility historically vested in the local community through the instrumentalities of the city, county and State governments; and, if the situation so requires, ultimately with the Federal Government. When Federal assistance to the health and welfare of the several States falls suspect, then, indeed,

the entire edifice of our great constituted system of Federal Government, which has served us well, must be reexamined. I, for one, harbor not such dismal fear those who do have somewhere parted company with a great tradition.

THE GENESIS OF THE PROBLEM-RAPID GROWTH OF POPULATION

We have had occasion to point with singular pride to the robust expansion of our population in the last 15 years. (Approximately 30 million; a yearly average increase in excess of 2 million). Latently contained in this national asset lies the cause of the present problem. The dislocations of one major war, the continuing condition of world unrest which necessitates a priority to national security problems, and the parallel high level of consumer-goods production have diverted our energies to these important areas to the exclusion of schools and their educational plants and facilities. No doubt this fact has been generally regarded as a pre-established axiom with those of us who have concerned ourselves with the question. The significance of this fact, I feel, finds its force in the realization that the stauration point has been achieved; and in many areas superseded, so as to be justifiably termed disaster areas. We have provisions to meet this crisis in the actual physical sense; but have failed to affect like remedial machinery for our educational disaster areas. I see Federal Government to meet this challenge. INCREASED COMPLEXITY OF OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

As populations have grown so have the corresponding accompanying needs of that increased citizenry progressed. The simplified curriculums offered in my grade school days now appear skeletal alongside the courses of study given our youths today. The entire machinery of education has become more complex, and in turn, has required a greater competence of its administrators. The problem is real, complex, and enduring; the need must be answered realistically, intricately, and with far reaching vision. Any legislation that falls short of achieving these minimal requirements must be termed inadequate. Any legislation that makes these considerations secondary to the dreams of certain fincial interests, for the sake of prividing a safe harborage for bond purchasers, misinterprets, I feel, the basic interest of the majority of the American people.

THE PROBLEM FACED IN THE STATE OF MICHIGAN AND ITS PLANS TO MEET IT

With the committee's permission, I should like to commend to its study and perusal, without burdening the official record, a report by the Department of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan. It aptly demonstrates the type of efforts which I am sure are being put forth by similar State agencies throughout the country. I am proud to be associated in the service of government with such able and dedicated public servants as we have in our great State of Michigan. As this report indicates, much thought and planning has gone into estimating our State's educational needs in the coming 5 years. Their work is clearly demonstrative of their efforts to seek first a solution to their shortages which took into account the State's own resources before considering direct aid from the Federal Government. I think that this is a fair and honest approach to the matter and commend it as an example worthy of emulation.

Significantly, it will be noticed on page 68 of the report (Michigan Public School Building Needs, 1953-60) that the area of Government financial assistance is only contem-plated for "hardship areas." This is a proper concern for the Federal and State Governments, since these hardship areas often exist

through forces beyond the scope of the local school district means to afford a remedy. Of our State's 534 school-service areas, 117 are estimated to be hardship cases. Such factors as shifting population, realty de-valuation, and lack of adequate local taxing powers have been inextricably intertwined at the base of the school district's inability to raise funds. As a direct result of the presence of these variable determinants, our State faces in the school year 1959-60 a deficit of \$50 million for needed school construction. In this predicament, I am quite sure, gentlemen, that the plight of Michigan is neither unique nor singular.

Therefore, gentlemen of this committee,

may I commend to your deliberations a course of legislative action that affords expeditious aid by direct grant in participation with the several States to our "educational disaster areas" adequate to meet their critical needs. I further recommend that such plan be so designed as to avoid imposing upon our school districts a continuing finan-

cial burden.

We are dealing here in the critical commodity of human resources. Let us afford it the priority parallel to the great role it must play in our Nation's destiny.

Thank you kindly.

Could Dixon-Yates Wind Up With a White Elephant?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I herewith include an editorial entitled "Memphis' Ace-High Trump." appeared in the March 7, 1955, issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch:

MEMPHIS' ACE-HIGH TRUMP

Now that the Dixon-Yates combine has its engineers on site and is moving rapidly toward the start of construction projected plant at West Memphis, Ark., the next question is what the city of Memphis, Tenn., will do. Mayor Frank Tobey of that city said only a couple of weeks ago that "if the construction of the plant is commenced. Memphis will take immediate steps to build its own plant."

Memphis believes that it has ample reason to be concerned. The contract which the Dixon-Yates combine has signed with the Atomic Energy Commission at President Eisenhower's direction calls for power to be supplied to AEC for the Tennessee Valley Authority. TVA would use this power to supply the growing demands of Memphis.

Memphis is not a party to the contract, Thus, it would be dependent for a major part of its power supply upon a private syndicate which bears no responsibility toward it of any kind.

Mayor Tobey and the president of the city's light, gas and water department, Maj. Thomas H. Allen, do not think that would be a sound business arrangement for Memphis. Moreover, they say they have had con-versations with three major Memphis banks and the First Boston Corp. about financing a city-owned plant and that these institutions were ready to go ahead as soon as the city was ready.

If Memphis is not bluffling, the Dixon-

Yates plant when built would be that whitest of elephants, a source of supply without a market. Whatever other means might succeed in stopping the Dixon-Yates project, therefore. Memphis plainly seems to hold the ace trump. Though much of the Dixon-Yates story to date borders on the improbable, it is hard to believe that the Government would go ahead with it under those circumstances. The West Memphis plant would be useless to the Government which would be paying for it, while the private power companies that built it could draw off however much or little power they wanted from it at dump rates, as other private power companies did from Muscle Shoals before TVA. That was a costly mistake which surely no one would want to repeat.

Address by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra
Taft Benson Before the Pacific Dairy
and Poultry Association, Salt Lake
City, Utah, March 19, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HAMER H. BUDGE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, the following is the portion of Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson's remarks at Salt Lake City, Utah, on March 19, 1955, which relate to the general farm program:

Now I should like to turn to a matter which concerns not only the poultry and dairy industries but all of agriculture and, in fact, all of the people of this Nation. That is the basic question of what kind of a farm program we are to have. Shall we move forward in our efforts to establish a soundly conceived, long-range program designed to bring about better balanced agricultural production, broader financial stability, and greater freedom for farmers? Or shall be continue the unrealistic, stopgap, emergency program of high, rigid price supports which has already demonstrated its inability to cope with the problems of a peacetime agricultural economy?

Congress clearly rejected this second approach only a few short months ago when it adopted the Agricultural Act of 1954 and voted to permit flexible price supports for the basic commodities to become effective, as scheduled, in 1955. Now the whole issue has been revived. The House Committee on Agriculture has reported favorably a bill which would, among other things, continue rigid price supports at 90 percent of parity for the basic commodities for 3 more years.

The principal argument put forward by the proponents of this measure is that it will halt the steady decline in farm income which has been underway since 1947. What they fall to mention is that this entire reduction has come about while we had rigid 90-percent supports for the basic commodities. What they are recommending, in effect, is another dose of the same medicine that has made the patient progressively sicker.

The fixed price support advocates, reinforced by labor leaders turned farm experts, are shouting from the rooftops that farm prices are being wrecked by flexible supports. It just isn't so. Not 1 bale of cotton, not 1 bushel of corn or wheat, not 1 sack of rice, not 1 pound of peanuts has yet been placed under loan or sold to the Government at less than 90 percent of parity. Flexible price supports don't become operative until the 1955 harvest—still several months away—and even then the levels of support will be unchanged for some commodities and most modest for others, in line with President

Eisenhower's recommendation for gradual adjustments.

The attempt to saddle the failures of the old program upon a new one which hasn't even been tested yet is unlikely to meet with very broad acceptance among farmers who know the facts. The issues at stake are of such great importance to every farmer, however, that I believe the record must be set straight for all to see.

Flexible price supports have been a part of our bipartisan farm programs for many years. They have been endorsed at one time or another by every Secretary of Agriculture for the past 20 years and by every major farm organization. They were advocated in the platforms of both major parties during 1948 and by the then occupant of the White House.

In fact, it was from this unanimity of opinion that the agricultural acts of 1948 and 1949 were distilled. Both of these measures called for fiexible price supports for basic commodities. The effective date of the flexible program was repeatedly postponed, however, the last time until 1955. This year we are finally scheduled to employ the flexible price support provisions which almost everybody once agreed were essential to the effective operation of a long-range, peacetime agricultural program.

For some time now, many would-be political leaders have been using high, fixed price supports as a smokescreen to cover up one indisputable fact—the fact that it was the unprecedented demands of war, together with inflation, that kept farm prices high during the 10 years following Pearl Harbor. The parity ratio averaged between 100 and 115 during those years. Actually, it was ceilings, fixed by law at the top—not the 90 percent floor below—which set farm prices. Every farmer knows he would have received even more for his products during this period had there been neither ceilings nor price supports.

Mounting surpluses, increasing costs, and declining farm prices are evidence enough that high, rigid, emergency supports offer no solution to our peacetime agricultural problems. If they were the solution, there would be no problems. Even though farm prices have declined under the program which we inherited from the preceding administration, this administration is willing to assume its share of the responsibility. But let me make it very clear just what our share is.

Between February 1951 and January 1953, when this administration assumed office, the parity ratio tumbled from 113 to 94. This is a downward plunge of 19 points. Since January 1953 the parity ratio has declined from 94 to a current level of 87—a change of 7 points. It has averaged about 90 over the last 2 years.

Thus, it will be seen that nearly three-fourths of the drop in farm prices which has occurred since the Korean war peak in 1951 came under the preceding administration. So, as I have said, we are willing to assume our share of the responsibility. Let our predecessors face up to theirs.

Today it seems to me that the situation which has developed with respect to wheat pinpoints the major fallacies and contradictions of high, rigid price supports. Wheat is a most important crop, not only in this area, but over much of the United States. And wheat is also the Government's biggest problem in the field of price supports. Here is a commodity which actually has been supported at about 105 percent of modernized parity. And still it is in worse trouble than any other crop.

The United States had on hand for the current marketing year an all-time record supply of 1,878 million bushels of wheat. At the present rate of disappearance, this unprecedented supply is enough to meet all our domestic and export requirements for more than 2 full years.

The Commodity Credit Corporation today has investment in more than 1 billion bushels

of wheat—660 million bushels owned outright in inventory and the rest held as security against price-support loans. This involves a commitment of approximately \$2.7 billion of CCC funds. It represents well over one-third of the CCC funds now invested in all price-support activities.

For 1955, the national wheat acreage allotment has been reduced to 55 million acres, the minimum provided by law. This compares with a 1954 allotment of 62 million acres and represents a cut of 30 percent from 1953, when no acreage allotments were in effect. Without the minimum amount provided by law, the allotment for 1955 would have been sharply below the 55 million total. In view of the record supplies of wheat on hand for this year, the formula in the law called for a national allotment of only about 19 million acres if no minimum had been provided.

The very substantial cut in our national wheat acreage creates serious operating problems for many farmers. Even after this sharp reduction for 1955, the minimum national acreage will, with average yields, produce almost as much wheat as we are now moving into domestic consumption and foreign markets in a year. Insofar as exports are concerned, we need to keep in mind that at our present level of price support, wheat shipments to foreign countries are made possible only by active programs of United States assistance. United States sales of wheat abroad will involve subsidies of at least \$175 million for the current crop year.

One fact that stands out is that this Nation's carryover of wheat next July 1 will be larger than it was a year earlier despite everything we are trying to do to bring about a reduction. Although we have succeeded in boosting wheat exports somewhat during the current crop year, there are limitations upon what the world markets will take even at the wheat agreement price or under the new program which permits sales abroad for foreign currencies. There are legal restrictions upon selling wheat in the domestic market at less than 105 percent of parity, plus carrying charges.

With total wheat supplies increasing in spite of production controls last year, it now appears that our carryover in 1955 will approach 1 billion bushels, for a new all-time record. It is expected that CCC will own some 850 million bushels of this vast surplus. The yearly storage charges alone on this inventory, not counting interest or deterioration, will be near the \$140 million mark.

In talking about this wheat surplus problem, we lump all wheat together—spring and winter—hard and soft—red and white—high protein and low protein. Yet farmers know there can be at least as great a difference between different types of wheat as there is between Holstein and Hereford cattle.

At a time when we have a record-breaking surplus of wheat in the United States, there is an acute shortage of durum wheat and a tight situation with respect to high protein milling wheat. Flour has been selling at the highest prices since 1920.

Farmers in some parts of the country have been concentrating upon exceptionally high-yielding wheat, rather than upon quality wheat. Since the grain is produced for sale to the Government at a fixed, guaranteed price, rather than for conversion into bread, the sole objective is to grow as many bushels as possible on the allotted acreage.

Unrealistic price supports have brought about a sharp rise in wheat production outside the area we normally think of as the commercial wheat country. The Corn Belt has become the source of more wheat. So have the grasslands of the Southern Great Plains and the dairy regions of the northeast.

In Illinois the 1953 wheat acreage was 51 percent above the 10-year average, In Michigan it was up 46 percent. Even in New York the increase was 36 percent. One "dust bowl" county of eastern Colorado, which reported a mere 5,000 acres of wheat in 1939, had 365,000 acres in this 1 crop by 1952 as the "suitcase" farmers and speculators moved in.

Now, farmers in the low-cost areas where most of our wheat has been produced in recent decades find themselves in the same production straitjacket as growers in States less favorably suited to efficient wheat production. The man who has been growing quality wheat for the market gets cut back on the same basis as the man who grows wheat for the Government loan.

I would like to see us produce wheat in the regions where it can be grown most efficiently. Many of these areas are not well adapted to the production of profitable crops

other than wheat.

Wheatgrowers understandably are dissatisfied with the conditions which have been forced upon them under this system of high, rigid supports. Perhaps more than any other major producer group they are actively seeking a new approach to the whole problem. They want a program which will give them greater freedom—a chance to utilize more fully the potential of their land.

I am sympathetic to those wishes. Recently I requested the National Agricultural Advisory Commission to review the entire wheat situation, giving special attention to possible means of expanding consumption, as well as to grades and classes of wheat and land-use programs. The study will also be directed toward the merits of production controls established on a bushel rather than an acreage basis.

I believe the flexible price-support program which becomes effective with this year's harvest will help to bring wheat supplies and utilization into better balance. But it is going to take time because of the mountainous surplus built up under high, rigid

supports.

Certainly agriculture has had its problems during this period of adjustment from war to a peacetime economy. Yet it is also true that we are making the changeover this time with far less hardship than farmers experienced in the years following the First World War.

The flexible price-support provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1954 can be of real assistance in making an orderly transition from an emergency program to a permanent, peacetime farm plan. Let us not turn back the clock at this point. Instead, let us give the new program a fair chance to operate.

Let us work toward a well-balanced agriculture—one in which farmers themselves will make most of the management decisions right on their own farms. Let us seek to build a thriving farm economy in which dairymen, poultrymen, and all other segments of agriculture will share fairly and fuily.

Our national economy is sound and prosperous. That, in the long run, is the best guaranty of a brighter tomorrow for Ameri-

can agriculture.

Let us push toward those horizons beyond. Let us continue resolutely to work toward a stable, prosperous, and free agriculture here in this choice land which God has blessed above all others.

The Ramparts We Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, one of my distinguished con-

stituents has recently, for the third time, been accorded the George Washington award by the Freedoms Foundation for an outstanding address in the cause of freedom. He is Rear. Adm Leslie E. Gehres, United States Navy, retired, a distinguished career naval officer who fought gallantly to defend our freedoms during World Wars I and II, and who now speaks eloquently of the need to continue the fight in these perilous times. Admiral Gehres was the skipper of the carrier U. S. S. Franklin, which was seriously damaged during the Pacific campaign. Although ordered to abandon ship, Gehres and his gallant crew stayed with their mortally damaged carrier and brought her safely home, saving the lives of hundreds of men trapped below the decks. He has received the Navy Cross, Purple Heart, and many other commendations. He knows whereof he speaks. Under unanimous consent, I include his award-winning speech as a part of my remarks:

THE RAMPARTS WE GUARD

(Speech by Rear Adm. Leslie E. Gehres, U. S. Navy, retired, to the 34th annual convention of the Military Order of World Wars, at Pasadena, Calif., October 1, 1954)

Commander in Chief Clark, officers, and companions of the Military Order of the World Wars, ladies, and gentlemen, I am tremendously complimented to be accorded the privilege of being the speaker at this 34th an-nual convention banquet of our order. When our general chairman, Colonel Younglove, invited me I accepted instantly. Now that I am here I have a feeling that maybe I had better heeded the sage advice of an old hand when I first went into the Navy as a seaman. He told me that the way to get along in the outfit was to keep my eyes and ears open, my mouth shut, and never volunteer. While I did not exactly volunteer for this detail, I certainly did open my mouth so now I stand here before many men who were my seniors in the service, and many of whom, I am sure, are better qualified to address you than am I. What I bring here tonight those of you from San Diego County have already heard me say, and I expect that all of you have lately heard much of it from many sources.

You see, ever since it became apparent that our fighting men were not going to be permitted to take the victory they had won in blood and suffering in Korea, that our hard-won position in the Far East was endangered by a spirit of weak-kneed appeasement I have been speaking about war and communism and foreign policy and the vital import of the Asian struggle to the safety of our Republic, in whose service you and I spent most of our lives.

When I started there were not many important people except men like General MacArthur and Senator Knowland who appeared deeply concerned with the course of events in Asia. But now, since the dramatic and tragically unnecessary disaster at Dien Bien Phu spotlighted the impending loss of Indochina at Geneva, everybody has gotten into the act. Men of the highest authority have been sounding the warnings which in my own small way I was trying to do. Now I feel like a minor prophet whose cries have been taken up by the majors. That is very gratifying in a conceited sort of way, but I am beginning to know how an echo feels.

Be that as it may, what started me on this personal campaign was hearing so many people who should have been informed talking about communism with no idea of what communism really is; talking about peace and peaceful coexistence as though the temporary cessation of shooting meant that we were not at war; criticizing our foreign policy on the assumption that the purpose

of foreign policy is to win the love of other natons; nodding approval to vast giveaway programs in the belief that bought allies will stay bought; hoping that someone else would guard the ramparts of the freedom they took for granted.

So I took it on myself to try to make what people I could reach think seriously on these subjects—to create in my own small sphere a climate of public opinion which would support our national leaders in their efforts to forge new and firm policy weapons to defend our fortress America.

When Colonel Younglove called me for the title of my speech (he insisted he must have a title for the program), I was looking at an advertisement which was illustrated with a picture of Francis Scott Key standing on the deck of a British vessel in Baltimore harbor watching through the night the bombardment of Fort McHenry. month, you know, was the 150th anniversary of that action. Of course, Francis Scott Key could not foresee that the verses he composed under the title of "The Defense of Fort McHenry" would become the national anthem of a great Republic, stretching from sea to sea. He could not have even dreamed that one of his phrases, "the ramparts we watched," would in time become the watchword of a people whose spiritual devotion to human liberty would be the last rampart protecting not just a single fort, not a single Nation, but all men who claim freedom as a divine gift.

Francis Scott Key watched the rockets' red glare from afar—but not so those within the besieged fortress. Theirs it was to man and guard the walls. Today we Americans are in an analogous situation. We cannot stand apart and watch others, even though they be on the other side of the world, fight for freedom. We ourselves must stand to the ramparts and fight through the long night of Communist attack. It is becoming ever more crystal clear that no one else will guard these ramparts for us.

You men, by the very nature of your profession, have had intimate contact with the basic facts of life and death. You know that human beings in trouble, in sorrow, in fear, in the face of death, are sustained by the most part by faith. Faith that there is meaning to life, faith that there is a divine plan by which our human destinies are guided, faith that man is the child of God and that freedom and dignity are his proper environment.

It was this faith by which was built this country which we love so much and which we have been so proud and privileged to serve. The ramparts of freedom were laid up, not with the material resources of this magnificent continent but by and with faith and trust. Trust in God, trust in the integrity of our fellowmen, trust that each generation would fulfill its obligation to pass on to its posterity the heritage of freedom which it had received in trust from its own forebears.

Neither our Nation nor any other free community could long endure in a world in which that quality of faith had been erased from man's character, a world in which trust had been crushed under the heel of atheist brutalitarianism. Yet that is the great central danger which we face today and too many of our people do not understand it, cannot believe it, or are distressingly apathetic about it.

We Americans are such a hopeful and optimistic people. We are friendly. We believe in honesty and truthfulness and in helping others. Because we are like that, too many of us allow our hopes to run away with our understanding of what we face in the war for survival in which we are engaged—and this struggle with the worldwide Communist conspiracy is a war for survival. The winning of this war will call for hard decisions and firm action, supported by all the patience, all the fortitude, and all the understanding of which we are capable. In this

bitter 37-year-old war there can be no easy escapes, no cheap victories. Appeasement accelerates disaster, peaceful coexistence is just the digestive period of the nation-

eating Communist tiger.

I think it has been the widespread, popular misunderstanding of the nature of communism, and the nature of war, which has made it possible for our enemy to win battle after battle until today, only a few short years after the successful conclusion of a world struggle to eliminate another agressive tyranny, we face the catastrophic fact that a third of the world's people are now captive to our enemy and millions more in southeast Asia are being readied for the same fate.

This lack of understanding is natural enough and in a way does credit to the basic idealism of Americans of which I spoke. We know we seek peace, and when we say "peace" we know we mean living in a world of honest good will. We know we covet no other people's lands or goods. We bear no enduring hatreds from one generation to another. So we find it hard to believe that other people can pervert the meanings of beautiful words like "democracy" and "peace" to tyranny and death; and exalt as the highest morality any deceit or treachery, or base strategem which will advance their voctory in the class war they force upon the world.

Yet that, exactly, was Lenin's exposition of the Communist ethic before the Young Communist League in 1920. It is today still the Communist ethic. Just as they reject religion and defiantly proclaim their disbelief in God, so do they reject any ethical or moral concepts which do not derive from the necessities of the class struggle. see, their words are not our words. place no trust in them, for they have no God by whom to swear truth or faith.

With us, truth is an attribute of Deity. Acknowledging no Deity, the Communist must accept as absolute truth whatever the party decrees. This is basic to the nature of communism and we must keep it always in the forefront of our minds if we are to correctly evaluate the enemy's moves in this life-and-death struggle. It is vitally important that we remember this now, when the momentarily satiated conqueror preaches trade and peaceful coexistence.

Too many among us have in the past accepted, and today still contend, that communism is an economic theory, or a political belief, whose proponents could be loyal to our constitutional Republic, faithful in public office, and trustworthy teachers of

Despite the Communists' derision of all religion, communism today is itself a form of religion seeking to establish its concept of socialist materialistic morality upon all mankind. It has been advanced with the same crusading fervor, the same ruthless determination back by military power which marked the sweep of Islam over the same portion of the world which is the Communists' immediate target—Asia.

This atheistic religion has for its devotees a body of revealed incontrovertible scientific "truth"—the writings of Karl Marx. It has had its messiah-Lenin. It is an orthodoxy-and heresy is punished with quick death. Like all crusaders, the Communists have the conviction of ultimate victory. They firmly believe that time and history are on their side. They are willing to endure, and make others endure all manner of hardships for their belief. They are in to back up, when they must. By constant but carrying pressure they weary and frustrate the free world. They exploit the fears and hopes of the impatient west, playing one against the other. Subversion, treachery, sabotage, the enormous lie, are their preferred and most effective weapons.

Their revolutionary strategy, like their revolutionary theory, are long-term concepts little concerned with short-range Such are in the field of tactics. Their strategy embraces the application of their revolutionary theory to the world situation as it may exist at any given period. It takes into account favorable and unfavorable situations, and directs when and how to shift to defensive or offensive tactics as a particular campaign may require. Advance and retreat; blow hot, blow cold; a threat here, a concession there—they zigzag toward their ultimate goal just as a battleship zigzags in enemy waters but always making a percentage good along the base course.

As military men you know there are times when it may be necessary to liquidate an unfavorable situation to cut losses to an acceptable figure. But even in retreat you try to salvage some advantage. The Comexperts at applying this prinmunists are ciple to political situations and they are ruthless in their use of it. They ease off the pressure when they encounter firmness— lay it on when they detect weakness and

indecision.

The abrupt abandonment of the war in Greece, the lifting of the Berlin blockade, the apparent softness toward the revolts in East Germany in June 1953, the truce in Korea, and their repeated but always deceptive pre-conference willingness to meet and -these were and are loss-cutting tactical moves to improve their position in what the Communists have always recognized as

a global struggle.

You and I, whose profession was war and strategy, must help our neighbors understand that Russian imperialist communism is a predatory conspiracy dedicated to the destruction of freedom. Like the spotted leopard, it camouflages itself by ceasing to move when it scents danger, but it does not change its spots thereby. Neither does communist predator's objective ever change. It is and always has been world domination and they know that these United States are the citadel they must ultimately reduce. The ramparts we guard are the last barriers between them and the free world's desolation.

Most Americans, despite three wars in one generation, have not understood the nature of war, nor their intimate daily concern with foreign policy. Foreign policy is essentially an extension of domestic policy. a free self-governing people it must reflect their will, their ideals, and moral values if it is to be viable. To be successful it must promote their wellbeing. It must be based on enduring principle, not bent and twisted by the winds of political expediency

It must be so stated that other nations will know what we mean and know we mean what we sav.

You officers, out of your knowledge and experience and your proven devotion to our country, can do much to build public interest and understanding of these matters in the communities where you make your homes. Too many of our breed, out of the long habit of silence on public matters, fail in retirement to speak up when they should but, instead, content themselves with private grumbling.

We have seen in recent months how an administration attempting to develop and express a strong and positive foreign policy has been forced to backtrack and hedge, to the delight of our enemies, because the public and our wavering allies have protested even the acknowledgment of danger. The appeasers, the world-first-and-American lasters have been vocal enough but where have the patriots been? Not all dead surely, but certainly silent while the frightened summer soldiers surrender another section of the world's freedom.

I believe that had he been backed by the understanding support of the Nation, Mr. Dulles' strong and forthright statements made earlier this year could have stopped the Communists cold at Geneva. They came there fearful of American strength and what seemed to be determination. But those who have so little faith in freedom that they fear war more than they do slavery pulled the rug from under him. They made it apparent to our enemy that our statesmen were not leading from strength, but from the weakness of irresolute allies abroad and a people at home not yet awake to the meaning of southeast Asia to their own future safety. Mr. Dulles' apparent strong hand became a bluff, and the Communists promptly called that bluff at Dien Blen Phu and forced us to throw in our cards at Geneva. Red China emerged as an acknowledged world power with a contract of conquest signed, sealed, and delivered and which we have promised not to upset by force of arms. So there is sealed, also, the ultimate fate of Thailand, and Burma, and, eventually, Indonesia, and the enemy gathers strength and moves a little closer to the ramparts we guard.

What we are faced with, as I see it, is the natural result of a long-continued tragic misconception of the principle and purpose of all successful foreign policy. The basic principle is intelligent self-interest. Starry eyed altruism, a burning desire to do good to other people, always so expensive to satisfy, have no proper place in the development of foreign policy.

Doing good to others requires a skill far beyond that possessed by most humans, if possessed by any at all. If we will refrain from doing others harm and let them decide what is their own good, we will accomplish something.

In the field of foreign policy if we intelligently pursue our own national self-interest (and that, of course, rules out greed and aggression) and refrain as best we can from doing harm to those who mean us no harm. allowing them to do good to themselves according to their own ideas of what is good, we would get along a lot better in the world. We might be no better loved, but we would be far more respected, which is far more important. Everybody understands self-interest. They can and will believe that a nation will act thus. They will not believe the opposite.

We are distrusted and actively disliked around the world today for the simple reason that the recipients of our vast bounty cannot believe that we are altruistically motivated and not because, as some of our disappointed politicians say, we are reappraising our commitments abroad and taking vigorous action to flush out the traitors inside our home ramparts.

There has been too much of this business of highly placed Americans, of both sexes, going abroad and apologizing for the growing and quite proper feeling that the allies we have supported should support us. There is very real danger in these returning travelers taking to the stump and telling us and the world that our principles are rigid, that we should be more flexible, more willing to compromise with what we know is evil, that because we are growing intolerant of treason our prestige abroad is falling and we are no longer loved.

Prestige attaches to the individual or the nation which stands firmly for the right as God gives them to see the right. The strong and the wealthy are never loved. To seek love with gifts and surrender of principle, by giving largesse to those like the Indians who comfort our enemy, is to find only scorn and envious hatred.

Both respect and prestige will be ours if re apply these primary tests to all our pol-cles—"is this good for America?" Not "is this good for England, or good for China, or good for Germany, good for India, the Arabs, or the Jews"—but "is this good for America?"

Nothing will be good for America if it does preventable harm to any of those others, or if it makes liberty anywhere less secure. Refraining from doing harm to those who mean us no harm is something we may be able to do if we work carefully and intelligently at it. Deciding and then attempting to others what we think is good for them is beyond our wisdom and capacity-and too often turns out to be bad for America. Witness the tragic results of our deciding that it would be best for China if Chiang Kaishek were persuaded or coerced to take into his government the Chinese agrarian reformers. He knew such a course was definitely not for the good of China, but we decided otherwise. So we lose China to the Communists, suffer bloody defeat in Korea, followed by disaster in southeast Asia.

We who guard the ramparts of freedom can best help others to hope to hold or regain their freedom by preserving our own strength and vigor. We will do them irreparable harm if through profligate waste of our men, money, and materials around the world we sap our own strength and destroy their self-esteem.

Of course, we should help our friends when they really need help, and when helping contributes to our own welfare. But in the interest of mutual respect there must be a mutuality of benefit. Mr. George H. Wilson, president of the California Farm Bureau Federation, after returning from an extensive tour throughout friendly Asia as a member of a Presidential commission, testifies to this. He found appreciation for our past generosity but also a real desire for nongovernmental trade and finance relationships. As one Indian businessman put it, point 4 and things like that are very nice, but when they are discontinued they leave behind no enduring personal or business contacts in the United States. It is business and banking and trade arrangements between private enterprises which build enduring relationships and understanding.

In the 9 years since the end of World War II we have given away, in one form or another, \$80 billion. After the straight altrulstic thrill of giving for the sake of giving had worn off, the ostensible purpose was an investment in allies, to build strength to match our own.

What dependable allies have we won with this extended giveaway program? England? Prance? India?—they who have had the greatest share? England in whose Parliament the United States is almost daily attacked; England, trading with the enemy while her sons were engaged in combat in Korea, that England who should know better than any other that any goods and services which a people need or can in any way use adds to their warmaking potential, and on this knowledge enforced the tightest of blockades and worldwide embargoes through two world wars. France?-incapable of stable self-government, unwilling to face up to her own internal weaknesses, smothering her own child, EDC, and still hedging and blocking the substitute Brussels treaty extension? India?-accepting our grain, our money, our point 4 help while incessantly lecturing us on our uncouth belligerence While playing up to the Communist tiger which will most certainly eat her up in turn.

How different the case in Greece, Turkey, Spain, Pakistan, the Philippines, South Korea, and Formosa. There is the full rollcall of the ones we can really count on to fight beside us when the chips are down. With these nations we have traded what we had that they needed for what they had that we wanted and the bargains are bound with the cement of mutual self-interest and mutual respect.

Foreign policy, either in its application or development, is not some esoteric mystery to be left to the State Department alone. It is not something outside the lives and interests of ordinary people. It is the most important thing in their lives, for to a large degree, the kind of life they and their children and grandchildren will live, yes; even if they are to live at all, depends upon the wisdom, the success, or failure of their Government leaders in this field.

Among the wisest things our present Secretary of State had done have been his nationwide reports by radio and television following each of his more important foreign meetings and conferences. Here, truly, has been an example of taking all the people into partnership, acquainting them with progress and the problems of international affairs.

Yet, on many occasions when I have asked some friend the following morning, "What did you think of Dulles' report last night on television?" the usual answer has been to the effect that he didn't hear or see it—he was watching the fights or I Love Lucy. How many of you officers here have ever written to Mr. Dulles after one of those broadcasts and expressed your opinion, your approval or disapproval? Our leaders need support and constructive criticism and you should give it and encourage others to do likewise.

Although we've had three major wars in our time, most people, except the professionals (and some of us) mistake the nature of war. War is commonly thought of in terms of shooting when, in fact, big shooting is a last desperate resort in modern war.

War is an extension of policy by means other than peaceful. It is a business of pressures. The pressure can be political. psychological, economic, or violently physical, or any combination of these elements. The Communists, with their long-range strategy, their inhuman patience and their understanding that the whole world is their field of battle, have developed this war of varying and combined pressures to a point where what remains of the free world seeks not victory, but only a lessening of ten-The perfect correlation of the violence at Dien Blen Phu to the Geneva Conference, of Quemoy to Brussels, are perfect examples. Dien Bien Phu was unimportant as a military position but the psychological effect of victory there was decisive at Geneva in winning a new and uncontested foothold for further Communist advances into southeast Asia.

For 37 years the Communists have waged this war against us. Every time we've shown signs of recognizing the struggle for what it is and stiffened our resistance, they have eased the pressure; offered a concession here, another there; made new promises to replace the old broken ones, made big talk of peace and disarmament, and peaceful coexistence.

David, King of Israel, described them perfectly in the 55th Psalm, "The words of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart; his words were softer than oil, yet they were drawn swords."

And we have listened. In our hopeful optimism, in our belief that because we hold to truth and honesty and faith, others must also. We have over and over again permitted ourselves to be deceived, to be lulled into believing that a compromise with evil is possible to sustain. Our European allies are today under this spell, their leaders drinking the toasts of friendship with the executioners of freedom. There is an increasing number among us who would have us do likewise.

As we have belatedly come to realize, our enemy has his fifth column within our ramparts working in devious ways to convince us that Russian and Chinese communism is something we can coexist with, the while they prepare us for nonexistence. Britain, France, and India, with their tired and weary voices, tell us—and there are Americans who repeat it—that we are too firm in what we believe to be the right. We are told that the door to the conference room is the sure door to peace if only we will enter and give enough.

The door to Yalta opened on Korea. Potsdam sealed the doom of Poland. The door at Panmunjom led to the loss of victory for which 40,000 young Americans spilled their blood and lives to win twice over. Berlin and Geneva consolidated the Communists' political and military victory in Korea and confirmed their conquest of new lands and millions more humans in Indochina.

We must not let our people deceive themselves with the belief that if we will just once more sit down in sweet reasonableness the enemy will grant the weary world what was not forced from him in the trial at arms. That is just childish wishful thinking.

The shooting and the dying is ended in Korea and Indochina, for the time being at least. And that is good, for victory in Korea was made impossible by our U. N.-directed foreign policy and in Indochina we had fallen into a false position of supporting a European colonial regime which had too long dragged its feet in granting freedom to a people asked to fight for the free world.

But let us not deceive ourselves that either of these struggles ended with honor to us, or that the United Nations "threw back the aggressor" in Korea or "contained" communism in the south. You and I, as military men, know only too well that the Communist forces threw us out of North Korea, back to the line of the 38th parallel where the war started and that in Indochina we suffered the gravest political and strategical defeat in all Western history. Truly, General MacArthur said, "In war there is no substitute for victory."

These things are not pleasant to recall. They are not nice to think about. I repeat them as I have been doing for the past year because you may be sure that all Asia remembers them.

Our President has repeatedly told the country that the struggle in southeast Asia was a farflung flank of the battle we fought in Korea, linked also to the threat in Europe. If we consider Japan and the Philippines vital to the security of the United States, and in this transonic-hydrogen-fusion age they most certainly are, then what happens to Formosa, Indochina, Thailand, Burma, and Indonesia is equally the concern of our intelligent self-interest. And now comes a man who may well be the next Prime Minister of Britain proposing that we give Formosa to the Communists and incarcerate our faithful ally of many years, the Generalis-simo, in "some safe place." Truly, this is the counsel of despair to offer to a people who believe that human aspirations for individual freedom and dignity are of Divine origin, and on whose coins appears the motto "In God we trust."

A year ago last June the masters of Russia were off balance. They sat uneasily on the departed dictator's pedestal. They faced a united West strengthened by new and firmer leadership in America. For a time it appeared we had at last gained the initiative, that at long last we could call the tune and make the bear that walks like a man dance to it. But the spirit failed us. Peace and trade in our time, any lessening of tension, seemed so much easier than the sacrifice and self-denial which might be the cost of insuring to our grandchildren the freedom into which we had been born.

We have been outmaneuvered because we lack the enemy's single-minded intentness on the ultimate goal, because we have been unwilling to recognize that we live in an age of danger and that the joys of peace are not for us while evil incarnate stalks the world with power in its godless hands. Having released the awful genie of neuclear power, we cower in its towering shadow. "No Place To Hide"—was not that the title of a recently best-selling book? What a motto for the land of the free and the home of the brave. As though men who sought only a place to hide could ever gain or deserve freedom, let alone deserve it.

But the enemy now has the dread hydrogen bomb cry the fearful ones. What does that mean except that he can now threaten us with the same weapon with which we have long threatened him? Shall we now surrender? Shall we abjure the principles by which we have lived? Shall we run from the ramparts of freedom and abandon our children's and their children to the horrors of a godless Communist world?

We of the armed services know the value of tradition, the inspiration of past great deeds. Out of our history we find the answer in the burning words of Patrick Henry: "They tell us, sir, that we are weak, unable to cope with so formidable enemy and adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effective resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies have bound us hand and

Terrible as war is, and you and I have seen more of it than most of us like to remember, there are worse things. Slavery is worse. The mental, spiritual, and physical slavery imposed by communism is worse than death to men who believe that freedom is a divine principle. That is the rampart upon which freemen must stand and fight or forever surrender all claim to kinship with

divinity.

foot?"

Our forefathers manned that rampart in their time and guarded it with their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. We have a greater obligation than they for we have lived and grown great in the freedom they won for us and men of good will everywhere look to us now to keep liberty alive upon the earth.

We Americans profess to believe that our way of life is in accord with the will of God whom the signers acknowledged in that first great Declaration as the giver of our rights and freedoms. Communism denies all this which we hold to be self-evident truth. So, between us there must always be conflict until one or the other prevails.

With the Communists this is dogma. With us it must be intelligent but passionate conviction.

At this point you may say "these are fine words, but what do you propose-that we shall go to war, send our young men into the jungles of southeast Asia?" The answer is, of course, that we are at war and have been since 1917. The first step is to realize that fact, and then to develop and adopt for ourselves a long range strategic plan to fight and win this new kind of war. Coexistence, containment, the status quo will never do it. For when it suits the enemy's purpose they will move again along their long planned road. Our grand objective must match theirs in scope and imagination. It can be nothing less than the destruction of the tyrannical governments of Russia and China. Any objective short of that will end in our defeat and the destruction of all governments which foster free capitalism and genuine democ-

Every move we make, every policy we adopt at home or abroad, should contribute something to this plan. We should start now by correcting that tragic mistake of 1933 by which our enemy established within our ramparts a privileged headquarters for their campaign of sabotage and subversion in the United States, Mexico, and Central America. What little advantage we may gain from having a restricted and shadowed embassy staff in Moscow is nothing compared to the value of their Washington Embassy to the Communists.

Will serving our diplomatic relations with Russia bring on world war III? Nonsense. We are at war and it is time we ejected the enemy spies from our camp. I urge every one of you to actively and vocally support Senator Knowland in his demand for the withdrawal of diplomatic recognition from this Government which refuses to even accept our protests when they diplomatically shoot down our aircraft over neutral seas.

We must press firmly for the expeditious rearming of a soverign West Germany so that they may reassume the mission of the ancient Teutonic Knights, guarding the eastern marches against the barbaric Slavs. We should put what troops we may find expedient to maintain in Europe on a realistic war footing, and bring home those thousands of dependents—potential hostages all.

We must not only stand resolutely firm in opposing the admission of Red China to the United Nations but we must move to reform that organization. Russia and her satellites have persistently and flagrantly violated every condition prescribed for membership in the U. N. They have used it as a sounding board for their lying propaganda. From its rostrum they have reviled every free and peaceful member nation. They have made open and shooting war against the forces of the very body of which they claim to be a rightful part.

If the United Nations are ever to be in fact united, if the organization is ever to be in reality a force for peace and an effective instrument of collective security, if the exasperated people of the United States are going to much longer consent to belonging to and supporting it, then the nations dedicated to violence and conquest must be expelled. The Communist plan for dominating the world turns upon the eventual isolation of this Republic. It is time we moved toward isolating Russia and China by excommunicating them from the congregation of civilized states.

We can make this moral isolation still more effective by using the force available to us to physically isolate these predatory aggressors. China is vulnerable to a blockage by sea. We have the naval forces, the air wings and the bases ready now to strangle China, make her dependent upon her tenuous rail connections with Russia for the machinery of war which is beyond her capacity to produce. South Korea and Nationalist China should be brought into the Asian anti-Communist pact. They are real allies who will stand firm when the chips are down.

On the island of Formosa there is the largest, best equipped and trained anti-Communist army in existence. It was created and exists for just one purpose-to regain their homeland and set it free. Time runs against them. The men grow older while the Chinese Reds fasten their terroristic grip ever more firmly on the restless and rebellious farmers. In a few more years the army of Nationalist China will be an army of old men. For them the tide will have run out, and Formosa will fall unless we then go all out to defend it. When Formosa falls, the Philippines will not be far behind and Japan will be helplessly exposed between the Kurilles and Formosa. I do not need to point out these elementary strategic facts to you who have studied and conducted war-but you are needed to explain them to those to whom the far Pacific seems another world.

After all, China is the Nationalists' own country. They have a right to put their cause to the test. We have no right to prohibit them—in fact, we have an historic obligation to assist them. If they win, Asia is safe and the world is saved for long time to come. If they lose, the free world is little worse off than it is bound to be after a few more years of inaction.

Will any of these courses bring on the dreaded World War III? There is no reason to believe so and every reason to believe the contrary. Of course, the Russians threaten, and so far they have bluffed us out. They proceed according to plan, and their plan does not include the risk of all-out war with the United States until they have accomplished our isolation, spent us weak, and reduced us to a lone island of beleagured freedom in a hostile, Communist dominated world. Their own base of power at home is still too shaky to risk giving the restless and conquered people who still remember freedom any opportunity for successful revolt.

But men cannot revolt against machineguns and tanks, it is said. Revolts have always been against seemingly insuperable odds. In the long struggle for human freedom the tyrants have always had the heaviest armament, the greatest hordes of marching men. But freedom has survived all the tyrants. There is something in the soul of man, planted there by his Creator, which makes him aspire to freedom as the sparks fly upward. And so far, there have always been some who have kept the faith and surrendered not to fear.

Behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains there are millions who would give their lives if they thought that by so doing their children would inherit the freedom they remember. How better assist our enemy and extinguish what hope remains in the hearts of those sad prisoners than to continue compromise, to appease the unappeasable, to prop up their masters' regimes by providing so-called consumer goods so their industry need not be diverted from munitions production? How better, indeed, to mock the sacrifices of 40,000 young Americans, dead in Korea, than to recognize or admit to the community of civilized nations the obscenely inhuman government which encompassed their tortured deaths?

The road to the peace and security for which we hope and pray is long and hard and rocky, an uphill haul all the way. that long file of men in whose footsteps we have marched and whose best examples we have striven to emulate left unfading route markers for us to follow. The first is recogmarkers for us to follow.

nition of the danger in which we live. The third demands determination to build and maintain our strength, regardless of immediate costs to us, so that no foe will dare assault our ramparts nor attack those who take shelter under the banner Key sang of 150 years ago. Fourth and most vital of all is the personal rededication of every one of us to the principles upon which this Nation has stood; a fundamental belief in God; of firm adherence to the right as He gives us to see the right; and end to the false and cowardly hopes that there can be any lasting, successful compromise with evil.

You are all men who subscribed to a solemn oath to defend our Constitution and this Republic against all enemies, foreign and domestic. There was a period put to your term of service but no term to the binding nature of your obligation which you carry all your life. When you go home from this convention, don't just fadeaway. Use your influence, your prestige in your com-munities to build firm support for our Government's policies of strength and firmness. Help teach the youth of our country to be proud to be Americans. Instill in them the courage to stand with the patriots against those who would surrender our God-given sovereignty, our freedom, and our country's future for some surcease from strugglepeace and trade in our time."

Teach them that guarding the ramparts of freedom demands courage and sacrifice, some surrender of the ease and comfort of our lives. Teach them that freedom is a heavy load and liberty a heady wine, fit only for men strong in courage and faith. Make them see with Patrick Henry, who I will quote again, that "millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty—are invincible by

any force which our enemy can send against We shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of men and of nations. The battle, sirs, is not to the strong alone. It is to the active, the vigilant, the brave." Like those men of our Nation's infancy, we have, as Henry said, "no election—it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat, but in submission and slavery.'

We started this meeting tonight with a prayer, by pledging anew our allegiance to the flag and to the Republic. We stood at attention while the music sounded off with the ever-stirring strains of the Star-Spangled Banner. Let us go out from here, determined as ever, to keep that banner flying high and beautiful above the ramparts we guard.

One Hundred and Four United States Lending Agencies; Surely a Few Too Many

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the Hoover Commission has performed an important service in pointing up inefficiency, overlapping, and wasteful practices in the operation of our Government. Its latest report in dealing with the great number of lending agencies is one that can prove highly controversial, but the fact remains that the condition it complains of does exist and should be remedied.

I include as part of my remarks a very well written and logical editorial appearing in the Courier-Post newspapers, published at Camden, N. J., that makes plain there is a justification for some. if not all, of the recommendations that the Commission has made. It reads as follows:

ONE HUNDRED AND FOUR UNITED STATES LEND-ING AGENCIES; SURELY A FEW TOO MANY?

The latest report of the Hoover Commission covers a great amount of territory and will require a great deal of legislating if all its recommendations are to be put in effect. It is entirely safe to say this will not be

done.

"Certain parts of the report * * * appeared certain to stir up much controversy says the dispatch from Washington which summarizes it. And that is an understatement if there ever was one. It is interesting that 5 members of the 12-man Commission dissent from various parts of the report.

Broadly speaking, the report urges that the 104—that's right, 104—lending and insuring agencies of the Government be reorganized, with many of them being abolished and those that are retained being made to pay their

own way. Lending or insuring loans "is a function Which the Government should undertake only when private enterprise cannot or will perform the function, and then only in furtherance of a justifiable governmental Purpose," the Commission says.

The report specifically asks the liquidation of more than a dozen Government agencies which, it says, have served useful purposes but are no longer needed. It urges the reorganization of a number of others, including such big ones as the Federal Housing Administration and the Rural Electrification Administration, so that they will be self-sup-porting, better managed, and integrated with

the private-enterprise system.

On some other agencies, the report refuses to pass judgment. For instance, it offers the opinion that the Small Business Administration has outlived its usefulness and should be abolished, but recommends that its life be extended for 2 more years to demonstrate its worth or lack of same.

The report is conservative in its financial policies.

For example, it praises the FHA for a sig-nificant contribution to home financing and to the sustained high level of construction activity in this country.

But it questions the adequacy of its mortgage-insurance reserves and also questions its practice of permitting extremely low payments on the purchase of homes, a criticism which has been made frequently in recent months. The report says low downpayments on homes have not yet caused any trouble, but might do so in the event of a period of defiation or general decline, and goes on to recommend that the President be authorized to increase such payments on mortgages insured by the FHA.

The report criticizes the Export-Import Bank for making commercial short-term loans and says it should confine itself to longterm loans to foreign governments, financed through congressional appropriations.

The Commission skirts the issue of flexible versus rigid farm-price supports but proposes changes in the methods by which prices are supported, the basic change being designed to have farmers' loans made by private sources instead of by the Government. It also wants the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation to charge premiums sufficient to cover administrative expenses and losses and to provide reserves, advice not likely to be heeded by a politically minded Congress which at present is trying to reinstate high, rigid supports for the flexible system.

Federal loans, guaranties, and commitments through its lending and insuring agencies now total an astronomical \$244 billion, the report says. The Commission says its recommendations would effect substantial reductions in the national debt and governmental operating expenses.

Another result of following the recommended program, the report says, would be to restore control of the purse to Congresssomething which ought to appeal to that body.

But probably there will be objections raised to every one of the many recommendations in this report.

All the agencies whose abolition or merger is proposed will have their friends and defenders who will fight for them to the last ditch.

It is startling to think that 42 years ago we had not a single 1 of these 104 financial agencies, however, and it is reasonable to suppose we could get along without some of them, as the report urges.

Gibbering Yalta Ghosts Can Now Be Laid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Louisville Courier-Journal of March 18, 1955:

GIBBERING YALTA GHOSTS CAN NOW BE LAID-PAPERS BEARING ON THE CELEBRATED PACT, NOW SUDDENLY, GRACELESSLY RELEASED, SHOW ERRORS OF JUDGMENT, NOT BETRAYAL

Raymond Gram Swing noted back in 1949 that "Yalta has almost ceased to be the name of something historically measurable and has become a byword for failure, folly or trea-

That was the year when the late Senator Taft raised the charge that it was the Yalta pact that "divided the world into two sections," Neither he nor the chorus of critics who joined his outcry ever discussed Yalta in terms of honest human error. They presented it instead in terms of human perfidy. of dark and secret betrayal. It never dis-turbed such orators that a Roosevelt "plot" to sell out the West to communism at Yalta would have involved perforce a joint crime on the part of Winston Churchill.

Yalta has been used as a club to demolish the memory of Franklin D. Roosevelt as a

leader of America and of the free world.

Now at last the Yalta papers are released.

The action of the State Department is sudden, awkward and graceless, giving to the press the task of digesting a 500,000-word record to meet an immediate deadline.

Yet at least the record is now in the public domain, so that Yalta can become "something historically measurable." Even from the hasty stories huddled together by Washington reporters, some facts begin to emerge out of the poison vapors that have so long shrouded the conference on the Black Sea,

1. The secret sections of the agreement are shown to have related only to the terms by which Russia was to enter the war against Japan, and to the acceptance of Stalin's demand that Russia be granted 3 seats instead of 1 in the U. N. General Assembly.

The Far Eastern arrangements had to be kept secret because Chiang Kai-shek, whose interests were plainly involved, was unhappily not at Yalta as he had been, by Roosevelt's insistence, at the Cairo Conference. Russia was granted return of territories wrung from her by Japan in 1904, plus the Kuriles, some rocky islands with a population of 4,400, which had long been in dispute between the two nations. These arrangements and an agreement on Russian rights in Manchuria were later cleared with Chiang, who ratified them in a treaty of friendship with the Soviets.

These concessions were made to Stalin against a background of grave doubt about the war against Japan.

The first atom bomb was not successfully exploded at our desert testing grounds until 4 months after Yalta. The British-American Chiefs of Staff had advised their principals that they expected another 18 months of war with Japan after Germany surrendered. American plans for an invasion of the rugged Japanese home islands carried a military estimate of a million United States casualtles on the landing beaches. Japan had 1,950,000 men still on the mainland of Asia. Only Russia could tie them up there in the event of an allied invasion of Japan.

As to the concession to Russia on General Assembly seats, it was not announced because F. D. R. freely admitted that he found it "embarrassing." He wanted time to explain it to congressional leaders of both parties. It was this concession that Stalin insisted upon in return for Russian entry into the United Nations. No American has ever liked the agreement, but it would be idle to argue that the two extra votes have had the slightest effect on U. N. decisions from that day to this.

2. The agreements affecting the nations of central and eastern Europe were never secret from the beginning. The Yalta pact pledged the earliest possible establishment, through free elections, of governments responsive to the will of the people in these countries. It was Russia's later refusal to honor the pledge, not the pledge itself, that caused the Iron Curtain to fall around the western edges of the satellite nations.

This is the painful truth that faced the Eisenhower administration in 1953. The new government tried to carry out a campaign pledge to renounce secret understandings with foreign governments which permit enslavement. A look at the Yaita pact showed that the agreements on Europe were not secret. There was nothing in their terms to permit enslavement. It was Russia's repudiation of her Yaita pledge that led millions of Europeans into Red bondage.

3. The idea that Stalin got everything he asked for at Yalta is dead. The papers show that he caterwauled for Russian rights in the Dardanelles and in Iran, without getting the slightest result from F. D. R. and Winston.

4. The theory that Alger Hiss was the secret master at Yalta is exploded. The documents show that Roosevelt did not want Hiss or any other State Department advisers at his level on the trip, but was persuaded to take them by Edward R. Stettinius, former board chairman of United States Steel, who became Secretary of State. "Nowhere do the documents indicate that Hiss was a policymaker," writes W. H. Lawrence of the New York Times. "He was there as a technician."

The very name of Yalta has become heavily encrusted with myth and mystery since 1945. But when the pact was first announced, Herbert Hoover rose to tell a Lincoln Day audience in New York that Yalta was a strong foundation on which to rebuild the world. Governor Dewey hailed it as a real contribution to future peace. Churchill's report on Yalta drew a vote of confidence of 613 to 0 in the House of Commons.

It was later that the foundations of peace which Roosevelt and Churchill tried to establish at Yalta were undermined by Stalin's breaking his word.

It is easy to say now that the western leaders should have anticipated Russian perfidy and forestalled it by sending in their troops to occupy all of Central Europe. It is more difficult to see how they could have kept them there after the end of the war, in the joyous atmosphere of "bring the boys home" that prevailed. It is downright impossible, in the light of the papers now released, to argue with honesty that Roosevelt or Churchill willfully betrayed the West into Stalin's hands at Yalta.

What is left in the papers, then? There are fascinating tidbits for nibbling by future generation of historians. There are evidences of indiscretion, such as Roosevelt's tasteless remark about Wendell Wilkie's death and Churchill's easy comment that "I don't much like the Poles myself." But there is at least equal indiscretion from the stony lips of Stalin. His scorn of France and his insistence that the whole nation "opened the gates to the enemy" in 1940 will not make happy reading for French Communists even today.

Beyond that, there is a fascinationg if not editying picture of three historic figures sparring with each other, letting down their hair, voicing their personal prejudices, riding their pet hobbies. There is an air of joshing intimacy between Roosevelt and Churchill that must have left Stalin sometimes staring in disbelief at his translator. There is proof that the two leaders of the West had very different views about the future of colonialism after the war.

There are human foibles and failings in plain evidence in the actions of two men who bore the weight of the West on their shoulders. There are mints of Stalin's deep and soulless cynicism, of his ruthless, but also, at moments, of a rugged humor that makes him seem human after all.

These and many other matters of interest, but not of great significance, will be dredged up from the long-submerged depths of the Yalta record. There are evidences here of miscalculations, easy to condemn with the 20-20 vision of hindsight. But traces of treason on the part of the chosen leaders of the West? None whatsoever.

Protesting Comptroller's Approval of Bank Mergers—Letter From Comptroller of Currency Approving Proposed Merger of National City Bank-First National Bank of New York and Nine Other Bank Mergers in Nearby Long Island

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under date of March 2, 1955, I protested to the Comptroller of the Currency regarding the contemplated merger of the Nation's second largest bank, the National City Bank of New York, with the First Na-tional Bank of New York. I also asked him to withhold his approval of the proposed mergers of the Franklin National Bank with the First National of Mineola, First National of Glencoe, Roslyn National, and Nassau County Trust; and the merger of the Meadowbrook National Bank with the New Hyde Park, National City Bank of Long Beach, Baldwin National Bank, and People State Bank of Baldwin.

I pointed out that the National City-First National merger together with the recently announced merger agreements of the Chase-Manhattan-Bronx, and the Bankers Trust-Public National—all of New York City—constituted the three largest in the history of our country in terms of total deposits. I argued that such mergers tended to create a monopoly and to substantially lessen competition in that section of the country and that such mergers were, therefore, at odds with the whole intent and policy of our antimonopoly and antitrust laws.

I also pointed out to the Comptroller that the Franklin National mergers and the Meadowbrook mergers would give those 2 banks control over 60 percent of all the banking deposits in Nassau County. This percentage figure is inordinately large, and accentuates the comparative weakness of the remaining smaller banking institutions and points up how increasingly difficult, if not impossible, it would be for them to compete.

The text of the letter of Comptroller of the Currency Ray M. Gidney and my answer to him follows:

COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY, March 14, 1955.

Hon. EMANUEL CELLER.

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CELLER: I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of March 2, 1955, which has been read with interest. I appreciate having your views on a matter that has been receiving our serious attentations.

tion. Your letter raises the question of whether certain proposed bank mergers in the metropolitan area of New York City will violate the intent or policy expressed in section 7 of the Clayton Act or other antitrust laws.

In determining whether the approval of this office will be given to any merger or consolidation, the Comptroller considers, among other things, how the proposed merger will affect the particular banks involved, the soundness of the national banking system, and the convenience and needs of the community concerned. There may be a technical question as to the specific application of section 7 of the Clayton Act to these mergers. However, it has been the practice of the Comptroller before giving his approval to determine whether the effect of the merger, "in any section of the country * * may be substantially to lessen competition, or to tend to create a monopoly."

The Comptroller is aware of the recent mergers both within and beyond his jurisdiction and has studied the mergers presented for his approval to determine whether individually or collectively they tend to establish or give impetus to any existing trend which would have an adverse effect upon competition among banks.

The competitive area of the merging banks in Nassau County to which you have referred may for all practical purposes be defined as including all of Long Island and the Borough of Manhattan in New York City. However, in the case of the proposed merger of National City and First National, we have considered the problem as it may affect both the metropolitan area and nationwide competition among banks.

Our examination of the proposed National City-First National merger indicates that this merger would add vitality to competitive banking in New York by combining the diversified operations of National City with the specialized operations of First National.

Essentially, these two banks conduct different types of business. First National has specialized in a relatively small number of large corporate relationships and has not engaged in providing banking services to businesses and individuals of more moderate financial means. It has no domestic or foreign branches. National City, on the other hand, has 71 domestic and 57 overseas branches and is engaged in extensive foreign banking transactions. It finances trade and other commercial activities. A significant portion of its business is in the field of consumer credit and other banking services to individuals and small businesses. The competition between these two banks, in character of business and in services rendered, is

The attached schedules show the competitive position of the banks concerned, both prior and subsequent to the proposed merger. For example, in the metropolitan area, National City has 10.52 percent of the total deposits as against 11.7 percent after the merger, an increase of only 1.18 percent.

In comparison with other banks engaged in a nationwide business, National City's deposits amount to 7.5 percent of the total deposits of such banks, while after the merger the combined deposits will amount to 8.34 percent of the total, an increase of 0.84 percent. (For the purpose of this study only banks with total assets of over \$500 million were assumed to be engaged in nationwide banking; there are, of course, other banks which are in competition for nationwide business with National City, in varying degrees.)

In the New York area, National City has outstanding, 8.59 percent of the total loans. This figure refers to bank loans and does not include loans made by other types of competing financial institutions. The addition of First National loans to those of National

City will increase the latter's percentage to 9.58 percent of the total, an increase of 0.99 percent

In comparison with banks engaged in a nationwide banking business National City has 7 percent of the total loans and with the addition of those of First National the continuing bank will have 7.81 percent, or

an increase of 0.81 percent.

It should also be noted that as a result of the proposed merger the National City bank will add only 1 banking office, and will, as a result, increase its total number of banking offices to 73 out of a total of 732 Offices in the city of New York alone.

Accordingly, upon a study of the pertinent facts, the Comptroller has concluded that the proposed National City-First National merger will not violate the spirit or policy embodied in section 7 of the Clayton Act or other antitrust laws of the United States.

The mergers in Nassau County to which You refer do not either individually or collectively establish any substantial lessening of competition nor do they tend to create a monopoly. In fact an analysis of the banking business in that area discloses that the growth of certain banks in Nassau County was a necessary development if any local banks were to meet the competition of the larger New York City banks for the expanding industrial business of the Long Island

While it is true that the 2 largest banks in Nassau County have 60 percent of the deposits of all county banks, this figure does not indicate a true picture of the competitive situation as it affects these banks. Nassau County banks are in direct competition for deposits, and all banking business, with banks in New York City. The deposits in these banks as compared to the total savings and commercial deposits of all Nassau depositors in all banks would not approach 60 percent. It is our opinion that but for the mergers involving the two large Nassau County banks of which you speak, local banks would have a considerably smaller percentage of the banking business originating in Nassau County than they now enjoy. The increase in size has increased the ability of these two banks to compete with the larger New York City banks both in service and loaning ability.

An examination of the attached Schedule

E indicates that Franklin National has 0.66 percent of the deposits and 0.77 percent of the loans of banks in its competitive area, while the Meadowbrook National had (before its two most recent mergers, which were effective on March 4) 0.34 percent of the deposits and 0.33 percent of the loans. After the proposed mergers those percentages will be 0.78 percent and 0.88 percent for the Franklin bank. After the recently completed and proposed mergers these percentages for the Meadowbrook bank will be 0.44 percent and 0.42 percent. These figures, and par-ticularly the small amount of the increase, indicate to us that there will be no substantial lessening of competition as a result of the mergers.

Any consideration of the state of competition in the field of banking must take into account the vogorous competition offered by financial institutions other than banks, such as savings and loan associations and insurance companies. For example, savings and loan associations in Nassau County had loans of \$265,718,000 on December 31, 1954, as compared to commercial bank loans of slightly over \$404,000,000. When the impact of their activities is added to the competitive situation shown in the annexed schedules, it is even more apparent that the possible effect of these mergers upon competition is unsubstantial.

It is our conclusion that the proposed New York City and Nassau County mergers will contribute significantly to the ability of the banking institutions affected to serve the increasing needs of expanding economic activity and the millions of people who benefit by such expansion. This means the mergers should prove advantageous not only to the people of the respective areas, but also to the population of the entire metropolitan community.

There is nothing to indicate the mergers will substantially lessen the present healthy competition among banks in the New York area, or tend to create monopolies.

We share sincerely your interest in keeping abreast of the implications of current bank mergers as they pertain to the possible substantial lessening of competition in the field of banking. We shall continue to remain alert to our responsibilities to all the people of the Nation in this connection. We are constantly concerned to see that the law on this subject is strictly observed and shall give our best endeavors to keeping all mergers in which we have authority on a sound, healthy, and businesslike basis and consistent with the welfare of the greatest number of people who are served.

These particular marger proposals have been studied so exhaustively that we doubt enough new and pertinent information could be developed by hearings to justify the expense they would require. However, we would, of course, be pleased to meet at any time with you to discuss these matters further.

We value highly your views, realizing that we have the common purpose of maintaining a national banking system of unquestioned soundness and of the utmost effectiveness of its service to the public.

Yours very truly,

R. M. GIDNEY. Comptroller of the Currency.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S., COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, March 16, 1955.

Hon. RAY M. GIDNEY. Comptroller of the Currency. Department of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GIDNEY: This is to acknowledge your letter of March 14, 1955 relating to my letter concerning the recent announcements of bank mergers in the New York City area. I wish to thank you for the illuminating material which accompanied your letter and for the courtesy and thoughtful attention

you gave to my request.

As I am sure you will agree, we are both interested in having a strong, competitive banking system. Sometimes, in order to obtain banks that can stand on their own feet and provide the public with the services needed, various small, weak banks need to merge, for the purpose of forming stronger, independent banks. The reasons underlying such mergers are well known. Early in our banking history we had thousands of banks which were too small, with too little capital, with inadequate diversification of loans, and lacking specialized personnel, and as a result they were unable to weather economic storms of even moderate magnitudes. In order to secure more capital, greater diversification of loans, and better managements, these small banks either united with other banks or established branches. All of these reasons have been acceptable and recognized ones for bank mergers and no doubt they will continue to be valid reasons.

None, however, seem to apply in the case of the recently announced National City-First National Bank merger. I have looked in vain in your memorandum for evidence on any of these points. You concede that National City is both strong and diversified; you include data which shows First National not only to be one of the larger banks in New York City but also one which is getting along so well that it is among the high profit earners in that area. No statement is made to the effect that First National suffered from

inadequate capital or lack of diversification of its loans or for lack of well-qualified, specialized personnel. You mention that it will now, as a result of the merger, possess foreign and domestic branches, and that it will be able to go into the field of consumer credit, but you fail to point out that we have hundreds of strong banks with no foreign branches, nor do you indicate assurance that going into the field of consumer credit will add appreciably to the strength of the bank. In these, as in some other respects, I find your letetr disappointingly inadequate.

I am sure your devotion to the American system of free competitive enterprise is as strong as mine and that you wish, in the public interest, to preserve competition. are as disturbed, I am sure, as I am about the fact that in the New York area there have been 14 mergers in the last 7 years, as a result of which there has been the elimination of many strong, vigorous, competing banks.

A notable example has been the elimination of the Corn Exchange Trust Co., in its merger with the Chemical Bank & Trust Co. Since the first of January we have had the merger announcements of the Chase National Bank with the Bank of the Manhattan Co., the Bankers Trust with the Public National Bank, the National City Bank, mentioned above, with the First National Bank—all located in New York City-which constitute, in terms of total deposits, the three largest banking mergers in the history of our country. If the present mergers are approved, an all-powerful oligopoly made up of the justenumerated banks and the Manufacturers Trust (itself the result of some 80 mergers and consolidations over the years) will have a stranglehold on New York banking facilities. The businessman and the merchant will be at the mercy of the financial colossi, which, because of the lack of competition, will be able to set the standards providing for their best interest, to the detriment of small banks, small-business men, and other customers. The Chase National Bank, which is presently the second largest bank in New York City, does not need the banking offices of one of its large competitors to render to the public the service for which it was organized. The principal value obtained by a large bank in acquiring a competing bank and merging with it is the elimination of the competitor, and in the instant case, the strengthening of an already all-powerful position of a large banking institution.

Your letter notes that, as a result of their eight recent mergers, the Franklin National and the Meadowbrook Banks of nearby Nassau County, Long Island, will have together over 60 percent of all the deposits of all the banks in that county. While these figures are inordinately large, you feel that such expansion is justified in order that those banks may meet the competition of the larger New York City banks. Such a position seems to me to be incongrous. It would mean that most banks in counties nigh unto New York City could or should merge, regardless of consequences. position offers the greatest encouragement for banks in Nassau, Westchester, and Putnam counties and the nearby counties in New Jersey and Connecticut, to merge with each other.

Any banks which control 60 percent of the deposits of a county are breeding, for practical purposes, a monopoly. violates the very purpose of our antitrust laws and the underlying policies of the Celler Antimerger Act. I believe you are being negligent in your duty by failing to stop mergers which tend to create monopolies. To my mind, these mergers, taken collectively with the recent gigantic mergers in New York City, can only have an adverse effect upon competition among banks in that area. The present merger trend serves to accentuate the comparative weakiness of the remaining, smaller banking institutions and points up how it is becoming increasingly difficult, if not impossible, for them to

compete.

the present trend is not stopped, obviously there will ultimately be but a few banks which, inevitably, as the history of banking in other countries has clearly demonstrated, will wind up in a nationalization of the banking system. We will soon be following in the footsteps of Great There, the so-called big five banks control about 75 percent of England's financial resources. Competition is not only lessened, but, corespondingly, the economy is depressed and cartelized.

If you, at the Federal level, will step into the breach and arrest this trend toward socialism, you will render statesmanlike service and set a sterling example for the banking officials of our various States, including the State of New York, in alerting them to the dangers inherent in these combinations.

Very sincerely yours, EMANUEL CELLER,

Chairman.

Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen in California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday of this week the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen in my State is having a unique celebration. And one of my best friends, a person I have been associated with over a period of years, is a major part of that celebration. He is Harry See, national legislative representative of the brotherhood in Washington, with offices just down the street in the Labor Building.

I have known Harry See for the past 20 years, having first met him when I was a member of the lower house of the California legislature. At that time he was the California legislative representative of the brotherhood.

On March 24 lodge 71 of the brotherhood, located in my Congressional District at Oakland, will celebrate the 70th anniversary of its institution. Simultaneously lodge 1019 of the brotherhood, located in San Francisco, will celebrate its 10th anniversary. To complete the tripartite nature of the commemoration, Harry See will have been a member of the brotherhood 40 years on the same date.

This is a "Harry See affair" in just about every respect, as I learn that he was initiated into the brotherhood by lodge 71, and holds his present membership in lodge 1019, which also bears his name. During the celebration officers of the brotherhood will present him with his 40-year continuous membership em-

It has been my pleasure to work with the brotherhood both in California and in Washington on matters of special interest to railroad workers and their families, and I do not hesitate to say that my entire association with the Brotherhood and its officers has been pleasant and fruitful. I think it fitting to pause for a moment to pay tribute to a truly great labor organization, and to one of its outstanding officers.

Thirty-Seventh Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, I include the following address by Mr. Walter V. Chopyk, public relations director, Buffalo chapter, Ukrainian Congress Committee, on the occasion of the 37th observance of the independence of Lithuania, Sunday, February 27, 1955, International Institute of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Mr. Chairman, our distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, this evening, I again bring you greetings, from the Buffalo chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee, on your 37th anniversary of Lithuanian independence.

Needless to say, we feel with you this day, we know the pains Lithuania has suffered, Americans of Ukrainian descent have suffered with you. We have not only sympathy and sincere understanding of this great day, we have a very real empathy in a problem of great, immediate, and mutual concern.

This evening, as an American of Ukrainian descent, exercising that cherished privilege of free speech in a free country, I speak both as an individual, and as a spokesman for the millions, and I mean 45 millions, all Ukrainians behind the Iron Curtain. These 45 million people are still hoping and praying for the day of deliverance from Red imperialism, with their millions of brothers and sisters in the Baltic prison of nations. They are all waiting and watching for that ray of hope, that spark of light, they are looking to us, the Western democracles, we who could and should lead the way toward freedom of mind, freedom of soul, and the complete freedom of the human being.

But that beam of light, that ray of hope, is not forthcoming. Let us examine and study our own democracy in the United States. Are we trying to light that spark of freedom for these imprisoned peoples, or are we unknowingly snuffing out the light for which they have been waiting?

1. Let us study for a moment, the Ezra Taft Benson plan, which consists of virtually dumping American agricultural surpluses behind the Iron Curtain; and now, according to the latest reports, the National Grange is concurring in this action. This means simply and logically, that we would indirectly be furnishing food to the Soviet Army and the Red Chinese Army, and not to the peasantry. Do not Mr. Benson, our Secretary of Agriculture, and the National Grange realize that for 12 years, the Soviet hierarchy has felt the powerful existence of nationalism in the Ukraine-exemplified by underground and political propaganda activitythe silent battle—the silent protest—the slow, the subtle, low production of grain in the "breadbasket of the world," a low production of grain for the Soviet war machine. Grain to feed the hungry mouths of the evergrowing Soviet and Red Chinese war machines, is planningfully and knowingly diminishing. What do we mean by this? We mean simply this. The Ukraine underground has planned, and is carrying out this

plan, to slow up the production of grain, the one commodity that can successfully finance a war-any war. A hungry man cannot shoot a bullet.

Now do Mr. Benson, and the National Grange know why the Soviets are deeply concerned, and have to focus more attention upon their internal conditions? They know if grain is not produced in sufficient quantities for their armies, they certainly cannot operate tactical warfare on an empty stomach. The Soviets may have the latest atomic weapons, but these are useless, in the hands of a hungry man.

Let us give credit to these underground or-

ganizations behind the Iron Curtain. They are producing headaches for the Soviet

Union-but not grain.

Fellow Americans, let's face it. That is one of the reasons for the very recent shakeup in the Kremlin. Those boys that were in charge could not shape up—so they were shipped out. They just had to change seats. This past week, dispatches tell of hurried visits into the Ukraine by Soviet agents, who preached to the people on collectivized farms, that more and greater production of grain was urgently and immediately needed. They further emphasized the greater care toward agricultural implements. Is this why there has been such a change of emphasis in manufacturing? Is this why the immediate emphasis in heavy manufacturing is so concentrated and seemingly so urgent? Now do Mr. Benson, and the National Grange wish to spoil the effectiveness of the hard work and careful planning of the underground activities of these freedom-seeking people, by furnishing indirectly, food to the Soviet war machine and the Red Chinese Army camps? Are they unaware that the shipping of these surplus foods and grains will destroy the moral spirit and hope, that spark of light, of these courageous peoplesmillions of them, whom some day we will need as our natural allies behind the Iron Curtain? Secondly, another method that our Government unknowingly, and we do hope it is unknowingly, is using in snuffing out that light of hope is by our weak diplomatic strategy in China. Our State Department is floundering, like a cork on the ocean, They don't know whether they are coming or going. Were they to develop a big-fist attitude, there, they would succeed. The Soviets know one thing—strength. An attitude of this type would set them where they belong.

In conclusion, I believe these to be our

only courses of action:
1. To protest the shipment of food and surplus grain to the Soviet war machine, which would destroy and upset the timetable of the undergrounds behind the Iron Curtain, and stifle the sources of patriotic resistance in the Red empire.

2. Make a definite statement of a consistpolicy of strength in regard to Red China. Show them we mean business

Now is the time for answers-not laterit might be too late.

I thank you.

The American Legion and the American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. ALLEN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ALLEN of California. Mr. Speaker, during the past 8 years in which I have served as a member of the Com-

mittee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives, I have come to know the organizations which in the national interest have given constructive, unselfish support to the building of a strong American merchant marine. Among the foremost of these organizations has been the American Legion and its merchant marine committee. It seemed to me very appropriate, therefore, when, on the anniversary of the birthday of the American Legion on March 17, the American Merchant Marine Institute sent congratulatory telegrams to both the Legion and its merchant marine committee. The gratitude of the industry to the American Legion was well earned.

A news release dated March 18 concerning the messages was made by the American Merchant Marine Institute. It reads as follows:

The American Merchant Marine Institute released for publication March 18 two telegrams sent March 17 (Thursday) congratulating the American Legion on its birthday.

R. J. Baker, secretary-treasurer of the shipping trade association, halled the Legion's efforts on behalf of a strong American merchant marine in the congratulatory messages. The telegrams were sent to Seaborn P. Collins, Indianapolis, national commander, and Henry C. Parke, Brooklyn, chalrman of the Legion's merchant marine committee. The telegrams are as follows:

"SEABORN P. COLLINS,

"National Commander, the American Legion, Indianapolis, Ind.:

"The American merchant marine wishes to extend its best wishes to the American Legion today on the anniversary of its founding. The American Legion's birthday is an important date for every American to remember. We take this occasion to repeat our gratitude to the American Legion for its long-time policy of support and encouragement for America's privately owned and operated American merchant marine, vital in peace and in war.

"R. J. Baker,
"Secretary-Treasurer American
Merchant Marine Institute."

"HENRY C. PARKE,

"Chairman, Merchant Marine Committee, the American Legion:

"The American merchant marine is happy to extend its congratulations today to the American Legion as a whole and to you, representing the merchant marine committee of the American Legion. Please accept our most sincere thanks for your tireless efforts and great service on behalf of a strong America and a strong American merchant marine, vital in peace as in war.

"R. J. BAKER,

"R. J. Baker,
"Secretary-Treasurer, American
Merchant Marine Institute."

To Save the Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting in the Appendix of the Record an article by Frank E. Holman reprinted from the Freeman of March 1955, as follows:

To Save the Constitution (By Frank E. Holman)

Until the organization of the United Nations, the average American citizen-and, in fact, most lawyers-took very little interest in treaties between the United States and foreign countries. This lack of interest was understandable because usually a treaty dealt with some international subject, such as alliances, war and peace, questions of boundaries, trade agreements and like matters. We viewed treatymaking as the sole business of the State Department, the President and the Senate, and assumed that treaties and other international engagements could not result in any substantial infringement of our individual rights as citizens and could not possibly result in changing or destroying the American form of government.

When the United Nations was organized in

When the United Nations was organized in San Francisco in 1945, there was included in the charter (art. 2, subpar. 7) a proviso as

ollows:

"Nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present charter."

This was a specific limitation upon the powers of the United Nations, and by reason thereof nothing contained in the charter should have been construed as authorizing intervention by the United Nations or its agencies in the domestic affairs of a member State—hence, in the domestic law of the United States or any other member State. Without some such protective proviso, the charter would certainly not have been approved by the American people nor ratified by the United States Senate; and it would not, in all probability, have been approved by many of the other important countries of the world.

When the charter was submitted to the United States Senate for ratification, it was accompanied by a letter from Mr. Stettinius, then Secretary of State, in which he called attention to the foregoing principle and advised the Senate and the American people that they need not be concerned about the United Nations or its agencies interfering in the domestic affairs of the American people.

One of the six "principal organs" specified in the U. N. Charter was the Economic and Social Council. In 1946, as a subagency of this Council, a Commission on Human Rights was appointed. It soon became evident that through the Economic and Social Council and its subagency, the Commission on Human Rights, the Socialists and Communists and the international planners and dogooders, both at home and abroad, proposed to reform and remake the world along the lines of so-called social and economic equality for all the peoples of the world-and to do this through declarations, pacts, covenants, treaties, etc., and thus to create a body of "treaty law" or world law which would be superior to and override the domestic laws of the member States, including the United States.

TREATIES AS WORLD LAW

The first definite step for creating and establishing this body of world law was taken early in 1947 with the announcement by the Commission on Human Rights that it proposed to draft two documents, a Declaration of Human Rights and a Covenant on Human Rights (the latter to be ratified as a treaty), for the purpose of establishing for all the peoples of the world a uniform system of individual rights regardless of the nature and character of such rights as already established by the national law and usage in each particular country.

This was, of course, a revolutionary program and was so recognized by the first Director of the Commission, Mr. John P. Humphrey, who publicly and boldly declared:

"What the United Nations is trying to do is revolutionary in character. Human rights are largely a matter of relationships between the State and individuals, and therefore a matter which has been traditionally regarded as being within the domestic jurisdiction of States. What is now being proposed is, in effect, the creation of some kind of supernational supervision of this relationship between the State and its citizens." (The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January 1948.)

This program was, of course, in violation of article 2, subparagraph 7 of the charter and the assurances made by Mr. Stettinius and others for the purpose of securing ratification of the Charter. At the time neither the American press nor the public knew much about this revolutionary plan. Our so-called bipartisan foreign policy was chiefly respon-sible for preventing the American public from being advised; the leaders of both parties just assumed that because these international proposals had fine, high-sounding names—"Human Rights," "Equality of All Peoples," "Prevention of so-called Genocide," etc.—their purpose and content would not conflict with American concepts of political and economic freedom, as fixed by our own Constitution and Bill of Rights.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOOLED

When the declaration was passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations, meeting in Paris in December 1948, there was no copy of the final draft available in this country for study or comment by the press or by responsible nongovernment organizations. In November, as president of the American Bar Association, I wrote the Secretary of State, Gen. George C. Marshall, in Paris, and thereafter wrote and cabled Mr. John Foster Dulles, and Senator Arthur Vandenberg, asking that, before final action in Paris, the United States delegation should request sufficient time for the American people to be advised of what was being ap-proved in their behalf. The naive answer proved in their behalf. The naive answer was to the effect that if the American people and American lawyers would think of the declaration as analogous to our own Declaration of Independence, then they would not be disturbed because, like our own Declaration of Independence, the Declaration on Human Rights was only a declaration of principles and not intended to be a legal document. This was not an accurate nor a reassuring answer.

First, there was no possible analogy between a declaration of independence which originated with the people themselves as a recital of grievances and a declaration of principles for which they were ready to fight and die to obtain independence, and a declaration in the form of pious compromises by a multination assembly in Paris assuming to act for the people of this country without the people's knowledge or consent.

Moreover, an examination of the document, when available, disclosed that the provisions of the declaration, particularly of the latter half, constituted an attempt to set up a socialistic if not a communistic concept of government for the peoples of the world, including the United States. In this respect, of course, the declaration failed in any way to conform to the traditions, the laws and sentiments of the American people.

In the dying hours of the same session of the General Assembly in Paris in December 1948, there was also adopted a document known as the Genocide Convention. This was also given little or no publicity by our State Department. On June 16, 1949, it was first submitted by President Truman to the United States Senate for ratification. Largely due to the studies and the opposition of the American Bar Association, it was not ratified. Nevertheless, during his administration, President Truman and the Acheson State Department continued to urge its ratification.

At a hearing in January 1950, before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, members of the American Bar Association committee on peace and law through the United Nations appeared and pointed out the serious dangers and loopholes in its content and also the failure of its language to include "genocide" committed by governments—as, for example, the liquidation of racial and other groups in Russia and Russian satellite countries by merely calling them political groups or enemies of the state. At Russia's insistence all reference to political groups was eliminated from the final text.

It was also established that the document was so badly drawn as to endanger American basic rights. As a result, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee pigeonholed the Genocide Convention. It has remained unratified, but it can be brought forth at any time by any President and submitted for ratification.

Meanwhile, the Commission on Human Rights has been busy drafting a covenant on human rights for controlling the social, economic, educational, and cultural affairs of the world, and for this purpose has held literally hundreds of meetings. In addition, innumerable other "treaty" proposals have been considered, which would change or adversely affect the American concept of basic rights, such as freedom of speech and of press and even freedom of religion. It is of the utmost importance to note that again and again the Commission on Human Rights has refused to approve the inclusion in the covenant of a provision covering the basic American right to own private property and be secure in its enjoyment against its arbitrary seizure by government.

This refusal of itself discloses and proves

This refusal of itself discloses and proves the extent to which the Commission is controlled by Communists and international Socialists. On March 3, 1954, over only United States and Turkish objections, the 18-nation Commission voted to shelve indefinitely all discussion of property rights. Under our concept of freedom, no man can be truly free who lacks the right to own property and be secure in its enjoyment against

arbitrary seizure by government.

The chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, Charles Malik, of Lebanon, had this to say of the Commission's Socialist and Communist approach to its work:

"I think a study of our proceedings will reveal that the amendments we adopted to the old texts under examination responded for the most part more to Soviet than to Western promptings. For the second year an unsuccessful attempt was made to include an article on the right to own property.

* * The concept of property and its ownership is at the heart of the great ideological conflict of the present day * * . It seems incredible that in these economic matters, which reflect indeed much more than mere economic divergencies, the Western World is so divided itself as to be incapable of presenting a common front against communism."

What are the matters embraced in these U. N. treaty proposals? They cover matters of education, the kind of teaching and textbooks to be adopted in our public school systems; social legislation; health and socialized medicine; and numerous other matters, including a proposal to establish an international criminal court to try American citizens in a court made up to a large extent, if not entirely, of foreigners—a plan under which American citizens could be transported overseas for trial and would be deprived of the safeguards accorded them in the Constitution of this country.

of this country.
Some will ask, "But do not our Constitution and Bill of Rights now safeguard American rights in all the foregoing particulars?" Unfortunately, no—unless the Constitution is properly amended. Until recent years Americans were entitled to rely on the propo-

sition that, in conformity to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, their laws were made and to be made for them either by act of Congress or by State legislation or local city and county ordinances—to all of which agencies the people have the right to elect their own representatives.

But, since the term "treaty" is not limited nor defined in the Constitution, men in power with ingenious minds eventually discovered that this was a loophole whereby what was otherwise unconstitutional could be made constitutional by first making a treaty on the subject. This new theory or, doctrine was affirmed in 1920 by the Supreme Court of the United States—Missouri v. Holland (252 U.S. 416, 432). The doctrine of this case is simply that if the Federal Government does not have power under the Constitution to legislate with respect to a particular subject (one reserved to the States or to the people), it can acquire that power by the simple device of first making a treaty on the subject-in spite of the 10th amendment's reserving to the States and to the people all powers not delegated by the Constitution to the Federal Government. This decision then and there established "a third legislative branch of government [for the American pepole] composed of the President and some foreign nation, with a veto vested in the Senate, which is authorized to enact local police regulations governing the affairs of our citizens." (11 California Law Review, 242, 1922.)

TREATIES UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

When the Constitution was written, and by article VI thereof a treaty was declared to be the "supreme law of the land," it was clearly not contemplated that a treaty could be used to make domestic law or to override the Constitution either by an expansion of Federal power or otherwise.

Jefferson (as stated in his Parliamentary Practice, 1801) was quite clear as to the true meaning of article VI. He said:

"By the general power to make treaties, the Constitution must have intended to comprehend only those objects which are usually regulated by treaties, and cannot be otherwise regulated. It must have meant to except out all those rights reserved to the States; for surely the President and the Senate cannot do by treaty what the whole Government is interdicted from doing in any way."

Jefferson's Parliamentary Practice went through six editions before his death in 1826, and many more afterward. It had a great influence on political thinking and practice, being incorporated in full in Senate and House manuals as late as 1865. Jefferson's view on treaties was followed by the earlier Court cases, as illustrated by the case of New Orleans v. United States (10 Peters 662 (1836) at page 736, where the Supreme Court pointed out:

"The Government of the United States, as was well observed in the argument, is one of limited powers. It can exercise authority over no subjects except those which have been delegated to it. Congress cannot, by legislation, enlarge the Federal jurisdiction, nor can it be enlarged under the treatymaking power."

Even Hamilton, the great Federalist, said (Hamilton's Works, vol. 4, p. 342), "A treaty cannot be made which alters the Constitution of the country or which infringes any express exceptions to the power of the Constitution of the United States."

Hamilton also stated: "They [treaties] are not rules prescribed by the sovereign for the subject, but agreements between sovereign and sovereign."

CHANGED POINT OF VIEWS

There are enough expressions of opinion in United States Supreme Court decisions prior to Missouri v. Holland to indicate that up to that time treaties and treatymaking were subject to the limitations indicated by

Jefferson and Hamilton, But Missouri v. Holland repuidated one of these limitations, to wit: that Federal power cannot "be enlarged under the treatymaking power." Once this hole in the dike was opened, the concept of treaty supremacy without limitation began to grow. Thus in 1929, before the American Society of International Law, Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes was persuaded to say that there was in the Constitution "no explicit limitation" on the treaty power, and that he would "not care to voice an opinion as to an implied limitation on the treatymaking power; the Supreme Court has expressed a doubt whether there could be any such." His references were to the expression of doubt in Missouri v. Holland.

Later a strong doubt as to any limitation was expressed by the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in United States v. Reid (1934) 73 F. (2d) 153). This doubt was further increased by United States v. Curtis-Wright Corp. (1936) 299 U. S. 304), declaring that the treaty power does not depend on a grant in the Constitution but is an inherent power of the Federal Government, and indicating that the treaty power is unlimited.

With the organization of the United Nations and the announcement by Mr. John P. Humphrey, Director of the Commission on Human Rights, of the proposal of creating supernational supervision of the relationship between the State and its citizens, a new school of internationalists announced the doctrine that " . . once a matter has become, in one way or another, the subject of regulation by the United Nations, be it by resolution of the General Assembly or by convention between members states at the instance of the United Nations, that subject ceases to be a matter being 'essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the member states.' As a matter of fact, such a position represents the official view of the United Nations, as well as of the member states that have voted in favor of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Hence, neither the declaration, nor the projected convenant, nor any agreement that may be reached in the future on the machinery of implementation of human rights, can in any way be considered as violative of the letter of spirit of article 2 of the charter." (Moses Moskowitz, American Bar Association Journal, April 1949.)

In 1950, this new school of internationallists in the United Nations succeeded in getting an official declaration from the Acheson State Department that "there is now no longer any real difference between domestic and foreign affairs" (State Department Publication 3972, Foreign Affairs Policy series 26, released September 1950. Forword by President Truman).

by President Truman).

It was only logical, therefore, for Mr.

John Foster Dulles in 1952 to issue the following opinion and warning with respect to the omnipotence of treaties and "treaty law":

"The treatymaking power is an extraordinary power liable to abuse. Treaties make international law and also they make domestic law. Under our Constitution treaties become the supreme law of the land. They are indeed more supreme than ordinary laws, for congressional laws are invalid if they do not conform to the Constitution, whereas treaty laws can override the Constitution. Treaties, for example, can take powers away from the Congress and give them to the Federal Government or to some international body and they can cut across the rights given the people by the constitutional Bill of Rights."

The American people have therefore come full circle and find themselves now faced with an omnipotent instrumentality of non-representative Government: "treaty law." In the steel case we were within an eyelash of the treatymaking power's being successfully used to vest in the President the

uncontrolled power to seize private property when he thought it necessary for the good of the State. That is essentially the doctrine of absolute dictatorship.

As a result of all the foregoing, the basic issue with respect to "treaty law" is simple. The Constitution clearly intended to establish a Government of limited powers. intended, of course, that insofar as treaties dealt with international relations they should be the "supreme law of the land," but it was never intended that treaties should be omnipotent and be used to govern the American people in their domestic concerns, nor to extend Federal power, nor to override the Constitution. Since it is now boldly declared that treatles are omnipotent and can be used for all the foregoing purposes, it follows that unless this presently omnipotent power of treaties is properly limited by a constitutional amendment, the treaty process will be more and more used not only to make domestic law but to vest in the President dictatorial powers

In fact, at a press conference on March 16, 1954, Mr. Dulles said that under several presently outstanding treaties the President already had power on his own initiative and without any declaration by the Congress to put the country into war. The principles to be embodied in any adequate amendment are simple and understandable. It should, at a minimum, accomplish the following objectives.

tives:

1. Prevent a treaty or other international agreement that conflicts with any provision of the Constitution from being of any force or effect.

2. Place the United States on an equality with the other nations of the world so that a treaty or other international agreement will not become a part of our internal law until and unless implemented by appropriate

legislation.

Would such an amendment interfere with the power of the President and the Department of State to negotiate treaties and other international agreements and thus to properly conduct our foreign affairs? In no way. Under such an amendment the President would be as free to negotiate as now; and every treaty so negotiated, when ratified by the Senate, would be immediately effective as an international agreement. Such an amendment would have no restrictive force whatever on treaties as international obligations nor on the power of the President to negotiate them. It would only prevent them from violating the American Constitution and prevent them from becoming internal law within the United States until implemented by appropriate American legislation.

Would the amendment in any way affect the right of the President as Commander in Chief to conduct war, or to negotiate an armistice or perform any other acts rightly belonging to him as Commander in Chief? No. After hearing all the evidence, the Senate Judiciary Committee, by a large majority, found that such an amendment would not affect in the slightest the President's powers as Commander in Chief. Nor would it affect the right of the President to freely negotiate, and the Senate of the United States to freely ratify treaties of peace, of international cooperation, or reciprocal trade, or other beneficial treaties.

During recent years, by changes in judicial concept (both of courts and jurists) and by changed concepts in the international point of view, treaty law has become omnipotent, a kind of Frankenstein which can change and even destroy the liberties of the American people and their form of government. Thus, the need for a constitutional amendment is self-evident—except, of course, to those who believe (honestly or otherwise) that the American constitutional system and American independence are outmoded and, in the interest of mankind, in general, should yield to some form of world government. This is the choice and the issue.

Government by the Military or by Labor?

SPEECH

CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 3005) to further amend the Universal Military Training and Service Act by extending the authority to induct certain individuals, and to extend the benefits under the Dependents Assistance Act to July 1, 1959.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, conscientious, thinking, patriotic, but anxious and worried constituents ask and write inquiring whether we are to have a military or a labor government, rather than a government of, by, and for all the people.

A LABOR GOVERNMENT

Since 1935, when the Wagner Act, written in the main by a Communist, and enacted by Congress to give employees the opportunity to organize and better their working and living conditions, labor organizations have become politically powerful.

Some of their leaders, instead of confining their efforts to bettering the overall welfare of employees as did the father of organized labor, Samuel Gompers, have used the unions to advance their own political ambitions.

Through the collection of initiation fees, union dues, special assessments, and the sale of right-to-work permits, unions have accumulated millions, if not billions, of dollars. Millions of dollars of these funds have been used in political campaigns to elect to public office individuals who too often accept domination from union officials.¹

The net result has been that legislation granting special benefits and special privileges to labor organizations and their members has been pushed through State and national lawmaking bodies.

Though rightly and logically taxes can be levied or collected only by governmental organizations, unions have seized and hold the power to levy and collect contributions from employees, the burden in turn being passed along to employers, and through them paid ultimately by consumers—taxpayers.

The merger of the AFL and the CIO will undoubtedly bring on an organizing drive which, using not only argument, but beating and rioting, will result in forcing millions of additional unwilling workers into the union, where they will be governed and taxed by the unions.

Unless forthwith drastic action is taken, through amendment of the Sherman Act and the LaGuardia Act, to confine the activities of unions to their legitimate sphere—that is, an increase in wages, the betterment of the working conditions of employees—we will shortly have here in the United States a political government by labor with resultant legislation enacted primarily to advance the interests of employees, regardless of

the effect which it may have upon industry and those who do not belong to the union.

We will then more certainly and with greater rapidity follow along down the road recently pursued by England and which, it has been demonstrated, leads to a destination unacceptable to anyone.

A labor government is on its way.

Whether labor organizations first attain their goal, acquire political control, determine our national policy, before we have a government by and for the military, it is a question the answer to which is not clear.

One thing is certain, and that is, that, though here in America organized labor may at the moment go along with the military, basically their ends are diametrically opposed. Under the military, as has been demonstrated by history, the workingman is but another form of ammunition to be used and expended, as are atomic, hydrogen, and other weapons.

Organized labor's program, and the effect thereof, will be referred to later.

Our people do not want, and the Congress has more than once rejected, universal military training. As the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILDAY] a member of the Armed Services Committee, just stated, we have conscription, and I quote:

Except for a very limited period of time, a selective service and training act, or a universal service and training act [has been] in force for a period of only months less than 19 years. With the exception of the 1-year period from 1947 to 1948, we have had legislation of this kind in effect for 15 years.

Then he added:

I do not believe we can learn anything from our experience in the past 15 years that could give us any confidence in hoping that the extension of this act for 2 additional years would relieve us of the necessity.

The gentleman was speaking in opposition to limiting the extension of the act from 4 to 2 years. Apparently, we are here to adopt—and retain control by the military as a permanent policy.

THE PENDING BILL

The bill before us today is a bill to extend the conscription act for a period of 4 years—until July 1, 1959. This bill is but a milestone on the road which leads us to complete universal military training—to a military government.

Among other things, the act as amended will provide for the conscription into the armed service for a period of 8 years, or 96 months, of every physically and mentally qualified young American who has reached the age of 18 years and 6 months, and who has not passed his 26th birthday. For 2 years he will be in the active service. Following that, he will be required for 6 additional years to serve when and where the military may direct. The plan is that he shall, during those 6 years, be required to take active training with the reserves, and be subject to call to combat service if the military determines his service to be necessary.

One of the reasons which impelled our forefathers to leave their homes and friends in the Old World, cross the sea,

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

and endure almost unbelievable hardships in a hostile land, finally declare their independence, create and adopt a constitutional form of government, was their desire to escape compulsory military service under their feudal lords or a king.

Another reason was their desire to be independent, to escape economic as well as military slavery. They created a nation free and independent. The people of that Nation have, as has the Nation

itself, prospered.

Our Republic as a nation grew great and powerful. It became a land to which the oppressed throughout the world looked as the one place where they might make their home and be free. It is a nation to which we are told all so-called free nations, when in trouble, look for aid, economic and military. It is the Nation to which the free nations look for military defense when danger threatens.

In the harbor of New York, the Statue of Liberty, with its ever-flaming torch, beckons the oppressed of the world to a land where the lowliest is welcome to an opportunity to be free, prosperous, and happy.

Present trends indicate that beacon

will soon be a false guide.

If we are, throughout the world, to create and maintain economic conditions which will secure to other people the material blessings which we here all enjoy, then indeed will we be required to bend our backs, flex our muscles, employ our creative ability, perhaps become economic slaves of the rest of the world.

If we are to assume the obligations of and continue through military might to guarantee the continued national existence as separate and distinct entities of every other nation in today's world, then assuredly our natural resources, our productive ability, are not sufficient, and we must conscript our manpower to fight, as did the mercenaries of old, but without pay except as we provide that compensation.

Since 1942, we have followed a course of action which has finally led us into a surrender of our national sovereignty to an organization whose policies and actions are dictated by nations other than our own. That surrender has destroyed the individual's liberty, made it possible to force us to expend our manpower and our resources in wars throughout the world; wars which, for either the protection of our people or our Nation, were

unnecessary.
For 15 years, the youth of America has been forced into universal military service, where they now serve under an international fiag—not the Stars and Stripes—under the orders of a one-world organization—the United Nations—an organization controlled, not by the representatives chosen by our people, but by politicians of the Old World.

Under recent policies, our men have fought three wars, none of which brought us either a greater degree of independence, prosperity, individual or

national security.

This bill—and hereafter it will be referred to as an act, for undoubtedly it will be adopted by both Houses and signed by the President—gives the youth of America into the control of the armed services for 8 years, which, in turn, in wartime, will be controlled and directed by United Nations to serve the interests of nations other than our own.

The armed services have, in recent years, when engaged in a fighting war, been subject to the control of the State Department. The State Department, in turn, to a remarkable degree, has been subservient to international politicians and foreign interests.⁵

For the first time in our history, we fought a war—the Korean war—in the field under the command of a State Department, rather than under the direction of our military experts.

Our Republic is founded upon the assumption that the Federal Government is the servant, not the master, of the

people.

More recently, it seems that the Government is supreme and the people are but puppets of the Government, and, far worse, of a government which accepts and attempts to execute the orders of United Nations.

Our people, who reserved all power not granted to the Federal Government, are now actually and in fact, through their Government's subservient attitude, being committed to the control of the United Nations.

If men or women are needed to maintain the welfare of our people, their independence and their freedom—if manpower or dollars are needed to make secure the future of our Nation—all that is required is that we adopt a national policy designed to attain those ends.

Our youth will fight for home, for fireside, and for the security of our Nation. There is no reason why they should fight for the political aggrandizement of any world politician or aggressor nation.

It is doubtful if there exists an intelligent informed individual who will contend that the power, the wealth, or the productive ability of America, unsurpassed as they are, can successfully put forth an effort great enough to fight and win a war wherever in the world some power-seeking individual, some quarrelsome nation, or United Nations may start a conflict.

It has been said that communism is an ideology—a way of thought. History teaches us that thought control cannot be imposed by persecution or by, from a military standpoint, a successful war.

Advocating the disuse of the sword by using the sword is strange logic.

It is my understanding that General MacArthur recently told us, in substance and effect, that peace could not be established and maintained by war. That being true, the only way that we can overcome communism — establish and maintain our political and economic philosophy—is not by war but for us to declare and establish a line of defense which our resources will enable us to successfully defend; and then, if our policies be sound and workable, our thinking, our way, through teaching and example, will prevail throughout the world, for all nations will find it good.

I will not vote to take 8 years out of the life of every physically and mentally sound young American and make him subject to a policy which calls upon him to risk his life thousands of miles from home in a war declared by and at the dictation of a United Nations organization controlled by representatives of other countries, who, on every single occasion, speak and act for the advantage of their respective countries.

IF OUR CAUSE BE JUST, WE DO NOT NEED CONSCRIPTION

American youth are patriotic. They are courageous.

They are self-sacrificing.

They love their country, and for home and country they will fight, and to the bitter end.

American youth are independent. They have as great a love for freedom, for independence, for self-government, as did those who, throughout 8 long years, against overwhelming odds, fought for and established their independence; conceived and gave birth to the United States of America.

That the youth of America, of yesterday and of today, are as patriotic, as courageous, as self-sacrificing, as determined, as any whose like qualities are praised in history, can, if anyone doubts, be learned from a knowledge of the record they established in World War I, in World War II, and in world war III in Korea.

If one would learn of individual or group heroism, he has but to read any of the histories put out by the armed services, which in detail and with illustrations record the deeds of the teenagers as well as of those who had passed the yoting age.

If one needs inspiration, let him look at the statue, the paintings, the pictures, which show the raising of the flag on Iwo Jima. Let him read the story of that heroic event.

The record of the trained and the untrained men who, since 1914, have fought, and of those who have died, in support of our present foreign policy, is one of which we can all be proud, even though those heartbreaking sacrifices have done little, if anything, to promote the welfare of our people or make secure the existence of our Republic.

But American youth are intelligent. They want to know the reason for a national policy in support of which they are asked to sacrifice all that is near and dear to them and go forth to battle on the far side of the world.

No Horatio at the bridge; no Leonidas as the pass of Thermopylae; no Spartan, was ever more willing to fight and to die in defense of country than in the American youth of today.

ican youth of today.

Our youth know or they have learned

Our youth know or they have learned that President Wilson was reelected primarily because he "kept us out of war." Forthwith, we became involved in war. They fought and they died because, so they were told, war was an evil thing. They were fighting a war to end all war, and since that war ended, their sons and grandsons have been fighting World War II and world war III in Korea, while they have been trying to carry the tax burdens imposed by those wars.

They know that American ships were engaged in World War II months before the Congress declared war. They were told that our frontier was on the Rhine, and that all that stood between us and being overwhelmed by the German armies was the British Fleet; that our armies must travel abroad in order to maintain our own independence. A falsely described situation.

Today, our frontier, we are advised, is in Formosa. The armed services advise that we have some 950 military installations outside of continental United

We are told that voluntary enlistments are not sufficient to meet the Army's demand for manpower.

In every other field, before the successful individual or business organization decides upon its need to carry on its program, it determines what it intends to do and the extent of the operation, its ability to carry out the program. There has been no such determination by those in control of our Government.

Yesterday, we had one line of defense and one purpose. Today, we have a different one. Tomorrow, we may have another. Since 1941, we have had no clear,

fixed foreign policy.

The purpose of all wars is to protect the individual citizens and the nation as a nation. Today, the first issues before the people and the Congress should be: First, what is our policy; are we an aggressor Nation or do we seek only peace? Second, just what do we intend to do; when and where does a war to protect us from communism or from any nation become necessary in order that the Republic may continue to exist?

The determination of those two questions come first and we must naturally take into consideration our ability to accomplish our objective. Until those two issues have been made clear, it is not my purpose to vote to conscript our young men or to require them to accept what, in effect, amounts to universal military training

Today we are told that Formosa is the front or the back door to our homeland. Formosa, 10,000 or 15,000 miles away from our base of supplies, depending upon whether we go east or travel west. Formosa, which just a few years ago we were told by our military and by our State Department was of no value to us as a military outpost. Formosa, which today it is said we must defend, no matter how great or even how impossible that task may be.

Sometimes the thought occurs, that if Formosa, under the domination of China as directed by Russia, is the key to our national defense, and if we must, for the future, maintain Formosa as a military outpost, just, militarily speaking, a stone's throw from China's communistic mainland with its hundreds of thousands of potential fighting men, we must be prepared to sacrifice our men for no apparent gain in the impossible task of conquering and holding China subject.

If our real enemy is communism, then Russia is the enemy to which we should look. If we have the military might, the airpower and guided missiles, the bombers, and bombs which our experts say we have; if their destructive force is what they tell us it is, then, if Russia is the undercover aggressor, it is time to use those weapons on the source of our trouble. We waste our energy in fighting a puppet enemy. If, for our national existence, we must fight, let it be against the real enemy.

And let the battle be directed by those who are trained to win wars, not by international politicians, who accept unworkable, security-destroying theories, who turn an eye when they see fool's gold on the horizon.

In World War II Russia was our ally. Before the war was over, and after, through our efforts she became a world power. Through our negligence, Russia gained control of China. With her help, China sent her Communists into North Korea.

And once again we were in a third war. A war in which our Armed Forces were denied the opportunity of winning, a war fought not under our military commanders but under the direction of the international politicians, a war the first in which we ever became involved which we did not win.

The foregoing is only a small part of what the youth of America today knows.

Knowing as they do that we became involved in the last three wars, and especially the last two, because those who formulated and directed our foreign policy have been thinking of trade or dollars or world government, rather than of the independence, the welfare of our people, and the security of our Nation, it is not strange that the young men have not rushed to enlist in an armed service where their destiny is controlled by politicians instead of by military men; where the objective is not a new declaration of our independence as a nation, the making secure their freedom as individuals, nor safe the future of our country, but rather a surrender of many of the principles which guided the men of 1776.

They have no desire to establish a one-world government under which they and their fellow countrymen have been, are, and will be, for time without end, found not only to work and contribute to the well being of many who are unwilling to earn the blessings which we enjoy, but where they and those who come after will be under the command of the representatives of other nations, which fail to carry their fair share of any burden which may be imposed by a one-world government.

The last three wars have gained nothing for our people except an ever-increasing tax burden and an ever greater dictation by United Nations telling us how we should live and die.

We have heard overmuch about free people, free nations. We have contributed in dollars, in munitions, and in human flesh and blood to other nations under the assertion that our sacrifices were being made to protect our national security, to contain communism. And the burden is still on our shoulders.

When we, with tax dollars, give Communists Federal jobs, it is ironic to tell our youth that they must be conscripted to fight Communists twelve or fifteen

thousand miles from the homeland in order to protect our country.

It is silly, it is absurd, to tell the farmer boy, the clerk behind the counter, or the young professional man that he is being called to fight a war to make men free when, in his home community, he cannot even go to work as a laborer without paying tribute to a union, or, if he be a farmer, drive his dad's truck with a load of produce to the home market without being required to pay tribute to a union whose boss lives in luxury and spends union dues in an attempt to purchase elections.

This act will call upon every young American who is physically and mentally fit to give 2 years of his life in the military service. In addition, he is required to be at the call of the military services for an additional 6 years.

It is charged that the act is necessary, that is, that our men must be forced to be under the command of the military for 8 years in order that our national existence may be protected.

That argument is an assertion that the youth of today is so lacking in patriotism, courage and determination that he must be forced to fight to defend his homeland. In my judgment, that is a false assertion.

Permit a repetition. The youth of today are as ready to fight in a just cause, to make sacrifices as great as were those of 1776 to 1782 or at any other time in the history of mankind.

NOR WILL THE MILITARY ACCEPT LEGISLATION

A previous conscription act provided for the deferment or exemption of individuals belonging to certain groups. Because exceptionally large amounts of food were needed to implement our foreign policy, those who were exclusively engaged in agricultural production and whose services could not be replaced were exempt from military service. The Tydings amendment was the one which carried that exemption.

The Tydings amendment was openly and flagrantly disregarded and set at naught by General Hershey, Selective Service Director, and those who accepted his advice and acted upon it.

I cite that action for no other reason than that it shows the complete and utter disregard by those in the military services of the will of the people and their representatives' opinion as enacted into law.

If you doubt that assertion, read the Congressional Records of February 2 and February 5, 1945.

Given a situation where the youth of the land are convinced that their welfare and freedom is threatened, the Nation's security involved, they will volunteer.

One of the reasons they do not enlist today in sufficient numbers to satisfy the demands of the armed services and the State Department is because they think the demands are unreasonable, unnecessary, and excessive.

Another is that they are firmly convinced that the threatened war is not a war for the preservation of their country.

Russia conscripts her men for from 24 to 60 months.

This bill today calls for the conscription of every mentally and physically fit man in America for a period of 96 months—24 months in the active service; 72 months in the Reserves but at all times subject to the call of the armed services.

Shortly, there will be—at least so I am advised—a proposal by the armed services for the enactment of further supplemental legislation which will call for universal military training—conscription—for 10 years or 120 months.

I cannot vote for this bill.

¹ See hearings before a special subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 83d Cong., November 23, 24, 25, and 27, 1953, Investigation of Welfare Funds and Racketeering, pp. 439–441.

A casual glance at two reports filed by the CIO-Political Action Committee, Washington, D. C., and the UAW-CIO, Washington, D. C., shows Michigan political contributions of something over \$200,000 for the 1954 general election campaign.

The proposed bill H. R. 3005.

*See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 27, 1942, vol. 88, pt. 1, 77th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 744-747; January 30, 1942, supra, pp. 886-889.

4 United Nations.

*See report of the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws to the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, 84th Cong., 1st sess., on the Korean War and Related Matters, dated January 21, 1955.

*Amendment X to the United States Constitution: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Roman persecution of Christians.

The Ostracism of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, with the conclusion of the Iraq-Turkey defense alliance, the weighting of the balance of the power in the Middle East area is now one longstep further in favor of the Arab nations. In the name of "impartiality," our State Department policy presently pursued has steadily pushed Israel into ostracism. If there is a defense alliance in that region which excludes Israel: if Egypt is to be permitted in defiance of international law to seal off the Suez Canal to Israeli ships; if the United States is to continue to ship arms to the Arab nations; if the Arab nations are to be permitted to refuse to move toward peace in that area; if the Arab nations, without criticism from this country or any other, are permitted to strangle Israel economically by its boycott; if, without reproach, the Arab nations are permitted to utter their war-whoops directed against Israel—then, I pray you, what manner of impartiality is this?

If the United States is to feed the strength of the hostile Arab nations who make no secret of their enmity toward Israel, then surely it is to the very best interests of the United States in avoiding the outbreak of war in the Middle East to preserve likewise, and to feed likewise the strength of the fledgling democratic state of Israel. Only preservation of balance can best serve the interests of the United States in that area.

Certainly it would be most desirable to keep shipments of arms out of that area. Certainly it would be most desirable that a Middle East defense pact be developed including Israel. Certainly it would be most desirable for the United States to throw all the weight of its prestige and power in the direction of influencing the Arab nations toward an acknowledgement and acceptance of Israel's existence. But since an affirmative policy has already been set by our State Department toward wooing Arab favor, throwing the scales of equity out of line, then counterpart action should follow to set those scales straight and right. The least, the very least, that the United States can do toward the restoration of balance would be: First guarantee the integrity of present Israeli borders; and second, remove the military disadvantage of Israel brought on by shipment of arms to Irag.

It is not enough for our Department of State to say, as it keeps saying, "Israel has nothing to fear; the Arab nations will not attack." Without United States support of arms and without the United States policy now in vogue of soothing and smoothing the ruffled ego of the Arab nations, they did attack in 1948. With what powers of clairvoyance do our spokesmen now say so assertively and dogmatically that the Arab nations will not attack Israel? The hostile statements of Arab spokesmen continue without abatement. Only recently, Nuri Es Said, Prime Minister of Iraq, stated that his government considered that the Zionist danger takes precedence over the Communist danger. He also stated that he had called upon Pakistan to support the Arabs against Israel in the same kind of treaty Iraq had concluded with Turkey against communism.

It is to be remembered that with the conclusion of the Turkish-Iraqi pact, Iraq can call upon Turkey if she is subjected to aggression by external forces. Similarly, members of the Arab League can band together, weak and torn by strife and jeolousies as they are today, to meet acts of aggression. Iraq now has specific affirmation of United States support in the matter of arms, yet the one country which has, within the United Nations and outside it, suported Western ideology, is left standing alone.

There are no treaties, either in the nature of the NATO treaty or the Manila Pact. There is only the tripartite declaration of 1951, which already has had so many of its paragraphs disregarded.

It would have been well if the United States had concentrated its energies upon, first, the fostering of the peace between Israel and the Arab nations; and, second, a program of meaningful impartiality in the encouragement of economic and social growth in both Israel and the Arab nations on the basis of equality.

In the censuring of Israel in the United Nations on former occasions we note the same irony. The steady flow of infiltrees across Arab borders into Israel, the senseless killings, 1 by 1, the slow drip of blood rasping the nerves of Israeli frontiersmen, the destruction of property, the thefts perpetrated by the Arab nations upon Israel, are not presented to the public conscience. The Israeli raids always are.

For months now, the tension between Israel and Egypt has been rising. On the Gaza frontier there have been many incidents involving theft and murder. There are few that know that between September 1 and January 31, the United Nations Mixed Armistice Commission censured Egypt 35 times and Israel 15

times for such incidents.

It is high time that our Department of State view this situation in the Middle East more realistically. The fears of Israel are further exacerbated by knowledge of its rejection, by the knowledge of the growing ostracism in which it is being placed. There is little reassurance to be found in the words of our Department of State that the Arabs will not attack. I repeat, a minimum of assurance lies in affirmative acts by the United States, in view of the major role of influence it is undertaking in the Middle East region, to guarantee the integrity of present Israeli borders and to remove the military disadvantage of Israel occasioned by shipment of arms to Iraq.

Postal Salaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I realize that the committee of this still-new Congress have been demonstrating unusual speed and energy in meeting their legislative responsibilities, so that what I am about to say on the matter of postal salaries is not meant in criticism of the committees handling this legislation.

However, I would urge, Mr. Speaker, that the legislation be so drawn that the pay raises so long overdue are made retroactive—if not to the start of the fiscal year, at least to the start of this

calendar year.

We must remember that there was practically no controversy here last year over the question of granting a raise in pay to the postal workers. The main issue, as you will recall, was whether such an increase should be made contingent upon an increase simultaneously in the first-class mail rate from 3 cents to 4 cents. A majority of us felt, Mr. Speaker, that these were distinctly separate matters and should not be tied together in the same bill. The President thought otherwise at the time, and so vetoed the legislation.

This was unfortunate from many standpoints. The leadership of the Congress at that time did not feel confident enough in the merits of the administration bill on postal rates to submit this legislation to the House on its merits, and so that question was never taken up. Thus, in view of the President's position, there was a stalemate on the question of postal pay.

Unless much better evidence is presented this year than was given to us last year on the question of postal rates, Mr. Speaker, it is highly doubtful that this Congress would vote to raise the cost of mailing a letter from 3 to 4 cents. The evidence last year clearly showed that this type of mail more than paid its own way and, in fact, returned something of a profit to the Post Office Department.

During the political campaign last fall, the President indicated to the postal workers of the country that regardless of which party won they could look forward to a well-deserved increase in pay. I am sure he did not mean that in any way as a device to confuse the postal employees.

In view of all of these factors, then, Mr. Speaker, I do again urge upon the appropriate committees of the Congress handling postal legislation that the proposed increase in postal pay be made retroactive, so that the pay increases will be of some consequence.

The postal worker has a tremendous range of friendship in the Congress for the reason that he is and always has been one of the most reliable, conscientious, loyal, and hard-working of all public servants. Let us show our friendship, then, in a way that counts.

Health Reinsurance Bill Supported by New York Young Republican Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, it seems that more and more there is a growing demand for a health reinsurance bill. The failure to pass the bill in the last Congress was the result of a lack of understanding as to the purpose of the bill, and, also because of a personality situation that developed and, as a result, the bill was recommitted to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce for further study.

It is gratifying to realize that there is a continuing interest in such legislation and a desire for its enactment at this session of Congress. As evidence of this, I include as part of my remarks a letter I have received from Arthur Rock, Secretary of the New York Young Republican Club. It reads as follows:

New York Young Republican Club, New York, N. Y., March 4, 1955. Congressman Charles A. Wolverton, House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DMAR CONGRESSMAN WOLVERTON: If you will
recall, I wrote to you last year on behalf of
the New York Young Republican Club, urg-

ing the adoption of the health-reinsurance bill. We were, of course, very disappointed that the reinsurance bill did not become law at the last session of Congress.

At a recent meeting of the board of governors of the New York Young Republican Club the following resolution was adopted:

"1. Whereas the board of governors of the New York Young Republican Club endorsed the administration's health-reinsurance bill at the last session of Congress;

"2. Whereas the board of governors deplores the defeat of said bill;

"3. Whereas the bill gives people social benefits without socialism and fosters free enterprise;

"4. Whereas this bill will allow insurance companies to experiment in fields of health insurance which they have been reluctant to do in the past, and in that way the majority of the 63 million people who today are not covered by any form of health insurance could conceivably take out a health-insurance policy;

"5. And whereas the bill will require only \$100 million of public money to start the program, and from then on will be self-sustaining from premiums received from carriers: Be it hereby

"Resolved, That the board of governors reendorses the health-reinsurance bill as proposed by the administration."

Needless to say, we hope that the Congress will see fit to adopt the bill this year.

Yours very truly,

ARTHUR ROCK.

California State Board of Agriculture Recommends Amendment to Federal Social Security Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, here is a letter I have received which contains a copy of the resolution hereinafter set forth from the California State Board of Agriculture:

CALIFORNIA STATE BOARD
OF AGRICULTURE,
Sacramento, March 1, 1955.

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,

Congressional Representative,

House Office Building,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DOYLE: Enclosed with this letter is a resolution relative to amending the proprovisions of the Federal Social Security Act. The resolution, passed by the California State Board of Agriculture at its regular meeting in Sacramento on February 28, 1955, is transmitted with the board's request for your consideration.

Very sincerely yours,
ROMAIN YOUNG,
Assistant Secretary.

RESOLUTION RE AMENDMENT TO FEDERAL SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Whereas the present provisions of the Federal Social Security Act provide that deductions be taken from farm operators and employees when earnings of any employee gross \$100 or more in any calendar year; and

Whereas the turnover of agricultural labor, particularly at peak havest time, is very rapid, and such labor is used for the most part on a short-time basis; and Whereas operations under these conditions create a situation where accurate bookkeeping and accounting are either extremely burdensome or virtually impossible: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the California State Board of Agriculture, meeting at Sacramento, Calif., on February 28, 1955, does respectfully urge the Congress of the United States to raise the minimum social-security provisions covering farm operators and farm workers from \$100 to \$500, and that deductions commence after the first \$500 has been earned from a single employer during a calendar year; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to all the members of the California delegation in the Congress.

A New Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Gov. Averell Harriman of New York has called for a new foreign policy in a speech delivered in New York City before the nationalities division of the Democratic national committee.

Few living men in America are better qualified to assay the zigzags of our present foreign policy, and to suggest new and more constructive courses of action, than is Governor Harriman.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I ask that the full text of Governor Harriman's speech on March 8, 1955, be reprinted.

I am happy tonight to join with the nationalities division of the Democratic National Committee and to salute the splendid work you have done for our party—including your work in the New York State campaign last fall.

And I am glad to join in welcoming to the State of New York our national chairman, who has become so clear and forceful a spokesman for our party in so short a time—Paul Butler.

No 2 men ever deserved recognition more than the 2 you have honored with your awards tonight—2 men who have stood in the forefront of every fight for the rights and progress of minorities and the fundamental civil rights of Americans—Senator Green, of Rhode Island, and Senator Lehman, of our own State.

We greet the new and capable chairman of the nationalities division, our good friend, the dynamic young Governor of Michigan, Mennen Williams. Governor, you will have the support of all of us in New York for the activities of your division.

It is good to have with us our stalwart neighbors, Governor Meyner, of New Jersey, and Governor Roberts and Senator Pastore, of Rhode Island.

The groups represented here tonight have given us a number of able leaders in the new State administration of New York. I am proud to be associated with them.

We of the Democratic Party must organize and we must educate—and our goal is 1956. It isn't good enough just to have a Democratic Congress to help a Republican President out of his difficulties with his own party. We need a Democratic President, too, for many reasons. One of them is to restore America to her role of full particl-

pation in world affairs and leadership for You who are here tonight have an especially deep and personal understanding of the need for the United States to take its proper place of leadership in the world.

No nation can go it alone-not even powerful America.

From a military standpoint, we cannot. From an economic standpoint, we cannot. But over and beyond these materialistic reasons are others just as compelling-reasons of history and religion and culture, of sentiment and emotion. America will always be bound to the lands where all of us, whether recently or long ago, have our family roots.

The sons and daughters of every one of the nations bordering on the Atlantic and Mediterranean and the European seas and rivers have made their contributions to America-contributions of industry and enterprise and character. We have a common heritage. And so we who happen to be on this side of the Atlantic can never forget that we are part of a larger community. And none in that community can be secure unless all are secure.

SLAVERY KEEPS ALL INSECURE

Nor can any of us be truly secure as long as a large part of our community-reaching from the Baltic States through Poland and Czechoslovakia, to the borders of Greeceremains enslaved. We know that the flame of freedom will never be extinguished in those countries, and that they will again one day carry on their proud traditions in liberty and self-government.

So our common goal-and the goal of our Nation's foreign policy-must be to strengthen the ties that bind together the North Atlantic Community, and beyond that the larger community of all the free countries

of the world.

I need not tell this audience how injurious to this whole objective is our own immigration policy. Two and a half years ago the President said the McCarran Act had to be revised to eliminate its discriminatory, un-American features. But today the McCarran Act still stands as written-and still proclaims to the world that America does not really practice what she preaches about the equality and innate worthiness of all people of every land and creed.

We can thank Senator LEHMAN and Congressman CELLER and their Democratic col-leagues for taking the initiative to revise the act in the absence of the leadership the

President has pledged.

Equally injurious is our refugee policy. An act of Congress proposed to admit 209,-000 refugees over a 3-year period. Yet, as of January 28, when half the life of the act had passed, fewer than a thousand bona fide refugees had been admitted to this country. The administration of the act has made travesty of what was to have been a great humanitarian undertaking.

Unhappily, in the last 2 years, there has been a tragic decline in American prestige and influence among our friends and allies

throughout the world.

Why is this? Why has it come about? I believe it can be traced to a basic clause—and that is the unwillingness of the Republican administration to do those things necessary to fulfill the role of world leadership which the circumstances of history press upon us.

The last 2 years have been a period of retreat from leadership. You can see it in our military policy, in our economic policies,

and in our diplomacy.

We can better understand this retreat from leadership, I think, if we remember how and when it began. It began in 1952, when the Republican Presidential candidate set out to find a ground for compromise with those Old Guard Republicans who make up what might be called the go-it-alone wing of the Republican Party.

NEW WORD FOR COMPROMISE

The go-it-alone Republican is a complex breed, with varied moods and tempers. Sometimes he is for international cooperation, but only on our terms. If other countries don't unqualifiedly accept our terms, then we hear echoes of the old isolationism. Yet mention the word "Formosa" and he can become the most fearsome jingoist. As for allies, you can hear him reasoning: Why fuss with all these difficult people, they aren't worth much anyway and always wind up costing us money, let's go it alone.

At any rate, with these Republicans, the

Republican candidate in 1952 set out to com-The word "compromise" peared in favor of a new phrase, "middle-ofthe-road," but the meaning is the same.

Now, the middle of the road is not a very safe place to drive. It's not too safe even in domestic affairs. But certainly in foreign policy it can be disastrous.

Where is the middle of the road between go-it-alone-ism and international coopera-It is sometimes consultation sometimes the taking of unilateral positions without consultation, destructive of confidence among allies.

Sometimes it is reckless speeding on the wrong side of the road, and sometimes it is

too little and too late.

In military policy, the middle of the road seems to mean somewhere between strength and weakness. Only a few weeks ago the Joint Chiefs of Staff were again overruled as to our defense needs. And this in the face of evidence that the recent changes in Russian leadership mean an even greater emphasis on heavy industry and military output in the Soviet Union at the expense of consumer goods production.

Let no one think that military retrenchment in the United States is a local matter. Its impact is felt throughout the free world. because our own military program is a measure of our determination. And when we let down, in 1953, then our allies let down, too.

The men who dominate so much of our policy seem to be those who talk not of the opportunities in our search for peace, but of fancied limitations on America's ability. They regard America—the richest nation in the world—as somehow not able to afford to do those things necessary for our survival. They look for shortcuts to peace and bargain devices for the preservation of freedom. And these aren't good enough.

We have just seen another and dramatic illustration of the danger of short cuts.

Last November Secretary Dulles and Mr. Stassen were talking about what was called bold, new economic program for Although late, this made sense. Under President Truman's Point 4 program, we had learned much about these countries and what can be done by America to help people to help themselves in developing resources and raising living standards and productivity and morale.

BOLD PROGRAM UNDERSTOOD

In this proposal, the administration seemed to realize that what is needed to counter the external and internal threat of Communist expansion in Asia is a program bold enough to capture the imagination of the people, and vigorous enough to demonstrate that a decent life can be achieved under freedom. They seemed to understand that the cost to us of such an economic offensive would be a tiny fraction of our ex-penditures for military defense and military aid. And the effects of our help would b multiplied if cooperative undertaking could be developed among the participating countries as was the case in Europe.

So the talk went on. But the men who appear to have had the last word with the President are those who regard this sort of thing as beyond America's capacity-or not worth bothering about. So the idea was laid aside. Great had been the expectations-and equally great was the letdown throughout free Asia

In this connection, it is significant that a conference of most of the Asian and African nations has been called to convene in Banddung, Indonesia, next month. Red China has been invited to participate—whereas Chiang Kai-shek is excluded. We can be sure that the Communists will try to turn the whole meeting into a "hate America" crusade.

Compounding the effects in Asia of all the lack of understanding has been the incredible story of the "unleashing" of Chiang Kai-shek.

You recall that President Truman, in 1950, ordered the seventh fleet to neutralize the Formosa Strait—preventing attacks upon Formosa by the Communists and forbidding attacks upon the mainland by Chiang. And you remember how President Eisenhower, in his first message to Congress, reversed all that.

I doubt that anyone would now deny that behind this "unleashing" episode was domestic politics and appeasement of members of his own party.

Yet to the rest of the world it sounded ominous. To the rest of the world, it could only mean that we intended to support Chiang's ambition to return to the mainlands; and that, in turn, could only mean world war.

The "unleasing" episode, and the continuing failure to explain or retract it, injured our relations with our European allies, who were quite understandably not ready for such recklessness. And it soured our relations with many countries in Asia.

Last week, Chiang Kai-shek was still asserting that he intended to return to the mainland, with the help of this country. Asked about this, the President finally said "the United States is not going to be a party to an aggressive war." In effect, after 25 months, Chiang was to be leashed again.

The President appears to have realized at long last the wisdom of President Truman's policy of neutralizing the Formosa Strait.

Of course, we should and will defend Formosa. There has never been any doubt about that. But it should also be clear that there is no future in any Asian policy which pays more attention to the objectives of Chiang Kai-shek than to the aspirations of the 900 million people of the other free countries of the East, as well as the peoples

I am sure of this: the first thing we must do in the Formosa area is to end our desperately dangerous policy of going it alone. Whenever we take positions alone, it offers a temptation to the Communists to take risks in the hope of furthering their basic objective of splitting us from our North Atlantic Allies and our friends everywhere. We must get our diplomacy back on a basis of collective action. We must internationalize the defense of Formosa, and do this, if possible, through the United Nations.

What we need now is a new spirit in the conduct of foreign affairs-a spirit of humility, of moderation, of partnership and of peace—a spirit which would ring with a new sound in the ears of the world, but which would gain in its strength because it would be a reaffirmation of the finest strains of American realism and idealism-of values which made our Nation so long the refuge of the suffering people of mankind and the embodiment of the hopes of freedom and justice in the light of God, everywhere in the world.

Only as we return to this spirit can we hope to lead.

Only as we return to this spirit can we hope to survive.

Deeper Delaware River Channel Is Not a Partisan Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the deepening of the Delaware River channel is a matter of tremendous importance to the future progress of the Delaware River valley. It is entitled to the support of all without regard to political affiliation. This fact has been well and forcibly set forth in an editorial appearing in the Courier-Post newspaper, published at Camden, N. J. I include it as part of my remarks. It reads as follows:

DEEPER DELAWARE CHANNEL NOT A PARTISAN PROGRAM

Camden County's three assemblymen have introduced a resolution the legislature should lose no time in passing.

The resolution memorializes Congress to appropriate funds at once for deepening the Delaware River channel above Camden to a depth of 40 feet as far north as U. S. Steel's Fairless plant and 35 feet to the Trenton marine terminal.

The resolution calls on Congress to carry out the policy it adopted last year in authe appropriation which has yet thorizing to be made. At that time Congress rejected the proposal of the United States Army engineers that "local interests" which would benefit most immediately from the projectmeaning U. S. Steel-should contribute \$18 million to its estimated \$91 million cost.

Congress instead voted that the Federal Government should pay the entire cost of the dredging. Nevertheless, the Engineers have not withdrawn their "local contribution" demand and have succeeded in persuading President Eisenhower to endorse it, in spite of almost 100 percent insistence in the Delaware River Valley that the Govern-ment pay the whole cost of the project, in keeping with every past precedent.

The Hyland-Meloni-Werner resolution

says:
"Justifiable opposition to this proposal of contribution by local interests and the insurmountable obstacles involved in attempting to administer it have united the various political, civil, management, and labor in-terests in this and other affected States in a common effort to persuade the Federal Government to return to its traditional policy of financing such projects and to make the necessary appropriations so that this vital program may get underway without further delay."

The resolution also comments that "the development and maintenance of navigable waterways, such as the Delaware River, traditionally have been accepted as the ex-clusive financial responsibility of the Fed-eral Government."

The facts stated in the resolution are incontrovertible and it is unfortunate that partisan political considerations should have held its passage up at Monday's session of the legislature.

According to Hyland, some opposition developed to it in the assembly Republican caucus, on the theory that it "might be a reflection on President Eisenhower. While denying such an intention, Hyland agreed not to move the resolution until next week, meanwhile attempting to convince the Republicans of its merit. But he says he definitely will bring it up at next week's session, demanding a rollcall vote on it, and is confident of its passage even though it is a Democrat-sponsored measure.

By speedy passage of the resolution, our legislature might have a decisive influence in inducing Congress to pass the \$25 million appropriation for a start on the deeper channel this year which now is pending at Washington.

Republican members of the legislature who think that the resolution implies repudiation of the President or a reflection on him, or anything more than a difference of opinion to which no one can take exception. should remember that all New Jersey Members of Congress, including our 2 Republican Senators and our 8 Republican Representatives, support the action sought in the Camden County resolution.

They not only favor it, but have been fighting vigorously for such action. It is anything but a partisan measure, or an anti-Eisenhower measure.

The American Legion's 36th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a letter sent to the Rochester, N. Y., Times-Union, by Mr. Frank G. Jurlen, Monroe County, N. Y., commander of the American Legion.

Mr. Jurlen's letter mentions some of the accomplishments of the American Legion during its 36 years of service to God and country. Among the valuable services rendered by this fine organization has been its assistance to our youth through Americanism and child welfare programs. The Legion has taken care of its own members and their dependents and has benefited our country through its relentless fight against communism and for world peace.

The letter follows:

THE LEGION'S 36TH BIRTHDAY: SERVICE TO GOD AND COUNTRY

The American Legion celebrates its birthday this week and its 3 million members can look back with justifiable pride upon 36 years of distinguished service "for God and country."

Through these many years, the Legion has made vital contributions to the community, State and Nation. It has won recognition as champion of adequate national security and a leading advocate of world peace through American military, economic, and spiritual strength.

Nationally over 1,500,000 boys and girls this year will participate in American Legion sponsored Americanism programs such Junior Baseball, Boys' States, Boys' Nation, Boy Scout troops and Cub packs, annual high school oratorical contests and school awards. Monroe County engages in every one of these programs and locally about 2,000 girls and boys participate each year.

A living memorial to the Americanism program is the Back to God movement through which the American Legion encourages regular church or synagogue attendance, daily family prayer and the religious education of our children. Locally, during this lenten period, we have installed cards in 200 buses calling attention to children and their need for religious training.

One of our most outstanding programs is child welfare. During 1954 the American Legion and its affiliated groups expended over \$6,500,000 in financial aid to needy children, bringing to more than \$117,750,000 the amount spent since 1925 for food, clothing, and medical treatment for children.

The American Legion's primary obligation has always been championship of the rights of disabled veterans and their dependents. We are proud of the vast structure of beneficial legislation through which millions of World War II and Korean service men and women have been reestablished in civilian

The American Legion served its God and country in time of war and it is still serving. FRANK G. JURLEN.

Commander, Monroe County American Legion.

St. Patrick's Day Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD my annual St. Patrick's Day address which was broadcast over radio-TV station WXEL, and radio stations WJW and WERE, Cleveland, on Thursday, March 17:

Once again we commemorate the feast of St. Patrick and rejoice in his many wonderful gifts to our civilization.

The greatest of these gifts are of the spirit. They are reflected in those great principles which recognize the special dignity of every man and serve as the steady guide for humanity in time of strife or tranquillity.

The entire history of the United States is replete with St. Patrick's contributions, beginning with our fight for national independence.

The sons and daughters of Ireland, loyal always to the great inspiration of St. Patrick. have come to our shores and have helped us to become the great Nation that we are today.

As a great Nation among the powers of the world we have been called upon to assume grave responsibilities in an up-set world in which the very civilization heralded by St. Patrick is threatened with extinction.

It is therefore fitting on this, his feast day, that we recall to mind some of the signs of our time which carry bad tidings of the future.

It is now 10 years since the end of a war involving most of the nations and people of the world.

That war was costly, in terms of our manhood and our natural resources.

We fought that war against tyranny and for a golden era of peace, freedom, and prosperity for all mankind.

In the throes of that great struggle, suffering mankind was promised that those great goals would surely be attained and that finally there would be comity among all the nations of the earth.

Even before the end of active hostilities, we began to construct an organization for peace in whose councils all the nations would be represented.

At war's end, all mankind held high hopes for, and placed great faith in, a peaceful

In the 10 years that have passed, but a moment in the long history of mankind, many events have taken place which have shaken confidence in our ability to reach those worthy goals.

Our first shock came when it became clear that all the nations of the world would not be included in the United Nations organization.

Some nations were to be severely punished and purged before they would be considered for membership.

Other nations, taking no part whatsoever in the war, and long recognized as peaceful nations, were denied membership because of the objections of the Russians. Unhappily, Ireland, the home of St. Patrick, and the mother of many great leaders in the fight for human liberty, was one of those nations excluded from the councils of the United Nations.

The second great shock came from the Russians who, in violation of all their solemn pledges during the war, brought under ruthless slavery the many nations and peoples our sons and daughters fought and died to liberate during World War II.

It would seem that then we in the free world failed to recognize the terrible significance of these events, because we did little or nothing about them.

We surely did not recognize these events as a threat to peace, because we falled to use the United Nations in order to prevent these acts of aggression.

Our third great shock came when the Russians threatened to overrun Greece and Türkey in their geopolitical drive to split the world. We became aroused at this turn of events, because a great American, President Truman, took a stand against Communist aggression and pronounced the Truman doctrine.

His significant act awakened the West from a deep slumber.

The next great shock came when the Russians attempted to force the western allies out of Berlin by means of a blockade.

This was another test of the determination of the United States to fight for the cause of freedom.

This challenge was met, and the Russian bullies backed down.

Then came Korea.

The Russians, using a small corps of North Koreans and hardened veterans of the Chinese Communist army, invaded South Korea for the purpose of driving the Americans into the sea and enslaving all Korea.

Without hesitation, President Truman met this challenge, and after terrible sacrifices the Communist aggressors were driven back north of the 38th prallel.

Then followed a protracted period of negetiations climaxed by a dubious armistice for which the Communists have shown their complete disdain by breaking it time and time again.

In the process, Red China was branded an aggressor in the Korean war by the United Nations.

Still another blow at the hopes of mankind was the Communist aggression in Indochina. When another Russian stooge, Ho Chi Min, fully supported by the Chinese Communists, brought about more bloodshed and terrible human suffering.

While all these shocks were taking place the United Nations, in one degree or another, became involved, but in none of these instances was the United Nations able to measure up to the reasonable hopes imposed in it by mankind.

Twenty years ago, in 1935, a great Irish statesman, Eamon De Valera, speaking before the League of Nations when that body was considering Mussolini's aggression against Abyssinia, warned that this was its crucial test.

That if it allowed aggression against a small and defenseless country to go unpunished, its days were numbered.

Ireland, unfortunately, is still not admitted to the councils of the United Nations.

She is still blocked by the atheistic Communists of Russia.

The prophetic words of Eamon De Valera could well be spoken in the councils of the United Nations today.

United Nations today.

What he said in 1935 fits perfectly the crisis that now faces the United Nations, an organization for peace in which we put such high hopes.

I feel certain that if Ireland were represented, the issue that De Valera raised in 1935 would be raised again in the councils of the United Nations in an effort to reestablish law and morality in the conduct of affairs between nations, and to avoid what, at the moment, seems to be an uninterrupted trend toward world war III.

It seems very strange that today there should be any talk whatsoever about admitting Red China to the United Nations.

Red China, an aggressor and initiator of the Korean war, a violator of every tenet of international law, defiant and disdainful of all pleas made by the United Nations, has no right whatever to membership in the United Nations.

If Red China be admitted to the United Nations there would be no doubt but that the criteria for membership is the ability of a nation to wage aggressive war rather than its hopes and aspirations for peace.

There are some who still believe that it is possible to satisfy the appetite of a dictator.

A good example of this notion is found in the crisis created by the Chinese Communists in their efforts to destroy what is left of free China.

At the beginning of this crisis, certain of the islands of still free China were voluntarily evacuated and turned over to the Communists.

By devious twisting of the facts, this evacuation was built up as a great victory for peace.

It was depicted as a victory because the evacuating force was not attacked by the Communists while they were in the process of handing over to them, territory that belonged to free China.

That is peace at any price.

All liberty-loving people were shocked upon receiving the news that the Chinese Communists held, without foundation, many Americans in their prisons and refused to release them.

Most of these Americans are members of the armed services.

We were horrified to learn how these Americans were being brainwashed and that many of those whose personality had been destroyed were returned to us so that they could cause further confusion and damage to the cause of liberty.

It was not so many years ago that the holding of one single American by a foreign power, without cause, would have been considered a most serious offense and likely to lead to war if not quickly and satisfactorily remedied.

But today it seems that the unchanging values and immutable principles which brought America to its present position in the world, have lost their meaning and their purpose.

It may be that we, as a nation, have been subjected to a brainwashing which has dimmed our fundamental beliefs and confused us as to what is right and what is wrong.

Are we to believe that nothing is black or nothing is white, but everything is grey?

Is this what is happening to us as a nation and a people as we seek to avoid war, and continue our fight for peace, freedom, and prosperity?

That is the fundamental question of our

It is not a question of patience, as some would have us believe. Rather it is a question of right or wrong.

We must at all times be impatient to see that right is done in the conduct of all the affairs of mankind.

And we must be equally impatient to prevent and stamp out that which is wrong.

Failing to do this, we will have signed our own death warrant and prepared the way for the fall of our entire civilization.

On this, the feast of St. Patrick, we must begin to reassess our values and to reexamine our mission in a sadly upset world,

We must make it clear that we, as a nation, know the difference between right and wrong.

We must also make it clear that we propose to stand up for that which is right and to oppose with all our vigor that which is wrong.

We must also make it clear that we place the greatest value upon things of the spirit and not upon material gain.

Above all, we must make it clear beyond any doubt to all the people of the world that no sacrifice is too great for us to make in support of those great spiritual values without which our Nation would soon cease to exist.

I believe that adherence to sound moral principles is St. Patrick's greatest gift to America and to all other peoples of the world who have felt the warmth of his teachings.

America has been blessed with an abundance of his favors, and I pray to God we will begin to take full advantage of these great assets.

Compton, Calif., Herald-American Editorial Supports Congressional Pay Raises and Also Post Office Employees Pay Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to herewith present an editorial column by Cliff Smith, the publisher of the Herald-American newspaper in Compton, Los Angeles County, Calif. This newspaper not only circulates in Compton, Calif., but in several other of the metropolitan communities of the great 23d District, which I have the honor to represent this, my 9th year, in this great legislative body.

I am especially pleased that this busy editor emphasized the importance and place of the grassroots expression of opinion for in his splendid editorial, amongst other things, he said:

You, the reader, can help by sending a letter or post card to your Congressman and United States Senator demanding that post office employees' pay be raised.

Mr. Speaker, it would certainly do vast good if more and more of the newspaper editors in our great Nation would stress the fact that this Congress is the Congress of the American people and that it is from the American people at the grassroots of American citizenship that we Members of this great legislative body seek the thinking and considered opinion on all important major problems which come before us.

CONGRESSMEN AND POSTMEN

This writer is all for the raise in salary of our Congressmen. The expenses of running two households properly, representing the district, entertaining, etc., in the past, have made it almost an impossibility for a Congressman of limited or medium means to keep his head above water financially.

The new pay scale which has been set is not high for business executives and, remember, it is subject to ordinary income taxes, which will syphon off about 40 percent

INJUSTICE RESULTS

Unless a man is extremely wealthy, he would do his family and himself an injustice to accept a congressional office. The result has been that a majority of the incumbents in Congress have been chosen from the wealthy class, whether they were Republicans or Democrats. In fact, quite a large number of the wealthy Members of Congress have been Democrats.

This will all be changed by the increase in salary which has been voted by both Houses of Congress. Now, any man with ability, regardless of his financial status, can feel free to run for congressional office. For the above reasons, this writer is strongly in favor of the increase in salary for Congressmen.

UNDERPAID POST-OFFICE EMPLOYEES

Now let's talk about the employees of the Post Office Department, this large and faithful group which expedites and carries the mail. Civilization could not survive in any country without an adequate post office as means of communication. It is a terrible blot upon American conscience, justice, and fair play to expect our post office employees to continue to work for the small pittance they are receiving from the Government. The scale of pay in the Post Office Department has consistently lagged behind the scale of pay in any corresponding private enterprise or other Government employees.

Let's see what concerted action can doeven from a small section of the country. You, the reader, can help by sending a letter or post-card to your Congressman and United States Senator demanding that post-office employees' pay be raised. Following is a list of Congressmen elected from the district covered by the Herald-American newspapers. Write to one or all of them today:

The Honorable CLYDE DOYLE, Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

The Honorable CHET HOLIFIELD, Member of

Congress, Washington, D. C.
The Honorable CRAIG HOSMER, Member of

Congress, Washington, D. C.
The Honorable CECH. KING, Member of

Congress, Washington, D. C.
CALIFORNIA UNITED STATES SENATORS

CALIFORNIA UNITED STATES SENATORS

Also write to our two Senators: They are great men and are doing a great job representing their State:

The Honorable William F. Knowland, United States Senator from California, Washington, D. C.

The Honorable THOMAS H. KUCHEL, Member of the United States Senate from California, Washington, D. C.

Let's do what we can today to remedy this grave injustice to a large group of our best citizens.

A New Wiretap Law Is Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a new measure aimed at

the control of wiretapping by unauthorized persons. It also follows the language of the bill which passed the House last year permitting the use of wiretap evidence in court, limited to cases involving the national security.

The bill that passed the House last year actually amounted to little more than a new rule of evidence, overturning the Federal court decisions which have prevented the use of wiretap evidence in Federal prosecutions, and providing that such evidence, with certain safeguards, shall hereafter be admissible in a limited class of Federal cases relating to the national security.

The evidence was not really the heart of the matter, as recent shocking disclosures about wiretapping in New York City have dramatically illustrated. I am convinced that there must be a prohibition against reckless and unauthorized tapping by persons who have no connection with law enforcement.

The new bill which I am introducing, therefore, combines the provisions of the House bill of last year with a new section intended to make wiretapping a Federal crime when it is done by blackmailers, snoopers, and all others except properly authorized law-enforcement officials. My bill would rid us of the clandestine listener who has sometimes turned out to be such a terrible threat to the privacy of individuals and the sanctity of their homes.

The new section, tied to the criminal penalties in the old act—1 year and a day and/or \$5,000—prohibits all tapping except by the Federal intelligence agencies seeking evidence of subversion and espionage, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, investigating serious Federal crimes, or State and local officers acting in accordance with authority conferred by their own laws.

The text of the new section follows:

Sec. 4. No person shall intercept or attempt to intercept any communication by wire or radio, not being authorized in advance by the sender or the recipient thereof, except (1) authorized agents of the United States seeking evidence in accordance with the provisions of this act, (2) authorized agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation seeking to detect or prevent any felony as defined in chapter 1 of title 18 of the United States Code, or (3) authorized agents of any State, Territory, or possession of the United States acting by authority of a law of such State, Territory, or possession."

As indicated in the following editorial from the Washington Star, the Attorney General has endorsed the principle of this bill:

REMOVE THE STRAITJACKET

Attorney General Brownell chose a good time and place to make his latest comments on wiretapping. New York City has been aroused by disclosures of widespread eavesdropping on telephone lines by nonofficial investigators. A grand jury inquiry is in progress. Mr. Brownell's proposal that wiretapping be outlawed except when authorized in certain major crimes attracted more than ordinary interest. That is encouraging, for the efforts of the Department of Justice in the past to gain public support for controlled Federal wiretapping, with permission to use the evidence in court, have been of little avail.

New York City has had a taste of the dirty business of indiscriminate wiretapping. But, as the Attorney General told the New York Patent Law Association, properly

regulated wiretapping has a place in law enforcement. Certainly it is absurd to give spies, saboteurs, and kidnapers free use of wire communications, secure in the knowledge that no information obtained by listening in can be used against them in Federal courts. Under present law the Government is foreclosed from using wiretap evidence to convict known enemies of the country. Thus, as Mr. Brownell said, congressional reluctance to change the law along commonsense lines leaves Government prosecutors in a straitjacket as far as intercepted communications are concerned.

Camden County Mayors Association Calls for Immediate Dredging of Delaware River Channel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the dredging of the Delaware River channel to a depth of 40 feet is recognized as a public works project of tremendous importance in the development of the Delaware River Valley.

The Camden County Mayors Association is one of the long list of industries, shipping groups, municipal and State authorities, and other numerous and varied interests, pressing for action at this session of Congress that will result in the immediate deepening of the Delaware River channel.

The resolution adopted by the Camden County Mayors Association at a meeting held March 16, 1955, reads as follows:

Whereas the Camden County Mayors Association is an organization consisting of the mayors of the various municipalities in Camden County who have banded themselves together so that by the exchange of ideas their respective municipalities may prosper and the area of Camden County may develop and progress; and

Whereas the deepening of the channel of the Delaware River from Trenton to the sea to its authorized depth of 40 feet is vital and essential if the area of Camden County is to develop to its fullest potential; and

Whereas the Camden County Chamber of Commerce is presently waging a vigorous and intensive campaign to have the channel deepened to its authorized depth without any local participation or without exacting tolls from any maritime user of the said river; and

Whereas the Camden County Mayors Association is full aware of and conscious of the fact that it has always been the responsibility of the Federal Government as one of its delegated powers to dredge navigable streams of this country at Federal expense without expecting any local participation from municipalities that may be located along the banks of navigable streams and also without any contribution from industries whose plants abut and are adjacent to the said navigable rivers; and

Whereas the development of the Delaware River to its fullest use by deepening the channel to its authorized depth will open new vistas of prosperity together with industrial and busines growth throughout south Jersey which is unprecedented: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Camden County Mayors Association in a formal meeting on this 16th day of March, A. D. 1955, That the channel of the Delaware River from the sea to Trenton be immediately dredged to its congres-sionally authorized depth of 40 feet, and that the Congress of the United States immediately appropriate such sum or sums of money as may be necessary to effectuate and com-plete this project without any local participation and without financing the project by the exaction of marine tolls from the users of the said river, and, further, that copies of this resolution be immediately sent all congressional and New Jersey State legislative representatives from this area, and to the press.

Nixon Sees No Attempt To Sell Out at Yalta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I set forth the following article which appeared in the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times on Friday, March 18, 1955:

NIXON SEES NO ATTEMPT TO SELL OUT AT YALTA-FALL OF CHINA TO REDS CAN BE LAID AT DOOR OF PACT, VICE PRESIDENT SAYS IN

CHICAGO, March 17 .- Vice President NIXON said today in answer to a question that he does not believe there was "any deliberate attempt to sell us out to the Communists" at Yalta.

Nixon made the statement during a question and answer period following a speech before the Executive Club of Chicago.

An unidentified man asked from the floor, What about Yalta?"

Nixon said: "Of course, it will take weeks and months of intelligent study to determine a correct analysis of the effects of the pact and comment intelligibly on it.

"But I don't believe there actually was any deliberate attempt to sell us out to the

Communists.

REASON FOR CONCESSIONS

Nixon said the "reason concessions were made was that the leaders of the free world simply didn't know what the Communist animal was like."

"Another reason," he added, "was that we badly needed Soviet support at the time

for the conquest of Japan.

The Vice President said there was no doubt, however, that the concessions to the Russians were detrimental to the United States and the free world.

And, he added, the fall of China to the Reds could be laid directly at the door of the

"All we can say now," he added, "is that it was a fault not of the heart but of the head."

NEED STRONG CANDIDATE

Turning to his views on the 1956 Presidential outlook, Nixon reiterated a previous stand that the Republican Party is not strong enough to elect a candidate but needs a candidate strong enough to elect the party.

Reminded by newsmen of President Eisenhower's statement yesterday that the party could elect a candidate "worthy of being nominated if it develops programs for the benefit of all the people," Nixon stood by his

In his luncheon speech, however, Nixon said "the corollary to my statement is that the Democratic Party is faced with exactly the opposite dilemma.

MORE DEMOCRATS

"As a party," he added, "the Democratic Party is numerically stronger than the Republican Party and, therefore, should be strong enough to elect its candidate for the But currently the Democratic Presidency. Party has no candidate on the scene who is as strong as his party."

Nixon said that any further aggression in the Pacific will be met by force, and with atomic weapons rather than the "obsolete" weapons of Korea and World War II.

He reiterated President Eisenhower's statement earlier this week that in any future war United States forces will use atomic tactical explosives on "military targets with precision and effectiveness.'

Farm Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit herewith a letter from Mr. R. V. Petersen, of Watsonville, Calif. In my opinion, Mr. Petersen's letter clearly indicates the thinking of the majority of the farmers in my congressional district:

CALIFORNIA FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, Watsonville, Calif., March 16, 1955. Hon. CHARLES S. GUBSER,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GUBSER: Since 1948, Congress has been promising the American people a more economical and sounder farmprice support program; however, the chronology of events since that date indicates that there has been a recurring clash between the economics and politics of this program with politics winning out to date.

Last year again we thought we had that program when, after an exhaustive study of the Nation's agriculture problems, the facts and views developed became the basis of a new farm program which the President submitted to Congress. The heart of this program, just as in 1948 and 1949, involved the principle of flexible price supports for the basic commodities.

Now, however, we find ourselves once again faced with the political facet of this program with the House Agriculture Committee reporting out H. R. 12, which would take away this principle of flexible price supports and place us back on a high fixed price support program for basic as well as other commodities. We are told by labor that this is what the farmer needs.

Apparently this committee and labor have forgotten that the net realized loss of this program to the taxpayer from its inception in 1933 to June 30, 1953, was \$1,110,000,000 and that the net realized loss for the first 9 months of fiscal year 1954 was \$187 million as compared to \$61 million for the whole of fiscal year 1953.

They seem also to have forgotten that last year it was necessary to raise the ceiling of money which the Commodity Credit Corporation was authorized to borrow from the Treasury from \$6,750,000,000 to \$8,500,000,000 in order that it could continue its operations.

Certainly, it would appear that they have forgotten that the great majority of farm-

ers, as represented by the policy of the American Farm Bureau Federation, are opposed to high fixed-price supports, and that they favor the principle of flexible price supports and extension of modernized parity.

H. R. 12 must be defeated.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

R. V. PETERSEN.

To Make Our Security System Secure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, since there is obviously a growing interest these days in the vital question of our Nation's internal security, and a workable method of preserving both security and the rights of our citizens, it seems appropriate that every thoughtful pronouncement on the subject be given widespread circulation. Therefore, I submit the following statement by the well-known and respected scientiststatesman, Dr. Vannevar Bush, president of the Carnegie Institution, which appeared in yesterday's New York Times magazine under the title "To Make Our Security System Secure":

TO MAKE OUR SECURITY SYSTEM SECURE (By Vannevar Bush)

After a spell of fever the country has now returned to an almost normal temperature as it regards the problem of loyalty on the part of its citizens in high or sensitive places. Key cases have disappeared from the front page, the last of these being so patently absurd that it was ludicrous. Oppenheimer is living a happy and constructive life, contributing to our philosophy if not to our defense. Condon is teaching physics rather than making new kinds of glass, and no doubt teaching well. Ladejinsky is back at work on his specialty.

But no one looks back on the recent imbroglio over loyalty procedures with any pride or satisfaction. For widely different reasons the feeling prevails that the system of loyalty clearance under which we have operated has been defective. We need a new system, not a bit of tampering with the old; we need a 1955 model, not an antirattling device to be attached to a model T.

The new system should be built from the ground up by a competent body of men with an unrestricted assignment. That body should include members who are vigorously alive to the dangers of subversion and others who are equally alive to the rights of citizens. It should not be just a collection of scientists. It must, by all means, be divorced from politics. It need not be hurried at its job, for our present situation is apt to continue a long time. But it should be so thorough that it will bring the whole problem of enemy penetration and disloyalty under control, without again making it a political fooball and without wrecking the careers of humble public servants.

First, the body should visualize the world conditions under which the revised system is likely to operate; second, it should analyze the objectives and and methods of our enemy in the field of propaganda and subversion; third, it should write down the objectives which the new system is to accomplish; fourth, it should establish a group of principles to which the system should conform; and, fifth, it should create a system that is to attain our objectives in accordance with the established principles. Here we can touch only the high spots of this program.

As nearly as we can now see, we are entering a period of technical stalemate, in which great wars are unlikely to occur, though secondary wars fought with limited means may be a common occurrence. This seems, at least, to be the best that we can hope for at present. For no great war can ever again be won; it can only end with the partial or complete annihilation of both contestants.

Our enemy relies chiefly on the weapons of penetration and subversion to weaken us so that later he can destroy us. He tries to steal our secrets, to penetrate our organizations and influence our actions, and above all, to spread confusion and mutual distrust among us. In this last purpose he has been extremely successful—so successful, in fact, that he need hardly try further; for we are carrying on the process without his aid.

The enemy's success in this respect has had an especially severe impact on the scientific community. For scientists occupy a key position with respect to those secrets that should be most strictly kept. They are an individualistic lot; otherwise they would be of little value as scientists.

While they concentrate in their special fields, they are often extremely naive in others. When we dreamed of world understanding as a means of ending all war, there was a greater portion of gullible men among them than among most other intellectual groups. And there were a few-an exceedingly few-traitors among them.

Much of the recent witch-hunt, therefore, seemed to concentrate on their profession. Yet in no other place could its effects be more disastrous to our national interest. Young men hesitate to enter the scientific professions, and in particular to participate in the scientific programs of the military arms because of the danger to their reputa tions and success. We must change this situation if we are to compete on even terms with the enemy.

But let it be perfectly clear that scientists ask no special privilege. To restore the principles of the Bill of Rights in all the processes of Government is not to grant special privilege. To urge a revision of our present faulty security system is not to seek special privilege.

The great question now is whether our recent public behavior is a passing phase, or whether we propose to change our part of the free world until it becomes a replica of the captive world which opposes us. If we choose the latter, the struggle will be over, for it will then no longer matter which tyranny prevails.

What, then, should be our objectives as we construct and operate a system for examining into the loyalty of Government servants and those who serve voluntarily on boards or committees?

In the first place, we want to throw the Communists out. If there is a man, of any rank in the Government, who is taking his orders from the Kremlin, we want to get rid of him promptly. If there is a teacher who is imparting to the young principles which are not his own but are dictated to him by the machinery of the Communist Party, we want to see to it that he stops teaching.

There is a point here which needs more discussion. We believe in free speech and a free press and that any man has a right to express his honest opinions and to criticize his government.

We believe with Brandels that "freedom to think as you will and to speak as you think are means indispensable to the discovery and spread of political truth; that without free speech and assembly, discussion would be futile; that with them, discussion affords ordinarily adequate protection

against the dissemination of noxious doctrine; that the greatest menace to freedom is an inert people; that public discussion is a political duty; and that this should be a fundamental principle of the American Government."

We have generally accepted the statement by Holmes that "We should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death, unless they so imminently threaten immediate interference with the lawful and pressing purposes of the law that an immediate check is required to save the country."

We hesitate, however, to go as far as Lin-coln did when he said, "This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

But there is a vast difference between the honest citizen who would change our system of government because he thinks he has a better system-even when his acts border on the violent-and the person who is part of a foreign conspiracy to wreck the Nation. Regarding the latter we have no doubts and no hesitancy. If he is a citizen, he is a traitor. If he is a guest in the land, he is a spy. either case he must be found out and dealt

with according to his deserts.

This alone, however, is not a sufficient objective. We want to make it possible for a humble citizen to serve his Government without fear of powerful men, we want decency in our national life. More than that, we want to establish an atmosphere of trust and mutual confidence among our citizens. Our security system needs to have two objectives, one to get rid of our enemies and their adherents, and the other to encourage, support and protect honest, loyal citizens as they work on matters that are important for our safety and our prosperity.

If a man was once a fool, do we condemn him for life, or do we let him prove that he has outgrown his folly? If we excluded from Government and from other employment all who have sometimes been foolish, we would not have enough left to man our guns or run our factories. But we are concerned here more particularly with the man who once subscribed to or flirted with the Communist philosophy and later, realizing his error, became a loyal citizen.

There are all degrees of involvement, of course. We certainly don't want to welcome with open arms, and introduce into sensitive spots, the man who professes sudden reformation. But neither do we want to exclude permanently from the practice of his trade or profession the man who did no more than attend a meeting of Communists out of curiosity when he was an adolescent.

The best proof of a change of heart is loyal service, and there are plenty of places in the Government where one can serve loyally without having access to military secrets. In the struggle with Russia we shall need all the capable men we can muster.

Quite apart from the question of decent humanity, we cannot afford to waste our most precious resource: the talents of our trained citizens. So, one object of our system should be to give the individual about whom there is doubt a chance—a safe one. certainly, but a path up instead of down, and an opportunity to remove whatever doubt

If a new system is to be built, there are several principles to be kept in mind. A considerable catalog of them is contained in the Bill of Rights.

There seems to be a feeling about that the Government does not impose a penalty on a person unless it fines him or puts him in jail, and two fallacies have emerged from confusion in this regard. It is said that to

work for the Government is a privilege and. therefore, that the Government has a right to terminate one's employment with it ar-

bitrarily. :
There is no question of privilege involved. When a citizen serves the Government he is paid a salary and presumably gives capable, honest service in return. He has a duty to serve well and loyally. But the Government also has a responsibility to avoid imposing hardships on any man who has served it faithfully, except on proof of disloyalty or for reasons apart from those we are considering here, such as incompetence.

disloyalty is not proved, but loyalty is doubted, we need not cut off a man's support and place a stigma on him that will make employment elsewhere almost impossible. He can be shifted to an insensitive job with little difficulty and no danger. We have al-ready damned for life too many humble employees of the Government merely because there was doubt or because our security system was too clumsy to resolve it.

In our courts we have a complex system of rules of evidence to protect a citizen against unwarranted prosecution, to expose liars, and to arrive at facts as far as is possible in the light of human frailties. Undoubtedly we have at times carried this system to extremes and hobbled our procedure unnecessarily. But the system has evolved as a result of 1.000 years of experience, and we should not

abandon it lightly.

We cannot carry it all over into loyalty procedures without rendering them cumbersome. Still, such procedures place a man in jeopardy; not, to be sure, of life or limb, but of his good name, which may be more preclous; and, therefore, the best advice of men learned in the law should be obtained if we are to have a sound and fair system embodying the safeguards that have been found essential for wise judgments.

We have had, recently, some very striking and disheartening examples of how far an unscrupulous liar can go and the harm he can do when proceedings are loose and informal, and he does not have to run the gauntlet of vigorous cross-examination.

The Bill of Rights says that a man shall not be twice placed in jeopardy for the same offense. In our loyalty system there is no finality. Important men who could contribute much to the Nation's real security have found it necessary time after time to go through the same rigmarole, filling out forms, appearing before loyalty boards, reassuring their neighbors that constant inquiry does not necesarily mean they are subversive.

Some have also had to spend their own money, time after time, merely defending themselves against ill-founded attacks. This has not generally been the result of new evidence presented. It has just been because we have a clumsy, inadequate system, steeped in confusion. When a man is cleared he ought to stay cleared unless there is new and pertinent evidence that he should

Do we still subscribe to that item of the Bill of Rights? Or do we think it is not jeopardy when a man may lose position, rep-utation and friends because of the acts of his Government?

The most serious aspect of our system to date has been that it has been used for spite and for thought control. Wholly unsupported charges lodged mainly for spite have been entertained seriously and made the basis for action when a proper court would have completely disregarded them.

The matter of thought control has been more subtle and more disastrous. Apparently the argument goes something like this: A man expressed opinions contrary to those which have been accepted as a Government policy. Perhaps he did so in the interests of Russia. We shall, therefore, examine whether his opinions were sound. What a travesty on the ideals of free speech.

And I am not writing merely of cases that have been in the headlines. I have in mind cases of a number of persons that received no publicity. My information about them is fragmentary, and I could prove nothing; for they have been surrounded with all the paraphernalia of secrecy; they have been the subject of star chamber proceedings.

But I believe there has been altogether too much thought control of this kind; for if it has been practiced in the full light of day, as it has, we may be sure it has been practiced far more in secret-sometimes on no better ground than that a man's arguments regarding policy have been found inconvenient.

Now I do not intend to prescribe an ideal system. I hope very much that a fully competent board will be given the task of doing so before more harm is done. But I have three suggestions in that direction.

In the practice of criminal law we have grand juries. They are part of our heritage from the long struggle of the past against arbitrary power. Their power is to protect the individual against capricious acts on the part of government officials. Before a district attorney can jail a man and force him to defend himself in court against serious charges, he must have him indicted. And no indictment will be returned unless the district attorney can convince a grand jury, made up of the man's fellow citizens chosen by lot, that he has a strong enough case to warrant setting all the machinery of the courts in motion.

Under our loyalty system, on the contrary, a man can be suspended and forced to defend himself at the whim of an official who may have only the flimslest of evidence against him. We need the equivalent of a grand jury in our security system. Such an equivalent would be made up of men who owe no allegiance to any official who may make charges, and it should be rigorously supported and protected in its deliberations and findings.

It could be selected by lot from men in the civil service, as grand juries are selected from the general body of citizens, which would be a reasonable and democratic way of sharing the burden. No machinery of trial should move unless there are serious charges supported by adequate evidence in the opinion of such a group of men. If this had been a part of our system in recent years, a large number of cases that have caused real distress would never have got started.

The relation of a government to its employees is a different matter than its relations to citizens at large. It is, in some ways, comparable to its relation to men in uniform. There are a dependence and an agreement under which both the men and the Government have obligations and re-

sponsibilities.

When a soldier is subjected to court-martlal, the Government furnishes him with counsel. Under the present loyalty system, a man who is accused must defend himself at his own expense. When our system is revised this burden should be lifted. The accused should be furnished with vigorous and capable counsel and should have wide latitude in its selection. He can then add his own counsel if he sees fit.

Such a provision would accomplish a number of things. It would protect the man who is without resources and to whom his job may be highly important. It would put an end to the absurdity of preventing an accused man or his counsel from seeing some of the evidence because it is classified. This would be no more than merely decent and

In addition to positive machinery for detecting and excluding disloyal persons in our equally positive midst. there should be means for insuring that the system is not used for improper purposes—for spite, for thought control, or for political advantage,

A grand jury can report to a court, and often does, if it believes prosecuting officers are violating the law. An equivalent of the grand jury should have a corresponding opportunity in connection with loyalty procedures. And it should report to the top in such instances-to the superiors of the offending official as many steps removed as the circumstances and the gravity of the offense warrant, in its opinion. The public would then have some assurance that the practice under the system is clean.

All that I have said has to do with the security system employed in the executive branch of Government. What committees of Congress do is up to Congress and, in the last analysis, up to the public opinion which obtains. Courts, quite properly, refrain from entering into questions of how Congress conducts its business.

But if the executive branch has a really effective system in operation and has cleaned its house, there will be few specific cases to which Congress can usefully direct its attention. We may then arrive at a situation in which Congress examines only into the manner in which the executive branch is operating, instead of attempting, in an exceedingly cumbersome and defective manner, the examination of individual cases, which should be promptly and effectively handled by a system designed specifically for that

The tide has apparently turned. We are much more sane and less hysterical than a year ago. We are gradually becoming more reasonable in our approach to the problem of subversives. But there is a danger here. Public opinion in this country sometimes swings to extremes: witness the great prohibition experiment.

As the tide turns, we should be on the alert to see that it does not swing too far and leave us complacent. We still, no doubt, have some Communists in our midst; and we still need to be vigilant in finding and removing them from places of trust in Government and industry.

It is time for a new system, one that strikes a proper balance, seeking out and removing enemy sympathizers who are doing us harm, but offering reasonable protection to the innocent as it does so; one that will be decent and just and that will not itself subvert those ancient rights of man which are the essence of his liberty.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanled by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which I shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at \$1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Appendix

One Hundred and Twelfth Anniversary of The Citadel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the text of an address delivered on March 19, 1955, by Hon. George Bell Timmerman, Jr., Governor of South Carolina, to the corps of cadets of The Citadel on the occasion of the 112th anniversary of the corps.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN, JR., GOVERNER OF SOUTH CAROLINA

INTRODUCTION

General Clark, gentlemen of the corps of cadets, ladies and gentlemen, I congratulate the corps of cadets on its 112th birthday.

As one who once wore the uniform of The Citadel I am honored to come before the corps as principal speaker on this important day in your academic year.

I congratulate the people of South Carolina for maintaining an institution that has attracted outstanding young men for more than a century.

From its beginning. The Citadel has been in the forefront in the development of young men into respected leaders in the many phases of life in our State and Nation.

As a Citadel man, I regret that one who is a prominent symbol of the strength and the tradition of The Citadel is unable to be with us today. I am sure that he joins with us in anticipating with confidence the continued development of our college. To him, Gen. Charles P. Summerall, I convey our greetings as the college to which he gave so much passes another milestone.

As well as the 112th birthday of the corps, today marks the first anniversary of the association of The Citadel and the man who has succeeded General Summerall.

Gentlemen of the corps, Citadel men around the world, and the people of South Carolina rejoiced at our good fortune when a man known to the world, Gen. Mark Wayne Clark, was inaugurated as the 11th president of The Citadel.

General Clark brought with him established qualities as an administrator and leader. He has shown a great understanding and appreciation of the traditions and aims of the military college of South Carolina. He has assessed accurately the present position of The Citadel and has given his attention to long range planning to maintain and strengthen that position in future years.

The opportunity to address the corps of cadets presents an important challenge,

Although it has been said repeatedly, there is no statement with more truth than to say that the future of our State and Nation rests with young men like you.

RECORD OF CITADEL MEN

South Carolinians are proud of the record made by Citadel men.

The original corps of cadets guarded the arms of the State at Charleston in a fortress known as The Citadel. From that fortress came the name of our college. From the first cadets came the great military tradition of the corps—to train for military leadership while acquiring an academic education; to learn to receive orders and to give orders as a way of developing self-discipline; and to have instilled the conviction that any sacrifice must be made when principle is involved and that truth, honor, and integrity are the basis of character.

Those before you have attained much success. Part of them have made the military a career. Only the academies at Annapolis and West Point, all of whose graduates enter upon active duty, have contributed a higher percentage of men to the military.

Citadel men have attained the leadership and great responsibility in military life. Citadel men have attained the leadership and great responsibility in civilian life. The record of Citadel men is your goal.

THE CADET OF TODAY

When you elected The Citadel for your scademic training, you voluntarily turned from the easier road.

You came for a sound education, but you came also for a full-time program of military training.

There is a modern day philosophy holding that we are all equal, that there is no man but the average man. It is a philosophy that I reject. At no time would I reject it more strongly than when I stand before the cadet corps.

You have not taken the easy way. To succeed as a member of the corps of cadets you must apply yourself.

You learn that the hard work you do as

You learn that the hard work you do as a cadet is not an end in itself. You learn that the highest accomplishment comes from the greatest effort. You learn how to use your faculties so that throughout your lifetime you will be, not that a verage man, but a leader of men.

THE WORLD CHALLENGE OF OUR TIME

At no time in history has the demand for able men been greater than it is today.

For the larger part of your life, we have

For the larger part of your life, we have been geared for war or the threat of war. We are striving constantly to have available for instant call millions of trained men. Such a military buildup requires leaders. On your shoulders will fall some of the future responsibility for that leadership.

More than two thousand years ago, a Greek named Plato, suggested that the laws of Greece ought to apply equally to everyone.

For this trouble, he was laughed at and scorned by many of the people of his time. It was unthinkable to them that the laws were meant to apply equally to all.

were meant to apply equally to all.

But that dream remained in the minds and
hearts of men.

Today we live in a land in which the right of the individual is fundamental.

Our concept of law is ultimately based on the protection of the individual.

Unfortunately only a small percentage of the peoples of the earth are governed by laws based on that concept.

Another theory, as old as the human race, abounds, and is being retested.

It regards the individual as unimportant. It considers the law as existing not for his benefit and protection but for his exploitation and regimentation.

Those who adhere to this theory are dedicated to the avowed destruction of those who adhere to our concept. They seek their goal by any means, fair or foul, external or internal, by force from without or collapse from within.

There always have been evil forces at work in the world.

These things are not new, but never before has the issue been so clearly put, nor the stakes to the loser so costly as now.

Today we see that men's minds are being fought for and the control of their thinking is being fought for.

We are necessarily aware that we can no longer define war, or total war as it is often called, in terms of explosive destruction alone.

We know that there exists the scientific knowledge and the explosive power to annihilate life on earth.

The chailenge which confronts the world is clear.

How we meet that challenge will determine the future course of history.

mine the future course of history.

Should man fall, it could mean the end.

History will eventually give the answer.

History will eventually give the answer, perhaps in blunt, even brutal, terms as it pursues the course that man will set for it.

THE STATE CHALLENGE OF OUR TIME

In South Carolina today there, too, is a great need for young men with qualities of leadership.

From your ranks much of this leadership can be supplied.

South Carolina today offers more opportunity to the young man than ever before in our history.

Our State has made greater strides in

Our State has made greater strides in many fields of endeavor in recent years than any State in our Nation.

In only 10 years industry has made almost a billion dollars in capital investments within South Carolina. These investments in our future mean additional jobs for our people. New jobs mean new payrolls. New payrolls mean new markets. New markets mean greater prosperity. We are developing daily on these fronts. As we develop we do not exhaust our opportunities. We create additional opportunity.

Since South Carolina was a young colony,

Since South Carolina was a young colony, it has been the local leadership which has enabled us to develop and move forward.

Local leadership in the ante bellum period made South Carolina the third richest State in the Nation.

Local leadership carried South Carolina through reconstruction and into the greatest period of development in our history. Local leadership in the years ahead will carry our State to heights many of our people would not dare dream of today.

It was the local leadership of William Gregg that established South Carolina's first cotton mill at Graniteville in 1846.

It was the local leadership of James C. Self, of Greenwood, that resulted in better working conditions, better housing, better medical care, higher wages, and a better standard of living. His pioneering gave the industrial worker a new set of basic minimums not only in South Carolina but throughout the South.

It was local leadership that has made our State the textile manufacturing center of the world.

It was local leadership that brought to our State the basic wool plants which will be the foundation on which we will develop as the wool center of the world.

It was local leadership that took the port of Charleston, a dormant installation, and in 10 years developed it into one of the leading ports of the Nation. It is local leadership which is guiding the port of Charleston today as the fastest-growing port in the Southeast.

It was local leadership which recognized the needs in the field of public schools and brought about an educational revolution which has put our State 4 years ahead of the Nation.

It was local leadership which founded and developed our fine system of higher education.

It was local leadership that provided a college for military training at the Citadel. It was local leadership that provided for our State university at Columbia. It was local leadership that provided for mechanical and agricultural education at Clemson College.

It was local leadership working through Clemson College that brought about an agricultural revolution in South Carolina.

It was local leadership that enabled South Carolina to pioneer a statewide highway system.

Local leadership is developing the greatest industrial water supply in our Nation a few miles from Charleston at Bushy Park.

Local leadership through the years has answered the challenge of the times—to build schools or railroads or highways when the progress of our people demanded it.

I ask you to look beyond the opportunity of immediate economic security to the opportunity to accept the great challenge of

Our population is increasing and employment for that population is increasing. Because of that, our markets are increasing for agricultural products, manufactured products, and services of many kinds.

In spite of these increases, South Carolina is still 45th in the Nation in per capita

In spite of our growing employment, South Carolina offers 114 young men to replace each farmer who dies or retires.

Until the per capita income of our people, white and Negro, exceeds the national average, until every man able and willing to accept employment has a decent job, until every acre of abandoned land has been put into cultivation, until the great natural harbors at Georgetown and Port Royal join the port of Charleston as busy gateways to world trade, a challenge will face the leaders of South Carolina.

Until our peoples are properly housed and properly clothed and properly fed, that challenge will exist. Until our peoples have adequate medical care and a fair share of the comforts of this modern age, that challenge will exist. Until we can provide the best educational opportunities for our youth, that challenge will exist. Until all other services which our citizens expect from the State are brought to the highest standards, that challenge will exist.

CONCLUSION

The challenge which faces you is no less important than the challenge which faced William Gregg as he built his cotton mill,

The way perhaps will be easier.

No longer must you seek the shoals of the river to find power to turn the wheel. Today even the electric-power companies no longer have to seek the perfect hydroelectric site. Steam turbines lend themselves to convenience and efficiency in location.

Transportation is provided by highway, railroad, and air in such a blanket of facilities that no section of South Carolina is isolated.

Improved methods and mechanical tools provide greater yields in manufacturing and in agriculture.

Mankind is seeking utopia. It is not likely that it will be found. But we have achieved much and will achieve more in driving toward a higher goal.

As long as man seeks utopia, there will be an audience for those persons with fancy schemes and shortcut proposals.

But there is no shortcut. There is no plan whereby one man or a small group of men can wish for utopia and simply by wishing bring such a state into being.

The alternative to a government-controlled economy is one built on the energy and initiative of the individual.

It is that alternative which needs you in the ranks of leadership.

How you meet the challenge of your course of study at the Citadel may well determine how well you meet the challenge of the future of South Carolina.

It is my sincere hope that you accept the challenge of South Carolina. If you do accept it, it will not be an easy road.

You will encounter selfish interests who think not of a better tomorrow for our State but only of themselves in the present. Do not let them shake your faith in our future. No man works for the development of our State without working for his own betterment. Man draws more from the expanding economy than from the shrinking economy.

The goal is a better life.
The challenge is there. It is yours to

answer.

The International Atomic Energy Program—Address by Hon. Morehead Patterson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have prepared a statement relative to the International Atomic Energy Agency and negotiations for worldwide peaceful application of this great nuclear force.

I ask unanimous consent that the statement and the attached speech by the Honorable Morehead Patterson be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the statement and appended speech were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILEY

The world has noted with interest the latest example of Soviet duplicity: Izvestia, characteristically, has just denounced President Eisenhower's effort for worldwide peaceful application of atomic energy. Izvestia slandered the historic address made by our Chief Executive on December 8, 1953, before the United Nations General Assembly.

Thus, once more, the Soviet Union brands itself in the eyes of the world as an opponent of all reasonable steps actually to harness this great force for man's benefit, and to prevent it from being used for man's destruction.

The Soviet Union's course with respect to President Eisenhower's efforts represent a typical instance of the Soviet Union's talking out of both sides of its mouth at the same time. This situation proves once more the Soviet tendency to lie unendingly, to propagandize unconscionably.

Nevertheless, we are not disenheartened. We are not discouraged. We are not going to permit Soviet sabotage to impair our efforts in relation to working out with the free nations the great plans which have been spelled out by our Chief Executive.

MANY PROBLEMS LIE BEFORE US

I have noted with deep interest the progress of many of the free nations in their nuclear reactor programs or the beginnings of such programs.

I feel that we are entering upon a new age in which many underdeveloped nations can span the gap toward industrialization with a speed which might heretofore have been inconceivable.

There are, of course, a great many technical and economic problems which must still be resolved before atomic energy can be produced economically for peaceful power purposes. This is not going to happen overnight by waving a magic wand, but that it is going to happen within a reasonable time is certain. We are sure that under the great leadership of President Elsenhower and Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, we will, in concert with freemen everywhere move toward the goals which we have set for ourselves.

ADDRESS BY MOREHEAD PATTERSON

America is fortunate that we have as our United States representative for international atomic energy negotiations an outstanding citizen, a leading businessman (president of the American Machine & Foundry Co.), a man who has already proved his mettle in U. N. conferences on disarmament. Mr. Morehead Patterson.

I was pleased the other day to read the text of an address which Mr. Patterson delivered at the opening of the School of Nuclear Sciences and Engineering in Chicago. In it, he voices many extremely significant observations with regard to the future peaceful application of atomic energy on an international scale. This is Mr. Patterson's first public address in his new capacity.

AN HISTORIC CHAPTER

This overall subject is, of course, no more passing matter.

I believe that when the history of these times is written, the role played by President Eisenhower in the atoms-for-peace plan will constitute one of the most significant chapters of our times.

I believe, too, that the vital role played by Adm. Lewis Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, in pioneering in the peaceful application of atomic energy, will likewise stand as one of the outstanding roles of a public servant in our time.

In the flux of day-to-day events, let us keep these immensely significant contributions in mind.

Let us bear in mind, too, that it is the genius of United States free enterprise which is in the vanguard of actually carrying out the technical details of this work.

VITAL WORK OF ATOMIC INDUSTRIAL FORUM

Fortunately, a great many of America's finest companies, including many in my own State, are now laying sound plans to cooperate with our Government in peaceful use of the atom.

The Atomic Industrial Forum is serving invaluably in this overall effort.

American business is thus demonstrating to the world its vision and resourcefulness in opening a new chapter in our free-enterprise system. And Government is giving the "green light" as fast as security considerations and other problems will permit.

Meanwhile, on the international scale, America is acting upon her unparalleled opportunity to serve man's welfare and to strengthen relations with all free nations, as well as trying to come to some meeting ground with the east.

SPEECH AND EDITORIAL

There follow now excerpts from the text of Mr. Patterson's vital address.

It is followed by an editorial from the March 17 Milwaukee Journal, describing the significance of the historic occasion at the

opening of the school.

I may note that Mr. Patterson is going to address an important conference in San Francisco on April 4, conducted by the Atomic Industrial Forum and Stanford Research Institute. The theme of the conference is Atomic Energy-The New Industrial Frontier. Other speakers will include Dr. Glenn T. Scaborg, Nobel prize winner, and Dr. Edward Teller, famed nuclear scientist. This meeting at the Mark Hopkins Hotel is typical of the very significant work being spearheaded by the Atomic Industrial Forum, in acquainting United States business with its opportunities and responsibilities in the atomic age,

MAN'S BENEFITS FROM THE ATOM

(Address by Ambassador Morehead Patterson, United States representative for international atomic-energy negotiations, at the opening of the School of Nuclear Sciences and Engineering, Chicago, Ill., March 13, 1955)

This day will long be remembered by peoples everywhere. It marks the beginning of an extensive, permanent program of international educational exchange applying the knowledge of the atom to the betterment and the improvement of mankind.

You who come from every continent of this earth are true trailblazers in this historic program of peaceful cooperation. Representatives from 19 countries are ready to begin here at the School of Nuclear Sciences and Engineering a most unique and fruitful

program.

Each of you is a living testimonial to the desire that burns in all the world's peopleto help one another toward greater health, security, and well-being. Through your studies here you will have the opportunity to make a substantial contribution toward that end for your own countries and peoples and for all the countries and all the peoples of the world.

The opening of this school is a true realization of the hope that modern man can learn to overcome his fears and his misunderstandings in much the same way that we have learned and are still learning to fathom the infinite mysteries of nature and to apply

them to the benefit of all.

This School of Nuclear Sciences and Engineering equally represents a most remarkable advance along the path of international cooperation. One of the greatest obstacles to the speedier development of the peaceful uses of the atom is the lack of a large enough body of scientists and technicians trained to deal with nuclear materials. We cannot have powerplants operating by atomic fission, for instance, until we have technicians who know how to operate them. As a result, we must train a large body of individuals all over the world who can grasp the problems and know what is required to work safely and effectively with atomic materials. There are substantial numbers of reactor engineers in the United States, in the United Kingdom. and in Canada, and there are quite a few in other lands. Their number must be rapidly increased, especially today. That is exactly what we are trying to do with this school and with this course.

The existence of this school for the exchange of know-how to the benefit of mankind is a typical way in which the American people desire to express their deep and genuine hatred of war and their devotion to peace. History has shown that the American civilization flourishes in peace. War, and especially war in the 20th century, must of necessity bring with it the type of economic regimentation which is destructive of the finest and most productive values in American life.

It is for these simple reasons that the harnessing of the atom for peaceful purposes is a natural and inevitable step for the American people. And this, by the same definition, is an advance which the Ameri-can people like and prefer to share with their friends abroad. Similarly, it was natural and easy, though admittedly naive, for the American people to disarm rapidly soon after the end of both World Wars. What other country could have demobilized 8 million men in 10 months? It was also natural and easy for the American people to offer to give up their most powerful weapon of war-the atom bomb-and internationalize atomic energy. Despite the fact that the United States had a monopoly of that weapon at that time, the sole condition made was that a foolproof system of safeguards be established. Those were easy, unhesitant decisions for the United States. The difficult and trying decision is to maintain prepared-While the atom takes on a primary peaceful aspect, we shall not weaken our defenses to the detriment of real security.

The unique course you are about to begin is the natural consequence of another memorable event. On December 8, 1953, the President of the United States delivered a message of hope to the world-a broad plan for turning the atom to peaceful uses.

He thus proposed that the benefits of atomic energy be used for the good of all mankind, and not confined to the few States that by an act of God, so to speak, have

atomic know-how.

The impact of the President's thoughts was great. It stirred the imaginations of people all over the world and created a tremendous wave of enthusiasm which even a dash of Russian cold water failed to chill. It was also greeted by some with cynicism and

Such was the enthusiam that many were inclined to overestimate and forget the practical difficulties involved in putting the atom to work. Some have concluded that in a very short time-perhaps next month or next year-we would find ourselves in a rosetinted era of atomic plenty. All of us-in industry, in science, and in positions of public responsibility for the peaceful development of nuclear energy-have contributed in some measure to this excessive public optimism on how much we can expect from the atom, and how soon. Sometimes we compete with one another to see who can take the longest leap into outer space in projecting the overnight transformation of every aspect of human life through the application of atomic power. One could argue that there is nothing drastically wrong with this dreaming.

The free world was not alone in this contemplation of atomic possibilities. What, for instance, have the Russians to say on this Let me quote from a recent article subject? in the Soviet magazine New Generation (Smena):

"The use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes will permit the correcting of many of nature's mistakes * * * the Turgai Gates might be blown up to open the way for Siberian rivers to flow south to Central Asia and Kazakhstan."

Other projects which this article promised are "irrigating such deserts as the Sahara, construction of a colossal powerplant in the Straits of Gibraltar, building a dam in the Bering Straits which would be connected with a series of other structures that would direct the warm streams of the Pacific Ocean to the Arctic Ocean to warm the areas be-

While the article then indicated that all this could happen immediately, it points out that these "earth-shaking schemes will have to wait for the end of capitalism."

From what we really know, none of these earth-shaking schemes nor, in passing, the end of capitalism is imminent.

So much for the optimists. Now for the pessimists.

A respected political leader in one country suggests that we give up hope of ever being able to solve all atomic problems; that we turn back the clock and that the United States "throw all its atom bombs into the deep Antarctic and begin a new world free from fear." Of course, this would mean a complete halt to the development of peaceful uses of the atom, since the basic fissionable materials that we would throw into the Antarctic would be the same as the materials used in powerplants.

The road which the United States is presently following is not that of unrealizable earth-shaking schemes; or is it the road of despair which would abandon all hope of progress because of its dangers. We are seeking to move forward constructively and practically with steady steps toward our goal of making the atom a real servant of mankind. We hope and know that each year will show advances over the previous year.

I am deeply convinced that the atom holds limitless potentialities for human good. Science and industry, hand in hand with the Government, will level the barriers that stand between us and its useful application. By focusing increased attention on these problems and the freer exchange of information between countries-which is reflected in the school here-the time for achieving appreciable results will get shorter. Every promise has 3 dimensions, 1 of which is time.

We will bring about only disappointment, and perhaps even disillusionment and despair, if people become persuaded that all this represents a quick or easy assignment.

The Sahara just cannot be made to bloom next year.

The face of the globe cannot be altered to turn the North Pole into a tropic paradise the year after that.

We must realize that great human and material effort must still be exerted before we can tap the atom's full potential; and that, even when we do, it will not be the answer to every problem in every corner of the earth.

This state of mind can easily be described by the old maxim: Before we can run, we must learn to walk.

In the public discussions on the potentials of the atom the aspect that has attracted principal attention until now is the prospect of cheap and plentiful electric power, using nuclear materials as fuel.

So many countries are in need of new fuel sources and the world's energy requirements are rising so rapidly that much of our immediate hope for the atom is concentrated in this field. A good part of your own time at this school will be devoted to certain aspects of this subject.

The countries which you represent hope to realize many benefits from the development of reliable and economical powerplants utilizing nuclear fuels as soon as possible. For each country the timetable of this development will vary. The power requirements of your countries are increasing rapidly each year. For example, I understand that the rise in Portugal amounts to 20 percent per

At the same time the conventional sources of fuel-solid fuels, liquid fuels, and water power-are generally inadequate today and can be expanded only with difficulty.

Let us be specific for a moment: In France and Belgium the solid fuels which up until now have been the chief source of energy are becoming more expensive to produce and there is little possibility of rapid expansion

of production. The recent discoveries of oil in France are indeed encouraging but will probably be used for purposes other than energy.

In Switzerland, Sweden, Portugal, and Greece expansion of hydroelectric resources is definitely limited and there is no substantial production of liquid or solid fuels.

Portugal fortunately has rich deposits of uranium. In Spain with its limited hydroelectric and solid fuel resources we look forward to especially rapid increase in the demands for power.

To turn to Asia: The hydroelectric and solid fuel resources of Japan are already entirely inadequate to take care of its highly industrialized economy. There is no oil production.

In the Philippines even today we find a desperate power shortage which impedes the industrial development of the country.

Thailand is completely dependent on imported fuel to meet its power requirements. In Pakistan domestic production of fuels is equal to only about one-fourth of present

consumption requirements. Indonesia is more fortunate than some cf its neighbors because of its nearly unlimited

resources in petroleum. However, its vast populations should benefit especially from applications of the atoms in the field of health and agriculture.

Israel has as yet found neither liquids nor solid fuels in its borders.

Australia has large solid fuel resources. Yet its program for expanding its economy should benefit materially from harnessing the atom for peace, especially since Australia is a potentially large producer of uranium.

There are a number of peaceful uses of the atom now being developed which could be extremely helpful to Egypt in solving its unique economic problems. I refer in particular to the tracer techniques as applied to agriculture and to the considerable experimentation now going on to develop economical methods of transforming sea water

to fresh water. To turn to the Western Hemisphere: Of the countries represented in this course only Mexico has at the present time adequate developed fuel resources within its borders; all four states-Argentina, Brazil, Guatemala, and Mexico-have embarked on programs of industrial development which can benefit materially from the atom.

I think it is safe to say that every one of you when you return to your homes will find problems in your countries at least in the planning stage to which you can apply im-mediately and profitably the knowledge and skills which you will acquire in these courses.

To my mind, the best way to illustrate where we stand today in the realm of atomic power is to draw an analogy between the development of aviation in the early years of this century and the present stage of development of atomic energy.

In the late twenties-many here will recall-a wave of enthusiasm engulfed the world in connection with the benefits to be derived by mankind from the peaceful uses of the aeroplane. Up to that time, the chief developments in aircraft had all been military. Little serious thought was given to the commercial use of planes. Suddenly, the world seemed to visualize a tremendous future for civil aviation.

The headway in civil aviation has, of course, been impressive. It has brought ma-terial benefits to all of us. And yet very few of us can commute to work by air; even fewer drop out of the skies to visit their friends for an evening. Railroads, steamers. and buses continue to run, and the use of automobiles has increased many times more rapidly than the use of the planes.

The reason why the dreams of the twenties are still only partly realized is a simple one:

With aviation, something new was added to the complexities of travel—the law of gravity. Flying is not dangerous. The danger begins when the motor fails and you stop flying. Ever since the Wright brothers made their first flight our ingenuity has been focused in two directions: First, on ways to make planes safer and more reliable; and second, on the training of technicians-the pilots and ground crews. We have made enormous strides in this direction.

Today after 50 years of constant experimentation and improvement, air travel has become so safe that our major airlines fly millions of miles each year without a casualty. They solved the safety problem, just as you, and others like you, will solve the problems inherent in the safe application of atomic power. But it took time.

We are going to get a great deal from the atom, but it is foolhardy to tell ourselves we are going to accomplish this revolution overnight.

I am confident that the will and the ability to solve these many problems will be found. Indeed, an occasion like this one here today represents the best assurance that the think ing of experts from all nations can and will be focused on the prompt and effective solution of problems which man has the ingenuity to conquer. Out of such fine coopera-

tion can come only good.

These past months progress has been made toward international cooperation in peaceful uses of the atom. We have moved forward on the path leading to the creation of an International Atomic Energy Agency as suggested by President Eisenhower. statute for such an agency has been prepared and is presently under active negotiation. Included in this statute are numerous constructive steps suggested during the lengthy and helpful debate on this subject in the last United Nations General Assembly. It would be premature to discuss today the details of the proposed agency. Soon there will be in existence an active international agency to develop the peaceful uses of atomic energy. I hope that many of you will share in the work of this agency.

The opening of the School for Nuclear

Science and Engineering is yet another step toward this important path of international cooperation to bring out greater peaceful uses of the atom. So is the forthcoming Technical Conference on the atom in Geneva in August.

Highly significant in the operation of this school is its worldwide representation, spread

all over the globe.

We might call the roll to bring out this vital fact:

From Africa, Egypt is represented here; Australia is represented. From Asia we have here students from Japan, Pakistan, Israel, Thailand, Philippines, and Indonesia. Europe is represented by Beigium, France, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Switzer-America is represented by Guatemala and Mexico and by Argentina and Brazil.

We certainly should have a good start in developing trained technicians all over the world.

By this school and by joint participation we have made a real move toward inter-national cooperation in harnessing the atom for peace. The message of hope which the President of the United States gave to the United Nations a little over a year ago has become today a reality. More will be done in the future.

In the future when we have an International Atomic Energy Agency, as visual-ized by the President, I hope that all countries with atomic know-how, including the Soviet Union, will invite citizens of all nations to participate in their training programs on an exchange basis. The International Agency may have training programs of its own; and in any event, it can assist materially in arranging for spreading atomic know-how everywhere.

I congratulate the Atomic Energy Com-mission for its broad vision in establishing this school. I congratulate the staff of the school for the careful and skillful arrangements which, I am convinced, will make the courses a success.

And I congratulate you, the students from foreign lands, who will go back to your countries as pioneers in this great work. You signify the urgency expressed throughout the world for affirmative action to assure the survival of humanity on this planet survival in the face of possible widespread destruction from the use of this same atomic energy for war only. I think it is the justifiable hope of the world that as peaceful uses of atomic energy become universal and the power systems of the world become more and more dependent upon it, its destructive use in allout war may become less likely. In this sense the development of nuclear power would have significance far beyond the economic sphere which is the perspective in which it is generally considered today. In this sense your efforts as pioneers in your countries in this field may well qualify you for the blessed reward promised to peace-makers. You will be in that enviable position of making the world we live in better. more secure, and healthier. This represents real hope. By exchanging know-how and ideas all men benefit. The American people by their action in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy have dedicated themselves to that goal.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of March 17, 1955]

REPAYING OUR ATOMIC DEBT

America this week started sharing with other nations of the world some of the knowledge and skills that have given us preeminence in the realm of atomic science.

At the Argonne National Laboratory, southwest of Chicago, representatives of 19 for eign lands gathered for the opening of the new School of Nuclear Science and Engineering. There they will learn the tech-niques of operating atomic reactors so they may return home and pass on their knowledge to ather edge to others. Thus will be created a body of technicians for the constructive use of

one may properly take pride in this exame ple of American generosity. But, in truth, it represents only a partial repayment of the immense contributions. immense contributions made to our earlier atomic effort by scientists of foreign lands.

The roll of these scientists was called, in part, at ceremonies opening the school: Einstein, of Germany; Fermi, of Italy; Bohr, of Denmark; Breit, of Russia; Szilard and Wigner, of Hungary; Zinn, of Canada; they and many others; and had and many others; and had and many others; and had and many others. many others; and before them Hahn and Strassman, of Germany; Cockroft, of Eng-land; the Curies, of France and Poland.

Not until the present modest beginning has been vastly broadened can we mark the debt paid. President Eisenhower sketched the outlines in his electrifying atoms-for-peace proposal to the United Nations.

The Uses of Fear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. BRICKER

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address on the subject. The Uses of Fear, delivered by Representative John M. Vorys, of Ohio, at the Ohio State University convocation on March 18, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

THE USES OF FEAR

(By Representative John M. Vorys, of Ohio, at Ohio State University convocation on March 18, 1955)

Midwinter seniors of 1955, I congratulate you upon your graduation. You have not finished your education. You will forget much you have learned and much of it is subject to change by new discoveries, by time and experience; but if you have truly learned to learn, you are ready for your life's work, and are needed.

You are graduating in a period of unparalleled prosperity in the richest country on earth in all history; but this is a time of fear. In 1943 I spoke here a a convocation in the middle of World War II. I said, "How can we win the war? * * * Who keeps score on who wins? We will know we have won, not on the day we march into Berlin and Tokyo, but on the day our troops march out of Berlin and Tokyo, for home, for good, knowing they will not have to return."

Today, 12 years later, our troops are still in Germany and Japan, and we are promising they will stay there, indefinitely. We have extended the draft again. Two-thirds of our Federal budget goes for military spending. The struggle against totalitarian aggression has not been won, and we live in an age of fear because of the threat of totalitarian

communism.

The A-bomb and H-bomb have created a new kind of fear, that spreads and deepens as we learn more of the effects of nuclear warfare. I have seen an A-bomb explosion out at Yucca fiats in Nevada. It was only a little one, of the size that took only 100,000 lives at Hiroshima. The yield of an H-bomb is far greater. The effects of high-yield nuclear weapons have been described and detailed so thoroughly in the press, the movies, over radio and television, that yield, blast and heat, radiation and fallout are words of common knowledge. Prime Minister Churchill says that by this knowledge "the entire foundation of human affairs was revolutionized and mankind placed in a position both measureless and laden with 'doom',' He said, "the hydrogen bomb has made an astounding incursion into the structure of our lives and thoughts. Its impact is prodigious and profound." The Soviets are making the most of this fear in planning their propaganda.

Another and entirely different kind of fear has been introduced into our lives by the Communist threat. Their conspiracy for overthrowing us from within, by propaganda, subversion, espionage and sabotage, and the necessary counter-measures we must take, cause us to fear each other as we have never done before. A newspaper tells of the nightmarish terror and emotional breakdowns suffered by persons feeling unjustly accused as security risks, as reported to the American Orthopsychlatric Association predicting that the extension of the security program will bring about a mental hygene problem of national proportions. This report has been criticized as exaggerated and unsound, but it calls attention to a new kind of fear in America. It says nothing of the deep, disturbing, well-founded fear Communist infiltration which underlies our attempts to discover security risks and bar them from sensitive posts. These new fears, creating confusion and suspicion among us, are useful to the Communist conspiracy which is responsible for them.

The Communists have developed other techniques for using fear, improving on Nazi methods they took over after World War II. Ten years ago I saw an underground factory at Nordhausen, Germany, where 30,000 slave laborers were turning out V-2 rocket bombs. We used to believe that mass slave labor was only good for unskilled work. At Nordhausen, however, the Nazis, by a scientifically planned system of punishment and terror, were obtaining skillful, intricate, precision work from slaves motivated solely by fear. The Russians took over this factory and this system.

The Communists use fear, not only to direct men's acts, but to mould their words, their wills, their thoughts. The protracted, ingenious, efficient cruelty of brain-washing has been brought home to us in all its sickening horror by the treatment of Americans in

the hands of the Chinese Reds.

These are some of the fears involved in the cold war and some of the uses of fear by the Communists. We have many problems not connected with communism that must be solved, involving hopes and fears, opportunities for success and failure. But fear is contagious, and in an age of fear there is a tendency, a temptation, to state all our problems in terms of fear so as to attract attention.

Widespread fear of mass unemployment of skilled workers due to "automation," the new word for the rapidly increasing use of so-called mechanical-brain machines, is being generated as a result of studies by certain

labor groups and others.

On the other hand, there is fear that we do not have enough skilled workers. Secretary of Labor Mitchell said recently that the level of working skills has dropped so dangerously it poses a threat to the Nation's survival. The American Council on Education, advocating a tax credit for college tuition, says: "With national security resting in the balance, the United States is less strong than it might be because * * the supply of college graduates to meet immediate needs is insufficient in the natural sciences, engineering, home economics, dentistry, medicine, nursing, school teaching and college teaching, and demands are increasing in social science and the humanities."

Sometimes graduating classes fear they cannot get jobs. According to this statement, you need have no such fears, but can help alleviate fears for our national security by accepting these positions that are imme-

diately available.

In this age of fear it is sometimes hard to keep up with all the fears we are told we should have: Fears of no jobs for workers, no workers for jobs, depression and inflation, too much overwork, too much leisure, overweight, and malnutrition. How about lung cancer, tooth decay, halitosis? One antidote for fear is a sense of humor. In this age of fear we need young people who don't take things too seriously. But we cannot laugh off all our fears.

If the Communists can use fear for their ends, if American advertisers can use it, perhaps we need to analyze fear a little ourselves; its power for evil, its power for good.

We are not going to get rid of fear, or escape it, but we can overcome fear as a master, and use it, as Nature and God intended, as a warning, as a stimulus.

Men cannot escape fear for long. Alcohol, drugs, and pseudoreligious hypnosis will do it for a while, but the jitters that follow such jags involve a peculiarly degrading kind of fear that finally falls to respond to heavier doses of escape remedies.

Fear has its uses. Nature built fear into us as a warning system. The burnt child dreads the fire. Fear keeps us from being run over in traffic. The presence of danger brings the quick stop, the rapid mental reconnoiter, the increased heartbeat, the stim-

ulus that is so useful in avoiding trouble or meeting it with skill and strength.

Fear can be trained. We can cultivate our useful fears. As Dr. Johnson said, "Fear is implanted in us as a preservative from evil." We can learn how to ignore useless fears. We can also learn how to resist and overcome real and deadly fears, when this is necessary, with courage.

I think courage is not a rare virtue; it is a God-given quality that is as instinctive and contagious as fear; it can be cultivated and developed, and is very useful. Fearless people, who have no fear at all, are about as scarce as complete cowards, who have no courage, and about as annoying and useless. Most of us have a healthy sense of fear, and also a healthy capacity for courage, which needs development right now, individually and collectively, for the H-bomb era.

Arnold Toynbee, in his study of history, points out that the development of a civilization depends upon challenge and response. When there is no challenge—where things are too easy, the civilization decays. Where the challenge is not met, the civilization is destroyed. It is when the mortal challenge evokes a worthy response that civilization flourishes. These are the virtues of ad-

versity.

Your Government is planning measures to meet the Communist challenge on all fronts, military, diplomatic, economic, propaganda, civilian defense, internal security. As a Congressman working on legislation to implement these measures, I realize constantly that the success of all of them finally depends, not on Congress, not on the President, but on you who are not in government, your state of mind, your spirit. We hope that Soviet fear of our instant, devastating retaliation will deter them from nuclear warfare, but we cannot guarantee it. Should our policy depend on it?

Prime Minister Churchill, in his recent speech on this subject said, "I am anxious to repeat and emphasize the one word which is the theme of my remarks, namely 'deterrent'." After telling how the H-bomb increased the area of vulnerability to mortal danger, how this should certainly increase the deterrent upon Soviet Russia by increasing their fears, how he hopes this would lead to a top-level conference, he said, "Then it may well be that we shall, by a process of sublime irony, have reached a stage in this story where safety will be a sturdy child of terror, and survival the twin brother of annihilation."

I have studied this poetic, cryptic phrase. If it means that our only goal is to seek safety from terror by a Big Three conference on the pattern of Yalta and Potsdam, based on a sort of nuclear neutrality, born of mu-

tual fears, then I cannot agree.

Our goal ought to be something more than a perpetual arms race, with the prize going to the side with the greatest scientific development of death-dealing, fearbreeding weapons. Our goal ought to be something more than a stalemate, a double deterrent, based on fear. Our goal ought to be based on doing what is right and just and honorable, undeterred by fear of anything except wrong and injustice and dishonor.

From now on we face an ultimate challenge, not of scientific ingenuity, but of human spirit; not of nuclear behavior, but of human behavior. So do our enemies. The issue will be decided, not in laboratories, in Congress, or on battlefields, but in men's minds, and hearts, and souls. As President Eisenhower said in his state of the Union message, "It is of the utmost importance, then, that each of us understand the true nature of the world struggle now taking place.

"It is not a struggle merely of economic theories, or forms of government, or of military power. The issue is the true nature of man. Either man is the creature whom the Psalmist described as a 'little lower than the angels.' crowned with glory and honor, holding 'dominion over the works' of his Creator; or man is a soulless animated machine to be enslaved, used, and consumed by the state for its own glorification.

"It is, therefore, a struggle which goes to the roots of the human spirit, and its shadow falls across the long sweep of man's destiny."

In these moving words, the President was speaking to the people, and for the people. A great spiritual awakening is going on in this country, a great religious revival. Church attendance and membership have increased. Religious books are best sellers. It is more than escapism from H-bomb terrors. In this age of fear we are learning how to live and how to die.

I have talked about new fears. Actually, fears of wholesale pain, torture, murder, annihilation, are as old as evil in the human race; and long ago we were told that if we dwelt, not in H-bomb shelters, but in the secret place of the Most High under the shadow of the Almighty, we need not be afraid for the terror by night; nor for the missile that flies by day; nor for the pestilence that spreads in darkness; nor for the destruction that blasts at noonday.

America has led the world in scientific development, material progress. Now the world needs spiritual development, moral progress, in a hurry. We led in the discovery of atomic secrets, and our enemies stole them, Can we discover the secret place of the Most High and tell the world the secret? If we did, what chance would there be for Godless, materialistic communism, in war or in peace?

We will need courage, and wisdom, but we are told that, not fear of the H-bomb, but "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of Congress cannot repeal fear or wisdom." enact faith by passing a law. Force will rule the world, but above military force, economic force, there is a moral force Perhaps among you who are graduating today are those who will lead in discovering, developing, and exporting that kind of force for us, for the world.

Fifth Anniversary of the National Muscular Dystrophy Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PRICE DANIEL

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a statement I have prepared concerning the fifth anniversary of the National Muscular Dystrophy Foundation.

There being no objection the statement was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NATIONAL MUSCU-LAR DYSTROPHY FOUNDATION

(Statement by Senator DANIEL)

March 20 was the fifth anniversary of the organization of the National Muscular Dystrophy Research Foundation in my own home town of Liberty, Tex.

Since the Senate was not in session on the anniversary date, I take this, the first opportunity thereafter, to pay tribute to the organization and especially to its founders.

Two young women in Liberty, Tex., Sallie and Nadine Woods, who were afflicted with muscular dystrophy, resolved that they were going to do something about this mysterious crippler. Their sister, Dell, an invalid since childhood, caused them to know what could happen to them and to others stricken with this disease. On March 20, 1950, they found-National Muscular Dystrophy Research Foundation. It was the first organized effort against the disease and the first national health organization chartered in the State of Texas.

During these 5 years the organization has grown and prospered, but always it has been under the influence and inspiration of its original founders, Sallie and Nadine Woods, Theirs is the story of 2 individuals-not healthy like most of us-but afflicted with a disease whose cause is unknown and for which no cure has been discovered. They are victims of muscular dystrophy, a disease which causes a progressive wasting away of muscle tissue resulting in complete invalidism and often death.

Five years ago doctors knew little about this disease which afflicts some 250,000 Americans. It was passed over in a few paragraphs in the medical books. were sympathetic but not encouraging. Sallie and Nadine were faced with a future which seemed to give them little hope. I am proud to say that these 2 girls from my home town wouldn't be stopped. Despite the fact that they grew weaker every day, they entered the battle against muscular dystrophy.

Five years later many research projects have been started to study the nature of this disease and to search for a cure. Thousands of victims have sent their case histories to Liberty. Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower is the foundation's national honorary president, and the committee of national sponsors

includes Roy Rogers, Dale Evans, E1 Sullivan, and Gov. Allan Shivers.
Sallie and Nadine Woods have accomplished this by faith and sheer willpower. When the foundation began they did parttime secretarial work at home to pay for the postage. They talked to anyone who could be interested in helping and soon raised the funds to give the program a wider

They have now helped Raymond Waller, foundation poster boy, to launch a drive for \$1 million in research funds. I visited Ray-mond shortly after his 18th birthday. He weighs only 35 pounds. But if you could see him, you would agree with Mrs. Elsenhower that his courage is an example to each of us.

Raymond knows that any discovery will come too late to help him but he has asked that everyone send 18 cents or \$18 to Ray-mond in care of the postmaster, Liberty, Tex. He knows these research funds will not come soon enough to save him, but he wants to erase the shadow of muscular dystrophy from the lives of future boys and girls.

The spirit displayed by Sallie and Nadine Woods and by Raymond Waller is an example to each of us. They have demonstrated how we, too, may help make things better for our fellow men. There is more hope in the world for the sick and afflicted because 5 years ago Sallie and Nadine Woods began their crusade against muscular dystrophy.

Regulation of Natural Gas Prices by the Federal Power Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, during the past 10 years the use of natural gas for space heat in the Greater Cleveland area has skyrocketed and at the present time approximately 80 percent of the homes in the Greater Cleveland area use natural gas for home heating purposes.

This tremendous natural gas consuming market must depend exclusively upon such gas supplies as are made available through the local distributing company which, in turn, looks to the great gas producing areas of the Southwest. Our people have no other alternative but to use the gas that is brought through the distributing pipelines of the Southwest and there is no other area for competitive

The people of northeastern Ohio are very apprehensive and concerned that the exemption from the operations of the Natural Gas Act of the independent producers and gatherers of natural gas who sell gas at wholesale to pipeline companies engaged in the transportation and sale in interstate commerce of natural gas for resale will only result in increasingly rising costs of natural gas. In addition, the vital industries of northeastern Ohio have a tremendous stake in the availability of low-cost gas so that they can reasonably compete with other industries which are located near other sources of energy.

The City Council of the City of Cleveland in recognition of the tremendous stake and interest of the citizens of Cleveland, on February 21, 1955, passed the following resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to defeat legislation which proposes to amend the Natural Gas Act so as to exempt the production of natural gas sold in interstate commerce from regulation by the Federal Power Commission:

Resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to defeat legislation which proposes to amend the Natural Gas Act so as to exempt the production of natural gas sold in interstate commerce from regulation by the Federal Power Commis-

Whereas the Natural Gas Act was passed by the Congress in 1938 for the primary purpose of protecting natural gas consumers against exploitation at the hands of natural gas companies; and

Whereas the city of Cleveland took the lead among municipalities in obtaining passage of the National Gas Act; and

Whereas the city of Cleveland has a substantial interest in the price of natural gas as its inhabitants are paying approximately \$35 million annually for this commodity and an increase of just 1 cent per thousand cubic feet in its price would mean an increase of about \$600,000 annually; and

Whereas there is currently underway a heavily financial movement to prevail upon the Congress to amend the Natural Gas Act so as to exempt the production of natural gas sold in interstate commerce from Federal Power Commission regulation; and

Whereas the effect of such proposal would be exploitation of natural gas consumers throughout the Nation by a handful of large oil companies operating in southern oil and gas producing States; and

Whereas the city of Cleveland has in the past opposed similar legislation which proposed to exempt natural gas production from Federal Power Commission regulation, the last such legislation being the Kerr bill; and

Whereas on February 3 Mayor Celebrezze accepted membership on a steering committee to consider ways and means to present the municipal viewpoint on such legislation before the Congress and publicize this viewpoint, afcresald committee being composed

of mayors of such cities as Milwaukee, Detroit, Kansas City, Boston, Nashville, and New York; and

Whereas it is in the interest of the nat-ural gas consumers in the city of Cleveland that the Natural Gas Act be not weakened by an amendment similar to that embodied in the Kerr bill; and

Whereas this resolution constitutes an emergency measure in that the same pro-vides for the usual daily operation of a municipal department: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Council of the City of Cleveland:

SECTION 1. That the Congress of the United States be and it is hereby respectfully memorialized not to enact into law any bill similar to the Kerr bill of the 81st Congress, which proposes to amend the Natural Gas Act so as to exempt the production of natural gas sold in interstate commerce from regulation by the Federal Power Commis-

SEC. 2. That the clerk of council be and he hereby is directed to transmit a certified copy of this resolution immediately upon its adoption thereof and the signing by the mayor to Senators John W. BRICKER and GEORGE H. BENDER, Representatives Frances P. BoL-TON, OLIVER P. BOLTON, MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN, WILLIAM E. MINSHALL, JR., CHARLES A. VANIK.

SEC. 3. That this resolution is hereby declared to be an emergency measure and, provided it receives the affirmative vote of twothirds of all the members elected to council, it shall take effect and be in force immediately upon its adoption and approval by the mayor; otherwise it shall take effect and be in force from and after the earliest period allowed by law.

Adopted February 21, 1955.

JAMES DONNELLY, President of Council. THAD FUSCO. Clerk of Council.

Approved February 24, 1955: ANTHONY J. CELEBREZZE,

Mayor.

Imports of Pork Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, following complaints from farmers in my congressional district regarding the importations of pork products from foreign countries, with particular emphasis on shipments from Poland, I recently addressed a letter to the Secretary of Agriculture asking for full information. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter received from Earl L. Butz, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, dated March 16, 1955, in reply to my inquiry:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, Washington, D. C., March 16, 1955. Hon CHARLES B. HOEVEN,

House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HOEVEN: The following information may be useful in analyzing the present situation as it presently applies to imports of pork products from foreign countries with particular emphasis on shipments from Poland.

In the first place, the United States Government has no authority, under present laws to bar or restrict imports of cured or cooked pork products so long as the duty

(314 cents per pound in 1953 and 1954) is paid and certain sanitary requirements are satisfied.

Total imports of pork products from all countries in 1954 amounted to 112,574,000 pounds as compared to production of approximately 10,063 million pounds in the United States. The attached tables show United States imports by countries from 1947 through 1954, as well as the 1935-39 average and exports of lard and tallow to the countries involved.

United States exports of pork products (lard excluded) to countries from which pork products were imported in 1954 were 6,000 pounds to Denmark, 9,243,000 pounds to the Netherlands and 11,905,000 pounds to Germany. United States exports of lard in 1954 were 49,584,000 pounds to Germany and 14,-294,000 pounds to the Netherlands. Exports of tallow in 1954 were 108,522,000 pounds to Germany and 211,376,000 pounds to the Netherlands. There have been no United States exports of lard, tallow, and/or other animal products to Poland, in recent years.

United States imports of all products from Poland in the first 11 months of 1954 were valued at \$17,581,411 while United States exports of all products (mostly tobacco and textiles) to Poland during that same period were valued at \$1,636,042.

Value of all United States export and import trade with countries from which pork products were imported during the first 11 months of 1954 is given below.

	United States imports	United States exports \$2,483,114,000 40,301,000 430,817,000 396,331,000 1,636,000		
Canada Denmark Germany Netherlands Poland	\$2, 167, 029, 000 46, 079, 000 254, 349, 000 150, 388, 000 17, 581, 000			

According to information furnished by the American Meat Institute on March 9, 1955, wholesale prices quoted on the New York market were 64 cents per pound for American hams, 82 cents per pound for German hams, and 91 cents per pound for Polish homs

All Polish hams imported into the United States are channeled through one New York export import company.

Sincerely yours,

EARL L. BUTZ. Assistant Secretary.

Let's Keep the Government Out of Private Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OTTO KRUEGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, on behalf of the State of North Dakota, I am pleased to submit a resolution adopted by the North Dakota Industrial Commission protesting Federal encroachment in the sale of natural gas at the production point.

It would appear to me that we have plenty of Government controls and interference with private business now without invading this presently competi-

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE INDUSTRIAL COM-MISSION OF NORTH DAKOTA, MARCH 18, 1955

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States has, after 16 years, held that the Natural Gas Act of 1938 applies to sales at the point of production by independent gas producers where the sale is in interstate commerce for resale for ultimate consumption, and that such sales will, therefore, be subject to the Federal Power Commission's jurisdiction; and

Whereas such Federal Power Commission jurisdiction of sales of natural gas produced in North Dakota adversely affects the conservation of oil and gas within this State and threatens the jurisdiction of this commission over the conservation of the natural gas and oil resources of this State: Now,

therefore, be it

Resolved, That this commission is opposed to any control by the Federal Power Com-mission of sales at the point of production of natural gas produced in this State, and urges that appropriate congressional action be taken to correct this situation; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be furnished to the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the United States House of Representatives and to the United States Senators and Congressmen of North Dakota.

Over 50 Million Cars Need Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio address I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday. March 19, 1955:

There is one good thing about airplanes as a method of transportation-we don't have to build and maintain roads for them. air on which they travel doesn't wear out.

We hope the day will never come when there will be as many planes in the air as there are cars on the ground, for then our present traffic problems would seem almost enjoyable by comparison. At least, cars do not break into your TV living room or make you worry about the strength of your ceiling.

But automobiles, while convenient for the individual and indispensable to the national economy, do create new problems as well as satisfactions.

Downtown areas of large cities are being ripped out to make room for cars that are moving and for cars that are standing still.

Among signs of the times, we observe that parking lots cover one-half of the midtown Detroit area. The city of Washington is putting in 3,000 new off-street parking places a year. Cars bed down on the residential streets at night and wall-in business streets during the day. The problem of the empty, waiting cars is a subject in itself.

Our present concern is with the cars that are in motion and how to make way for them before the production of automobiles which exceeds the birth rate leads to a congestion that would slow everything down to a walk.

Many of our streets and highways follow the original cowpaths.

They were built when the automobile was considered to be but a byproduct of our civilization and not one of the dominant factors which it is today.

Dad drives his car to work.

Mother would like to have one to do her shopping.

Junior makes no bones about it. He must have a car of his own to get to high school on time. Besides, who would ever think of asking a girl to walk to a dance.

There are so many cars battling for position on the highways that there are more people killed and injured annually than we suffered in combat casualties during any 1 year of World War II or in any war.

Now, this is not to blame the automobile, which simply does what it is directed to do. Mechanical failures are few. Human failures

But our overstrained and antique high-way systems, weefully behind in providing broad, safe, and well-surfaced highways for the mounting volume of traffic, must share some of the responsibility.

Automobiles were never designed to make

their own trails like tanks or jeeps.

We must provide the arteries that will enable them to circulate freely, and this service cannot be provided without the expenditures of sizable sums of money.

The question is: Shall we consider this as a major problem, and tackle is accordingly, or permit economizing to freeze our power of decision and let this problem get completely out of hand?

Some people say that other problems deserve priority. Defense, veterans' programs, schools, subsidies to agriculture, etc.

They claim that we cannot do all things at

True, but the fact remains that highways

demand an increasing share of our attention. Because not one of these other problems is free from the impact of the automobile and the adjustments that must be made because of it.

What would industry do without parking lots for its workers, or schools without school buses, or agriculture without farm-to-market roads for trucks instead of horse-dawn wagons?

The problem has become so acute that the President deemed it necessary to deliver a special message to Congress calling for a rapid development of our interstate high-

Without the uniting force of communication and transportation," the President declared, our country "would be a mere al-

liance of many separate parts."

He proposed that by expenditures of 25 billion dollars over 10 years, to be financed by special bond issues and with the Federal Government assuming the principal responsibility, this vital connecting system would be brought up to date with the demands of present-day and future traffic.

This was no hasty conclusion.

The President's Advisory Committee on a National Highway Program, after earnest study, made its report to him in January.

Under the heading "Why the System Is

Inadequate," it has this to say:

"Reduced to its simplest terms, the highway problem is this: Traffic has expanded sharply, without a corresponding expansion in capacity of roads and streets. As a re-sult, a major portion of our facilities are seriously overcrowded. Moreover, this movement is faster and heavier than in previous years, and continues to increase.

"Simple arithmetic illustrates the dimensions of the task. We now have more than 58 million motor vehicles registered; one for every 700 feet of every lane in both directions on all streets and highways in the Na-This gigantic fleet traveled an estimated 557 billion vehicle miles in 1954, much of it concentrated on main arteries in urban areas which have become the expensive, hazardous bottlenecks referred to by the

"The existing traffic jam is bad enough, but prospects for the future are even worse.

Vehicle registrations are expected to continue their upward surge, reaching 81 million by 1965, an increase of 40 Total highway travel of these vehicles will likewise continue to increase as we attempt to meet the transportation requirements of an expanding economy, probably to reach an estimated 814 billion vehicle-miles in 1965.

"This Committee believes that these forecasts, carefully projected on the basis of all available data, are soundly conservative and represent the foundation upon which the Nation's highway improvement should be planned. Our population is ex-pected to exceed 180 million by 1965. Our gross national product, which was about 357 billion dollars in 1954, is estimated to reach 535 billion by 1965, an increase of almost 50 percent in the next decade, as recently reported by the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report."

In its conclusion, the Committee states: "We are indeed a nation on wheels and we cannot permit these wheels to slow down. Our mass industries must have moving supply lines to feed raw materials into our factories and moving distribution lines to carry the finished product to store or home. Moreover, the hands which produce these goods and the services which make them useful, must also move from home to fac-

tory to store to home.

"Our highway system has helped to make this possible. We have been able to disperse our factories, our stores, our people; in short, to create a revolution in living habits. Our cities have spread into suburbs, dependent on the automobile for their existence. The automobile has restored a way of life in which the individual may live in a friendly neighborhood, it has brought city and country closer together, it has made us one country and a united people.

"The proposed financing need not be inflationary since the financing is spread over a 10-year period and the program can be planned to fit in with general governmental fiscal policy. Bonds will be retired on schedules from general revenue to be specifically appropriated by the Congress in which the anticipated increase in the gasoline tax alone suffices to service the bond issue while continuing a substantial Federal-State coop-

erative program on other roads.

"Thus, we will accomplish the objective sought by the President for a grand plan for a properly articulated highway system that solves the problems of speedy, safe, transcontinental travel, intercity transportation, access highways, and farm-to-market movement, paying off in economic growth, and making a good start on the highways the country will need for a population of 200 million people."

This, in concentrated form, is the heart of

the President's highway program.

We are grateful that he has met the issue and that he has asked for a bold attack to conquer the problem.

While agreeing with him in principle, the Democrats in Congress will differ as to the details, insisting upon direct and large-scale participation by the Federal Government.

Obviously, the States, the cities, and the towns, limited as the revenue they can raise and struggling with problems of their own, are in no position to carry their share of a big highway program.

And again, the financing method proposed

by the President attempts to do the impossible, on the theory that it won't cost anything now.

Some Senate Democrats are thinking in terms of a compromise plan, providing for a sharp increase in the Federal Government's outlay for such a program, to be financed by an increase in Federal gasoline taxes.

Highway officials of 11 Eastern States have already asked for speedy completion of a program to provide a 40,000 network of interstate highways. There is an urgent need, they stated, to meet a growing traffic crush, to provide for military and civil defense, and for the economic advancement of the United States.

The people would rather see highway money go into the actual building of roads rather than interest charges.

If we are to meet the need squarely we must be prepared to pay the cost.

The motorists who use our highways and who want good ones for their own safety and convenience, as well as for the protection of their cars, might agree to a cent or two increase in the gas tax to finance this need on a pay-as-you-go basis.

In any event the issue is a live one and public opinion should act on it without

Meet Mrs. Womanpower: Frances Bolton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF HON, JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, as a colleague of Mrs. Frances Bolton, I share with her other colleagues a tremendous amount of pride in her accomplishments. not only in Congress, but in many walks of life. The following article, which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of March 20, 1955, is a fine tribute to Mrs. Bolton, and I am sure it will be of interest to all of her other colleagues in the House:

MEET MRS. WOMANPOWER: PRANCES BOLTON (By Ann Cottrell Free)

WASHINGTON .- FRANCES PAYNE BOLTON represents the 22d Congressional District of Ohio, but she represents a great deal more. Mrs. Bolton, now 15 years in Congress, is

recognized increasingly as representative of woman as an effective citizen. During a recent "womanpower" confer-

ence here in the capital, a picture of modern woman in the ideal sense emerged from the discussions. Though born in the last century—she is 70 this month—Mrs. Bolton fits the description. She is, in a manner of speaking, Mrs. Womanpower herself.

She believes in a woman being a woman

first. "Usefulness to her family, as a mother, is woman's first duty," Mrs. Bolton says. She has borne four children. One son, OLIVER, is now in Congress.

STUDENT OF HISTORY

She believes that a woman should fit herself to be self-supporting if need be. Though wealthy through inheritance, Mrs. Bolrow by her frequent reelections to Congress shows she can earn a paycheck.

And she believes that a woman should go as far as she possibly can in being politically effective. In this Frances Bolton excels.

Her range of congressional and extracurricular activity is enormous. Her pace is grueling. "Physical, mental, and spiritual" are the three cornerstones of her life. She exercises, breathes correctly, stands erectly, and eats wisely. She is a serious student of history and political science. And her spiritual life is deep and full.

Well equipped for the living of life, Frances Bolton has distinguished herself as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. She is the third-ranking Republican member. During the war and early postwar years she traveled extensively abroad, including Russia and Poland. She

has had dinner in the Arabian desert with the late King Ibn Saud. She supervised one of the best studies of the nature of worldwide communism. She evolved through the years from an isolationist to an internationalist. In 1953 she represented this country as a delegate to the United

Nations general assembly.

To many, the name Frances Bolton means "friend of nursing." Her life-long interest in nurses stems from childhood membership in the Cleveland Brownie Club. The Brownies helped visiting nurses in the Cleveland slums, where Frances saw suffering and poverty for the first time. She realized, too, the need for more nurses. Today the Western Reserve School of Nursing, which she endowed, is named for her. It was her bill during the war that set up the United States Cadet Nurse Corps.

Looking back over the years, fair-haired, blue-eyed Mrs. Bolton says she can't pick out any one thing as her most important accomplishment. "It's the day-by-day work," she says, "the work behind the smoke. The work that doesn't show is probably what

counts most."

Looking out for her constituents is a job in itself and it never shows up in the national headlines. But the record shows that she wins a great number of normally Democratic votes.

Being a well-disciplined woman, Frances Bolton sometimes seems a bit stern. But when she turns on an extraordinarily bright and winning smile, it seems to be a very good day indeed.

Federal Regulation of the Sale of Natural Gas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the Record a resolution received from the League of Wisconsin Municipalities which urges Congress to reject any legislation that would leave the price of natural gas unregulated by Federal authorities.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE LEAGUE OF WISCONSIN MUNICIPALITIES, MARCH 14, 1955

Whereas certain bills are now pending in the Congress of the United States to exempt sales of natural gas by the producers and suppliers thereof to pipeline companies for resale in interstate commerce from Federal regulation; and

Whereas the great percentage of natural gas sold in interstate commerce for transportation and resale by pipeline companies is by a relatively few major companies; and

Whereas an adequate supply of natural gas reasonably priced to the consumer is essential to the economic stability of the citizens and industries of Wisconsin and many other States and can only be guaranteed by reasonable regulation of sales by producers and suppliers; and

Whereas consumers dependent upon natural gas will be left without adequate protection if there is no Federal control over the price of natural gas as sold by the pro-

ducer and supplier; and

Whereas the majority of Wisconsin consumers are located in cities and villages: Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That the League of Wisconsin Municipalities, representing 451 cities and villages in the State of Wisconsin, urges the Congress and President of the United States to reject any legislation which will leave the price of natural gas unregulated by Federal authority.

Attested to:

ED JOHNSON, Executive Secretary,

Mixon Gets Ike's Vote of Confidence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, a fair appraisal of the political future of, and President Eisenhower's regard for, Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON appeared editorially in the Long Beach Press-Telegram newspaper on March 16, last. The editorial indicates Mr. Eisenhower's esteem of his second in command is based on the real and salutory results arising from placing a man with real ability in the Nation's No. 2 spot:

NIXON'S POLITICAL FUTURE

Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON's southern California visit last weekend stirred anew speculation as to the political future of this amazing person.

What happens to him in 1956? Will he be second man on the slate again if President Eisenhower runs for reelection? If Ike bows out, will he give the nod to Nixon for the top job?

Perhaps President Eisenhower himself isn't certain as to the answers to those questions at this point. They hinge on the question of his own availability in 1956 and will be subject to influence by events between now and then.

But this is certain. No Vice President in American history has worked as hard at the job. None has been given such opportunities to acquaint himself with the problems which would be his, should fate elevate him to the Presidency.

It is well known that Nixon is a strong and respected figure in White House conferences, which is a sharp departure from the tradition of isolating Vice Presidents from the affairs of state At the same time the Vice President has been given a couple of highly important diplomatic assignments which he carried off brilliantly. One was the 1953 round-the-world tour, the other his recent Caribbean tour, both handled in a way that impressed some of his harshest critics. Nixon has steadily continued to gain stature in the Vice Presidency.

And President Elsenhower doesn't sound displeased about the impression being made by the man second in command. Ten days ago, in fact, at a gathering in Washington, the President went out of the way to say some very pleasant things about Nixon.

The occasion was the White House Correspondents Association annual dinner. Speaking to hundreds of newsman, to many of the high-ranking officials of the administration, and to some top-flight Democrats, the President expressed great admiration for Nixon. It was good, he said, to realize that Nixon was available to take his place if anything happened to the President.

Was Ike trying to make it clear he has no intention of abandoning Nixon? If so, why was there need to make the point clear?

Nixon is a young man who has had a meteoric political career. In 9 years he worked his way from Congressman to Senator to Vice President. He is a big power in the party at age 42. A man does not ascend that quickly without being eyed fealously by older men or, for that matter, by men in his own age bracket.

Again, Nixon is a hard-hitting campaigner who disturbs Democratic leaders so much that one of them recently quipped that it is always nice to see Nixon leave the country on a good-will tour. They have picked him out as a principal target and attempted to portray him as a "smear artist," in hopes that he might become a liability rather than an asset to the administration.

Against this background, the President's remarks about Nixon are interpreted as a significant vote of confidence. Some observers suggest that the President's comment was more than an indication that Nixon will be a satisfactory running mate in 1956. He might have been giving Nixon a boost toward a future presidential nomination.

Whatever it meant, it was clear evidence that Nixon is on extremely good terms with the White House. Nixon's good-will tours have helped put him on better terms than ever with the people. That's a hard combination to beat.

Hellenic Independence Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including herewith the proclamation issued by Gov. G. Mennen Williams, of the State of Michigan, on the occasion of the anniversary of the independence of Greece:

PROCLAMATION: HELLENIC INDEPENDENCE WEEK

LANSING, MICH.

Each year Americans of Greek descent observe the week that includes March 25 as Hellenic Independence Week. On March 25, 1821, the Greek War of Independence against Ottoman rule began when the Archbishop of Patras unfurled the national flag of Greece. Greece began her fight against seemingly unsurpassable odds but her valiant efforts soon enlisted the sympathy of Europe and the United States. As a result, in 1829, Turkey acknowledged Greece as an autonomous nation, and in 1832, Greece received recognition of its complete independence.

It is more than fitting that we should recognize this great expression of liberty and independence.

Therefore, I. G. Mennen Williams, Governor of the State of Michigan, do hereby proclaim March 20 through the 26, 1955, as Helenic Independence Week in Michigan, and urge all our citizens to join with their neighbors of Greek descent in honoring this great date and paying tribute to the traditions of liberty which Greece has given to the world.

Given under my hand and the great seal of the State of Michigan, this 17th day of March 1955, and of the Commonwealth the one hundred nineteenth.

By the Governor:

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS,
Governor.

JAMES M. HARE, Secretary of State.

Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development in Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. W. F. NORRELL

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. NORRELL, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD. I include the following letter and statement:

> ARKANSAS AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE, College Heights, Ark., March 14, 1955.

Hon. W. F. Norrell,
United States Representative from
Arkansas, House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN NORRELL: It is nice to know you have recovered and are back at work representing Arkansas and the United

Would you be so kind as to extend your remarks in the Congressional Record and have printed in the Appendix ASCD in Chi-Thank you very very.

A constant supporter.

Dr. GEORGE S. REUTER, Jr.

ASCD IN CHICAGO

(By Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., Arkansas A. and M. College)

The 10th annual conference of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Develcoment, a department of the National Education Association, was held at Hotel Conrad Hilton, Chicago, Ill., from March 6-10. The theme was: Crucial Problems of Today's Schools.

The writer represented Arkansas A. and M. College and visited with several old friends. Dr. Glen Barnett, of the University of California, an old Navy friend, recalled some vivid experiences in 1943. Dr. and Mrs. Harry Lion Boren, of Chicago and Highland Park, recalled other naval and political events. Dr. and Mrs. James Riley Patterson, A. B. Churchill, the Robert Livingstons, H. D. Ludlow, the H. D. Jones, James M. Clifton, and the Reverend James Kurtz, of Jackson Park Baptist Church, made the visit outstanding. Yes; and Dr. Alan Redpath, of Moody Memorial Church preaching on Rebuilding for God (X Preparation for Revival) and Thou Shalt Not Kill offered great words of wisdom.

The featured speakers of ASCD were Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, of the Methodist church, who spoke on The Struggle for the Minds of Men; Dr. Vivian T. Thayer, of the University of Virginia, who spoke on Today's Challenge to Our Children and Youth; and Dr. Hollis L. Caswell, president, Teachers College, Columbia University, who spoke on Values in Progressive Education That Must

Be Preserved.

The writer accompanied 29 other educators for an entire day at the Evanston Township high school. This community is on the northern edge of Chicago and as one of the distinguished old suburban communities on the North Shore.

The high school is in a highly favored position. The community is well-located, wealthy, and well-educated. Evanston ranks first in the median number of years of its citizens' education (12.9 years) and second in the median income (\$5,491) of its families. The high school is situated on 67 acres and serves 2,500 children in the 4-year program. It could easily serve 3,200. There is a staff of 160

This school with a per pupil cost of \$625 has only about 31/2 percent dropouts and 20 percent leaving the community. It is well known for its core curriculum. A 1953 revised edition of the Harper and Brothers' book The Schools for a New Culture by MacConnell, Melby, Arndt & Bishop tells the story of this wonderful book.

It cost \$35,000 to conduct ASCD's recent meeting and 50 weeks of planning. About 3,000 members attended. There were many divisional meetings. Among them were:

1. International understanding: The purpose was to promote among curriculum workers greater awareness of the world context of some of our educational problems and to seek to encourage the development of resource materials in this area. Dr. Leonard Kenworthy, of Brooklyn College, served as chairman.
2. Teaching the core curriculum: What

and how? This included the day's trip to Evanston and two other meetings. Dr. Galen Saylor, of the University of Nebraska, was

3. Organizing schools and school systems for effective instruction: Dr. Benjamin Willis, superintendent of schools of Chicago; Dr. Henry Harup, of George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville: Dr. G. Robert Koopman. of the State department of public instruction of Michigan; and Dr. Jennie Wahlert, of Washington University, St. Louis, was an inspiring panel.

While Accurated Composition Service, Inc., is out of business, Kiddle Korner and A. C. Becken & Co. have moved since 1948, the problems of this phase of education are still staggering and serious, but there was a feel-ing of steadfastness. The recent death of Mrs. Karl J. Leidinger (March 9) and the influence of Dwight Lynam Moody (1837-99) in Chicago lives on. Thus, a great meeting was held at a critical time in a great city. The writer greatly profited by being present.

Odd Facts on St. Patrick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of Thursday. March 10, 1955:

ODD FACTS ON ST. PATRICK

EDITOR, TIMES-LEADER NEWS:

In Tuesday's issue of your newspaper under Odd Facts, it was stated that St. Patrick was English or Scotch and sent as a missionary to Ireland. Now these statements are "odd" enough but hardly facts. They represent obsolete viewpoints still persisting in many so-called "encyclopedias" as originally written by biased (English) historians of the "down with the Irish" school of medieval thought.

This annual reprinting of disproven material places upon me the equally regular necessity of setting forth the most scholarly viewpoint on the subject, to wit: St. Patrick was a Roman citizen of the coast of France, a nephew of St. Mastin, the bishop of Tours, who was captured in his youth by raiding pagan Irishmen and brought to the Emerald Isle where he labored as a slave, tending sheep, for 6 years and became so imbued with admiration for the Irish character that upon his escape he went to Rome and eventually won permission from the Pope to come

(not "sent") to win the people he loved to the Faith.

That his labors were not in vain has been the proudest boast of 15 centuries of Irishmen since that great life's work.

ASHLEY.

Oil for the Lamps of China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the current approach of a Finnish tanker into the southeast Asia area with a consignment of kerosene for Communist China, I have received inquiries why the United States is, in effect, attempting to "keep oil from the lamps of China," and whether this Government is prepared to go to war "in an attempt to stop the natural industrial development of a nation of 600 million people." Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith enter my reply.

The rulers of Communist China have publicly announced their intention of extending their regime to the island of Formosa. They have stated that they would invade that island, and they have massed armed forces along the coasts facing this island. Formosa, however, is an important anchor point of our own Pacific defense perimeter, and military leaders as well as political leaders of both parties are in agreement that an attempt upon Formosa constitutes an attack upon the security of the United States.

Now, kerosene may once have been innocuous oil for the lamps of China. Today, kerosene is fuel for jet propelled aircraft. This Government certainly is not prepared to go to war "in an attempt to stop the natural industrial development of a nation of 600 million people," but I believe we are prepared to defend ourselves against further Communist aggression. And furthermore, I believe that this very preparedness may be the biggest deterrent factor for any such aggression to actually happen.

We have contained Russian expansion in Europe by drawing definite lines, and by backing these lines with arms and men. The lines have remained inviolate. In many Asiatic areas, we have been only too vague in defining the points beyond which we would consider ourselves attacked. Then, on January 24, 1955, President Eisenhower sent his message on Formosa and the Pescadores to the Congress, and in subsequent action-and in a fine show of bipartisan unity-the Congress drew a line in that area.

I thoroughly agree that it is better to use every means possible to settle differences through peaceful negotiations, and to avoid interference in the internal affairs of other countries. I believe we are doing both. We are peaceful people who

do not fight unless attacked. We are carrying the principal burden for maintenance and upkeep of the United Nations because we believe that this organization furnishes the platform on which peace can be served in multilateral negotiation and international supervision. We have offered to share our knowledge of the atom with others for peaceful endeavor. We have submitted plans for the outlawing of atomic weapons and a system of international inspection. We are always willing to negotiate if the cause of honorable peace can be served.

In the case of Formosa, we are confronted not with a difference of opinion, but with the announced intention to make war upon a bastion in our own defenses. We have clearly and calmly announced our intention to counter any such attack if it is made. We are all for the oil that can soothe the troubled international waters. The oil that sends jet planes screaming against our own lines must, of necessity, receive different consideration.

Researching for Air Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following enlightening editorial from the Daily Evening Item, Lynn, Mass., March 16, 1955, giving long overdue praise to the air researchers in the Navy and Air Force for their studies, decisions, and recommendations in the field of plane accidents.

Much will be gained in preventing these accidents from these well-expended funds in the field of research.

The services of this personnel merits our sincere congratulations for advancement in this field. The editorial follows:

When a plane caught in a snowstorm or a vicious thunderstorm cracks into a mountain, the only puzzle is why the storm was not avoided. But over the years many mysterious mountain crashes have occurred in weather merely cloudy or sometimes even clear.

Now it is disclosed that the Air Force Research Center at Cambridge, Mass., and the Office of Naval Research have been studying the problem for 4 years and have made a discovery of the highest importance to air

They learned that any mountain range with crests above 300 feet can produce vertical air currents like huge waterfalls. Some flow down, but some flow upward at frightening speed. Others whirl about like giant ferris wheels.

Planes trapped in these varied currents are likely to find their altitude gauges thrown off the track, with resulting perli to the aircraft.

To probe these treacherous air drafts, Air Force and Navy researchers sent piloted motorless gliders right into their midst. Risk to pilots was great. Some who have gone through powerful surges of air around mountains.

tain summits report that at times they lost all control of their ships for a short period. Controlled instrument flying was impossible.

A pilot might think he was climbing steadily when actually he was dropping 2,500 feet a minute in apparently smooth air. One of the oddities is that smooth air and turbulent currents seem to exist side by side around mountain peaks.

Heavy gusts might buffet a plane, causing instruments to flutter, and then suddenly the mountain range the pilot thought far beneath him would loom up straight ahead. Unquestionably many a regularly scheduled airplane has found itself in this very predicament just before it crashed on a craggy mountainside.

The fact that cloud caps often hide high peaks further complicates the problem and probably accounts for mountain accidents in

otherwise clear weather.

This painstaking 4-year inquiry has produced data and charts of tremendous value to civil and military aviation. These charts might be compared to those used by ships in marking dangerous shoals and reefs. Already made available to the commercial airlines and others, they are considered by air experts to be a prime factor in the greatly improved air safety record of 1954.

Since they have understood the perlious

Since they have understood the perllous mountain air currents, researchers have steadily advised all fliers to steer clear of them wherever they are known to exist. Evidently the warning has been heeded. If it continues to be, this very puzziling type of plane crash may be largely a thing of the past.

Highest commendation must go to the Air Force and Navy researchers who broke the mystery and thereby contributed so mightily to the country's air safety.

Godless Communism-Resolution Passed by State Legislature of Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting at this point a copy of resolution passed by the State Legislature of the State of Texas:

Whereas the conquest of godless communism which has now enslaved a third of the world is always and everywhere propelled and directed by the so-called Soviet Government in Moscow, Russia; and

Whereas the march of communism began years ago with the bloody ensiavement of the God-fearing, peace-loving Russian people, who have been held against their wish and will in slavery and, in the case of uncounted millions, in slave camps; and

Whereas the curse of godless world communism will end only when and if it is destroyed at its heart and center, namely, the Kremlin, by the righteous and successful uprising of the oppressed Russian people against the Communist gangsters who have unlawfully selzed and perpetrated their ruthless dictatorial power over the Russian people, and have used and are now using this unlawful conquest as a military and spy base for the domination of 800 million human beings; and

Whereas the patient, painful, persistent efforts of liberty-loving, resolute leaders of the anti-Communist Russian revolutionary movement, both inside and outside of Rus-

sia, have now at last produced a climate of popular opinion and popular determination in and among the Itussian people which takes the day of their revolutionary liberation not merely inevitable but definitely foreseeable; and

Whereas the Soviet Government is now desperately working to counteract this revolutionary sentiment by propagandizing the Russian people to believe that the United States of America hates the Russian people and plans to exterminate them with atom bombs, a fate from which the Soviets insist that only a strong universally supported Soviet Government can possibly defend them: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the house of representatives (the senate concurring). That we of the State of Texas, do now publicly proclaim that while we abhor and will continue to resist by every means the present unlawful ganster Soviet Government of Russia, we nevertheless likewise publicly proclaim our sympathy and friendship for the oppressed people of Russia who are now held in inhuman bondage by their unlawful Communist Government; and be it further

Resolved, That because of the ruthless desperate nature of the criminal Soviet Government, we caution the Russian people against any premature uprising against it and advise them to strike out for their Godgiven liberty only when they are properly implemented with the means for definite success. We nevertheless, in the spirit of our own great American Declaration of Independence against tyranny, look forward hopefully and prayerfully to the day when the Russian people are ready and able to liberate themselves, and at the same time to liberate the world by the dethronement and destruction of their Communist masters who now threaten the freedom of all mankind.

Is Hoover Commission Out To Liquidate REA?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD the recent letter which Mr. Clyde Ellis, general manager of National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, sent to Members of Congress.

Mr. Ellis' letter is self-explanatory, and I hope that all of my colleagues have studied the letter. If they have not, I urge them to reread the letter again. Mr. Ellis properly raises the question as to whether it is the intent of the Hoover Commission to liquidate the REA and help turn this movement over to the private power companies lock, stock, and barrel.

I believe that the 9th Congressional District of Wisconsin, which I have the privilege of representing, is probably the most highly organized REA district percentagewise in the United States. I am very familiar with the fine work accomplished by the REA cooperatives. For a time, when I was farming, I was a member of one of the REA co-ops in my district. That is why I am concerned

about what the Hoover Commission and its task force is proposing to do to REA. Mr. Ellis' letter of March 18, 1955, follows:

NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION, Washington, D. C., March 18, 1955. Hon. Lester R. Johnson, House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.
DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The full report of the Task Force on Federal Lending Agencies to the so-called Hoover Commission dated February 5, 1955, has just come to our attention. This report which is a public document, paid for by the taxpayers, is still not available to the people because Mr. Hoover has not given the Superintendent of Documents permis-

sion to sell copies. This Task Force Report is based upon a report by Price, Waterbouse & Co., the big accounting firm which is heavily engaged in accounting for the private power companies and was at last notice official auditor for Purcell Smith's National Association of Electric Companies, the big utility lobbying outfit. The basis for this report, insofar as the report deals with the rural electrification program, is the official word of the power companies and their invesment banker-insurance company owners trans-mitted through Price, Waterhouse, and adopted by the task force with a dissent from only 1 of its 10 members, Mr. William W. Campbell, of Arkansas, the only member who has any working, personal knowledge of the rural electrification program.

This report shows clearly what we have suspected from the beginning, that Mr. Hoover, repudiated by the American people in an overwhelming election defeat, has returned to a high place in the land as Chairman of this Commission to carry out his earlier aims of serving the vested interests against the common people. Mr. Hoover is out to liquidate all segments of the electric power industry which are not owned and exploited by the Wall Street bankers and insurance companies with which he has had such close connections all his life.

This report, in the section dealing with the rural electrification program which has brought the blessings of electricity to almost 4 million farm families, is another example of the "creeping Hooverism" and "bundles for bankers" philosophy which is so obvious in Washington today. If the recommenda-tions in this report and the subsequent Commission report are adopted by the Congress this is "operation bankruptcy" and "liquidation by commission" of the rural electric program. The investment houses and their chosen instruments, the privatepower companies who scorned the task of bringing power to rural people for decades, now hope to move in for the kill. What they would not create, they now seek to selze or destroy.

This task-force report reeks with falsehoods and misstatements and power company propaganda. It recommends a program which would more than double credit costs for the farmers' small electric cooperatives, turn control of their program over to President, and destroy the right of the farmers to tell Congress their own story each year.

This report contains a two-page attack upon the rural electric cooperatives and their national organization, the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. It assumes the position that there is something immoral and undemocratic about this farmers' organization and urges that REA be reorganized as a corporation subject to control by the President in order to remove that lending agency from any influence by the people it was established by the Congress to serve.

This report contains a frontal assault upon the right of farmers to generate and transmit their own electric power, insisting that this is "inconsistent with the basic purposes of the REA program, and * * * inconsistent with sound public policy." The right of the farmers to generate their own power is spelled out clearly in the REA Act and has been upheld by the Federal courts. Apparently, the Hoover Task Force has set itself above both the Congress and the courts in determining what is substantive law and which is sound public policy. Such arrogance is conceivable only in light of the career of the man who selected the task force and the vested interests of the members of the task force, a membership recduited largely from the very banking, insurance, and accounting firms which would profit from the looting of rural electric consumers were their policies to be adopted.

The rural people of this Nation organized in our association, 31/2 million rural families, repudiate the report of this task force as the work of predatory interests designed to turn the farmers' electric systems over to the big banking houses and the power companies; we urge the Congress to reject this report and discharge the Hoover Commission and withhold any further funds from that Commission. The power lobby has millions to spend for propaganda. Why should the taxpayers be called upon to subsidize their lies and half-truths through the Hoover Commission?

If the final recommendations of this task force to the Congress are accepted, we have amended the Constitution. We now have four branches of Government-the executive, the legislative, the judicial, and the Hoover Commission. I think we have done very well over the years without the fourth branch and that we should retire Mr. Hoover and his comrades for a well-earned rest,

Sincerely.

CLYDE T. ELLIS. General Manager.

Wilkes-Barre Sesquicentennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news article from the Wilkes-Barre Record. of Wednesday, March 9, 1955:

St. Patrick's Day, March 17, will mark the entry of Wilkes-Barre into the 150th year of its existence as a corporate body.

It was on March 17, 1806, the village of Wilkes-Barre was incorporated as a borough by act of the legislature. Its incorporation as a city came May 4, 1871. A new charter was granted in 1898 giving it third-class city

Nearly 1,000 persons were living in the village and the township when the incorporation took place, in contrast to the nearly 77,000 now in Wilkes-Barre City.

City, served by networks of railroads, highways, and about to be connected with the Pennsylvania Turnpike, also served by one of the most modern airports in the country, was in the early days an isolated village, walled in by mountains and remote from the great thoroughfares of travel.

It was 2 years after the village became a borough that Jesse Fell first burned anthracite in a grate.

A glimpse into the early Wilkes-Barre is given by this account, given in the March 18, 1905, issue of the Record:

"The region surrounding (Wilkes-Barre) was devoted largely to agriculture, and the surplus products of the farms was marketed principally at Wilkes-Barre. From here it was hauled in sleds or big canvas-topped wagons over the mountains to Easton, 65 miles distant, or else shipped in arks down the Susquehanna to Middletown, in Dauphin County, or to Columbia, in Lancaster County, whence it was conveyed across the country to Lancaster and Philadelphia. Easton being the most accessible town, however, especially after the construction of the Easton and Wilkes-Barre turnpike, in 1802-08, was for many years the chief market town for the merchants of Wilkes-Barre and the principal farmers of the Wyoming Valley.

The first bridge across the Susquehanna in the Wyoming Valley was erected at the foot of West Market Street, occupying the same site the present bridge does. upon the structure was begun in the spring of 1817 and the bridge was completed and opened to the public in the autumn of the following year, 1818."

Address of Robert B. Anderson, Deputy Secretary of Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. VICTOR WICKERSHAM

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Robert B. Anderson, Deputy Secretry of Defense, before the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Houston, Tex., March 10, 1955:

One of the most interesting people alive. Dr. Charles R. Kettering, once told of his experience in developing an automobile spring which would not break. His laboratory started to work on a simple flat spring which was found to break regularly when flexed about 2,000 times. In the process of their experimentation, he and his associates finally developed a process whereby the spring was given a surface treatment of heavy blasts of small steel shot.

In Dr. Kettering's words: "Somehow that punishment makes the molecules in the steel clutch each other with a new fervor. resulting in a tremendously greater overall toughness." The spring so treated was found to withstand over 2 million flexings without breaking.

How very much, indeed, do we stand in need of some such unifying action in human affairs—something which would lead the human molecules of our world society to "clutch each other with a new fervor." great paradox of our time is that whereas the whole impetus of our science and technology lies in the direction of consolidating and unifying the world, the influence of many of our social and political undertakings seem largely directed toward breaking it apart, and the tragedy of it all is that so often the very things which might have united men have been wrongly understood and wrongly practiced and have thus served only to magnify and excerbate their differences.

I am not talking here about the particular conflict between the free and the Communist worlds, although that, of course, is a part and symptom of the general problem. I am

referring to something far more basic and more enduring than any ephemeral manifestation of the international power struggle. I refer to the fact of the struggle itself and to the coming inability of differing peoples to live together in a stable and enduring order of international relationships.

An uncompromising geography has perhaps been the most conspicuous factor in developing the separateness of peoples. Little groups of people, cut off from one another as they were by time and space for thousands of years, tended to adopt patterns of living peculiar to themselves and to the locale in which they abided. Habits and actions hardened into customs and traditions, dialects into languages, theological concepts into formal religions, and the world became a patchwork of different culture patterns, each more or less compartmented from the others by the walls of its own language, customs, and traditions.

Within the past hundred years science and technology have battered down the barriers of time and space without perceptibly disturbing those of culture and tradition. These latter may also yield at some distant date, but it is beyond realism to expect that they may be softened or dissolved at any time in the foreseeable future. Yet we cannot afford to wait for the prospect of some remote and uncertain eventuality to redeem us from our present danger. We must proceed now to discover the common bases upon which a world of widely differentiated peoples can build a community of interest.

ples can build a community of interest.

The political result need not be, and should not be a world government or a world state. One of the things which is needed, however, is the development of a capacity within people to see one another as they really are, and which will disclose to them the immense areas of common ideals, beliefs, and aspirations which they all share and support. It shall be my purpose this evening to review with you some of these great universals, these roots of understanding which are capable of breaking through the barriers of suspicion and fear and illwill, and which may provide the working hypothesis upon which any real international accord will have to depend.

I would say something by way of introduction to the general topic of universals. By their very nature they are the most powerful agents in the entire field of human motiva-Precisely because they are universals they at once tend both to unite and to divide the members of the human community. Our difficulty arises, I think, out of the fact that too often men seek their universal application without admitting the possibility of their universal interpretation. Thus different peoples may perceive the same reality in different terms because of their differing points of view. And if they happen to apprehend the reality in universal terms and attempt to impose such a reality upon their neighbors in colloquial terms the result may be discord and division stemming out of the very process which was supposed to unify.

So I think that one of the very first things which we must do if we would mitigate the harmful effects of these cultural differences is to recognize that differences do in fact exist, and that they will continue to exist despite the most persistent efforts to deny them. Notwithstanding the problems they create, these differences remain one of the most interesting and hopeful aspects of the whole human situation. They lie at the base of whatever progress we have managed to make over the past 10,000 years.

We must not be distressed at the fact that our world neighbors may prefer their own theology to ours, that they may remain relatively unimpressed by our cultural achievements, or that they may be reluctant to accept the forms of our political and economic institutions. Mr. Erwin D. Canham, editor of the Christian Science Monitor, has put it this way: "Our big job is to convince the people

of the world that the system of which we are a part-the millenial system with roots back in Judea and in Christ's teaching and in Greece and Rome and Western Europe-this system has within it values which can be adapted to their needs and experiences and can bring them, too, into the light. One of the mistakes we have made is to assume that our system, both political and economic, can be exported as is. There is much that is universal in our experience. But what we have demonstrated is based upon our experience and our aptitude and our history and our conditions. What we can do today is the result of many centuries of struggle. Hard lessons were learned all along the way. Our precise formula would not work for any other people. The best we can do is to make available to them our example, so that they can choose and experiment for themselves. But we can cooperate in setting up the channels by which experience can flow from nation to nation."

We are thus concerned less with the form than with the substance of these values which we would share with other peoples, and which hold special meanings to the people of each society according to the manner in which they affect, benefit, or have consequences for its members. Our main concern is to find in them the largest possible area of agreement with the other peoples of the world, to the end that we may be united rather than set apart. We seek with a new fervor the roots of understanding which may give meaning and purpose to our common efforts.

First and foremost of these, so important that it might properly be called the taproot, is the subscription of the overwhelming majority of the world's people to some kind of transcendental religion. In whatever form and through whatever means they apprehend Him, most people acknowledge the existence of a spiritual God, all powerful and eternal, who manifests a benevolent concern for the human objects of His creation. And from this fundamental profession of faith there flow two assumptions upon which virtually all human activities in the non-Communist world are in some way based. First, there is the assertion of a Supreme Authority and an independent moral order above and beyond the pale of human affairs. Second, there is the belief in the spiritual identification with an eternal godhead of every human being as a unique and separate individual, which confers upon him a special worth and sacredness in his own right.

These common basic beliefs underlie virtually all the constructs which operate outside the Iron Curtain. They likewise reside in the hearts and minds of those behind the curtain whose social institutions are subordinated to the stuitifying effects of Communist regimentation. They make possible the formulations of temporal and spiritual law, of theology and government, of justice and equity, or right and wrong, and the rights and responsibilities which inhere in the individual as a living soul.

From them the peoples of the world have developed their interminably varied social, religious, political, and economic institutions. They have done so imperfectly. They have invested them with the faults and contradictions which inhere in all human institutions and which have often set peoples against one another in the bitterest of idealogical conflicts. But the point to remember is that the fundamental propositions contained nothing in themselves which compelled such action by their separately organized votaries. In these basic considerations people are very much alike the world over. Their differences arise from other sources.

The laws of most peoples, for example, are based upon systems of moral absolutes, derived from the moral order of a willingly conceded Higher Authority. Generally, these absolutes will be found to be the same among

people the world over. It is wrong to steal, to lie, to cheat, and to murder. It is right to speak the truth, to honor one's obligations, to be loyal to one's fellow beings. Moreover, these values, being rooted in the higher law, are held to be immutable. There is no place given to relativism here. Deeds are not sanctioned or censured according to whether they help or hurt the prospects of a party, program, or regime. In the profession of the group, as opposed to the practice of certain individuals, right is still right and wrong is still wrong, regardless of the immediate consequences of an act for the individual or the group concerned.

One of the most encouraging signs I know of is the great respect in which moral authority continues to be held in the world. even by its enemies. John Foster Dulles, out of his rich experience in international affairs, says he has noticed two impressive facts-first, the relatively small amount of moral authority available at any given point of time and in connection with any particular problem, and, secondly, the enor-mous influence which even a little moral authority can exercise, an influence out of all proportion to the number of persons who reflect it. In the United Nations, he has observed, "every nation there is afraid of being caught on the wrong side of a moral issue' and does everything it can to make whatever position it adopts seem morally correct.

Among the values which stem from and depend upon the thesis of the dignity and worth of the individual and his personal relationship of his Creator we find wide areas where differing peoples may find a basis of agreement. Among the most intense and persistent preoccupations of men of all colors and all ages has been the search for freedom and justice. Like other values, freedom and justice vary greatly in their meaning for different peoples. They appear in various places about the earth in all stages of evolution, from the relatively primitive to the relatively well developed. Their political aspects are much better understood and more generally practiced than those applying to economic or social phases. throughout them all there runs the common thread of their exclusive identity with the divinely constituted human creature possessing an immortal soul.

If men were no more than an accident of the universe, a tiny speck of matter inhabiting one of the smaller planets, he would have little right to or need of freedom, and what we call justice would lack a standard of measurement either for conception or application. If he were only a creature of instinct, an inordinately well-evolved organism, as it were, he would have as little moral claim to such things as the freedom of conscience or the pursuit of happiness as the deer in the jungles of Africa that is attacked by a prowling lion. There would be no justice but that of fang and claw.

Again, if man were no more than a producing agent, a number in a regimented soclety, inhabiting the earth for a scant 70 or 80 years and then disappearing forever into dust, he could claim no rights which the community or the State might not at any moment take from him. If this were true, then the life of the individual, lasting less than a century, would be of less consequence than the existence of the state, which usually outlives the span of a single human generation. In this situation the individual could hardly claim to have rights which antedate and are superior to the state. His claim to freedom would lose much of its validity, and there would be no right to which he could appeal in the name of justice.

If, however, man is what the world's religions say he is, a moral being, with the responsibility for right conduct and a claim to immortality, then he has certain rights which he must be free to exercise in order to discharge his responsibility for right action. The dispensation of these rights constitutes the essence of justice, and their exercise the essence of freedom. As I have mentioned before, in both the concept and the application differ widely, but both re-main deeply and ineradicably rooted in man's personal religion. For it is religion which keeps on insisting that man is more than a highly developed form of animal life, that he is more than the creature of the state; that he is, in fact, a moral and spiritual being with a destiny and with rights and responsibilities which lie beyond the reach of society and of the state. For precisely this reason every type of totalitarianism must by its very nature either eradicate religion or attempt to subvert moral truth to its own designs. As a consequence in such a climate all sense of justice vanishes. It is no longer derived from absolute principles of morality that operate independent of life in society.

The gentler values of tolerance, charity, mercy, and brotherhood, urged upon humanity by almost all the really great teachers and philosophers, and imperfectly practiced by most of the world's people, depend ut-terly upon this interpretation of the nature of man. As abstractions they are nothing. It is only when they are practiced in the human community that they acquire mean-

ing and purpose.

These are some of the reasons which suggest to me that as a recipe for human soclety, communism will eventually fail. Its atheism constitutes a denial of most fundamental belief men hold about their place in the universe, and it must perforce deny all the constructs which flow from this belief. It thus places itself irreconcilably at odds with the deepest and most relevant insights men have been able to draw from their thousands of years of experience and reflection. For men do not live by bread alone. The deep and persistently held conviction that they are entitled to something better than the treatment given the beasts of the field will continue to manifest itself in thousands of ways in every land.

Men will insist upon worshiping God in accordance with the dictates of their conscience. They will insist upon thinking in accordance with the dictates of their reason. They will insist upon their rights to equal treatment under the law, to work productively and creatively, and to enjoy the fruits of their earnest efforts. They will insist

upon being men.

These are the things that really matter: Freedom, justice, brotherhood, and a sense of the dignity, separateness, and sanctity of the individual. They are the values which all humanity generally accepts. They are the values whose practical extensions have accounted for the making of America, and which our Nation is peculiarly well suited to help make available to other peoples of the world. They are the roots of understanding which may some day support an enlightened, peaceful world.

The great need of our own time is for an atmosphere of honorable peace which would favor the translation of these values into practical, meaningful realities for the world's people. We seek to achieve this condition through such means as an enforceable disarmament, and an understanding acceptance of the diverse forms of society and government of all nations which contribute to our common goal of freedom.

I cannot bring myself to believe that an effective disarmament will stem alone from mere documentation, or that peace will result from the efficacy of words spelled out on parchment or paper.

Disarmament will most likely evolve from the desire-deeply embedded in the hearts of those responsible for the governments of the world who are willing to subordinate their national pride and world power objectives to the practical necessities of inspection and enforcement procedures which will touch many facets of their industrial, military, and political endeavors. A climate of trust, an atmosphere of hope, and acceptance of the universality of justice predicated on the rights of man must precede any documentation of commitments or under-

World peace must be a practice, not a platitude or stated principle. A state of living is the resultant action of all the factors which influence it. Governments reflect the predominant desires of the governed or those who govern. International amity and understanding demand the same respect for the basic facts of truth, reason, justice, and man's immortality as does a comparable climate of a national society composed of differing races, colors, creeds, and cultural backgrounds.

Centuries of time and sufficient effort may leaven us all, but we do not have the time to wait. The possibilities of force for great evil press too closely upon us. Energy must be turned from channels of destruction and waste to the productive service of mankind. To this end the American people and their Government remain dedicated.

At the root of it all is man's acceptance of man-as he is-with all his faults, his own peculiar beliefs and theology-his own inheritance of culture and tradition, but with this basic concept: He is a man, and shorn of all the ornamentation that humanity has heaped upon him he differs little from all others whose hands stretch pleadingly toward the eternity which eludes only the living.

These basic beliefs are nowhere more clearly evident than here, in your great organization, your philosophy, and your work in demonstrating at a practical working level the soundness and enduring vitality of the concept that all men are brothers, loved alike of God, and equal in His sight. May He help us all to an increased understanding that we are all His children, created in His image, and first obligated to His plan of peace on earth, good will toward men.

Permanent Peace in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I included in the RECORD my letter to the Secretary of State on the subject of permanent peace in the Middle East. Today, I submit the reply received from the Honorable Thruston B. Morton, Assistant Secretary of State, and my comments on his interesting information. As I stated yesterday, in view of the imminent consideration by the Congress of appropriations covering the foreign operations field, I hope that my colleagues will find time to give this matter their consideration,

DEPARTMENT OF STATE. Washington, February 10, 1955. The Honorable James Roosevelt, House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. ROOSEVELT: Thank you for your letter of February 4, 1955, expressing your views concerning military assistance to Iraq and the other Arab countries. We appreciate your conveying to us your thoughts on this

There is enclosed a statement recently prepared by the Department of State giving United States policy on the question of military assistance to countries of the Middle

East and measures taken to ensure that this military assistance will not be used for aggressive purposes.

Sincerely yours, THRUSTON B. MORTON, Assistant Secretary (For the Secretary of State).

UNITED STATES POLICY WITH REGARD TO MILI-TARY AID TO THE NEAR EAST

The policy of the United States in supplying arms to the Near East is guided by the principles set forth in the tripartite declaration of May 25, 1950, issued by the United States, the United Kingdom, and France. This declaration recognized that both the Arab states and Israel needed to maintain a certain level of armed forces for the purpose of assuring internal security and self-defense. and at the same time emphasized that an arms race between the Arab states and Israel should not be permitted to develop. It further made clear the intention of these powers to prevent aggression among those states.

These considerations have been reflected in the decisions of this Government with regard to (1) issuing licenses for the export of arms purchased by the Near East governments on the commercial market and (2) making it possible for Near East governments to purchase and export certain arms not available on commercial market, under the terms of section 408 (e) of the Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949, as amended. The United States Government has maintained a position of impartiality with regard to both these types of arms exports, discriminating against neither the Arab states nor

Sales of arms to the Near East and Middle East under these policies have been limited, and the area remains relatively defenseless against possible outside aggression. This has been a matter of growing concern to the United States Government. The 1st session of the 83d Congress in 1953 authorized, in section 202 (b) of the mutual security legis-lation for 1954, and appropriated funds for United States military assistance to certain of the countries of this area where the President considers such assistance will serve the purposes of the act.

On February 25, 1954, the President announced the first action taken under this authority-the decision to extend military aid to Pakistan. In the President's statement announcing this decision, there were

included the following passages:

This Government has been gravely concerned over the weakness of defensive capabilities in the Middle East. It was for the purposes of helping to increase the defense potential in this area that Congress in its last session appropriated funds to be used to assist those nations in the area which desired such assistance, which would pledge their willingness to promote international peace and security within the framework of the United Nations, and which would take effective collective measures to prevent and remove threats to peace.
"Let me make it clear that we shall be

guided by the stated purposes and require-ments of the mutual security legislation. These include specifically the provision that equipment, materials, or services provided will be used solely to maintain the recipient country's internal security and for its legitimate self-defense, or to permit it to par-ticipate in the defense of the area of which it is a part. Any recipient country also must undertake that it will not engage in any act of aggression against any other nation. These undertakings afford adequate assurance to all nations, regardless of their political orientation and whatever their international policies may be, that the arms the United States provides for the defense of the free world will in no way threaten their own

security. I can say that if our aid to any country, including Pakistan, is misused, and directed against another in aggression I will undertake immediately, in accordace with my costitutional authority, appropriate action both within and without the U. N. to thwart such aggression. I would also consult with the Congress on further steps.

"The United States earnestly desires that there be increased stability and strength in the Middle East, as it has desired this same thing in other parts of the free world. It believes that the aspirations of the peoples in this area for maintaining and developing their way of life and for realizing the social advances close to their hearts will be best served by strength to deter aggression and to reduce the fear of aggression. The United States is prepared to help in this endeavor, if its help is wanted.

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER."

President Eisenhower further states in his address on October 20, 1954, at the American Jewish tercentenary dinner, that—

"In the Near East, we are all regretfully aware that the major differences between Israel and the Arab States remain unresolved. Our goal there, as elsewhere, is a just peace. By friendship toward both, we shall continue to contribute to peaceful relations among these peoples. And in helping to strengthen the security of the entire Near East, we shall make sure that any arms we provide are devoted to that purpose, not to creating local imbalances which could be used for intimidation of or aggression against any neighboring nations. In every such arrangement we make with any nation, there is ample assurance that this distortion of purpose cannot occur."

On April 21, 1954, an agreement was made for Iraq to receive United States military assistance, such assistance having been requested in March 1953 for the purpose of strengthening Iraqui forces for the defense of the country against possible aggression. In requesting this help, the Iraqi Government linked its national defense with the defense of the vital resources of the free world against the danger of Communist expansion. Included in the agreement is a provision that "assistance will be provided subject to the provisions of applicable legislative authority and will be related in character, timing and amount to international developments in the area."

Evidence of Iraq's determination to deal effectively with domestic Communist activities may be found in recent severe measures taken by the Government against membership in the Communist Party and Communist activities. In addition to these measures, the Government is attempting to lessen the appeal of communism by raising the general living standards through land reform and other measures and through an economic development program for which 70 percent of the country's considerable oil revenues are earmarked.

The announcement on January 13, 1955, of the intention of Iraq and Turkey to conclude a mutual defense treaty further demonstrates Iraq's clear realization of the danger which threatens the area and her desire to cooperate with others in meeting that danger. (Public Services Division, Department of State, Washington, D. C., January 18, 1955.)

March 18, 1955.

Hon. Thruston B. Morton,

Assistant Secretary of State,

Department of State,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary: I have carefully gone over the statement of United States Policy with Regard to Military Aid to the Near East, dated January 18, 1955, which you were kind enough to send me in response to the letter which I sent to Secretary of State Dulles.

In my letter I expressed concern over our current programs to furnish military assistance to Iraq and other Arab countries in advance of an Arab-Israel peace. I do not believe that your answer adequately responds to my inquiry or allays my concern in this serious matter.

Your statement declares that United States policy in supplying arms to the Near East is guided by the principles set forth in the tripartite declaration of May 25, 1950. This Declaration, you point out, recognized that both the Arab States and Israel needed to maintain a certain level of armed forces for the purposes of Internal security and self-defense and at the same time emphasized that an arms race between the Arab states and Israel should not be permitted to develop. You go on to say that with regard to the issuing of licenses for the export of arms and the purchase and export of arms not available on the commercial market, the United States has "maintained a position of impartiality, discriminating against neither the Arab states nor Israel."

Having thus declared our Government's desire to be impartial and to prevent an arms race, you then proceed to state that arms are being furnished to Iraq but you offer no explanation of the fact that no arms are going to Israel although it is my understanding that Israel requested our arms back in 1952. This is not impartiality—this is clear discrimination.

Furthermore, it is clear that if we are to press our arms upon Iraq and other Arab states and deny them to Israel, we are inevitably provoking a disastrous arms race, which will put a tremendous burden on all the people of the area and which may lead to a renewal of the fighting. Accordingly, it seems plain that our current program does not follow the 1950 tripartite declaration. It flouts it.

You quote a statement of the President to the effect that "in helping to strengthen the security of the entire Near East, we shall make sure that any arms we provide are devoted to that purpose, not to creating local imbalances which could be used for intimidation of or aggression against any neighboring nations."

The President may have the finest of intentions in approving the shipment of arms to these countries, but how can be guarantee the intentions of the recipients?

the intentions of the recipients?

He goes on to state, "In every such arrangement we make with any nation, there is ample assurance that this distortion of purpose cannot occur." But as I read that portion of the Iraq-United States agreement which you have provided me with and which is relevant to this subject matter, I see no express undertaking by the Government of Iraq not to use our arms for a renewal of aggression against Israel. The language that is used in this agreement is extremely vague—pointedly so. So vague, in fact, that the Baghdad radio hailed the agreement as unconditional. It would therefore seem that the Arab States do not interpret this agreement as you do.

It seems evident that we do not have sufficient influence with the Arab countries to persuade them to agree, as a condition for the receipt of our arms, that they will renounce their aggressive intentions against Israel. If our influence is of such little consequence, would we really be able to halt an outbreak of fighting should it occur?

Nothing you have submitted to me diminishes my fear that we are taking the most reckless gamble with Middle East peace if we continue to pursue these unstable Arab governments, press our favors upon them whether they wish them or not, shower them with lethal weapons whether they can use them or not; secure their signatures on pacts whether they mean them or not; and all without taking the first and necessary step

for an effective program for Middle East development and defense, the promotion of peace negotiations between the Arab States and Israel.

It may be that the time is still unpropitious to bring Israel and the Arab States together into direct negotiations looking toward a peace settlement. But if this is still true 7 years after Israel was established; if the Arab States still refuse even to recognize her existence, how can we possibly ignore the efficient threats which emanate from Arab leaders? How can we risk giving them the weapons to translate their declarations into deeds?

All of us agree that we must strengthen the Middle East so that it can resist Communist aggression. But I cannot see how we strengthen this area if we arm one side and ignore the other; if we create a military imbalance; if we refuse to recognize threats at their face value; if we continue to condone boycotts and blockades and a flagrant rejection of obligations under the United Nations Charter.

We will not strengthen an area if, as a result of our policy, we keep it in tension and turmoil. As to so many other areas of the world, the need is for bold and positive leadership with an emphasis on peace. First we need a firm declaration of fundamental principles. Next we need action to implement When will our Government make clear to the whole Middle East that never will we let Israel suffer from armed aggression. when will it make clear that every treatv. pact, or agreement made in the area to which we are party or to which we have given our approval must include all the nations on an equal footing? When will we openly seek similar action from our allies, such as France, who have influence and interests in the area?

In summary I most earnestly urge that our Government undertake a dynamic program to meet and conquer the root causes of conflict in the Middle East. Certainly the United States, in building its opposition to subversion and aggression, will not ignore or help injure the only really democratic government in the whole area. Surely we will not abandon the ally most dedicated to friendship toward our own ideals and one most ready and willing, if necessary, to fight for them.

Inasmuch as this entire question will come before the Congress shortly during our consideration of the mutual-security program, I trust that a definitive statement will soon be forthcoming from the administration.

Very truly yours,

JAMES ROOSEVELT.

William F. Sullivan's Statement Opposing H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following statement of William F. Sullivan, president of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and of the Northern Textile Association, before the Senate Finance Committee on March 17, 1955, in opposition to H. R. 1.

This is an excellent statement prepared after very diligent and careful study, much thought, tireless research,

March 22

and years of experience in the textile industry:

My name is William F. Sullivan. I am president of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and of the Northern Textile Association. These associations represent northern cotton and synthetic fiber textile mills, most of which are located in New England.

New England has a very important stake in H. R. 1 and the current negotiations taking place at Geneva because despite her losses the textile industry is still the largest manufacturing industry in the area, employing 170,000 people. In cottons New England concentrates in fine combed goods which have a relatively high labor content—about 43 percent—hence wage difference between ourselves and Japanese or other foreign producers are a serious competitive handlesp.

The present economic condition in the industry is set forth in our testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee. Textiles are not a growth industry. Every dollar provided to Japan or other countries by the sale of cloth in this country will be a dollar withdrawn from the present reduced sales of our own mills and will depress an already perilously low market.

Since January 1951 over 260,000 Jobs have been lost in the textile industry, of which over 109,000 have been lost in New England. The per capita consumption of all textiles has dropped by 20.6 percent in the same period, and cotton textile prices have declined by almost 33 percent. Production in the cotton and synthetic industry is down 19.7 percent, and woolen and worested production by 27.5 percent. In New England since January 1954, employment has dropped 16.3 percent, and over 15 cotton and synthetic textile mills have permanently closed their doors. Textile mill liquidations resumed as soon as World War II was over.

Textile mill liquidations in Eastern States, 1946-541

	Total		New England		Middle Atlantic		South	
	Plants	Employees	Plants	Employees	Plants	Employees	Plants	Employees
1940-49 1950-52 1953-54	233 200 207	49, 095 50, 715 68, 135	87 72 77	24, 775 30, 745 36, 315	89 115 83	11, 600 16, 845 22, 800	57 13 47	12, 720 3, 125 9, 020
Total	640	167, 945	236	91,835	287	51, 245	117	24, 865

Includes spinning, weaving, knitting, dyeing, finishing, and carpet plants.

American costs of producing typical fabrics exceed Japanese costs by substantial amounts. This takes into account not only comparative wages, but machine efficiencies, work assignments, and other relevant data—Japan versus United States of America. For example, the cost of producing typical combed goods in the United States exceeds the cost of producing the same fabric in Japan by from 43.2 percent in the case of broadcloth to 60.5 percent in the case of volles, and over 70 percent in the case of lawns.

We know from actual experience in New England that workers displaced by the closing of textile mills are seldom reemployed by growth industries and that as much as a year and a half after displacement less than half the workers are reemployed at all. In the case of those over 45 years of age only one-third are reemployed. Of those who are eventually reemployed, two-thirds receive less pay, are generally downgraded, and unless reemployed in a textile mill lose the skills to which many years have been devoted.

Assuming that there will be an extension of authority to continue the trade-agreements program, our principal objections to H. R. I in its present form are briefly as follows:

 It fails to provide adequate safeguards against unemployment and injury to textile producers;

It fails to establish principles or yardsticks to guide the executive branch in carrying out the trade-agreements program; and

Certain provisions of H. R. 1 discriminate against the textile industry.

We wish to emphasize three changes which should be made in H. R. 1:

First, subparagraph (E) of section 3 (p. 5, line 24, et seq.): The general rule in H. R. 1 authorizes the President to reduce the rates of duty in effect on July 1, 1955, by 15 percent "(except as provided in subpar. (E) of this paragraph)" (p. 4, lines 9 and 10).

Subparagraph (E), however, authorizes the President on and after June 12 to reduce rates by 50 percent of those existing on January 1, 1945, on those articles which are currently being negotiated with Japan at Geneva pursuant to the notice of November 14, 1954.

One of the principal industries now being negotiated at Geneva is the textile industry. Over 90 percent of the cotton textile output of this country is currently on the bargaining table. In addition, many items of wool, silk, rayon, synthetic, and other textiles are subject to negotiation. For those of us unfortunate enough to be on this list, H. R. 1 authorizes a greater cut in duties than is allowed for the rest of American industry. It would be more equitable to wipe the slate clean as of now and put us in the same position as other American industries.

The great bulk of staple cotton goods have had no tariff reductions since January 1, 1945, and consequently, the whole 50 percent hangs as a threat over the industry. The principal reductions for the bulk of the cotton-goods industry were made in the United Kingdom agreement of 1939. Only in the higher count goods were duties reduced after 1945 and then by about 17 percent.

The exception of subparagraph (E) goes even further, however, than merely discriminating in the amount of reductions. Subparagraph (E) provides a special test to guide the President. It grants authority to reduce rates by 50 percent "if the President determines that such decrease is necessary in order to provide expanding export markets for products of Japan (including such markets in third countries)" (p. 6, lines 5 through 8, excerpt attached).

The test proposed in this bill to apply to our industry in negotiations with Japan is whether a reduction in our duties will aid Japan in expanding her export markets. The original Trade Agreements Act of 1934 had among its purposes "restoring the American standard of living" and "overcoming domestic unemployment." The Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, as well as H. R. I, have identical purposes—"for the purpose of expanding foreign markets for the products of the United States * * by regulating the admission of foreign goods into the United States in accordance with the characteristics and needs of various branches of

American production so that foreign markets will be made available to those branches of American production which require and are capable of developing such outlets by affording corresponding market opportunities for foreign products in the United States" (p. 2, line 3 et seq.).

The test of subparagraph (E), which the Congress is asked to approve, is at variance with the major purpose of the legislation. It is designed exclusively to aid Japan without reference to the welfare of our domestic industry. It is a principle of statutory construction that specific language such as this will control the general provisions of the legislation. It is patently obvious that decreases in our duties would provide expanding export markets for the products of Japan (including such markets in third countries).

If the Congress were to enact subparagraph (E) with its special test to apply to the particular negotiations with Japan, it is conceivable that the argument would be made that the escape and peril point provisions of the act do not apply in these cases. Even if applicable, the executive branch might well argue if it chose to disregard the recommendations of the Tariff Commission that Congress had directed it in these particular negotiations to provide expanding export markets for the products of Japan (including such markets in third countries).

We respectfully submit that subparagraph (E), being a discrimination against a particular industry, being designed wholly for the benefit of a foreign nation, and being contrary to the purposes of the trade agreements program, should be struck from H. R. 1.

Second, subparagraph (D) (ii) of section 3 (p. 4, line 14 et seq.): This part of H. R. 1 provides that "in the case of any article which the President determines, at the time the foreign trade agreement is entered into, is normally not imported into the United States or is normally imported into the United States in negligible quantities," rates may be reduced 50 percent below those of January 1, 1945. Although the words "normally" and "negligible" have not been explained by the proponents of the bill, it is our opinion that this authority to cut rates by 50 percent would be applied to the textile industry as a whole. It is, therefore, unfair to have a 50 percent rule for us and a 5 percent rule per year for other industries not on the Geneva list. Although in certain categories textile imports have been large and caused severe damage, imports as a whole might well be considered negligible. For example, since 1940 imports of cotton broadwoven goods have varied from onetenth of 1 percent to nine-tenths of 1 percent of our domestic production. If this special rule regarding goods normally imported in negligible quantities is intended to bring in greater quantities of these goods at the expense of domestic producers by reductions up to 50 percent, unemployment and injury will be caused to American workers and producers in the textile industry

Third, escape clause and peril point provisions: The escape clause and peril-point provisions of the Trade Agreements Act should be improved to protect domestic producers from unemployment and injury.

(a) Test: The current test or guide in these matters is serious injury to the domestic industry producing like or competitive products. This test is too broad and does not prevent plants in our domestic industries from being driven out of business even though an entire industry may not be seriously injured. The proper test or guide which Congress should establish is whether the operation of the trade agreements program will cause unemployment or injury to American workers producing like or competitive products. This can be accomplished by either changing the words in the escape and peril-point provisions or by defining

industry so as to mean the plants or seg-

ments of an industry.

(b) Administration: This test of unemployment or injury should be mandatory in the sense that it should apply to whoever administers the act whether it be the Tariff Commission or an agency of the executive branch of our Government. Although Congress may feel that the carrying out of the trade agreements program must rest with the executive branch, it should, nevertheless, provide principles, guides, or yardsticks under which the executive branch would operate. There should neither be the authority for, nor an invitation to the executive branch or any agency thereof to disregard the principles laid down by the Congress. Cnly Congress should have the right to change or overrule the application of the principles established in this legislation.

We respectfully submit that H. R. 1 should be amended so as to provide that the administration of the trade agreements program will not result in unemployment or injury to American workers or producers producing like or competitive products and that no one shall disregard these principles without the express consent of Congress.

H. R. 1, subparagraph (E), page 5, line 24, et seq .: "(E) In order to carry out a foreign trade agreement entered into by the President on or after June 12, 1955, to which the Government of Japan is a party and with respect to which notice of intention to negotiate was published on November 16, 1954 (19 F. R. 7379), if the President determines that such decrease is necessary in order to provide expanding export markets for products of Japan (including such markets in third countries), decreasing by more than 50 percent any rate of duty existing on January 1, 1945."

Yalta's Whole Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, now that we have full docu-mentation for the Yalta story, it is clear that Republican propaganda concerning President Roosevelt's alleged "sellout" to Stalin is 100 percent imagination. Though some mistakes were made at the Yalta Conference, these mistakes are much clearer in the light of subsequent history than they possible could have been at that time. The one thing that is most evident from a reading of these documents is the belief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the necessity of Russia's entry into the war against Japan as soon as possible. It was felt that this entry might save millions of American lives in an invasion of Japan which was then seen as the only way of winning the war. The President took the strong advice of his military advisers and made certain concessions to Stalin to insure Russia's participation in the Pacific war once Germany had surrendered. Had he not done so, and had the war with Japan not ended so abruptly, I feel sure that today Republicans would be criticizing him for his failure to assure Russia's participation against the enemy.

That this interpretation of events is not a partisan Democratic view, but one which represents the objective view of thinking people throughout the Nation, may be shown by the editorial which appeared in the Trenton (N. J.) Evening Times on Friday, March 18, 1955, which

YALTA'S WHOLE STORY

The whole story of the Yalta Conference now is told. In view of the bitter controversy its provisions have aroused over the years, the general reaction to the facts revealed is one of surprising moderation. Actually, the record does not alter substantially the impressions that have long been held. The agreements reached at Yalta do not reflect the ultimate in wisdom: but they were made, it must be remembered, on the basis of conditions as they existed at the time and without benefit of prophetic vision.

Criticisms of the Yalta agreements have centered principally upon the concessions made to Soviet Russia. There has been a widely held conviction that Stalin obtained all that he demanded and that Britain and the United States were outwitted by the saturnine master of the Kremlin. The facts

do not sustain this theory.

Marshal Stalin sought concessions in Turkey and Iran, also substantial reparations from Germany, which he was denied. He received the Kuriles, southern Sakhalin, and concessions in China. In return, he granted what the United States and Great Britain most urgently desired—participation of Russia in the war against Japan, once Ger-

many was conquered.

It was assumed at the time that Japan would have to be invaded. The atomic bomb was in the making; but that there was no certainty of its success. All preconceptions of the invasion of the Japanese Islands envisioned the most sanguinary military operation in history, one continuing about 18 months, with the possibility of a million

casualties.

On the basis of these ominous expectations, the bargain made with Russia was good. And it was made in accordance with the judgment of responsible military leaders at a time when Germany, while facing in-evitable defeat, still had millions of men under arms and when Japan possessed an enormous capacity for resistance.

If the war had not been ended by the atom bomb, the price paid for Russia intervention would not have been high. And if Russia had been faithful to the terms of the agreement, rather than treacherous, the fate of Poland would have been a different

story.

The record refutes the theory that President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill were less than realistic in their dealings with Stalin and were unaware of the danger of betrayal. There was a wholesome skepticism as to the good faith of the Soviet; but it was necessary to hold the wartime coalition together at all costs,

Errors were made at Yalta, and it is possible that some of them could have been avoided; but they were made under conditions of extreme stress and in accordance with what were, at the time, honest and sincere judgments.

Tariff Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by my colleague, the distinguished senior Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS], with respect to his proposed amendment to H. R. 1.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS, OF UTAH, BEFORE THE SENATE FINANCE COM-

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee on Finance of the United States Senate, I do appreciate the opportunity you have extended to me of making this statement here today in connection with H. R. 1. I shall try to make my comments brief and to the point.

Several decades ago when changes were needed in our tariff laws the Congress, under its constitutional authority "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imports, and excises," almost did the job unassisted by the executive branch of the Government.

As the economy grew and developed, it likewise produced a vast number of complex problems involving thousands of economic interest groups. Thus our complex society, as we are only too well aware, has been productive of an ever-increasing volume of legislative concern for the Congress. Limitations of time and the complexity of certain aspects of this legislative concern have in part necessarily forced the Congress to delegate some of its responsibilities to the executive branch of the Government. Tariffmaking, the subject matter of which involves schedules covering thousands upon thousands of products, was one such activity which, over a period of time, has progressively passed by delegation to the executive.

Exclusive tariffmaking by the Congress was plainly no longer tolerable by the time of the First World War, and, in 1916, the Congress created the United States Tariff Commission to assist the Congress. At that time the Commission's activities were limited to the continuous investigation of all economic matters which had a bearing upon tariff policy, and the reporting of its findings to the President and the Congress; it had no independent authority to make changes in the tariff laws or in their administration.

The Tariff Acts of 1922 and 1930, however, gave the United States Tariff Commission the authorization to investigate cost of production differences between domestic and foreign products and required it to recommend to the President, on the basis of its findings, specific increases or decreases in the appropriate tariff rates. The President, in turn, was given authority to readjust tariff rates either up or down within a range of 50 percent. The effect of these two acts was to provide the United States for the first time with a flexible tariff policy which enabled cost differentials between domestic and foreign production to be adjusted without awaiting the necessarily slow and very uncertain results of congressional attention and detailed legislation.

With the passage of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act in 1934, the Congress began the gradual disintegration of its control, except in theory, over the tariff-making pro-The United States Tariff Commission in effect has been reduced to a presidential staff agency in the purest sense of the word "staff," for its administrative history indicates that it serves mainly as an informative and advisory agency, an agency whose recommendations are seldom followed. By 1945, trade agreements were in operation between the United States and 28 countries. result of these agreements by 1945 was that the general tariff level had been reduced almost to that prevailing under the so-called Underwood Low Tariff Act of 1913. More recent extensions as you are aware have given

the President added authority to reduce tariff rates still further.

With respect to present tariff rates, it is important to realize that the United States is not now a high-tariff country. Our average tariff rate, as measured by the percentage of customs receipts to total imports, is the lowest that it has been in this century, and there are indeed few Western European nations whose record is as good on this basis of calculations. As Dr. Jacob Viner, professor of economics, Princeton University, told the Joint Committee on the Economic Report: "In the past 20 years there have been substantial reductions in our tariff rates, and, because of inflation, there has been also a substantial reduction of the ad valorem equivalents of the specific duties of our riff." (Hearings, p. 991.)
For example, the custom duty on zinc was tariff."

one-third of the domestic price in 1930 when the Tariff Act of that year was enacted; today, it is only one-twentieth of the 1954

However, in their endeavor to sell the American public a so-called liberal trade policy, low tariff advocates have made the tariff policy of the United States virtually a scapegoat for the economic troubles of the world. It is about time the nations of the world put a halt to the unjustified practice of making this Nation the world's economic whipping boy. Why? Because it is apparent, in light of the expert opinion which has been given this committee and its counterpart in the House of Representatives. as well as the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, that the world's economic ills will not be solved or even appreciably relieved by any conceivable tariff action which may be taken by the United States. Willard L. Thorp, former Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, and now director. Merrill Center for Economics. Amherst College, put it this way to the Joint Committee on the Economic Report a few weeks

"I cannot feel that there would be major changes that would create a great volume of trade. The American economy will be one in which 90 percent, shall we say, of our goods and services will be produced within the United States." (Hearings, p. 883.) (Hearings, p. 883.)

Dr. Jacob Viner was even more adamant in stating to the Joint Committee on the Economic Report that:

"The amount of change that complete free trade would make in the American economy is not very large. I fear that the amount of gain the American economy can make out of free trade has fairly narrow limits. I 'fear' it only in this sense: The amount of good we can do to the rest of the world through free trade is limited, and the amount of good we can get for ourselves from that avenue, as against the benefits we can get from other avenues of good government, is also limited." (Hearings, p. 969.)

It should be evident that a reduction of American tariffs cannot bring about any spectacular increase of United States imports or be of decisive importance in the world economics picture. Greater United States imports, and successful entry into the American market requires in a great many cases that foreign countries redesign their products, if United States consumer preference is to be created; that they adjust and expand production facilities and establish warehousing and distribution and sales facilities in the United States. This is a cost of doing business. It is exactly the same problem that American exporters face. But even more important: if there is to be an appreciable increase in United States exports, it will depend upon the continued expansion of economic activity in this country. Specifically, what in the main will primarily determine the level of our imports will be technological change in production techniques and the general level of business

activity-not the abolishment of tariff schedules.

Simultaneously with the reduction of United States tariff rates to about half of what they were in 1930 by the Executive under the trade-agreements program there arose a growing volume of protest from cer tain segments of American industry. complaints have charged that such tlated agreements contained tariff and other concessions which resulted not only in American producers losing domestic markets but also in the demise of American industries. And as the years have gone by this conflict has grown and magnified, producing in its wake voluminous but conflicting opinions and literature on the subject of trade agreements.

As I indicated in my remarks to the Senate on January 25, 1954, I am in general agree-ment with President Eisenhower's statement in his special message on foreign economic policy to the effect that all nations should mutually undertake the lowering of unjustified barriers to trade on a mutual basis so that the benefits can be shared by all. But, as I said on that occasion, the "all" must include those efficient domestic industries which are operating in the face of ruinous and disadvantageous competitive conditions

with foreign imports.

A great number of these domestic industries are engaged in the production of raw materials, such as our metals, petroleum, and agricultural products, which must be processed. Yet it is exactly these types of commodities which make up the vast bulk of our imports. Is this connection, Mr. Nathaniel Knowles, Jr., Acting Deputy Di-rector, Bureau of Foreign Gommerce, Department of Commerce, told the Joint Committee on the Economic Report that-

"Some 70 percent of our exports consist of manufactured goods shipped in substantially the forms in which they are finally utilized abroad. * * Our imports, in contrast, to our exports, consist preponderantly of raw materials and crude foodstuff requiring extensive further processing before entering into consumption channels. Less than one-fifth of our imports enter the country as substantially finished products." (Hearings, p. 930.)

Now, with these facts in mind, it is not difficult to see why the export-minded segments of our economy not only do not fear lower tariff rates on imports but actually favor them. First, foreign imports provide a cheap source of raw materials. Second. with our great advantage in the techniques of industrial production, they have little to fear from competitive imports.

As Dr. Arthur Upgren, dean, Amos Tuck School of Business Administration, Prince-ton University, told the Joint Committee on the Economic Report a few weeks ago:

"The barrier to a great inflow in imports is largely the \$160 billion investment of American plant in new industry.

"With that huge investment American industry would generally meet the price conditions which would be imposed by tariff reduction. What I am saying here is that the proposal of trade, not aid, about a year or two ago, could not have accomplished but a very small amount of the achievement that was dramatized by the visit of two members of the British Cabinet. This was important, but we should not try to persuade the American people that we can do so much more than is possible." (Hearings, p. 891.)

Actually, one is led to suspect that this drive for a so-called trade-not-aid program is an argument that has been advanced not because it will cure the economic ills of the world, but because it serves better the interests of the export-minded segments of our domestic economy. Commodities which enjoy an appreciable export market, it would appear, are in a far better position to be considered for tariff reductions under the

This would trade-agreements program. probably include, for example, automobiles and special high-grade production machine Yet, the protection afforded to the steel and automobile industries by way of comparison with lead and zinc, a raw material, is relatively much greater.

I firmly believe that an American trade policy must embody those features that will work toward the enlargement of international trade but in a manner consistent with maintaining a sound domestic economy. Our experience to date, however, seems to indicate that certain revisions in the tradeagreements program are necessary if these wo objectives are to be realized. dent, I believe, that the Congress must return to itself a larger share of the direct responsibility for tariff-making policy in those areas of intense conflict which has been generated by the trade-agreements program.

This is essential since, although the continued reduction of tariffs will not appreciably result in increased total imports, they can well result in the demise of many Ameri can industries. This is because, as Dr. Jacob Viner told the joint committee, "to a large extent the reductions in our tariff which would really lower the effective margin of tariff protection remain to be made." (Hear-

ings, p. 991.)

the controversies over further Because tariff reductions under the trade-agreements program are undoubtedly going greater repercussions, it is imperative that the Congress return to itself a larger degree of control than it has had the past few years. Actually the pendulum of tariff-making authority has simply swung too far toward the expediency of administrative negotiation and execution by the executive branch. It has swung so far in fact that it would cause a reasonably prudent person to conclude, I am sure, that the Congress de facto has completely abdicated its constitutional authority in this field.

An analysis of escape-clause applications and their administrative disposal will make this quite clear. The escape clause, as you undoubtedly know, was not an original part of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Rather, it was the product of extensive liberality in granting tariff and other concessions by the executive branch under the tradeagreements program and the result of increasing protest by American industries adversely affected by excessive imports. The function of the escape clause is, of course, to compromise the conflict which arises between the need and desirability of freer international trade and the need for protecting defense and certain other industries fundamental to the economies of certain sections of the United States, the customs and traditions of our people, and for maintaining safeguards which protect wages, industry, and agriculture.

early trade agreements negotiated under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934 contained no general means of providing realistic relief if a particular concession proved unexpectedly injurious to a domestic industry. Although escape clauses had been contained in bilateral trade agreements since 1941 and in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade since 1947, it remained for the Congress, because of the difficulty of foreseeing the contingencies that might arise, to make the inclusion of an escape clause in new trade agreements a statutory requirement. This was accomplished in 1951 by the passage of the Trade Agreements Extension Act.

The facts, however, indicate that the executive branch of the Federal Government and the United States Tariff Commission have not in general interpreted and administered the escape-clause provisions as the Congress so intended. It is interesting to note that of 56 applications, which were filed during the period 1948-54, the Commission recommended relief in only 12 instances, all but 2 of which involved only products of minor importance.

These 12 favorable recommendations were

made with respect to-

1. Women's fur-felt hats and hat bodies (unanimous, September 25, 1950).

2. Hatters' fur (unanimous, November 9,

1951).

3. Garlie (4 to 2, June 6, 1952).

4. Watches, movements, and parts (first investigation, 4 to 2, June 14, 1952).

5. Dried figs (unanimous, July 24, 1952). 6. Tobacco pipes and bowls (unanimous,

December 22, 1952).

7. Screen-printed silk scarves (unanimous, April 13, 1953).

8. Scissors and shears (4 to 2, March 12, 1254).

9. Ground fish fillets (second investigation, 3 to 2, May 7, 1954).

10. Watches, movements, and parts (second investigation, 4 to 2, May 21, 1954)

11. Lead and zinc (unanimous, May 21,

1954).

12. Alaike cloverseed (unanimous, May 21, 1954).

Rather an unimpressive list, is it not? But why only 12 favorable applications? In part, because the Congress has failed to establish definite criteria for the Commission to follow in arriving at decisions. But primarily it is because the Commission in considering the effect of increased imports on production, profits, and employment has consistently held that an industry is deemed to include, for purposes of escape-clause relief, all the operations of the constituent firm making the application, rather than only those operations that are directly related to the production of the product identified in the escape-clause application.

This interpretation has directly served to nullify the intent of the Congress to give

needed tariff relief.

How close has the President followed what We must presume to be the expert recommendations of the Tariff Commission? Of the 12 favorable Commission recommendations I named a few moments ago, you will observe that:

1. Seven were unanimous decisions and included-

(a) Women's fur-felt hats and hat bodies.

(b) Hatters' fur.

(c) Dried figs.

(d) Tobacco pipes and bowls.

(e) Screen-printed silk scarves.

(f) Lead and zinc.

(g) Alsike clover seed. Four were 4-to-2 decisions and included-

(a) Garlic.

(b) Watches, movements, and parts (first investigation).

(c) Watches, movements, and parts (second investigation).

(d) Scissors and shears.

3. One was a 3-to-2 decision and was made With respect to groundfish fillets.

In only five instances did the President follow the recommendations of the United States Tariff Commission. These five favorable actions by the President involved the following:

1. Four products which the Commission unanimously believed needed relief. They Included-

(a) Women's fur-felt hats and hat bodies.

(b) Hatters' fur.

(c) Dried figs.

(d) Alsike cloverseed.

2. The other product—watches, move-ments, and parts (second investigation)—involved a favorable recommendation decided by a 4-to-2 vote of the Commission.

In these other cases the President refused to grant relief even though by unanimous vote the Tariff Commission had recommended such action. These included-

(1) Tobacco pipes and bowls.

(2) Screen-printed silk scarves.

(3) Lead and zinc.

Likewise, he refused relief with respect to three 4-to-2 decisions and one 3-to-2 recommendation, which respectively involved-

(1) Garlie.

(2) Watches, movements, and parts (first investigation).
(3) Scissors and shears.

(4) Groundfish fillets (second investigation).

In these cases, despite the recommendation of the Tariff Commission, an expert body, the President held to the contrary, for rea sons which seemed satisfactory to him, that serious injury to the domestic industry had not been established.

It is absolutely useless for the Congress of the United States to create an expert body that is largely investigational in nature and designed to lead to expert recommendation for administrative action in areas where it has delegated to the executive branch extensive authority, as it has done with respect to trade and tariff matters.

A typical case in which the effect is readily apparent of delegating to the Executive final decision with respect to escape-clause recommendations is well illustrated by the lead

and zinc case.

During the Korean war foreign production was greatly increased through the support of American aid and by comparatively high domestic prices during a period when domestic production was restricted by price controls. After the war, as a result, excess foreign lead and zinc supplies have continued to flow into our domestic markets at prices well below the average cost of domestic production.

As Mr. Otto Herres, chairman of the National Lead and Zinc Committee, told this committee last week, "Such action has made marginal mines out of once prosperous properties." In the spring of 1953, the minindustry was advised to seek relief through the escape clause provisions of the Trade Agreements Act rather than by legislative means.

This committee, as well as the House Ways and Means Committee, were sufficiently impressed with the problems of the lead and zinc mining industry to direct the United States Tariff Commission, pursuant to the repective resolutions of July 27, 1953, and July 29, 1953, to initiate a general investigation of the industry, including the effect of imports of lead and zinc on the domestic prices and employment.

On May 21, 1054, the Tariff Commission unanimously reported to the President that the importation of lead and zinc was in such quantities as to cause serious injury to the domestic industry. In order to correct the problems, the Tariff Commission recom-mended that "the rates of duty 50 percent above the rates existing on January 1, 1945, * * * be imposed for an indefinite period."

The President, however, for what were sufficient reasons to him, did not follow the expert recommendations of the Tariff Commission. Instead, on August 20, 1954, the Government initiated a long-term stockpiling program for lead and zinc. And although, by this action, the President recognized in effect that the excessive importation of lead and zine had injured the mining industry, the results to date indicate that it has not appreciably improved the situation.

Since August 1954, the price of zinc has advanced only one-half cent, from 11 cents per pound to the current quotation of 111/2 cents. Why? Primarily, because unlimited imports of zinc and slab zinc have continued flow into this country. As Mr. Otto Herres, chairman of the National Lead aud Zinc Committee, told this committee:

"For the year 1954 on an average of 41,460 tons of zinc a month from foreign ores in addition to an average of 13,444 tons of imported slab zinc, a total of 54,904 tons, entered United States consumption while the output of the mines at home was dropping to an average of 38,750 tons.

"Excessive imports of foreign ores have been taking over a larger proportion of United States smelter production at the expense of the Nation's mines. Domestic mine output of zinc consequently has been reduced to less than 39,000 tons a month from an average of 60,000 tons a month in early 1952. Smelter production of zinc is at an all-time high while mine output of lead and zinc is the smallest since the depression years, 1931-34."

It is evident, I believe, that stockpilling is not accomplishing the purpose it was intended to achieve. To the extent that stockpiling does increase domestic prices of lead and zinc it only serves as a magnet to foreign imports in much the same way as does the price-support program on agricul-tural commodities. But whereas the American farmer can rely on section 22 to limit imports, the lead and zinc industries have had only the escape-clause provision, which the executive branch has declined to invoke for reasons which appear sufficient to them.

It is quite evident that the pendulum of responsibility for escape-clause actions must swing toward greater control by the Con-This is a portion of its constitugress. tional authority which should be recalled from the executive branch. At the same time, it should be made clear that we cannot, with respect to the general responsibility for negotiating trade and tariff matters. return to the cumbersome and slow procedure under which the Congress in the early 1900's sought to write detailed tariff legislation.

The amendments which I have proposed to the bill H. R. 1, to extend the authority of the President to enter into trade agree ments under section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, are designed to bring the tariff-making procedure of the United States back into equilibrium again. In brief, the proposed amendments are as follows:

1. Section 3 (a) and (c) of the proposed amendment, by extending the trade-agree-ments program, as requested by the President, would give authority to the President, for a 2-year period, to-

1. Reduce tariff rates on selected commod-Itles by not more than 5 percent per year for 2 years.

2. Reduce any tariff rates in excess of 50 percent to that level over a 2-year period.

3. Reduce, by act more than one-half over a 2-year period, the tariff rates in effect on January 1, 1945, on articles which are not now being imported or which are being imported only in negligible quantities.

The administrative facilities and services of the executive branch of the Federal Government, under the direction of the President, would be continued for the negotiation of trade agreements. The fact remains that the actual negotiation with regard to the thousands of items covered by trade agreements and tariff legislation is better handled by the executive branch of the Federal Government than by the Congress.

2. Section 3 (d) of the proposed amendment would require the President to submit an annual report on the operation of the trade agreements program to the Congress which must include-

1. Information regarding new negotiations.

2. Modifications made in duties and import restrictions of the United States.

3. Reciprocal concessions obtained.

4. Modifications of existing trade agreements in order to effectuate more fully the purposes of the trade agreements legislation, including the incorporation therein of escape clauses.

5. Other pertinent information and data.

3. Section 5 (a) of the proposed amendment to H. R. I would require the United States Tariff Commission to submit a report to the Congress on all peril-point investigations.

The Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, as amended, requires the President, before entering into negotiations concerning any proposed foreign-trade agreement under section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, to furnish the United States Tariff Commission with a list of all articles imported into the United States. Upon receipt of this list, the Tariff Commission shall make a study and report to the President with respect to each article-

1. The limit to which such modification, imposition, or continuance may be extended without causing or threatening severe injury to the domestic industry producing like

or directly competitive articles.

2. Whether or not increased duties or additional import restrictions are required to avoid serious injury to the domestic industry producing like or directly competitive articles and, if so, the minimum increases in duties or import restrictions required.

Section 5 would require the Tariff Commission to transmit such a report to the Congress as well as to the President.

- 4. The proposed amendment would amend section 6 (a) of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951 so as to provide that no reduction of tariff rates or any other concession shall be permitted to continue in effect when-
- 1. Importation of increased quantities of any product upon which such a concession has been granted under a trade agreement causes or threatens serious import injury to the domestic industry producing either like or directly competing products.

 Heretofore it has not been spelled out

clearly that relief is to be granted from the effects of concessions given under trade

agreements.

- 5. Section 7 (c), (f), and (i) of the proposed amendment directs that should the Tariff Commission find that the importation or prospective importation of any produpon which a concession has been granted under a trade agreement, results in or threatens serious import injury to the domestic industry producing either like or directly competitive products, it shall find and declare the extent to which and the time for which the following actions are necessary in order to prevent or remedy such injury:
- 1. Permanent withdrawal of the concession shall be made:
 - 2. Modification of the concession;
- 3. Suspension of the concession in whole or in part;
- 4. Limitation of the quantity of the product which may enter or withdraw from warehouse for consumption; or
- 5. Any combination of these four items.

The Tariff Commission's findings would be contained in a plan for their implementation which must be transmitted to both Houses of the Congress on the same day and while both are in session. The provisions of any plan transmitted shall take effect on the expiration of the first period of 60 days of continuous session of the Congress, following the date of transmittal and the expiration of the 60-day period, either House of the Congress, by affirmative vote of a majority of its authorized membership, passes a resolution stating that it does not favor the plan. An essential step in bring-ing the tariffmaking process back into equilibrium again is to reserve to the Congress, which is more representative of the will of the people, final decision in controversial areas of our national trade and tariff program.

After concluding its investigations and hearings, should the Tariff Commission find that relief is not necessary, it shall likewise make and transmit to the Congress a report of its findings and conclusions.

6. Specific criteria are established upon which the Tariff Commission is to base its findings under escape-clause proceedings by

section 7 (d) of the proposed amendment to

The Tariff Commission is directed to consider any of the following factors as con-stituting import injury with respect to a domestic article when caused, or threatened to be caused, in whole or in part by the importation of competitive imported articles:

(1) Unemployment, layoffs, or curtailment of workweek;

- (2) Reduction in actual or relative wages, including reduction of fringe benefits enjoyed in lieu of wages;
 - (3) Decline in prices or sales;

- (4) Rising Inventory;(5) Decline in profits of, or operation at loss by, the manufacturer, producer, grower, or wholesnler;
- (6) In the case of an agricultural product, a return to the grower or producer below the established parity price for such product;
- (7) Decline in flow of investment into plant expansion, new equipment, or other improvements:
- (8) Decline in proportionate share of the domestic market enjoyed by the domestic article;
- (9) Increase in the importation of like or directly competitive imported articles accompanied by unused, but available and suitable, capacity to produce, manufacture, or grow domestic articles;

(10) Inability to meet promotion, advertising, and customer services provided for a like or directly competitive imported article, to the extent that such inability is due to the lower landed costs of the imported article or to payments from foreign sources not included in the landed cost of the imported article; and

(11) In the case of any natural-resource industry or to any industry determined to be essential to the national security by the National Security Council, a productive capacity of the domestic industry which is less than the peacetime requirements of the domestic market for the article produced or manufactured by the domestic industry, plus a reasonable reserve over and above peacetime requirements for emergency use,

By providing such criteria, the Congress can insure that its policies with respect to escape-clause actions are carried out as in-

7. For purposes of escape-clause proceedings a definition of an industry is provided by section 7 (e) of the proposed amendment to H. R. 1.

Where a particular business enterprise is engaged in operations involving more than one such industry, or more than one such segment of a single industry, the Commission shall distinguish or separate the respective operations of such business enterprise for the purpose of determining import

A domestic industry is held to include only those operations that relate directly to the production of the products under investiga-

The Yalta Papers' Net Effect: A Warning Against Secret Diplomacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, a refreshing viewpoint on the Yalta papers has appeared in the Long Beach Independent newspaper. Written by editorial columnist Larry Collins, whose location some 3,000 miles from the Na-

tion's Capital serves as insulation against the political crosscurrents and riptides so prevalent here in Washington, the article catches the real significance of the Yalta papers, namely, a warning against the perils inherent in secret diplomacy:

THE YALTA PAPERS

There is little revealed in the Yalta papers that had not been widely rumored for many years. But they confirm the fact that President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Premier Stalin paved the way for the downfall of the Chinese Nationalist Government. It is an example of secret diplomacy which shocks the world. It also is evidence of the ruthless demands by Russia and how the Communists broke faith on about every agreement made. It is unfortunate their perfidy was not revealed when the Korean war opened. It might have brought us greater cooperation from other nations.

The timetable of events is important. The Yalta meeting was held in February 1945. At that meeting Russia was promised the Japanese islands of Sakhalin and the Kuriles, lying north of the Japanese mainland. Russia was also promised rail control across Manchuria and ports then held by Japan. For this, Russia agreed to join in defeating Japan as soon as Hitler was defeated,

Germany surrendered on May 7, 1945. August 6 the atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. It was apparent Japan would surrender within a few days. We had, for 3 years, carried on the fight in the Pacific. Okinawa was in our hands. But Russia had not kept her word. Then 3 days after the bomb was dropped and the Japanese in Manchuria and China were demoralized, Russia stepped in.

Five days later Japan surrendered. Russians swept over Manchuria and took all the Chinese possessions which had been held by the Japanese. Russia kept moving into North Korea until we stopped her at the 38 parallel. It was a sordid breaking of faith which should be remembered when-ever anyone talks of agreements with the Communists.

At the meeting, President Roosevelt was already a very sick man. He knew then we were about ready to use the atom bomb. But seeking to end the war quickly, with the help of Russia, he made concessions which destroyed China's hopes of ever holding Manchuria again. It appears he agreed to give Russia more votes in the U. N. than we were to have.

As Secretary Dulles has said-this debate will go on forever. But of importance to the peoples of the world is this demonstration of secret diplomacy. It is understandable that there must be much secrecy in dealing with other nations. But when three men can sit down and divide greats part of the world, without telling the people what is being done, it cannot be called the democratic processes of government.

It seems terrible that the details of this meeting have been held secret for 10 years. During that period Russia has taken Poland and most of Eastern Europe in direct violation of Mr. Roosevelt's plan for free elections. It caused us to have 150,000 casualties in Korea.

What has happened is history. But its effect has been that the world is continually facing war instead of the peace that was promised. It should be a warning to the people that secret diplomacy endangers them. The people of the world have a right to know what their leaders agree to. Any agreement that cannot be entrusted to the people is dangerous to free people everywhere. The Yalta agreement is an example of what can happen when leaders set themselves so high above the people. When it is known that the people are to be informed of what has been agreed to, much more care will be taken in dividing up the lands of this or other nations. L. A. C.

the Textile and Apparel Fields

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following news release furnished me by Mr. Solomon Barkin, director of research, Textile Workers Union of America, CIO:

New York, N. Y., March 20.—The Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, has lodged a bitter protest with Secretary of Agriculture Benson against the Government's plan to abandon its research work in the textile and apparel fields. News of the plan leaked out of a closed congressional hearing two weeks ago and has since been verified.

In a letter to Benson, William Pollock, the union's executive vice president, said abandonment of the 25-year-old research activity "comes at a time when the textile industry is in its greatest need of assistance in broadening its markets to stimulate business and restore employment."

"The continued dismantling of the Federal agencies necessary to keep our industries virile and alert and to stimulate invention can only spell further blight upon the textile industry, already beset by many other difficulties," Pollock continued.

"As you must know we have for the last 2 years been pressing the Federal Government to take action toward alleviating the persistent textile depression. As a result of your order the industry will get less help than ever. We cannot too strongly express our dismay."

The text of Pollock's letter follows:

"DEAR SIR: We read with great astonishment that you have ordered the Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics to abandon its research in the field of fabrics and apparel. This order comes at a time when the textile industry is in its greatest need of assistance in broadening its markets to stimulate business activities and restore employment.

'Many of the Bureau's investigations provided invaluable information for the textile and apparel industry and they have offered insights and information necessary for reconstruction of the industry on a sound basis.

"We urge immediate reconsideration of your action and the restoration of the activities performed by the Bureau in the field of

"The continued dismantling of the Federal agencies necessary to keep our industries virile and alert and to stimulate invention can only spell further blight upon the textile industry, already beset by many other difficulties. We cannot have a full employment economy if these aids are not provided.

"As textile workers, we believe this action is improper and unwise. There is as much justification for research in the apparel and textile field as in the field of human nutrition. Human clothing and nutrition have been the primary concern of this Bureau and its work must be fostered in the interests of the well-being of the American people. All groups-consumers, workers, manufacturers, and the Government-need an agency providing the objective data which has been furnished by this Bureau at a modest cost.

"As you must know we have for the last 2 years been pressing the Federal Government to take action toward alleviating the persistent textile depression. As a result of your order the industry will get less help than

Folly of Abandoning Research Work in ever. We cannot too strongly express our dismay.

"The restoration of the project in textile and apparel research is imperative.

'Very truly yours,
"WILLIAM POLLOCK, "Executive Vice President."

Why Sell the Delaware?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, last year the Congress passed legislation authorizing the deepening of the channel of the Delaware River. his budget message this year President Eisenhower included approval of such deepening only with the proviso that private industry benefiting from such deepening help pay the costs. This is, of course, a radical and remarkable departure from established and workable procedures in such matters. In this connection, I should like to include as part of my remarks an editorial appearing in the Trentonian on March 16, 1955. The editorial follows:

WHY SELL THE DELAWARE?

"This new concept of local financing for a national interest project is one that should cause concern to the people throughout the country. This is no mere local issue. It will have a real meaning to every port in the country. It is a complete reversal of a traditional Federal role, one that can have a lasting and harmful effect on our shipping lanes. . The idea is so novel and ridiculous that it shouldn't be given a moment's thought."

Those are the words of Congressman CHARLES A. WOLVERTON, Representative from the First New Jersey District, covering Camden, Gloucester, and Salem Counties. He is a Republican. We wonder how he feels today about the action taken by his fellow Republicans who control the New Jersey State Assembly from the basement of the state

Those members of the lower chamber on Monday were offered an opportunity to give backing to the tri-State drive for a deeper Delaware, to be paid for entirely by Federal funds. They have before them a resolution petitioning the Federal Government to provide all the necessary funds for the project,

Appropriately enough, the Republican assemblymen assembled in the basement, and, in one of their time-honored caucuses, voted to kill the resolution. They thus supported resident Eisenhower who, contrary to congressional recommendations, holds that private interests should pay part of the bill.

A spokesman for New Jersey's basement clique said the GO was afraid that deepening the river would allow salt water and sand seep into the drinking water of cities along the river, despite engineering reports to the contrary.

Lined up solidly behind the proposition

that the Federal Government should pay all the costs of deepening the Delaware are Governors Meyner, of New Jersey, Leader, of Pennsylvania; and Boggs, of Delaware.

Supporting it actively in Congress are Congressmen Frank Thompson, Jr., and Wolver-TON, of New Jersey; Scott, King, Green, Byrne, and Barrett, of Pennsylvania; and Senators DUFF and MARTIN, of Pennsylvania.

They are not the only ones who think the project should be paid for exclusively out of Federal funds.

On January 20 we observed that "Congress obviously did not want to sell any part of the Delaware—one of those navigable streams over which the Federal Government exercises control-to any private interest. .

The Camden Courier-Post remarked on February 7 "that in no projects similar to this one have local interests ever been called on to share in the cost, and they should never be. * * *" What it all boils down to is this: While our

Congressmen, public officials, and news-papers are fighting tooth and nall for the Federal Government to undertake its just obligations and provide a channel to the sea for the great and growing Delaware Valley. New Jersey Republican members of the assembly are dragging their heels. Their de-plorable action Monday has hurt the drive for a deeper Delaware, but they have not stopped those farsighted people who are convinced that a ship channel will make the Delaware Valley an important adjunct of our Nation's defense and economy.

Need for Restoration of Appropriations for State Maritime Academies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN F. BALDWIN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, in California, Maine, New York, and Massachusetts the State governments have been operating Maritime Academies for the training of Merchant Marine officers. The students have graduated with their papers as deck or engineer officers and have also in the past been commissioned in the U.S. Naval Reserve. On this basis the Congress has appropriated Federal contributions to the budgets of the academies since 1911. In fiscal year 1955 the amount for the four schools was \$660,000. The budget as presented for fiscal 1956 contains nothing for this

Consequences of a serious nature could result from abandoning the program at this time. The international situation, which apparently will be tense for many years to come, emphasizes the importance of this resource for training officers. The enrollments in the academies at the end of the last school year were 495 at the New York academy; 224, Maine: 180, Massachusetts; and 130, California.

It would appear particularly inappropriate to terminate this program at a time when we are simultaneously considering an expansion of other Federal assistance to State educational programs. First consideration should logically be given to the continuance of existing programs. I most sincerely hope that the Appropriations Committee and this House will amend the budget to provide an appropriation of \$660,000 for the support of these academies for fiscal year

In this connection, I have received the following letter from the chairman of the board of governors of the California Maritime Academy stressing the urgent need for restoration of this appropriation:

CRISIS-CALIFORNIA MARITIME ACADEMY ACTION NEEDED-IMMEDIATE CALIFORNIA MARITIME ACADEMY.

March 2, 1955.

Hon. John F. Baldwin, Jr., House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DHAR MR. BALDWIN: A serious crisis now exists at the California Maritime Academy which endangers its very existence, and your help is urgently needed.

The academy was founded in 1929 and is an educational institution of the State of California for educating young men to become merchant marine officers. There are three other State maritime academies: New York (founded in 1874), Massachusetts (founded in 1888); and Maine (founded in

Congress, in its wisdom and foresight, enacted a law in 1874 which, as amended, has been in effect ever since and which empowers and authorizes the Federal Government to aid States maintaining maritime academies.

In full reliance and solely upon this Fedlaw, the maritime academies were founded by the four States and, in continued reliance upon said law, have expended millions of dollars in maintaining these academies year after year and in the con-struction of facilities and buildings. At the California Maritime Academy right at this moment we are completing 2 new buildings at the sole cost to the State of approximately

Total Federal aid last year to the four State academies was \$660,000, of which California received the benefit of about \$100,000. We have always received this Federal aid, year after year, and were informed on Decem-ber 19, 1954, by the Maritime Administration, that the budget now being considered by Congress contained this sum of \$660,000 for State aid. However, when the budget was submitted, all money for State aid of the academies had been eliminated. A representative of the Department of Commerce informed me personally that the Department had no objection to the restoration of these funds in the budget.

We have already prepared and submitted to the State legislature our budget for the year commencing July 1, 1955, which was prepared with the expectation of the usual Federal aid that had always been forthcoming.

Under our budget as submitted to the State legislature, and without the usual Federal aid, the California Maritime Academy cannot operate for the fiscal year starting July 1, 1955.

Attached hereto for your ready reference is a complete statement of the facts.

Will you please use every effort to get the appropriations for all State maritime academies restored to the budget?

Set forth below are the names and addresses of the other board members.

Anxiously awaiting your reply, I am, Respectfully yours.

R. D. SWEINEY, Chairman, Board of Governors, California Maritime Academy.

Senator Luther E. Gibson, 516 Marin Street, Vallejo, Calif.; Dr. J. Burton Vasche, de-partment of education, Sacramento, Calif.; Mr. Hugh Gallagher, Matson Navigation Co., 215 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.; Mr. Gene M. Harris, 12201/2 State Street, Santa Barbara, Calif.

STATEMENT OF FACTS

The California Maritime Academy is an educational institution of the State of California and is located near Vallejo, Calif., on San Francisco Bay. It was founded by an act of the State legislature enacted in 1929.

The purpose of the academy is to train and educate young men for the ever-increasing technical and difficult profession of a merchant marine officer. It is the only educational institution west of the Atlantic coast devoted exclusively to the teaching of nautical sciences and marine engineering so as to afford within its confines all instruction necessary for a well qualified mcrchant marine officer.

Each graduate receives a B. S. degree and upon passing the required Coast Guard examination (which they all do) also re-ceives either a license as a third mate or a third engineer officer, depending upon which branch the graduate has chosen. Those graduates who can pass the required physical examination also receive a commission as an ensign in the United States Naval Reserve. The Navy Department maintains naval personnel at the Academy for the purpose of instructing the students in allied naval sciences.

The academy and it graduates have an excellent standing and reputation with the maritime and shipping industry, the Propeller Club, American Legion, and other civic organizations.

Excellent and similar maritime academies are maintained by the States of New York (founded 1874), Massachusetts 1828), and Maine (founded 1941). Massachusetts (founded

These academies fulfill a great need to private industry and in the educational, economic, national and international life of this country, and students are accepted from any State in the Union.

Congress in its great wisdom and foresight enacted a law in 1874 which as amended has ever since been an honored law of this Nation (34 USCA 1121-1130) and which basically empowers and authorizes the Federal Government, in order to promote nautical education.

(a) To furnish a State a suitable vessel to be used for the benefit of any nautical school established in certain named ports upon condition that there shall be maintained a school for the instruction of youths in navigation, marine engineering, and all matters pertaining to the proper construction, equipment, and sailing of vessels or any particular branch thereof;

(b) To repair or recondition and equip said vessel;

(c) To detail naval officers as instructors to said schools.

The Federal law authorizes the appropriation of \$50,000 annually by the Federal Government to each such State school for the purpose af aiding in the maintenance and support of such nautical school. Of this \$50,000 up to \$25,000 thereof is to be paid to each State if it admits students who are residents of other States, said payment to be on a per capita cost basis.

In full reliance and solely upon this Federal law and with the right to believe that the Government would abide by its own word as solemnly expressed in this law, the maritime academies were founded by the above four States and which States in continued reliance thereon have each expended millions of dollars in maintaining these academies year after year and in the construction of facilities and buildings. At the California Maritime Academy, right at this moment, we are just completing 2 new buildings at the sole cost to the State of approximately \$750,000.

These four States have fulfilled all of the conditions of the Federal law entitling them to this aid which, because of the permanent character of the academies, is of a continuing nature.

Each year the Federal Government, except as hereinafter set forth, pursuant to said law, has furnished and still furnishes each of said States a ship and pays the annual overhaul thereof, which is paid direct by the Government to the private shipyard which performs the work. Each State provides the cost of and performs the usual routine maintenance and repair of these vessels which are kept in excellent operating condition and which otherwise would be rotting at anchor. Title to these ships remains vested in the United States.

Each year the Federal Government has appropriated and paid to each State the sum of \$25,000 as authorized in said law and also the proportionate part of the additional \$25,000, depending upon the number of outof-State students and the per capita costs and also money toward subsistence, and an annual allowance of \$200 each for uniforms and textbooks for a certain limited number of students.

This long course of conduct between the Federal Government and the States having maritime academies has construed the Fed eral law and the intent of the parties and has permitted each State to rely upon this

For the fiscal year which ends June 30, 1955, the Federal Government, with respect to the California Maritime Academy, appropriated and will pay:

Annual overhaul of ship_____ \$37,450 Annual grant 25,000
Toward subsistence 22,675

85 125

The annual uniform and textbook allowance of \$200 each to a limited number of students, which is paid direct to the student, will amount to about \$20,000.

The total annual appropriation of all money by the Federal Government, with respect to all 4 State academies for the fiscal ear ending June 30, 1955, is \$660,000, which, I believe, is the same amount appropriated in the several previous years. There are a total of about 1,100 students in the 4 State academies, which is an annual cost to the Federal Government of about \$600 per student, and this includes the costs of repairs by the Government to its own ship.

The inclusion of the above funds in the Federal budget for many years last past has been under and is the duty of the Maritime Administration of the Department of Com-

merge. Each year it has been included. Suddenly, and without any notice or warning to the State academies, and for the first time that memory of man runneth not to the contrary, including depression years, and in complete disregard of the intent of Congress as expressed in its laws, the annual grants were entirely eliminated from the present Federal budget now under consideration by Congress.

Each year the State academies, as a matter of course and to be sure we are not for-gotten, inquire of the Maritime Administration if the money for the State academies has been included in its budget. This we did this year on December 10, 1954, and were informed that the same amount, \$660,000, for the State academies was in the budget

as was in last year.

You can imagine our astonishment, indignation, and despair when we were informed for the first time by reading in the newspapers that the appropriations for the State academies had been eliminated from the President's budget and there were inferences that the President himself had done the eliminating. Of course, no President knows the detail of every item in the budget and it is not fair to place the stigma upon him of doing something contrary to the intent of Congress and its laws and of participating in misleading the States.

On January 26, 1955, I telephoned Mr. Louis S. Rothschild, the then Maritime Administrator, and he affirmed that the appropriation was in the budget when we inquired on December 10, 1954, but had been later taken out. He stated he was not at liberty to say why or by whom. He did say that he would have no objection whatsoever to have the appropriation restored to the budget and would not oppose any action by the State academies in so doing. He suggested that we request our Representatives in Congress

to restore it to the budget.

If the appropriation of the \$660,000 were in the budget, it would undoubtedly have passed without question. The Department of Commerce cut it out of the budget. The Department of Commerce now says it has no objection to its restoration. Hence, restoration should be simple with no Government opposition.

Our plight at the California Maritime Academy is very serious. We operate on a very tight budget. We have already prepared and submitted to the State legislature now in session our budget for the year commencing July 1, 1955. This was prepared with the expectation of the usual Federal aid which had been forthcoming for years.

Under our budget as submitted and without the usual Federal aid, the California Maritime Academy cannot operate for the fiscal year starting July 1, 1955.

We have kept faith with the Federal Government-we have fulfilled the conditions on our part to be performed under the Federal law entitling us to this aid.

If the appropriations are not restored to the budget for State academies, we feel that the Federal Government has not kept faith with us and our youth. It is needless to state the results which follow from such procedure.

As our chosen Representatives, who are our only salvation from wrongful governmental acts, we urgently request your assistance in getting the appropriation for State maritime academies restored to the budget.

Not only is our academy endangered, but so also is the soundest principle of good government—integrity and fairness in its dealings with its citizens.

This is a long letter, but the case is a hard one, and even more could be said.

Your help is anxiously awaited.

Sincerely yours,

R. D. SWEENEY, Chairman, Board of Governors, California Maritime Academy.

Birthday Anniversary of Robert E. Lee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by a young friend of mine. It appeared in the Sewanee Purple, his high school paper, on the anniversary of the birth of Gen. Robert E. Lee.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

QUEM TE MEMOREM, LEE?

A Town, THE South, January 19, 1895 .-There is a festive air prevading the town. The school children will be dismissed at noon so that they will be able to walk in the afternoon parade. All the stores will be closed. Confederate flags are flying from the buildings and the houses. It is one of the most significant celebrations of the year for the people of our town.

The Confederate veterans will march in the parade in their gray uniforms. A speech platform decorated with the stars and bars has been erected in the courthouse square. After the speeches honoring Lee there will

be a box supper served in the square by the

Daughters of the Confederacy.

The last speaker of the day is always Major Anderson, who served under Lee for 4 years in the Army of northern Virginia. He always gives the same speech, one part of which I have almost memorized.

"Robert E. Lee epitomized nobility and honor. He was a gentleman without peer. He fought valiantly for 4 years, but when the war ended he returned home without bitterness. He asked his soldiers to bear no malice toward the North, but to devote their energies to the rebuilding of the South by all of its people. To Lee, the war for southern independence ended at Appomattox.

"On the anniversary of the date of his birth we should rededicate ourselves to his principles of honor and duty-we should forget all bitterness-keeping the memory of Old South as a glorious heritage and remembering neither the cruelty of the war nor the horrors of reconstruction, but only that we acted nobly and without dishonor."

A Town, The South, January 19, 1955.— Today is Lee's birthday. The only recogni-tion of the event is the closing of the banks and the resulting inconvenience. Only one group is keeping the memory of Lee really That is the League for the Preservation of Southern Anglo-Saxon Americanism. I will never forget the speech I heard in their meeting hall today. It was made by Jake Buckey, the manager of Smith's Department

"What a terrible condition the South is in today. All our troubles are coming from the damyankees and their Communist ideas. They are trying to destroy the South and the ideals of Robert E. Lee. The Supreme Court decision is going to make dirty mongrels of us all. We got to fight it. Fight it with our last drop of blood. We owe it to our chil-dren to preserve the Anglo-Saxon race and the Protestant religion. It is up to we southerners to keep our land free of foreigners and Communists. We all got to fight socialist and internationalist schemes to destroy the South. This is what Lee would have done."

Look away, look away, Dixieland.

Mr. Stassen and the Arms Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Mr. Stassen and the Arms Race," published in the Washington Evening Star of March 21, 1955, dealing with the appointment of Harold Stassen as a Special Assistant to the President dealing with the question of disarmament. I believe that this appointment holds hope and courage for the future disarmament of the world.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

MR. STASSEN AND THE ARMS RACE

In the unprecedented new assignment he has handed to Harold Stassen, President Eisenhower has strikingly reemphasized his profoundly earnest desire-which is shared by the Nation as a whole—to make this a far safer and much happier world through general disarmament and great international

cooperative projects like his atoms-for-peace plan.

Mr. Stassen, who now will begin winding up his duties as Director of the Foreign Operations Administration, will henceforth have full cabinet rank as the President's special assistant charged with the "responsi-bility of developing * * * the broad studies, investigations, and conclusions which . . will become basic policy toward the question of disarmament." In that capacity, retaining his present membership in the National Security Council, he will occupy the first post of its kind in the history of our own or any other country—a post dedicated exclusively to the task of trying to figure out ways and means, if such ways and means are really possible, of ending what has shaped up into incomparably the costlest and dead-liest arms race of all time.

As made clear in his statement on the matter, the President has been moved to create the new post because of his longstanding "deep concern" over the terrible actualities and potentialities of this race. He has been moved to do so, too, because of the fact that Soviet intransigence-which apparently is being displayed once again at the current "secret" five-power disarma-ment talks in London—has rendered impossible a genuinely effective agreement on the reduction and control of arms and armed forces of every kind, including principally atomic-hydrogen weapons and other instruments of mass destruction. In Mr. Eisenhower's words, there has been "no progress and no clear crystallization of thinking on this subject", and so it will be Mr. Stassen's job-in cooperation with other agencies of our Government-to see what can be done, assuming that anything can be done, to promote peace by breaking the present deadlock. Speaking for himself, Mr. Stassen has ac-

cepted his potentially history-making re-sponsibility with a pledge to conduct "a more thorough and penetrating study of disarmament than has ever been made." effect, he has thus suggested—as has the President himself-that the time has come for a complete reappraisal of all our past and present positions on the problem. And such a reappraisal would seem to be very much in order not merely because the Kremlin appears to be adamant in its totally unacceptable views on the subject, but also because our own American views may need to be modified and recast in terms of the following fact: That there is now at least a little reason to doubt, from the standpoint of the mechanics of control, that there is actually any possibility of establishing a foolproof check against clandestine manufacture or surprise use of mass-destruction weapons.

Here, probably, is the most important problem that Mr. Stassen will have to deal with on his new assignment, and obviously there are no easy solutions. But the President, simply by the act of drafting him for the job, has demonstrated before the whole world that the United States is determined to do everything possible to prevent the universal cataclysm inherent in the current uncontrolled situation.

That \$20 Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "That \$20 Bill," published in the Washington Daily News of Wednesday, March 16, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

THAT \$20 BILL

Almost any of us could use a spare \$20 bill, if it came our way.

But if you found one of those double sawbucks on the street, and you knew one of the children had lost it on the way to the corner store to pay the grocery bill, you hardly would figure it a real find.

You would go right ahead and pay the

grocer.

That's the way it was with the so-called tax cut the Senate voted down yesterday.

The political masterminds among the Democrats in the Senate proposed to knock \$20 off each taxpayer's income levy next year, plus \$10 more for each dependent—except the wife.

It was a vote-chasing sop. And it would not have amounted to much in the first place, and nothing at all to some taxpayers. In the second place the taxpayers would have been tapped for this much, and more, later on to make up the extra deficit it would have created in the Government's books.

The whole idea was to give you back \$20 of your own money next year, an election year, and then take it away from you later—

with interest.

Only 5 of the 49 Democrats in the Senate voted against this give-little-and-take-backmore proposal. They were Senators Byan and ROBERTSON, of Virginia; GEORGE, of Georgia; ELLENDER, of Louisiana; and HOLLAND, of Florida.

All other votes against the proposal came from Republicans, in support of President

Eisenhower.

We would have thought there were more statesmen among the 49 Democrats.

Goodwill Tour to Beirut, Lebanon, by Mayors of Seven United States Cities Named Lebanon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, to cement relations with the strategic Middle East and the people of Lebanon, the mayors of seven United States cities named Lebanon, including Lebanon, oreg., have been participating in a good-will tour of their cities' namesake.

Lebanon, Oreg., in the foothills of the Cascade Mountains in the fertile Willamette Valley, with its strawberry festival, and home of the world's biggest shortcake, is a progressive community and a rapidly growing lumber and distribution center.

It is a pleasure to salute Mayor Ralph Scroggin and the people of Lebanon,

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Lebanon Mayors Cited in Beirut," published in the Oregonian of March 16, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LEBANON MAYORS CITED IN BEIRUT

BETRUT, LEBANON.—President Camille Chamoun awarded Lebanon's gold medal of merit to seven mayors of United States towns named Lebanon.

The ceremony climaxed a 15-day visit of the mayors as guests of the Lebanese Government. The president's wife presented them with samples of embroidery from the Lebanon mountains.

The visit will end Wednesday. The mayors are from Tennessee, New Hampshire, Indiana, Missouri, Oregon, Ohio, and Nebraska.

Atomic Energy: A New Renaissance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, on St. Patrick's Day, before the British Empire Club—strange as that combination may seem—our esteemed colleague, the distinguished junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore] delivered an address entitled "Atomic Energy: A New Renaissance." This address is of exceptional and timely interest, especially in view of the remarks on this subject which we have heard on the floor this afternoon.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ATOMIC ENERGY: A New RENAISSANCE (Remarks of Senator Pastore before the British Empire Ciub, in Providence, R. I.)

My fellow Americans. I deeply appreciate the invitation to spend this special night with the members of the British Empire Club. As one who can boast of being familiar with Providence and its amenities, I realize that it is rather difficult to distinguish whether you are being invited to the British Empire Club by Spencer Over, or being invited by Spencer Over through the British Empire Club. Whichever the case may be, and you may choose sides as you like, I am truly happy to be with you tonight.

I said this was a special night, and it may be likely that I am not being modest enough, but as you well know, one of the hardest things for a man in public life to do is to hide his day of nativity, and this happens to be mine.

Originally I had a notion that March 17 was a very exclusive and personal possession of my own; then I began to discover that I had to share it in large measure with my Irish playmates for ancient and honorable reasons connected with their race. Later, as I grew older, I learned that there was an annual friendly struggle between my Irish and Anglo friends, to prevent the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick from having a monopoly on the 17th. And in time, too, I became familiar with the superfriendly spirit in which two great assemblies have exchanged felicitations on this memorable night.

Therefore, whether I spend this night with my Irish or British friends, we are all brought

together by the same inspiration and example of St. Patrick—the one-time slave boy, claimed by many lands, whose fame rests on his conquest of Ireland—in peace and without bloodshed—to the greater glory of God and man.

That type of conquest seems to be a lost art in our day and age, for if we are indeed enjoying peace, it is a peace that leaves an uneasy feeling in the hearts of all men.

Here we are expected to gain a sense of security in rockets that can send out threats to their targets, even across thousands of miles of open sea, and in the same breath, that security and assurance is shaken by the undeniable fact that these same weapons in the hands of a barbarous and brutal enemy could, with one stroke, devastate 7,000 square miles of our own populace and prosperous America.

You, who know the dimensions of the British Isles, have been treated recently to a discussion of some of these dangers. But you, who also understand the human dimensions of the British people—the determination, the devotion, and dedication to destiny—are able to see all of this in the true perspective of history, and for this

reason are not easy to despair.

I know that I know something of the dimensions of the danger, too. For it has been my senatorial privilege—arising from my membership on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy—to witness and to study, and, I hope, to understand, some of the destructive might of this instrumentality which is only 10 years young—yet seems to be born almost daily with terrifying additions to its tremendous power.

But it has also been my privilege to know something of the benign and beneficent possibilities and achievements of atomic development. And for this reason it makes me a

man of heart and hope.

It seems to me that the miracle of conquest, without bloodshed, is a little bit closer than we are able to see today. For today our vision is a little fogged with fear; and despair could interfere with our true sense of direction.

When we think the world is grasping for the depths of despair—who knows but that we may be really reaching for the heights of

happiness.

The very power which could carry the seed of destruction for our civilization can, if man so wills it, be the source of the material improvement and the spiritual strength of all men—indeed, the means by which man would prefer to live at peace with his neighbor and with the world—in an era of a new renaissance.

For in this I can see an economy of abundance for the whole world. I can see the extinction of labor slavery in all of its forms, Poverty and hunger, which now make men jealous of their neighbors, would become outmoded in a spirit of true charity and brotherhood.

This is not the pollyanna philosophy of a pacifist. It is the practical opinion of a man who doesn't believe that a nation is going to risk its life for a prize that it can gain more readily through peaceful progress—than it can hope for through the sweat and scars of war. Indeed, there are prizes that modern war, with its vigorous and vicious retailations, would destroy for the aggressor whatever the event. The calculated risk would have to be, at best, victory without salvage. That could be no better than defeat, and utter destruction.

I take the premise that our rivals have in their mind, too, thought for their personal survival. I think they feel as we do, that we are at once the possessors and the prisoners of a destructive force so final that neither they nor we can afford to let it loose.

If my reasoning is wrong, then all logic must take wings. If we are going to use the products of our intelligence to destroy the civilization it has taken centuries for that intelligence to create, then I say, What price intelligence?

This is not an attitude that would neglect the cautions of a confident and competent

country.

I do not mean that the Western Powers should take their policemen off the international streets. I certainly do not mean that we should let our guard down.

Tonight—on the British Isles—together with English forces—50,000 American airmen are at their posts. They are not daring any common enemy. Their only purpose for being there is to deter such an enemy from a hostile surprisa blow. Our men have no chip upon their shoulder but, by the same token, they will not be a sitting target for treachery against their friends.

We mean no breach of international peace, but we do mean business. Our intentions are peaceful. We will keep them that way. But we can keep them that way at the moment only so long as our defenses are powerful.

And, at the same time, America does invite the world—the whole world—to peaceful development and exploitation of the possibilities of this atomic age. America points the way to a prosperous common possession of all the means to a peaceful living together.

America does not pretend to have a monopoly of nuclear wisdom and nuclear production. America does not want to have such a monopoly. We have already expressed our desire to share, to help, toward peace and plenty. Indeed we have written it into our law, and now we are only too eager to translate it into concrete, friendly acts.

Only last week it was my privilege and honor, as chairman of the Subcommittee on International Agreements of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, to meet and to break bread with 31 young scientists and physicists from foreign lands. These young men were invited here by the United States Government for a special advanced course in this important field of peaceful development of atomic energy.

The people of the world know—as well as

The people of the world know—as well as we do—the miraculous benefits that can accrue from our nuclear progress. We want them to know. We want them to have these benefits for peaceful pursuits. We want these benefits for ourselves, too. But more than wanting them, we want them in peace, for ourselves and for the rest of the world.

This is not a field of power alone. By this time, all of us are fairly familiar with the promises of atomic power in peaceful industry. Uranium 235 is a familiar name of fissionable material. We know that the heat released from a pound of such uranium provides 2.600,000 times the heat produced by the burning of a pound of coal. That makes sense to us. That is something we can use.

Atomic power as energy in the field of every-day electricity is only a part of the possibilities. In agriculture, in medicine, in manufacture, in every facet of living, the processes that are the byproducts of our nuclear studies put us on the threshold of an existence that materially and spiritually can be the rebirth of the human race.

"Radioisotopes" is a difficult word—yet one

"Radioisotopes" is a difficult word—yet one that is becoming more and more familiar to all of us. These are the elementary materials made radioactive by exposure in an atomic reactor.

Only a few years ago these materials were limited to those of radium and its decay products. They were costly. Today, out of new processes and new materials we can produce for \$10,000 what used to cost \$100 million. We can understand those odds of 10,000 to 1. We certainly can use this kind of progress.

If I say we lead the world in atomic progress, it is not by way of boasting—but to state an acknowledged fact. Authorities readily admit that whatever superiority we have we owe to our enormous and industrial resources and to the immense effort exerted in devising ways of handling fissionable material on a colossal scale.

Yet—I say we owe it equally to the American state of mind, our principles, our poli-

cies, our democratic purposes.

We are not concerned with external plunder but with internal peace and progress. We wish the same for men of good will everywhere. The sheepherder of New Zealand has already benefited no less than the peanut grower of the Carolinas. When New Zealand flocks began to fail radioactive tracers were able to determine the element missing from the diet of the herds. Airplanes were called upon to dust the pastures with the needed cobalt, and because of this the flocks were restored to good health.

Here in America a million dollars a year were saved by peanut planters of the Carolinas when a blight was irradiated.

Last week the National Food Conference was told by Dr. Urbain, researcher for Swift & Co., that meat, bombarded with gamma rays from an atomic pile, will stay fresh indefinitely without refrigeration or any other form of expensive storage.

Potatoes will not sprout and will retain their freshness through 2 years of storage.

These may seem humble examples to us, but to industry it constitutes its lifeblood. Soon the fishing fleets will no longer need

Soon the fishing fleets will no longer need countless tons of ice on their journey to the banks and back.

Fresh water will come from salt water—abundant foods from the plant life of the sea. What a boon to mankind.

This is not a dreamer's dream. All of these accomplishments are on the horizon, if some are not already in the full grasp of our scientists as I speak to you now.

A thousand new processes are born in industry from the uses of irradiation. New plastics are produced—new methods of vulcanizing rubber—new means of measurement and identification of materials—a whole new world of electronics.

Just as this new science has solved the mysteries of plant life—and just as it has solved the puzzles of animal aliments, so, too, the human medical field has made great strides through the use of radioactive materials. The attainments in gotter and cancer studies thrill and enthrall the student—and becken him on to unmeasured accomplishment in putting atomic energy to use in the processes and problems of medicine.

Hours and hours would be required, just as books and books have already been written in the infancy of atomic progress, as a precursor of the promise of tomorrow's miracles.

We have been witnesses or students of great changes in the economic life of our country. We have seen periods when we seemed to have reached our topmost limit, and the only change could be downward. Then came man's invention: The automobile, the airplane, radio, and television. Each seemed to come at the right psychological moment to rescue man from economic doldrums, and to spur him on to the new heights of luxury and happiness.

If I say that the electronics age is yet another chapter, another step up the ladder for our American economy, I will not be expressing an original thought. It is already the promise of our scientists. It is already the expectation of our men of business.

But if we stop there, if this is to be purely a material gain, just an economic profit, just a lift up for luxurious America, the idea would be unworthy of us. It would be unworthy of our post and power in this hour of the world's existence. It would be unworthy of the hopes that the world has placed in us, whether we have sought the responsibility or not.

Today, in the Congress, we have reports from the world over—of the hunger of all peoples for this energy and progress in the medical and biological fields—so that plagues and famines will become unused words in any language. It is a hunger that will not be appeased with paper performances, but if we do not rise to our responsibilities, those people will get their help elsewhere. It may be from Europe. If Europe, too, falls, then it could be from Russia.

Let us not for a moment think that atomic discoveries have been exclusively American. On the contrary, we know that many of the great fundamental scientific revelations of the atomic age have come to us from minds that were born in the British Isles, France, Germany, Poland, Switzerland, Denmark, and Italy. What we have contributed, as I said before, in addition to our own great scientific minds, is our immense experimental effort through our superb and superior industrial resources.

There is an Achilles' heel, however, in our atomic progress.

Our development of scientists is not in keeping with our great American tradition and with our needs of tomorrow. I regret to say that, in my opinion, our human mental factor is not getting the attention it requires.

Last year, Russia graduated 54,000 engineers.

American schools graduated 20,000. The experts tell us we must resurvey our educational ideas.

On the high-school level, there must be teachers competent in the standards of this electronic age. There must be, above all, guidance and direction for those who have the talent to meet the challenge in this new field. We must find out why so many high-school graduates of college caliber never go to college. If it is our manpower policies, they must be restudied, also. If we are delinquent in giving direction to the studies and inspiration of youth, if we are not giving the dollars and the drive—to the promotion of this basic knowledge in our high schools, our colleges, and our universities—then this, too, needs to be corrected.

In our minds, our hearts, and our souls, we must be attuned to this great help and this great hope to the world.

As the deserts of the almost forsaken lands may be made to bloom again—so, too, the dreams of people in despair can be brought to life once more.

No small group of plotters can keep millions and millions of human beings chained forever to the pangs of hunger. No purge can drive them to the slaughter of distant battlefields, when peace and plenty can be theirs, instead.

"God is not dead in Russia"—is the simple phrase of a humble priest. The echo of this admonition brings the knowledge that men cannot drive an understanding of the Creator out of the souls of His creatures.

We know that man craves the dignity of his human nature—he craves all the freedoms that we have cataloged for hand and heart and mind. Man will have them.

Man can have them.

These great powers that we extract from the atom today have always been there since the dawn of creation. Man adds nothing new to their substance. His great achievement has been that through his God-given genius and intelligence he has, in good time, succeeded in analyzing and devising and dividing the simplest elements of nature.

Our civilization is only entering upon its grandest era—a new Renaissance. This last half of the 20th century will be written in history as the age of the atom—that out of the smallest element we have drawn the formula for the world's biggest dream—man's happiness in a world of plenty, under an umbrella of God's peace.

International Trade Fair in Bangkok

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, Mr. Jim Bormann, director of News and Public Affairs of radio station WCCO, of Minne-apolis, Minn., broadcast on March 8, 1955, a news item regarding the International Trade Fair in Bangkok. I ask unanimous consent that the statement be printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Some time ago, I reviewed on this program a problem that had been outlined to the President by Senator EDWARD THYE-a problem involving our prestige in the Far The Senator attended the International Trade Fair in Bangkok, during a visit to Siam in 1953, and he said what he saw in the Soviet exhibit put America to shame. The Russians had turned out a dazzling display of industrial production for peace, and had actually outshone the scattered exhibit of American products. Soviet tractors and automobiles were more impressive than ours. They had on display fine cutlery, chinaware, radios, phonographs, surgical supplies, and household appliances. Our exhibit contained none. The Soviets cleverly pointed out that America was unable to show this kind of peaceful production because its industry was stoking up to produce the implements of war. It was a telling blow-though a false one-in the Communist campaign to stir up hate for America among the peaceloving countries.

That's the story Senator THYE told President Eisenhower, and the President called in business advisers and advertising men to help him do something about it. He reasoned that a nation which produces the implements of peace in abundance should find a way to export at least enough of these to prove the Communists were lying.

With this background, it is interesting to read in the Information Agency report an account of the spectacular showing America made this year at the fair in Bangkok. A picture in the report shows a multicolored balloon tower atop which floats the Stars and Stripes. Behind it, and above the entrance to the United States exhibit, was a huge sign which proclaimed in Siamese: "The Pruits of Freedom." And inside the exhibit area were vast throngs intently watching Cinerama on a giant curved screen beneath

Perhaps a few paragraphs from the report will demonstrate that Senator THYE'S urging for broader American participation in these international exhibitions produced solid results.

"In few areas has the United States suffered more consistently unfavorable comparison with the Soviet union than in the international fairs held throughout Europe and Asia." The report goes on to say: "During the past 8 months, however, this situation began to improve.

"At the Damascus International Trade Fair in September. This Is Cinerama drew huge crowds which surged past the Soviet exhibit and jammed the entrance to Cinerama. This display was presented through the cooperation of private United States industry, and was equipped with an Arabic sound track by an employee of the United States Information Service in Damascus,

Cinerama has been described, because of this, as America's secret weapon.

"In 1953, at the famous Constitution Fair in Bangkok, the Communists display of consumer goods won first prize. The United States was not officially represented. But in 1954, the United States won first prize with its exhibit "The Fruits of Freedom." This exhibit was developed by the United States Department of Commerce in cooperation with the United States Information Agency and more than 100 private business firms

The Soviets provided a measure of America's impact at these fairs by complaining that Cinerama was unfair competition, and by claiming that it was an inferior imitation of a 15-year-old Soviet invention.

"But even more significant was the fact that the Soviets didn't want to compete in a contest they knew they would lose. with Cinerama and the concerted efforts of American industries in the Bangkok exposition, the Russians withdrew their exhibit."

Tariff Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article which was published in the Washington Evening Star of March 21, 1955. It deals with the sad experience which many Congresses and Presidents have had in the past in trying to write tariff bills on the floor of the House and of the Senate. The article has particular pertinence at this time in view of the fact that a number of Members of Congress feel that we should resort again to the practice of trying to write tariff bills on the floor of Congress.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The longer the hearings on the proposed Trade Agreements Act are drawn out, the greater is the impression that the Nation may be in for an old fashloned row over protection of the American market.

Probably Congress and the country will be spared the ordeal of the writing of a tariff bill with specific duties on the floor. But the hearings before the Senate Finance Committee, and the earlier hearings on the House side, are developing demands for quota restrictions on certain imports.

It is likely that some of these will come up on the Senate floor. It is also possible that the proposed act to extend trade agreements authority for 3 years and to permit the President to negotiate moderate tariff reductions may end up quite different from what it was originally.

Records of tariff legislation offer instances where tariff revision started out in one direction and ended up in another. The course of the present bill so far offers an interesting parallel to the early history of the Tariff Act of 1894. That was in Grover Cleveland's second administration.

The present bill got through the House without amendment, chiefly due to the efforts of Speaker RAYBURN. Similarly, the bill of 1894 got through the House handily. It was a bill of moderate reductions. It was introduced December 19, 1893. It was passed by the House February 1, 1894. Then the Senate took over.

It took 5 months for the Senate to produce its version of the bill. First, in response to a Democratic caucus, moderate tariff protection was given sugar, coal and iron ore.

Then there started a parade of representatives of industries. The shirt and collar manufacturers of New York wheeled into the fray. There came the iron and steel men of Pennsylvania and the glass and pottery interests of New Jersey.

The Democratic majority in the Senate was slim. The leadership figured it had to give some ground to win votes for the bill.

The yielding reached the proportions of a general retreat. In May 1894 a caucus decided to support 408 amendments. One Member of Congress is said to have remarked, "This is a free-lunch counter; walk up and help yourself." In the end the bill, after being amended 600 times, finally passed the Senate in July. Many of the House-scheduled tariff reductions were revised upward. The then sugar trust got such sweet treatment it was a scandal.

President Cleveland hoped that in conference the House would prevail to restore the bill to something like its original appearance. He was disappointed. The House gave way and the measure was finally adopted in August. The disgusted President wouldn't sign it; he let it become law without his signature.

That tariff writing can have political repercussions was well known in 1894. The high-tariff McKinley Act had been passed in 1890 during President Harrison's administration. Prices advanced even before the provisions of the McKinley Tariff Act took effect. Those who put up their prices said the tariff was to blame. Even such a traditionally American industry as the manufacture of wooden nutmegs for the Connecticut trade advanced the price of the product—and blamed it on the tariff.

The act became law in October 1890. Next month came the off-year elections. In place of the Republican majority, the voters elected 235 Democrats to the House and only 86 Republicans.

Similarly in 1894 the Democrats lost the control they had gained in 1892 when Cleveland was elected over Harrison. The 1894 elections returned 244 Republicans to the House and 104 Democrats. The Republicans won a slim lead in the Senate.

President Hoover, too, had an unhappy experience with tariff legislation. The Smoot-Hawley Act of 1930 was the result.

At that time there was no real demand for tariff revision, up or down. There was a demand to do something to relieve the plight of the farmers. A special session was called in June 1929. That was a boom period, but not for the farmers who had been put through the wringer. The President suggested to Congress only that duties on agricultural products be raised to help the farmers and that where manufacturing industries were depressed, they, too, might be helped.

The special session dragged into the regular session, which began in December in those days. The House Ways and Means Committee started out considering a "limited revision." But the bill it reported went far beyond that and on the floor there were more revisions upward.

In the Senate, Reed Smoot, chairman of the Finance Committee, was a real protectionist. He also wanted good treatment for the beet sugar of his State, Utah. To get it he had to allow other Senators what they wanted for their States.

"Limited revision" had now disappeared. Prof. F. W. Taussig remarks in his tariff his-tory that Mr. Hoover might have headed off what occurred had he announced early that if the measure went beyond the bounds of a limited revision he would veto it.

The agricultural forces, when they saw what was happening, became angry. The measure which was to have helped them was turning into a measure to raise the prices of the things they had to buy. The protectionists appeased them with even higher duties on agricultural products in exchange for higher duties on manufactures.

The bill was finally enacted in June 1930. Many urged Mr. Hoover to veto it. He didn't.

Meanwhile, the stock market panic had occurred in the fall of 1929 and the depression had set in. Senator Smoot predicted the tariff act would cause smoke again to billow from the chimneys of manufacturing plants. It didn't.

The Democrats captured the House in the

November elections.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STUART SYMINGTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me before the Dunklin County Teachers' Association, at Kennett, Mo., on Monday, March 14, 1955, on the subject of Federal aid for elementary and secondary school construction.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

ADDRESS BEFORE THE DUNKLIN COUNTY TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, KENNETT, Mo., MON-DAY, MARCH 14, 1955

It is a great pleasure to be with you in Kennett today, and because this audience is one most interested in schools, I plan to discuss that problem from the standpoint of the Congress.

Federal aid to education is not new. began with early land and monetary grants for the support of education in States formed

from the public domain.

Antedating the Constitution, these grants were authorized in an ordinance adopted by the Congress of the Confederation, in grants were used both for school construction and for maintenance and operation.

In his first annual message to the Congress, January 8, 1790, President Washington

said:

"Knowledge is, in every country, the surest basis of public happiness. In one, in which the measures of government receive their impression so immediately from the sense of the community, as in ours, it is proportionately essential."

In recent years, the Federal Government has assisted in school construction, through WPA and PWA assistance during the depression, and in areas of intense defense activity during war and national emergency years.

The Federal Government has spent many billions of dollars since World War II for the education of its veterans. It now has thousands of research contracts with colleges and universities throughout the country.

The entire concept of public education, that is, free schools to be maintained at public expense, is founded on the belief that the cost should be allocated according to ability to pay. (The man without any children may, and often does, pay more than the man with 10 children-because all benefit from public education.)

When public schools were first established in this country, ability to pay was measured by ownership of real property-land and buildings.

At the time our Government was established, 94.9 percent of the people lived on the farms. In April 1954, only 13.5 percent lived on the farm.

With a great percentage of our Nation's wealth now in intangible property, real estate can no longer be expected to meet the mounting costs of education.

There is a large variation in the wealth in school districts. For example, Sugar Creek, a small school district in Jackson County, Mo., with a multi-million dollar oil refinery. has an assessed valution of \$26,000 behind each school child.

But an adjoining school district, Independence, a growing residential community, has an assessed valuation of only \$4,000 per child

By comparison, Kansas City has an assessed valuation of \$12,000 per child.

It is small wonder that the Independence school district has a local tax rate over double that of Sugar Creek.

The State governments now pay 40 percent of the cost of maintenance and operation of school districts; but the cost of construction is still borne almost entirely by the local districts, through real-estate taxes.

In many school districts where the need is greatest for school buildings, nevertheless the districts in question have reached the constitutional limits on the amount of bonds that can be sold.

These districts go into debt-sell bondsto build schools.

Is it unreasonable that the Federal Government should help out in such districts?

Factors such as the location of railroads, oil wells, industrial plants, slums, office buildings, housing developments, waste-lands, etc., cause great variations in the ability of local districts to construct school buildings from taxes on real estate.

There is almost as much difference in the ability of States to pay for the costs of school construction as there is between individuals

and school districts.

In 1953 income payments per capita of topopulation ranged from \$834 in the poorest State to \$2,304 in the richest State.

In 1952 income payments per child of school age (5 to 17 years) varied from \$3,008 in the State having the least ability to support public education to \$11,294 in the State having the greatest ability.

Elementary and secondary school enroll-ments this year total 30,200,000, an increase

of 1,300,000 over last year.

There is a shortage today of 370,000 classrooms in the United States, and another 50,000 classrooms will be needed each year to take care of the growing school population resulting from unprecedented birth rates since the war.

But only 60,000 classrooms are scheduled for completion this year.

No one denies the need for additional school facilities.

In 1952 a nationwide survey by the Office of Education showed a shortage of 312,000 classrooms.

By 1954 this Department reported the need had grown to 370,000 classrooms, even though during those years the States and localities had spent nearly \$4 billion on school con-

The 1952 report estimated the cost building the necessary classroom facilities at \$10.6 billion, with local and State resources able to put up only \$5.9 billion.
This left a deficit of \$4.7 billion.

The 1954 cost of classrooms was placed at \$12 billion, with \$30 billion needed for the next 10 years.

During World War II many of our leaders in industry, the armed services, and in com-munity life began to see the importance of schools more than ever before. shortage of classrooms has been increasing constantly.

Thomas Jefferson said:

"If a people expect to be both ignorant and free, they expect what never was and never will be."

During World War II, some 17 million men were examined under the Selective Service System. Of this number, 5 million were rejected as unfit for military service.

In 6 States, close to 50 percent of the draftees were rejected; and the highest rates of rejection occurred in States with the lowest per pupil expenditures for schools.

Where the public schools were strong and adequate, there was order in the community. Delinquency and crime were at a minimum. The children were under good supervision, even though their parents were busy at war work. Absenteeism at the plants was much

Where the public-school systems were weak, children were running the streets; and youthful misdemeanors and crimes rose

to new heights.

Recently the United States Commissioner of Education reported to the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee of the Senate that there were 385,000 legally delinquent children in the United States in 1952-about 2 percent of all the children between the ages of 10 and 17. Of this group, 61 percent were not enrolled in any school, including 32,000 under the age of 14.

Experts in the field report it costs \$3,000 a year to take care of each of these legally delinquent children, not including the thousands of emotionally disturbed children

in institutions.

For less than \$300 a year a child can be furnished an excellent education. Missouri county school superintendent recently reported, it costs much less to keep a child in school than to hire a babysitter.

The charge has been made that "much of the tax money for the support of Federal aid for school construction would be wasted on the way to and from Washington."

Actual cost of levying and collecting Federal taxes is only one-fifth as much as cost of levying and collecting real-estate

Another charge frequently made by op-ponents of this program is that "Federal aid to education would result in Federal control of education."

But the bill that would really result in Federal control is the now proposed bill of this administration. In fact, in it is so much control, and so little aid, that 42 of the 48 principal State school officers have publicly declared their opposition to the plan.

This administration advertises the program as a \$7 billion one. Actually, it is \$67 million a year for 3 years. The remainder is "State put up"-or lent at higher rates.

The other five bills now being considered by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee specifically forbid Federal domination.

I believe especially in the Hill bill and the McClellan bill, 2 great school bills introduced by 2 great southern Senators.

Dr. Edgar Fuler, executive secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers, has said: "There is no possibility whatever for Federal control of educational programs in these bills."

Under them, aid to school construction would be distributed by the Pederal Department of Education to the State departments of education.

Dr. Fuller, a former administrative official in the United States Department of Education, is author of the statement that any one of these five proposed laws could be administered by only a half dozen persons in the Department of Education.

The President's program, on the other hand, would:

- 1. Increase the cost of interest on school bonds from one-half to 1 percent in Mis-
 - 2. Freeze the burden on real estate;

3. Provide a maximum of \$67 million a year for 3 years in Federal grants.

It would take at least 2 or 3 years before any school could even be built under its complex regulations.

Not a single one of the 48 chief State school officers has endorsed the President's program, because not a single one of them believes it would help build schools.

The Rhode Island chief State school officer even went so far as to say that the President's program is "abhorrent to American tradition."

Based on the number of children from 5 to 17 years of age, under the Hill plan, for a billion-dollar program, Missouri would pay in \$24,630,000, and get back \$24,80,000.

Pretty close to even.

Under such a plan, New York, at the top of the scale, would pay in \$1.92 for each \$1 received back. Mississippi would pay in 23 cents for each dollar it received back.

In recent years, generous Federal aid has been provided for unemployment compensation, social security, roadbuilding, agriculture-to mention only a few. But no comparable Federal aid is being provided for education—perhaps the most important of all requirements for the future security and well-being of our country.

As a result of the lack of any real program,

only 8 cents of the total tax dollar-Federal, State, and county-is now being spent for public schools, as compared to 16 cents before World War II.

This country now has a population of about 160 million people. There are some 300 million modern slaves under control of the Communist leaders of Soviet Russia; and 600 million under control of the Communist leaders of China.

The future of the free world depends on the leadership and ability of these 160 million Americans-1 out of every 5 of whom are in our schools today, training for the future.

In all too many cases those schools are in-adequate, poorly built, poorly financed, with underpaid teachers.

As the able commentator, Walter Lipp-

mann, said recently:

"Our educational effort * * has not yet been raised to the plateau of the age we live in. • We must measure educational live in. . effort as we do military effort, * * * not by what it would be easy and convenient to do but by what it is necessary to do in order that the Nation may survive and flourish. We have learned that we are quite rich enough to defend ourselves, whatever the We must now learn that we are quite rich enough to educate ourselves as we need to be educated."

Winston Churchill has often referred to the period in which we live as "the terrible 20th century."

The first half of this century justified that designation.

What will the second half bring? depends on whether we follow the guidance of those who believe money is more important than people, or those who believe our greatest obligation and potential asset, for the future, is the proper education of our

One real step forward to the goal of an adequate educational system which would measure up to the age in which we live would be the adoption of a sound Federal aid to school construction law in this

To that objective most of my Democratic colleagues are dedicated. We will see what we can pick up on the other side of the aiste:

The battle against Communist invasion will be fought by military preparedness, by production, and by ideas. In all of these fields the education of our youth is of vital importance.

We cannot ever hope to hold our own against the Communists on a quantitative basis. Our future security depends on the quality of our brainpower, the sincerity of our purpose, the devotion of our youth.

In each of these fields, our schools must play a leading role, supported by the American home, and our belief in God.

Yes; the quality, rather than the quantity, of our manpower will determine whether the second half of this century will be terrible or glorious.

Federal Control of Natural Gas Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ORVIN B. FJARE

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. FJARE. Mr. speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD. I include the following resolution of the Oil and Gas Conservation Commission of the State of Montana, which was endorsed unanimously by the commission, and represents the position of the State of Montana officially and Hon. J. Hugo Aronson, Governor of Montana, personally. My own personal position is in accord with the views expressed in the resolution of the Montana Oil and Gas Conservation Commission.

The natural gas producers of Montana and the Nation are in a highly competitive field, and they have no guaranteed return and no assured market. The life of the entire industry depends upon vigorous exploration, and if government control is allowed to stifle or retard such exploration, then the industry and the consumer will both suffer. In my opinion, price control is apt to discourage the producers so that they will make little effort to expand their business, and provide the necessary gas reserves for an expanding economy in these United States

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States has held (Phillips Petroleum Company Wisconsin (98 L. Ed.) (Advance, p. 695), decided June 7, 1954) that the Natural Gas Act of 1938 requires the Federal Power Commission to exercise regulatory control over the price at which gas is sold by independent producers to purchasers who transport the gas in interstate commerce; and

Whereas the Federal Power Commission has assumed this jurisdiction by its Order 174-A; and

Whereas the assertion of this authority by the Federal Power Commission as a result of a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, as aforesaid, will be detrimental to, impede and burden regulatory enforcement for the conservation of oil and gas in this State by this Commission: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oll and Gas Conservation Commission of the State of Montana does hereby express its opposition to regulatory control by the Federal Power Commission of sales at the point of production of natural gas produced in this State and respectfully petitions Congress to amend the Natural Gas Act of 1938 so as to correct this situation; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be furnished to the Governor, and all Members of Congress from this State.

OIL AND GAS CONSERVATION COM-MISSION OF THE STATE OF MON-TANA

D. E. HAGEMAN. Chairman. JOE H. FRERICH, Vice Chairman. GLAYDE W. YODER, Commissioner. TED HAWLEY, Commissioner.

Attest:

JAMES F. NEELY. Executive Secretary.

Trip to Soviet Russia by William Randolph Hearst, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, last Wednesday, Mr. William Randolph Hearst, Jr., delivered a stirring address, concerning his recent trip to Soviet Russia, before the Advertising Club of Baltimore, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

TEXT OF MR. HEARST'S SPEECH

(Following is the text of Mr. William Randolph Hearst Jr.'s speech before the Advertising Club at the Emerson Hotel today:)

Gentlemen, it is a genuine pleasure for me to have the opportunity and the privilege of speaking to you today.

First of all, let me tell you a little about

how this trip to the Soviet Union happened to take place.

I can assure you that we had no invitation to Russia, no advance tip of any kind that important things would be taking place while we were there, and no assurances that we would be able to talk with any of the Soviet leaders.

My reason for wanting to go was simply to get a firsthand glimpse of the country, its rulers, and its people.

It was my father's conception of journalism that it could and should be-and he made it-an audacious and exciting enterprise.

When we applied to the Soviet Embassy Washington for visas, I stated that I wished to be accompanied by Joe Kingsbury Smith, European general manager of Inter national News Service, and Frank Conniff, my editorial assistant.

Joe, with nearly 20 years' experience as a foreign correspondent, was familiar with the Soviet problems and knew his way around

diplomatic circles.

Frank Conniff had served as a war correspondent in Europe and Asia. In addition to this citywide experience as a reporter and rewrite man for the New York Journal-American, he is a student extremely well informed on history and military affairs. He is also my right hand here at home. With these two close friends and associates, I felt we could handle any curves they might throw

To my surprise, the visas for the 3 of us were approved within 7 days. We flew to Paris, talked with General Gruenther, picked up Joe, and proceeded to Berlin, where we boarded a Soviet plane for the flight to Moscow. It was a twin-engine Convair type of plane which flew most of the time at about 8,000 feet, made 1 stop at Vilna, capital of Lithuania, and landed us gently just after dusk in a snowstorm at the Moscow Airport. The flight took 7 hours.

LIST OF CELEERITIES

The next morning we sent to the Soviet Foreign Office a letter, written in the Russian language, listing the prominent personalities we wanted to see in the religious, cultural, and scientific life of Moscow.

The subjects of our interviews ranged from Communist Party boss Khrushchev to Shostakovich, the composer; from Premier Bulganin to Ulanova, the ballerina; from Marshal Zhukov to Patriarch Alexei, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church; and from Molotov to Svetlana Stalin, the late dictator's daughter.

In addition, we literally spent hours in discussion with the leading Western Ambassadors, checking our impressions and gaging our reactions against the experience of these diplomatic experts.

And on our way home, when our party reached London, after a day of flying from Moscow, I experienced the sentimental climax of the whole trip as far as I was personally concerned.

I spent an hour with Sir Winston Churchill in the historic Cabinet room at No. 10

Downing Street.

That hour with Sir Winston was something really special. He listened closely while I gave my impressions of the Russian leaders and swapped a few thoughts on the significance of Russian moves.

He spoke with great clarity and seemed to be in good health and spirits. I left with the strengthened conviction that this grand old man is one of the really great figures of history.

WAR QUESTION

I assume that one of the questions uppermost in your mind must be whether the new leadership in Russia is more or less likely to precipitate war with us one of these days.

I must say, as I have written, the strongest hope for peace that I found in the Soviet Union during my 3 weeks' visit was the shrewdness of these new rulers of Russia.

These men can be ruthless. Certainly no humanitarian considerations would cause them to hesitate to wipe us out if they thought they could get away with it.

They believe the end justifies the means. And for them the end remains Communist domination of the world. Krushchev said so to me quite frankly. He said communism is invincible and predicted that the future would belong to the Communist order.

Nevertheless, these men are cold, calculating realists. I don't believe they are possessed by the madness that drove Hitler to bring Germany down in ruins. Nor by the recklessness that led Mussolini to tie Italy's kite to the shooting star of Nazidom's short-lived conquest.

lived conquest.

They know the destructive power of nuclear weapons. Even if they possess the H-bomb—which some British officials doubt—and even if they use it first, they know America has superiority in these weapons and the means to deliver them.

Furthermore, as Eden put it to us, and we agree with him, the Soviets have now become the bourgeois of the Communist world. They have established an empire extending from the heart of Germany to the borders of China. They are becoming property owners—cars, television sets, ice boxes, even country homes. They have vested interests to protect.

As long as they feel they are not going to be directly attacked, as long as they know they cannot themselves attack without the certainty of the swift and terrible retalia-

tion, I seriously doubt that they will deliberately precipitate an atomic war with us.

TEMPTATION STRONG

If America was to let down its guard, if the day were to come when the Soviets thought they could deliver a knockout blow that would neutralize the United States, then the temptation would be strong and I would give no odds on them not doing so.

For the present, however, I think they realize they could not pull an atomic Pearl Harbor on us without getting back a nuclear punch that might well knock the Red daylights out of them.

That is why I say here—have written in our papers and told President Eisenhower when I reported to him on my return, that we felt the present American policy on firmness without provocation, of keeping up our guard and maintaining a strong retallatory force in readiness—was the right one.

We must never make the mistakes that were made before and think that we can base our relations with the Soviet Government on trust in their good intentions.

The present leaders were all part of the top echelon of the regime during the period when Stalin broke faith with us.

These men were in the Kremlin, or close to it, during the bloody purges. We must not be misled by their smiling, benign appearances, when they wish to be friendly in order to serve their own interests.

FORTUNETELLERS

The history of Soviet Russia during the past 30 years has shown that one can never be sure what is going to happen, especially within the inner circle of the Red hierarchy. As Marshal Zhukov said to us: "Fortune-tellers, you know, can go wrong."

Nevertheless, I feel rather certain that if another Stalin is to emerge on the Russian political scene, it will not be the new Pre-

Bulganin, with whom I talked for over an hour, did not impress me as the type who could be capable of selzing power and making himself the absolute ruler as Stalin did.

He lacked the dynamic personality and forcefulness of Khrushchev. He did not seem to possess the cunning that would be required for victory in a struggle for power with the tough ones in the Kremlin.

Bulganin struck me more as a front man for the principle of collective leadership that I think, for the time being, at least, continues to be the basis on which the Soviet system is now being run.

Of the four top leaders we met, Khrushchev was in many ways the most impressive. If any of the 4 were to grab power to build himself up into a Stalin-like dictator, my guess is it would be this boss of Russia's 7 million Communist Party members.

DOMINATED SCENE

A bullnecked, blunt, and rugged individual, this heavy-set little man with the beady blue eyes and aggressive vitality gave the impression of being the boss of the Kremlin show at the moment and knowing it.

On the day Georgi Malenkov publicly lost his job as Premier, it was Khrushchev who dominated the scene in the Supreme Soviet. He nominated Bulganin as successor, and as he did so he remarked that he was sure the deputies would accept the suggestion. There was more than an expression of hope in that remark. It was clear that the boss was speaking. No one else was nominated, and no one else spoke for or against Khrushchey's candidate. The vote was called and the hands of some 1,300 deputies shot automatically into the air. They remained up only a few seconds, then came down. The chairman glanced quickly over the room, said there were no dissenters and no abstentions and no other candidates. Unanimous. It was interesting to watch Soviet democracy During our private interview with Khrushchev, he made no bones about the hope of the Communists to gain the upper hand in the world one day. But he sought to convince us that the Soviet leadership wants to confine the global struggle between the Communist and capitalistic systems to measures short of war.

Unlike American Communists, he and most of the other Soviet leaders we met displayed a sense of humor. He laughed, joked, and showed flashes of wit. He would doubtless order you liquidated without battling an eye if he thought it would serve Soviet interests. But he can be amiable.

LONG TABLE

We sat at the end of a long conference table with him in his office in the headquarters of the central committee of the Communist Party.

At one point, when we were pressing him as to just what the Soviet Government meant by coexistence, he leaned over, put his hand on my arm and, with a cold twinkle in his eyes, said, "You are a capitalist. I am a Communist. We are coexisting around this table, why can we not coexist in the world?"

At another point he said he would like to see Russia and the United States compete in growing the best corn, rather than producing the most destructive atomic weapons.

He spoke with admiration of American agricultural methods and said he would like to see Russia copy many of our ways of doing things.

At the conclusion of our visit, he said with a smile, "If, when you return to the United States, you are summoned before Senator McCarthy, let me know and I will be glad to come over and testify that you represented the interests of your country very ably."

As for Molotov, he seems to have become the elder statesman of the Soviet Government. Always the professional diplomat, he was cautious in his statements and quick to give us the propaganda line. He talked at length about American military bases surrounding the Soviet Union and referring to our protection of Formosa, labeled it, "United States interference in the internal affairs of China."

AIR OF CONFIDENCE

He spoke with an air of self-confidence as though he was supreme in the handling of Soviet diplomacy.

However, I had much the same feeling about him that I did about Bulganin. I could not quite picture him as developing into another Stalin. He, too, seemed to lack the flair for lone wolf leadership.

Of all the four top men with whom we talked, Marshal Zhukov was the most pleasant. He received us alone except for our interpreter guide, and greeted us warmly when we arrived in his office in the National Defense Ministry. Here was the old soldier who had been on such friendly terms with General Eisenhower in the closing period of the European war and for a short time thereafter.

This husky, forthright military man who commanded the defense of Moscow, prepared the Soviet stand at Stalingrad and led the Red army to victory against Germany, gave me the impression of being sincere in his expressed hope for improved relations with the United States and the warm sentiments he voiced about General Eisenhower.

Not that I think there is any likelihood of Zhukov exerting a dominant influence on Soviet policy. He struck me as a soldier, likely to carry out the orders given to him. He also gave me the impressions of being a dedicated Communist. Speaking rather proudly of being a member of the Central Committee, he said: "We soldiers follow the party line."

With these four coldly realistic men at the top in the Soviet Union, I could not help feeling that any immediate threat to world peace is more likely to come from Red China than Russia.

COMMONSENSE

Khrushchev told us he was confident that the Chinese Communist leaders would show commonsense in this respect. Now if that is so, and we are not going to have war in the foreseeable future, then I believe we are going to face a struggle that may prove more difficult for us to wage successfully than a military conflict. In the long run, however, this struggle will involve the survival of our way of life just as much as war would.

I am referring to the conflict of competitive coexistence. This is intended to be an ideological and economic struggle aimed at achieving Communist domination of the world by measures short of an allout East-West war. That is what we face now. It will be much less terrifying and much less destructive in a material way than a military conflict. It will be far more suitable than the cold war was under Stalin. But its ultimate objectives, as far as we are concerned, will be the same.

The second half of this 20th century will determine whether Khrushchev was right when he told me that communism would ultimately gain the upper hand throughout the world.

He said it confidently and matter-of-factly, although acknowledging my right to believe that our way of life would become the stronger force.

This states the challenge of the future as clearly as any other occurrence that happened during our 3 weeks' visit to Russia.

The faith of the sharp, shrewd, and aggressive little boss of Russia's Communist Party must be matched by a belief just as strong and just as deep on our part.

TIME WILL TELL

Time alone will tell whether the free world is equal to the sacrifice, the self-denial, and the courage required to first control and then turn the tide against rampant communism.

That means keeping our guard up. It means being prepared for the next 5, or even 20 years to risk war at any moment to check Communist imperialism from resorting to military conquest, just as we are doing today in respect to Formosa.

We must not let coexistence lull us into a false sense of security.

Unless and until Russia, Red China, and the rest of the Communist world accepts a really effective system of international control and inspection of armaents of all types, including the nuclear weapons, we must maintain in a state of constant combat readiness a powerful retaliatory force.

The western program of building armed strength, while fundamentally the correct one, should be widened into a more flexible and imaginative strategy for competitive co-existence with the Communists in every field and on every front.

While in Moscow I gained the impression that communism was moving ahead in many fields which the present western strategy overlooks.

The arms race is not the only event in which they are competing with us. They have taken sports and culture and the impressionable years of youth and transformed them into arenas of the cold war.

By inviting to Moscow picked delegations from the satellite countries and wavering neutrals, like India, they strive to convey the impression that Soviet customs are superior to those of the West.

LIMITED VIEW

The delegations are carefully chaperoned, of course. They only see what the Communists want them to see. On that basis the good things of Moscow can be impressive—the spiendid Moscow ballet, the mosaic-adorned subway, the up-to-date classroms of

towering Moscow University, the new apartment buildings, and the progress that has unquestionably been achieved in the industrialization of a backward, almost primitive agricultural nation.

Sports is another front on which the commissars are moving full steam shead.

On one frigid night while we were there 75,000 Moscovites jammed Dynamo Stadium—the local Kezar Stadium—to watch the home team humble West Germany in a hockey game, 10-3.

The United States is likely to have a tough time at the 1956 Olympic games in Melbourne, when Soviet Russia fields a team which even now is being painstakingly prepared for the big test.

America has dominated the modern Olympic games since their inception and has taken great pride therefrom. It has also been a source of prestige throughout the world, especially with sports-conscious young people.

PROFESSIONALS

How would the sports-minded youth of the world feel, especially in doubtful areas, if the Russian team should end American's long sway at Melbourne in 1956? Of course, these Russian athletes are not really amateurs. They are professionals. They are trained under government guidance, with government help. They receive bonuses and money prizes.

We should find some way of making sure that our Olympic contenders get everything they need in the way of training opportunities.

The lively arts are another field wherein the commissars are operating with the professed intention of proving to the young people of the world that Russian achievements far surpass the West.

We have so much more to offer than the Communists that any comparison must show

up in our favor.

We should seek to convey to the world to our allies, to the uncommitted countries especially, and to the Russians if possible the idea that America has more to be proud of than its motor cars, its bathtubs, and other material benefits.

I believe that any cultural exchange between Russia and the United States is certain to tip the balance in our favor. Within limits, I think such exchanges should be encouraged.

PLANNING BOARD

What I would like to see is the establishment of a permanent planning board commissioned to formulate an all-fields, all-fronts strategy for winning the conflict of "competitive coexistence."

This board should be scrupulously nonpartisan. It should be culled from the finest minds and talents available, both in public and private life.

It should coolly survey the whole global scene and develop plans for getting the people of the world on our side. Sports, the theater, educational exchanges—no field should be neglected in this competition of two diametrically different systems.

Who can doubt that America would emerge on top in any such competition?

My suggestion is not blueprinted. It may even be a little vague, but formulating and implementing it would be the job of the planning group of men and women, each one devoting time and energy to developing an overall nonmilitary American strategy for 1955—and for the next generation, and the rest of this century.

We have a National Security Council. I would like to see a national competitive coexistence council to combat communism.

One side or the other is going to win the battle of competitive coexistence.

It had better be our side.

Everyone and everything we love and cherish is at stake.

I thank you.

Matthew Alexander Henson

1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FREDERICK G. PAYNE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, on April 6, 1909, 2 Americans and 4 Eskimos reached the North Pole—the first and only time an expedition has ever reached the North Pole over the ice by dog sled. Those Americans who thrilled the world were Adm. Robert E. Peary and his personal attendant, Matthew Alexander Henson.

Admiral Peary died in 1920. Mr. Henson survived him by 35 years, dying March 9 last, at the age of 88. The death of this last survivor of that famed expedition to the North Pole should not go unnoticed here in the Congress of the United States. Matthew Henson was an American hero. He was a credit not only to the Negro race of which he was a proud member, but to our entire Nation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Matthew Henson's obituary from the New York Times of March 10, together with an editorial from the Portland Sunday Telegram of March 13, be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times of March 10, 1955] HENSON, WHO REACHED POLE WITH PEARY, DIES; SERVED 22 YEARS AS ADMIRAL'S VALET ON TRIPS—HE WAS THE ONLY AMERICAN WITH EXPLORER ON THE LAST DASH TO 1909

GOAL

Matthew Alexander Henson, the man Adm. Robert E. Peary termed indispensable in his final 5-day dash to the North Pole, died here yesterday at St. Clare's Hospital. The 88-year-old explorer, the only American to accompany Admiral Peary to the Pole, succumbed of a cerebral hemorrhage.

First reports indicated that Admiral Peary had been accompanied only by Eskimo helpers. When the party reached Labrador Mr. Henson's achievement also was recorded.

Mr. Henson, who had been hired by Admiral Peary as a valet, accompanied the explorer on all of his expeditions over a 22-year period. In interviews after the completion of the mission on April 7, 1909, Admiral Peary praised him highly as a sledge-maker, dog-sled driver and expedition companion. He said:

"This position I have given him primarily because of his adaptability and fitness for the work; secondly, on account of his loyalty. He has shared all the physical hardships of my Arctic work."

The commander also said he could not have made the dash without Mr. Henson.

Mr. Henson kept a diary of the trip. He described the arrival of the party at the Pole just before noon on April 6. He explained that because of weather conditions, readings were not taken until the next day when the American flag was planted at the Pole shortly after noon. Thus it was that Mr. Henson found himself "siceping one night at the North Pole."

Of the flag raising, he reported:

"The commander merely said in English: "We will plant the Stars and Stripes at the

North Pole'—and the Stars and Stripes were planted. Speaking in the Eskimo language, I then proposed three cheers, which were Leartily given."

He said that he had coached the natives before-hand in this particular art. Of his own feelings, he wrote in his book, "The

Negro at the North Pole:"

As I stood there at the top of the world and thought of the hundreds of men who had lost their lives in the effort to reach it, I felt profoundly grateful that I, as the personal attendant of the commander, had the honor of representing my race in the historic achievement."

When the expedition ended, Mr. Henson was in good health, but had lost 20 pounds during the 68-day march and return.

After his adventures, he seemed almost relieved to settle down in an office job. an executive order from President Taft in 1913, he was appointed a clerk of the New York Custom House, a position he held until his retirement on pension in 1936.

Later, he lectured on, or just chatted

about, the expedition.

Just as reports of his presence on the final dash came late, the more tangible honors, exclusive of his civil service appointment, eluded the man for many years. Many bills were presented in Congress on his behalf. They specified a pension and a medal, pointing out that Admiral Peary had received a

\$5.500 pension and a medal.

On January 28, 1944, Mr. Henson received a medal-one authorized by Congress for all members of the Peary Expedition of 1908-09. In 1948, at the age of 81, he received the gold medal of the Geographical Society of Chicago and he was made an honorary member of the Explorers Club in New York. The club of the Explorers Club in New York. had honored him in 1934 at a smoker, where he spoke on the expedition.

His biography, "Dark Companion," was published in 1947 by Bradley Robinson. Last April, on the anniversary of the expedition, Mr. Henson and his wife met President

Eisenhower in Washington.

Even before he met Admiral Peary in a haberdashery store in Washington, when he was 18 years old, he had charted a life of adventure and travel for himself. He had gone to sea as a cabin boy and had made a voyage to China before he was hired by the admiral as a valet.

Mr. Henson had made his first expedition on the admiral's second trip to Nicaragua in 1887

He was born in Charles County, Md., August 8, 1866. His mother died when he was 6 and he lived with an uncle in Washington for several years. He received his formal education-6 years at the N Street schoolduring this time.

Surviving are his widow, Lucy, of 246 West 150th Street, and a sister, Mrs. Eliza Carter

of Washington.

A funeral service will be held Monday at the Abyssinian Baptist Church. The Reverend Adam Clayton Powell, the pastor, will

[From the Portland (Maine) Sunday Telegram of March 13, 1955]

MATT HENSON

So Matt Henson has gone, at the ripe age of 89. He had been the only American with Adm. Robert E. Peary on the dash to the North Pole, April 6, 1909; and Admiral Mac-Millan called him "altogether the most efficient man with Peary."

In fact, according to MacMillan, Henson was actually the first man to reach the pole. Admiral Peary, whose feet had given out, was forced to ride on a dog sled, while Henson went on ahead and, when he judged that he had gone far enough to have arrived at the goal, sat down to wait. Presently, Peary arrived, made his calculations, and found that he was at 80°, 57', and was able to write in

his log, "The pole at last." The little company of Peary, Henson, and four Eskimos built the usual cairn, raised the flag, and Henson led three cheers.

That cairn presumably still stands, though the flag, of course, long since blew into shreds and nothingness. No other expedition has been able to reach it, though Roald Amund-

sen in May of 1926 got as far as 87° and 44'. But it is a commonplace now for airplanes to fly over it. Could Admiral Peary's cairn have been built of something other than ice, no doubt it would have been sighted by aviators.

It is possible that Henson was familiar with Portland. If he ever accompanied Admiral Peary to the Eagle Island home down Casco Bay, he certaintly was familiar with But New York was his home, and our city. there he lived and worked during the years following the great North Pole expedition as a customshouse messenger, a position secured for him through his admiral's influence with President Taft.

He was the recipient of the Navy medal and of the Chicago Geographical Society's gold medal. On the 45th anniversary of the Peary success, Matt Henson was received by President Eisenhower in the White House, a fitting last public appearance of one who had contributed so materially to the conquest of the North Pole. In him Portland and all Maine have had especial interest as they have had in everyone and everything associated with the heroic figure of the great Adm. Robert E. Peary.

Automobile Pricing Deception

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL HINSHAW

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include an article from the Wall Street Journal published March 21, 1955. entitled "Auto Prices":

AUTO PRICES-CONSUMER GETS CUTS ON MOST Makes, BUT SIZE OFTEN IS ILLUSORY-HOW A \$713 DISCOUNT ON A CHEVVY IN DALLAS SHRANK TO ONE OF \$213-NINETEEN OF TWENTY DEALERS PACK PRICE

Shopping for a new car these days is more akin than ever to Alice's trip to Wonderland-wonderful, of course; but mighty confusing also.

Car prices have perhaps never been more subject to dickering. To get some idea of just how susceptible they are as the big spring auto buying season approaches, the Wall Street Journal sent reporters on shopping expeditions in six major cities and three representative small towns across the United States.

One finding: All but 1 of the 20 dealers checked offered some concession from his original asking price—including a \$696 "discount" proffered by a Buick dealer in St. Louis.

Another discovery: Only 1 of the 20 dealers quoted at the outset the list price which his factory suggests as enough to guarantee the normal 24-percent dealer profit. The other 19 asked more-including \$435 more that same St. Louis Buick dealer.

FORDS, MERCURYS

For example, a New York Ford dealer quoted a price of \$2,611 for a 4-door Customline V-8 model; the factory suggests a price of about \$2,370, or \$241 less.

On a Mercury Montclair convertible, a Boston dealer originally asked \$3,728, or \$331

more than the factory suggests as the list price.

In each case, the dealer had a printed list of prices for auto and accessories, which totaled up to a figure the factory says exceeds the suggested "list" price. (Description of the factory prices below.)

This practice, of "packing" prices, is not illegal, of course. An auto dealer, like any worker or businessman, can charge anything he can get for his goods and services. A midwestern dealer explains frankly why he packs his prices: "The buyer has come to expect a dealer to quote a discount of several hundred dollars. That's okay by me so long as it doesn't come out of my pocket. So I just lift the price I quote for the car by a few hundred-the buyer gets his so-called discount, I get my reasonable profit, and everybody's

Many dealers, of course, deplore packing as being a calculated deception of the public. An eastern Ford dealer believes price-packing-once people catch on to it-will eventually make it difficult "to convince people that they should ever again pay a regular list price."

DISILLUSIONMENT IN DALLAS?

A glance at the price-pack history of a six-cylinder Chevrolet Bel Air sport coupe, as offered by a Dallas dealer, shows how a buyer could well become disillusioned. On this car, on which the factory suggests a price in Dallas of \$2,573, as equipped by this dealer there was a pack of an even \$500. Every item on the invoice offered the shopper was packed, including a \$378 addition to the factory recommended price of the basic car with automatic transmission and a \$4.15 pack atop the price of \$5.85 backup lights.

Shopper, studying invoice: "So that all

adds up to \$3,073?"

Salesman, doing a rapid calculation on a note pad: "Yes. But I can let you have it, ready to drive off the lot, for \$2,360."

Shopper: "Gee. That's a discount of \$713." Then, referring to the invoice's "delivered in Dallas" base price less accessories of \$2,532: "How can you let me have the car for \$2,360?"

Salesman: "We're just in the business for the fun of it. We don't make any profit on the car. Just another mark on the wall. What profit we do make comes from the accessories."

Of course, the dealer was making quite a bit of profit, though absorbing some actual discount. The discount of \$713 from the packed price shrank to one of \$213 from the factory's suggested list price.

THE DISCOUNTS VARY

Discounts from the factory calculations of delivered list price vary rather widely-from no discount at all to one of as much as \$512, offered by a New York City dealer on a heavily equipped Oldsmobile series 98 Deluxe Holiday (hardtop) coupe.

This dealer had packed his prices enough that the actual \$512 discount could be presented as one of \$666 from a quoted price of

Shopper: "I noticed in your ad in the morning paper that you're supposed to be offering 'sensational deals' on Holidays. Is that \$4,016, then, a sensational deal?

Salesman: "Oh, no. That's the list price. We have a discount price of \$3,350. saves you \$666."

Shopper: "Hmm. That sounds better, Do you think \$3,350 is the best price I can find?"

Salesman: "Oh, if you look long enough and far enough, you might find a dealer that's \$25 or \$50 under that. But, remember, the almighty dollar isn't everything. Service still means something, you know."

Then, after a lengthy sales talk on service: "But, to get back to our price here. If, to exaggerate, some dealer offers you a price of \$100 or \$150 below ours, we can look it over, and, depending on supply and demand, perhaps match his deal."

HOW DISCOUNTS SHRINK

In some cases the Wall Street Journal reporter-shoppers found that what appeared to be a whopping discount was almost no discount at all after the pack had been taken into consideration.

For example, a San Francisco Buick salesman quoted a price of \$3,404 for a four-door Special, then quickly offered a \$450 discount. The factory's suggested price for the same auto revealed the dealer actually was cutting the price only \$26.

On a Dodge four-door Royal V-8 in Dallas a "discount" of \$555 turned out to be one of \$96. On a Plymouth V-8 Plaza Club sedan in New York a \$325 "discount" shrank to \$34.

On the Mercury Montclair convertible inspected by a shopper in Boston, a possible \$300 cut from the asking price turned out to be no discount at all. In fact, it left the dealer's price some \$30 above the factory's idea of what he should get for this car and its wide variety of equipment.

This Mercury dealer indicated that folks who shop for Mercury convertibles don't quibble about prices. But a dealer, who offered a somewhat more expensive Mercury Montreey station wagon, to a suburbanite in New York, indicated the opposite.

Salesman: "Yes, that's the green one out back, \$4,065, including the power steering." Suburbanite: "What's my 1953 Chevvy worth?"

Salesman: "On that car with that equipment * * * hmmm. How does \$1,800 sound? That would leave \$2,200 more or less. Payments to suit your budget."

Suburbanite: "My wife would kill me."
Salesman: "Just a minute; I'll talk to the
boss." Returning a couple minutes later.
"On your 1953 Chevyy 22 200"."

"On your 1953 Chevvy, \$2,200."
The Chevvy cost \$2,400 new, has a current wholesale market value of about \$1,300. So the dealer was overallowing by \$900.

THE UNSHAKABLE CADILLAC

To keep their calculations simple, the shoppers generally asked for a straight discount on a deal which involved no trade-in. The only make on which no discount was offered was Cadillac. Shoppers found a Cadillac, series 62. 4-door sedan, and a spate of equipment offered in Boston at the suggested factory price, with a wait of at least 90 days for delivery. A supplementary check in another city turned up the same set of facts.

The survey found that dealers in small towns were offering smaller discounts from the packed prices than were comparable dealers in metropolitan areas where the competition is more severe.

Take the case of the Oldsmobile 98 Holiday which could be had in New York for \$512 less than the factory's idea of list. At a small New Jersey town 60 miles from Manhattan the discount was only \$70.

A Chevrolet dealer in a Missouri town of 1,200 population offers a discount from the factory prices, but \$116 less than the discount offered on a comparable Chevvy in St. Louis.

The survey indicated that the biggest packing comes in the base price. But such accessories as automatic transmissions and power brakes were widely quoted by dealers at above factory-suggested prices, too. Items which are relatively cheap by factory standards often get a high-percentage pack.

For example, a \$19.35 2-tone paint job for a Ford is quoted at \$50 by 1 dealer.

The turn indicator lights on a Studebaker which the factory suggests at \$19.90 in Boston are quoted by the dealer at \$26.

The buyer generally won't take a big dollar wallop on accessories.

But glance at the table in the adjacent column. It gives a rundown of how base prices of representative models are being packed by dealers in some United States cities.

Here are some sample price packs:

Make, model, city shopped	Factory suggested basic local price i	Dealer's basic price	Pack
Buick, 4-door Special, San Francisco Buick Special Estate Wagon, St. Louis Carlillac Series 62, 4-door, Boston. Chevrolet, 4-door Bel-Air, V-8, St. Louis Chevrolet Bel-Air Sport 6, Powerglide, Dallas Chrylser, 4-door Windsor Deluxe, Dallas Ford Customline, 4-door, V-8, New York Ford Ranch Wagon, V-8, San Francisco. Ford Sunliner Convertible, V-8, Newark Nash 4-door Statesman, Custom 6, Dallas. Oldsmobile Series 98 Deluxe Holiday Coupe, New York, includ-	\$2,460 Including \$169 freight \$3,051 including \$77 freight \$4,090 including freight \$2,097 including \$66 freight \$2,762 including \$136 freight \$2,017 including \$136 freight \$2,017 including \$75 freight \$2,203 including \$150 freight \$2,500 including \$76 freight \$2,518 including \$76 freight \$3,345 including \$98 freight	\$2, 783 3, 530 4, 090 2, 283 2, 759 2, 790 2, 213 2, 518 2, 552 2, 800 3, 390	\$323 479 186 378 28 196 225 53 280 48
lig Hydramatic. Plymouth, V-8 Convertible, San Francisco	\$2,481 including \$155 freight \$1,888 including \$72 freight \$2,053 including \$84 freight	2, 756 2, 141 2, 204	278 253 151

1 Without optional equipment unless noted otherwise.

MANUFACTURERS AND PRICES

DETROIT.—Fathoming what an auto manufacturer means by the prices he publishes in advertising and publicity is no easy chore.

The manufacturers have varied nomenclature to designate such prices. Chrysler Corp., Ford Division, Nash and Packard usually dub their prices "factory delivered retail." But Studebaker calls them simply "delivered prices." For Willys and Rambler autos it's "suggested retail"; for Mercury, "suggested list." Then there's Lincoln with "suggested factory delivered retail charges." Chevrolet, Buick, Oldsmobile, Pontiac, and Cadillas refer to "list prices."

You have to plod slowly through the footnotes for further clues to just what is meant by these labels. For example, some include the 10-percent Federal excise taxes, others exclude it. An auto manufacturer may change his position on this from year to year. Chrysier Corp. brought out its prices via the press last November excluding excise taxes. But on January 10 this year it worked up lists which include such taxes.

As it now stands the following manufacturers include the Federal excise tax, which must be paid on every car sold: Plymouth, Dodge, DeSota, Chrysler, Imperial Hudson, Nash, Packard, Ford, Studebaker, Lincoln.

These exclude the excise tax in announced prices: Mercury, Buick, Cadillac, Chevrolet, Oldsmobile, Ramblers. Pontiac's first press story on its 1955 models said prices excluded excises; but a spokesman last week said they are included.

None of the prices posted by the factories include freight to the various points of sale.

(Federal tax and freight charges have been included for all makes in the table on this page.)

There are other descriptive areas of auto pricing which are hard to fathom. Chrysler now includes a "DEH" item. This is described as the costs of "delivery, excise, handling." But "delivery" doesn't mean delivery of the car from factory to the dealer; it's the cost to a dealer of preparing a car for delivery to the buyer.

There's another item some use, called EOH. One company says it is "excise tax and other handling" charges. Another scribes it as "excise on handling."

There are other items not included in the factory prices: State and local taxes, license, and title fees. These are excluded from calculations in the table.

The Farm Problem and Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Up to Old Tricks," published in the White River Valley (Vt.) Herald of March 17, 1955; an editorial entitled "Rigor Mortis," published in Business Week for March 19, 1955; an editorial entitled "Ninety Percent Politics," published in the Washington Post of March 21, 1955; and an article by John O'Donnell published in the New York Daily News of March 21, 1955, all dealing with the farm problem and the question of price supports.

There being no objection, the editorials and article were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From White River Valley Herald of March 17, 1955]

UP TO OLD TRICKS

The current session of Congress is disclosing that the leopard hasn't changed his spots, at least so far as the majority of the Democratic membership of the House is concerned. In two major fields, taxation and farm price supports, the Democratis House majority is making it quite plain it is not above playing politics with vital issues.

The House move to cut income taxes \$20 per person, across the board, has no justification except political justification, at a time when the Federal budget is still unbalanced, and when the Nation is facing very heavy defense expenditures, both military and economic.

The same can be said of the move now picking up steam in the House to restore fixed price supports for farm products—a device which has not solved the farm problem, but which has only piled up huge surpluses at the expense of the general taxpayer as agricultural producers, many of them huge corporate enterprises, produce not for the market but for Government storehouses.

Secretary of Agriculture Benson has urged that the new system of flexible price supports be given a fair chance to operate; resistance to a return to the fixed price supports will probably be led in the Senate Vermont's Senator AIKEN. If necessary. President Eisenhower is expected to veto such a bill, which would result in bringing into effect the flexible provisions adopted by the 1948 Congress and still held in abeyance.

On both these issues, the Democratic mafority of the House is obviously playing for votes along the lines followed so successfully during the New Deal-Fair Deal period, when the slogan was "spend and spend, elect and That is the policy which has given the country a 50-cent dollar. House Democrats now would start the country on its way to a two-bit dollar. Certainly the present session of Congress has given disturbing indications that the Democratic Party, with a few stalwart exceptions, still favors a con-tinuous mild inflation as a national and political policy.

The fact is disturbing because the experts appear to be agreed, Democratic and Republican alike, that Republican prospects for regaining majority control of the next Congress are not bright, to put it mildly. The prospects, in fact, are for heavier Democratic majorities in both branches following the 1956 election.

It appears to be recognized that President Eisenhower is his party's only hope in 1956. Indeed, the President's continuing popularity at midterm is something of a political marvel. If Ike lives and runs for a second term. the prospect is he will be reelected-but with a Democratic Congress.

The outlook is not an encouraging one to those who believe devoutly that the Eisenhower course is best for the country. Unless the Republican Party in the various States can identify itself with the Eisenhower policies and principles in the minds of the voters, the present administration may well turn out to be merely a temporary break between two long Democratic reigns. The second Democratic dynasty is liable to begin not much later than 1960 in that case.

If that happens, the GOP, and the country, will have lost a golden opportunity to capture the support of the majority of voters which has rallied so remarkably to the Eisen-

hower program.

[From Business Week of March 19, 1955] RIGOR MORTIS

The House Agriculture Committee's approval of a bill restoring rigid price supports at 90 percent of parity throws an additional burden on an already overworked Congress. In that sense, the action is unfortunate. But it may have a useful purpose, too-in a way its sponsors do not now suspect.

Democrats seeking to revive 90 percent rigid supports in place of the present system of flexible supports ranging down to 821/2 percent are, of course, angling for political advantage in 1956. But by forcing the House to vote this year, instead of next, they are going to encounter an uncomfortable fact: The old political appeal of 90 percent sup-ports is dead as far as national farm policy is concerned.

Eisenhower and his Secretary of Agriculture, by getting Congress to adopt flexible supports last year, took the first step in killing it. Farmers, by their votes last November, finished the job. Iowa farmers, for example, defeated former Senator Guy Gillette, a 90 percent supports man, and elected a new Senator who favored flexible supports.

This was a clear test on the issue. proved that in the Corn Belt, at least-ranging from Ohio west through Nebraska-rigid supports have lost their glitter. They may still be favored by many Southern producers of cotton, tobacco, and peanuts, and by dairy producers in such States as Michigan and Minnesota. But these are sectional appeals.

Farmers in general seem ready to turn to something else-if not flexible supports as now in the law, at least to something more inviting than 90 percent supports, with their inevitable stress on production controls, and their inevitable piling up of surpluses in Government hands. By voting out their bill, the Agriculture Committee has given every Member of the House a chance to reflect this feeling, without the heat of a Presi-

dential campaign year.

We think that the results will show that it is no longer possible to make political hay with rigid supports. It is plain they do not solve the farm problem. Agricultural policy now must move forward to something better, and not backward to something that farmers have tried, and found seriously wanting, as a broad, national policy.

[From Washington Post and Times Herald of March 21, 19551

NINETY PERCENT POLITICS

More political mesmerism than economic logic is reflected in the bill approved by the House Agriculture Committee to raise mandatory basic farm price supports to 90 per-cent of parity. The committee makes a convincing case that farm income has gone down 22 percent since February 1951, that the January parity ratio was the lowest since 1941, and that farm debt is increasing. This is all true. What the committee neglects to point out, however, is that these conditions developed during a period when basic price supports were pegged at 90 percent. The new law permitting flexible supports down to 821/2 percent this year had nothing to do with these conditions because it will not take effect until new crops are harvested.

No one ought to be deluded that flexible supports are a complete answer to the problems in agriculture. The law came too late to prevent the accumulation of \$7 billion worth of surpluses and it may not be flexible enough. We should like to see the Department of Agriculture give more attention to the problems of low-income farmers through retraining and resettlement. But rigid price supports in the main have helped big farmers, not little ones; and it is the little farmer who is hurt the most by the acreage restrictions that inevitably stem from high fixed supports. High income, in other words, does not necessarily accompany high supports.

Rigid supports, moreover, produce other bad consequences. A good example is the bastardization that has taken place in wheat. Only about one-fifth of the present billionbushel carryover is millable wheat; the remainder is inferior quality fit only for feedbut still eligible for support. So long as this inferior wheat is commingled, it is doubtful how much more wheat the country could expect to export even under the two-price system the committee recommends. The investigation in Texas has amply demonstrated that a racket has developed in the commingling of inferior wheat with quality wheat for export purposes. The committee might well give some attention to curbing such abuses by requiring the Department of Agriculture to recognize quality as a basis for acreage quotas under the price-support

But while there is plenty of room for improvement in the price-support operation, it makes no sense to argue that the remedy for today's distress is the same system that helped cause the disease. That is what the House committee is arguing, and we hope that the House will understand the fallacy when it considers the bill this week. Even opponents of flexible supports ought to recognize that the flexible principle cannot be tested until it has a chance to work.

[From the New York Daily News of March 21, 1955]

CAPITOL STUFF

(By John O'Donnell)

Washington, March 20 .- A year ago, President Eisenhower won an important victory for every American who eats three meals a day and/or pays income tax. He won a victory for the city housewife by giving her some budget relief when she buys at the corner grocery and butcher shop.

Now it appears that the administration will have to win the battle all over again in the next week or 10 days. The Eisenhower administration faces tougher odds

than a year ago.

The victory that Ike won last year was the passage of the highly controversial farm bill which wiped out the fixed price supports (paid for out of income taxes, natch) at 90 percent of parity for basic farm productswheat, corn, rice, and (this a political sop to the South to line them up with the Midwestern farm bloc) tobacco and peanuts.

The administration bill, drawn up by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson, substituted a sliding scale of Government support for the mandatory 90 percent. For example, wheat farmers got support this year at 82.5 percent of parity instead of the previous 90

percent.

Now the House Agricultural Committee, with Harold D. Cooley, Democrat of North Carolina, sitting as chairman in the spot held last year by Republican CLIFFORD R. Hore, of Kansas, has reported a bill which will go gack to the old New Deal-Fair Deal doctrine of rigid guaranties for the farmers, regardless of how it hits the city dweller.

The high-parity advocates hope to win this time by getting on their side the big-city Democrats who voted for the Eisenhower-Benson plan a year ago. This may well happen. CIO's President Walter P. Reuther in particular and the powerful labor lobby on Capitol Hill in general have promised to deliver the votes of Democrats in the big industrial districts to the farm bloc in exchange for a pledge from the farm lobby to boost the minimum wage to \$1.25 an hour. The administration proposes a 90-cent an hour minimum.

M'CORMACK AND CELLER WITH FARM BLOC

Reuther is credited with telling the farm bloc: "Last year you couldn't get the consumers to go along with you. Now, I'll deliver them."

When the vote was taken last year, 34 of the big-city Democrats in the House voted to support the Eisenhower-Benson plan despite the pressure by Americans for Democratic Action, the Political Action Committee of the CIO and the Farmers' Union. Directing the fight for the latter group at present is Truman's Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. (Baldy) Brannan and Truman's top economic adviser Leon Keyserling.

In the earlier battle, these forces swung to their side such Congressmen with large city constituencies as Brooklyn's Emanuel Celler, Manhattan's Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., and Boston's present majority leader John W. McCormack. Junior Roosevelt is no longer with us but McCormack and Celler (neither has so much as a truck farm in his district) will line up with the farm bloc and against the housewife with the market basket-and do their best to swing their city Democratic colleagues with them.

Regardless of how the present fight comes out, the new alinement of farm and labor is a significant political signpost pointing toward the 1956 White House campaign. Now looms the possibility of a closely united farm-labor party with Reuther in the driver's seat, attempting to dictate the platform and candidates of the Democratic Party or, if this falls, to go it alone.

As Chairman Cooley, speaking for the farmers, declared; "This is the first time in the 20 years I've been in Congress that we've had clear-cut labor support. If the farmers were as united as the city workers, there would be no question about the outcome.'

IKE AND BENSON WARNED LAST SUMMER

That's one of the political catches, of course. A lot of farmers are opposed to a return to the old rigid theory of price sup-port. Both Eisenhower and Benson were gloomily warned last summer that their farm bill would mean the loss of the farm vote in November's congressional elections.

It didn't work out that way. Take the great farm State of Iowa for example. The administration's farm bill was the one important issue in the Senate battle last November. Veteran Democrat Guy Gillette, who came to the Senate in 1936, damned it from one end of Iowa to the other in his fight for reelection. The then Representative THOMAS E. MARTIN, Gillette's Republican opponent, gave the bill his warmest support. Iowa sent Gillette back to private life and MARTIN to the Senate.

In the coming fight, despite the party division in the committee, the Democrats cannot count on their full majority to back up the effort to ditch the 1954 measure.

FARM BLOC ELATED BY SUPPORT

What the administration now needs, confronted with the sudden and critical danger to one of its pet measures, is time to organize its forces. The Fair Deal farm bloc, elated by the CIO-AFL offer of support (for a political price), had hoped to rush the measure

to a House vote by midweek.

Were this done, it is probable that the leftwingers would have jammed the bill through by a comfortable margin. But now it appears that the powerful House Rules Committee, which alone can give the green light to any legislation, wants time to think it over. Its conservative Democratic chairman, Representative Howard A. Smith of Virginia, who belongs to the same school of economic thought as his apple-growing colleague, Senator HARRY BYRD, can be slow and deliberate when the feeling moves him.

The betting tonight is that there will be no hasty House vote this week. Ten days or a fortnight hence is more likely. By that time the administration's leaders will have a

chance to deploy their forces.

Civil Aviation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain has conscientiously applied itself to the problems of civil aviation since this exciting new field came into existence. In aviation reporting Scripps-Howard has invariably led the field. What this great organization has to say about aviation editorially is certainly worthy of note and study by Members of this body.

The Washington Daily News, Scripps-Howard paper, carried a projective editorial last Saturday entitled "Pioneers' Penalty." In this editorial many inconsistencies which cause hardships to our civil airlines were pointed up in

striking fashion.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the Washington Daily News editorial of March 19.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PIONEERS' PENALTY

Time was when a flight of a couple of hundred miles in a commercial airplane was a pretty far piece. Then planes were built that could go 500 or even 1,000 miles. That was the period of the pioneer airlines' greatest growth. The great airlines were estab-

More recently, we have witnessed dramatic increases in the range and speed of highflying big planes. This has made technically possible the joining together by nonstop flights big population centers which heretofore were served by airplanes which by necessity put down at intermediate cities for fuel.

Now you'd think that this would result in the already established airline simply laying on a longer range flight between the points It serves, as the newer, more efficient equip-ment became available to it.

But no; it doesn't necessarily work out The vigorous and continuing that way. hassle over air routes reveals how bureaucracy-which likes to expand, and politicswhich likes to play with taxpayers' money, join hands to make air routes cost as much as possible.

For instance, one airline (United) pioneered transcontinental flights, and had to put down at Denver for gas. Now, although its planes will fly just as far and fast as its rivals, it is forbidden to run nonstop transcontinental flights. It's stuck with Denver.

Pan American Airlines pioneered across the Pacific. It was necessary to make the flight in stages: Honolulu, Wake, etc. It is now possible to fly a great-circle route nonstop, but Pan-Am is forbidden to. Its newer rival can, though, even though both companies use the same kind of equipment.

Several United States airlines fly into Mexico City, but an American citizen who wants to go from New York to Mexico City nonstop must fly Air France. If he wants to fly in an American airliner, he must hop on and off airplanes at least twice, and, on some routes, four times. You see, United States airlines were the ploneers, and so they're stuck with their original short-range routes, and are forbidden to use their newer equipment the way it can be used. They are finding themselves slowly being pushed into the role of feeder lines, in many places, as airplanes get steadily bigger and faster, and more and more big population centers can be joined directly, nonstop.

The pioneers don't think this is fair. On the other hand, the newer lines can see no reason why they shouldn't take the air-subsidy gravy away from the pioneers if they

All we say is, it does seem silly to ask the taxpayer for a subsidy to establish some-thing, and then ask him to subsidize something else to knock the first subsidized outfit down.

Education in South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address delivered on March 17. 1955, by the Honorable George B. Timmerman, Jr., Governor of South Carolina, to the South Carolina Education Association, at Columbia, S. C.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN, JR., GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mrs. Medlin, Mr. Coates, ladies and gentlemen, a few dozen years ago I would have been delighted to give you my views on public education. I would have recommended less homework, more recess periods, and longer holidays.

The opportunity to tell you how schools should be run is mine tonight. I am not equal to the opportunity. I am no longer of public-school age. In fact, I think you are doing an excellent job.

Some of the things that I will say tonight I have said before. This is my fourth major speech since January. My inaugural ad-

dress and my first annual message contained comments on public education. I also discussed our schools recently in New York City. Some repetition is therefore inevitable.

OUR TWO PROBLEMS

Our State faces two major problems. Both directly concern our school system.

One is temporary; the other, the crisis of our time.

One can be solved. The remedy is finan-

For the other, there is no easy solution. It involves the many elements of human relationships.

The course of wisdom is to provide the best education we can afford for our children. is essential to their future. It is essential to the future progress of our State.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

The public education and training of our children is properly and traditionally a local responsibility.
With the consent of parents, our State and

its political subdivisions have assumed that responsibility.

PARENTAL RIGHTS IN EDUCATION

The parent is the natural guardian of the

The parental right to determine what is best for the child is fundamental. It is a divine right. It is a basic law of nature that no man, no group of men, can successfully destroy. It finds expression among all living things.

THE PURPOSE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The public school exists for one basic purpose. It is to help the parent in the education of the child.

Educational assistance is the only justification for taking the child from the home and placing him in the public school.

Every hour that the child spends in the classroom is an hour away from the protective care and guidance of the parent.

This places a tremendous responsibility upon the teacher and the school administrator.

The public school possesses no monopoly on education. It is only one of several means available for the education of the child.

The surest way to undermine the public school is to deny the right of the parent to choose the educational environment for the child.

Without the parental right to choose, there can be little parental support for the public school.

Without parental support, the public school cannot survive.

When a public school degenerates to the level of the experimental laboratory, the purpose for its existence as a public school comes to an end.

There is a great need in public education for more realistic thinking in terms of parental rights and less academic speculation in terms of sociology.

SOUTH CAROLINA LAW

Our law, which has parental approval, requires that separate schools be provided for the children of each race and that no child of either race shall attend the schools for children of the other race. Our law applies equally to both races at the same time. It does not require that schools for one race be better than schools for the other race.

The opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in the school segregation cases holds for the first time in judicial history that equality of treatment is discrimination.

When schools are unequal, the remedy is not to destroy the schools or the law. The remedy is to require that the schools be made equal.

THE INTEGRATIONIST

The integrationist, seeking to abolish parental rights in education, utilizes men of talent and little character to bombard the public with a barrage of false propaganda designed to lynch the character of a fourth of our Nation.

Never before has anyone seriously proposed that the children of two biologically different races should be compelled to mix socially.

The originality for that unique proposal belongs exclusively to the integrationist. Precedents can be found in the pages of

Precedents can be found in the pages of history for almost every other plan. No precedent, no parallel, can be found for

No precedent, no parallel, can be found for compulsory integration.

It is new. It is novel. It is contrary to the divine order of things.

Only an evil mind could conceive it. Only a foolish mind can accept it.

OPPOSING FORCES

Man today stands on the brink of destruction. He has attained this unenviable position through the scientific development of weapons that are powerful enough to wipe life from the face of earth.

This power to destroy all life is held by

two opposing groups.

God-fearing men who accept and defend the dignity of the individual are opposed by materialistic men dedicated to dominating and controlling the lives of all other human beings.

Those who seek to dominate the world seek first to weaken our Nation from within. Their goal is internal social unrest, discord, and dissension. They are not concerned with the progressive development of school advantages for children in the South or in any other sections of the world.

If these forces of evil are able to force on South Carolina the choice of no public schools with peace and friendly relations or public schools with hatred and strife and discord, it will be the first time a State has had to make that choice.

The seeds of dissension can be planted unwittingly by individuals and groups who are unrelated to those who seek our destruction.

Our enemies are resourceful.

The spark of more dissension than many like to admit was struck in May 1954, by the unwitting stroke of a pen.

Outside efforts to cripple our educational program should be opposed by the combined efforts of us all.

CLARENDON CASE

A fanciful fallacy has it that the integrationist is seeking judicial aid to protect a downtrodden minority race.

In the Clarendon County School District there are in round figures 2,800 Negro pupils and only 250 white pupils.

The integrationist is not seeking judicial aid for a minority race. He is seeking judicial aid to compel a handful of white chil-

dren in the Clarendon County School District to attend schools that will be predominantly filled with Negro children. I mention this to keep the record straight.

FINANCES

A State-supported system of public schools is not an isolated entity. It is one of the services rendered by our State government. It is closely related to other State functions.

Our economic health is vital to every State service. It determines in large measure the amount of revenue available for State services. It directly concerns all who work in our school system.

When I took office in January, revenue collections for the current fiscal year were below authorized expenditures. The unprecedented drought, coupled with Hurricane Hazel, had reduced the income of many of our people.

I do not believe that this slump indicates a permanent disorder in our economy. It does present a problem to the general assembly as it seeks to allocate anticipated funds to essential services.

They must provide for necessary State services and must provide funds to pay for those services. That task is not enviable.

EXPANDED ECONOMY

We can expand our ability to finance the things that are beneficial to the extent that we raise the income of our people.

It was that belief that carried me 2 weeks ago to New York City to encourage the location of future plants in South Carolina.

New industries will mean new jobs and

You have been of great benefit to our program of industrial development. In the years ahead, your work will become more evident.

The industries that provide the best jobs and the biggest payrolls need the services of men and women who are capable of attaining a high degree of skill. Education plays a large part in developing ability of that kind.

Some of the industries which have come here from other sections have found executives among our people. This is a sincere compliment to the work of our schooleachers.

As more industries come, and as industrial experience lengthens, the number of South Carolinians who become industrial executives will increase. If these men and women succeed in the opportunities that are being established for them, it will be because of the training that our public-school system has given them.

Your profession, more than any other, will determine how far we will go. The development of our State depends on the development of our people.

DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The development of public education in South Carolina has been outstanding.

I do not subscribe to the negative view that we do not do much for public education.

I prefer to accept the more positive approach which says that we have done much and, working together, we will do more.

Too often we hear negative thinkers say that there is more to education than school buildings. That is true, but the implication that this is all that has been accomplished is not true.

In 1937 State aid for teachers' salaries averaged \$250 a year. Today it is \$2,312. During this same period the number of teachers had increased by 4,000.

State aid today accounts for all but \$18 of the average yearly salary of the classroom teacher.

In 1945, recertification of teachers was established, a new salary schedule was adopted, and the Retirement Act was passed.

During my first year as lieutenant governor, the 1947 general assembly increased

teachers' salaries approximately 26½ percent and wrote into law the first permanent professional salary schedule for teachers in the history of our State.

Each year our teacher certification program is providing annual salary increases for many of you.

This year the budget and control board has recommended an appropriation of more than \$40 million for State aid to teachers' salaries. Their recommendation is more than double the entire appropriation for education 8 years ago.

Our school progress has not been limited to increases in aid to teachers' salaries.

In 1936 the rental textbook act was passed. In 1943 the school-lunch act was passed. In 1944 the 12th grade was established to take effect in 1948.

In 1951 the legislature passed the new school law, which provided a 3-percent sales tax pledged to education.

School districts have been reduced from more than a thousand to 103.

Seven hundred and ninety-seven school projects have been approved, which involve expenditures totaling \$127 million. Fifty-nine percent has been allocated to Negro projects. Forty-one percent has been allocated to white projects. These projects include 450 new schools.

These projects have provided 8,000 new classrooms, enough to house 44 percent of the pupils now attending public schools in South Carolina.

Since 1951 transportation has been provided at State expense for all children who live too far from school to walk. The number of buses has been increased 79 percent. This year, almost 4,000 buses transport 240,000 pupils each day. A majority of these are Negro children.

Our school bus operating efficiency compares extremely well nationally. By latest reports, South Carolina is the second State in the Nation in operating efficiency.

We are building a school system equal to any in the Nation.

Our schools for Negroes are now superior to any in the Nation.

By sound planning and sound financing South Carolina has accomplished an educational revolution, while other States continue to face a crisis. The critical school situation in other States has been recognized by the President of the United States. He has advocated a \$7 billion program in an effort to correct the lack of school facilities. We are at least 4 years ahead of that program, despite the fact that our State ranks only 45th in the Nation in per capita income.

Our financial condition is so sound that we could not qualify for Federal aid under the school program proposed by the President.

That report sounded impressive when I gave it in New York City. I believe it would be impressive anywhere. We can be justly proud of what we have done.

And what of the future?

The general assembly has this year enacted into law a plan whereby you will be asked to vote on whether or not you and other members of the State retirement system wish to be included under Federal social security. If a majority of those in the retirement system vote "aye," you will be brought under that system.

Instead of 4 percent of your salary, you will contribute 5 percent.

But your benefits will be increased.

The full benefit of social security will be yours along with Federal survivors insurance, a feature not now included in the State retirement plan. You will retain the better part of State retirement. You will lose nothing that you contribute to the retirement system.

For many low-salaried school employees and those employees who joined the school system late in their working careers, it will mean higher retirement benefits than the State system can provide. SCHOOL BOND CEILING

The general assembly has been requested to increase from one hundred million to one hundred and thirty-seven and one-half million dollars the limit on bonds for school construction.

When this ceiling is increased, it will provide an additional \$81 million for school construction.

SCHOLARSHIPS

The general assembly is considering a bill to provide scholarships for those persons who wish to prepare themselves for the teaching profession.

GRESSETTE COMMITTEE BILLS

There have been enacted during this session of the legislature six measures recommended by the Gressette committee. This action is not a final plan. These measures, however, clarify our present law and will increase the efficiency of present administration.

They give to your school trustees more authority and vest in county boards of education the powers of trustees in those counties having only one school district.

Those additional powers for trustees include the authority to regulate school terms, the power to dispose of real estate with the consent of the county board of education, and the authority to decide when children living in another county shall be admitted to schools.

The most controversial part of the Gressette committee recommendations had to do with school attendance. I assure you we have not weakened ourselves in this respect.

The compulsory public-school attendance law was not widely enforced. Few if any cases were ever made. In practically every school district there were children who should have been in school who were not.

Under the new law, visiting teachers are provided. It is the duty of these teachers to encourage children to attend school.

The visiting teacher has been given authority to accept cash assistance, clothing, shoes, books, and similar articles for those children who are not now attending school for the lack of such articles.

Those parents who themselves were deprived of the benefits of formal education are anxious to have their children attend school. If our educated citizens fail to send their children to school, then I fear it is an indictment of our system.

The courts of our State have authority to deal in cases where parents fall to discharge their obligation to educate their children.

CONCLUSIONS

For many years our public-school system depended on teachers who were dedicated to their profession and our youth. They were underpaid, their equipment was substandard, their school terms often short and irregular.

We have no solved all of our problems. Our school system has not reached perfection. But we have become more conscious of our shortcomings.

I hope those dedicated teachers will be always with us. I hope that their number will increase.

For them, and for all of those men and women connected with our public schools, conditions will improve.

I have outlined here tonight some of the improvements which have been accomplished. I have told you of some of the plans for the future.

I assure you of the importance with which our State views public education. I pledge to you our efforts to meet our problems squarely and solve them to the best of our ability.

Together we will go forward.

Fund Raising by Citizens of Powell Butte, Oreg., for Construction of Community Church

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a most informative and inspiring article from the Sunday Oregonian of March 6, 1955, written by Mr. Wally Hunter, describing the successful efforts of the people of Powell Butte, Oreg., to raise funds for the construction of a community church in Powell Butte. The article demonstrates how public-spirited and courageous people can overcome obstacles to accomplish their goal.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HARVESTING THE LORD'S ACRE (By Wally Hunter)

Rising out of the sagebrush flats at the tiny community of Powell Butte between Redmond and Frineville is a trim and beautifully appointed church financed entirely through funds raised at one of Oregon's most unique events—the Lord's acre sale.

Powell Butte's community church, a \$61,000 structure unquestionably one of the prettiest in central Oregon, was completed and dedicated last summer, just 8 years after the first Lord's acre sale was held. Since the initial effort it has become a harvest-time tradition.

The unusual theme for the sale, tailor made for for the rural congregation, came from a custom started in the Southern States where the farmers, who found cash hard to come by, supported their churches by annually pledging the produce from one acre of land, or its equivalent, to the Lord.

Powell Butte's 230 member, nonsectarian congregation, under the leadership of Rev. Devere Penholiow, took this idea, added a staggering amount of hard work and imagination, and reached an overall 8-year total of \$40,000. This money has been used solely for the building fund. All other church functions and Reverend Penholiow are supported through other channels. This year's Lord's acre sale, held just before Thanksgiving, was the most successful. It netted a record \$5,400.

Just what crop can be produced on the Lord's acre? A glance at the various items donated by the farmers, townspeople, and merchants of central Oregon would provide several eye-popping surprises.

Among the more unique contributions were 120 gallons of boiling water delivered for the barbecue by a Redmond creamery, and several dozen jars of sourdough starter with a history dating from the stagecoach era. And typical of the personal sacrifices made was that of Charlle Smith, who travels round trip from Tulare, Calif., at his own expense each year so he can preside over the afternoon auction.

Activities start with the opening of the "country store" in the school gym, which adjoins the church. A bevy of church ladies is its proprietors, and customers are folks from all over the Bend-Redmond-Prineville area.

Goods for sale in the good-sized auditorium include the variety found in a supermarket, but the atmosphere is as homey as that of a crossroads cracker-barrel grocery.

Booths and counters lining the walls are crammed with everything from homemade soap and pickled pigs' feet to potted petunias. And it all sells.

starring in the toy department each year are the score or more old-fashioned jumping jacks hand-carved by 89-year old Arthur Page. Grandfatherly Page devotes full time to his private project and is always surrounded by admiring kids at sale time.

Great, white piles of homemade soap is another fast-selling regular item. Manufacturer is 76-year-old Mrs. Mary MacDaniel, who is far ahead of the soap pros in one respect. Her total supply is sold each year sans the tearful efforts of Our Gal Sunday or John's Other Wife.

In just 3 hours the meat market was sold out. During that feverish period the market crew sold the steaks, roast, and hamburger from 4 king-sized steers and 3 hogs. In addition, they moved 100 chickens, 96 ducks, 200 pounds of sausage, and several hundred pounds of lard.

The candy counter, whose calorie count would equal the national debt, netted the treasury a sweet \$275, and more than 250 ples, 50 cakes, 50 dozen cookies, and 25 dozen doughnuts shuttled out of the bakery.

By noon the country store was bare, and male church members donned white aprons and caps to serve the annual noon barbecue. Biggest attraction were 2 cooking pits which held 3 prime steers and 9 hams baked to their juicy finest after 24 hours underground.

Consumed, along with the meat, were 1,500 baked Deschutes Netter Gem potatoes, 120 gallons of coffee, plus 250 pints of milk, donated by the same dairy which contributed the coffee water.

Final event starred Auctioneer Smith, who fast-talked his audience out of \$1,300 while calling such items as hogs, heifers, hay, afghans, pillows, blankets, 4,000 board-feet of lumber, and a 3-year-old gelding.

This year the Powell Butte Church met its building loan payment, bought additional pews, and installed a pipe organ. Next year plans call for a new parsonage, but the dreaming won't end there. Possibilities are unlimited for the parish with the will and willingness to harvest the Lord's acre.

Ole! to the University of San Francisco "Dons"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JOHN F. SHELLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday night was a great night for San Francisco, for devotees of the west coast brand of basketball, and for me personally when the University of San Francisco "Dons" sewed up the national collegiate basketball championship by winning the NCAA tournament finals at Kansas City by a handy margin. It was a great night for me because USF is my alma mater, and it was a great night for San Francisco and the west coast because a great team from a great little

school of 2,500 enrollment showed that it could go all the way against the best brand of basketball the rest of the country had to offer. That is why I say "Ole! to the 'Dons' and to their great coach." The evening must have been particularly sweet to Coach Woolpert, since he himself was a star player on the USF team which won the national championship in 1949, the last previous basketball crown won by the "Dons."

Although the USF boys had ranked first in the national standings during the regular season, the NCAA crown was the clincher which removed all doubt as to whether they were real champions, and the green and gold colors came through flying high. I am sure that all of my colleagues, be they from East, West, North, or South, will be glad to join me in congratulating the boys, the coach, and the school on their sweet victory.

This national championship is a fitting crown for the university, now about to celebrate its 100th anniversary. From little St. Ignatius College, founded in May 1855 by the Jesuits, the school has grown until it is now a splendid university. At the time I attended law school there the transition from college to university had just taken place, but even then we had a basketball team, on which I played, and we also played a little football. We did not win any national championships, but we had a lot of fun. As president of the student body in those days, I know what kind of a celebration we cooked up whenever we won a routine game. I can just imagine how bright the bonfires burned on the campus last Saturday night when the news of the final victory hit town. I only wish I had been there to throw another log on the fire and to join in a chorus of the USF victory song in my Irish tenor.

Mr. Speaker, I propose a toast to the University of San Francisco "Dons." national collegiate basketball champions for 1955. Long may they reign!

Turning Victories Into Defeats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Turning Victories Into Defeats," written by Constantine Brown and published in a recent issue of the Washington Evening Star.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

TURNING VICTORIES INTO DEFEATS—YALTA OFFERS US ABUNDANT PROOF THAT INTER-NATIONAL CONFERENCES SHOULDN'T BE HELD IN MIDST OF WAR

(By Constantine Brown)

Publication of the Yalta papers may serve, if nothing else, to support the view long held by many political men in Washington that international conferences should not be held in the midst of a war.

When Secretary of State Hull appeared before executive sessions of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1943 and 1944 and was asked about our policies after the shooting was over he invariably replied; "Gentlemen, our only concern at present is to win the war. We shall cross the diplomatic bridges when we get to them after victory."

It is safe to say the world, and particularly this country, would not be in the present predicament if President Roosevelt and his advisers had followed the Hull horsesense principle. Teheran, Yalta, and Postdam would never have occurred.

We won a resounding military victory in World War II, and suffered an even more re-

sounding diplomatic defeat.

The Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam meetings were not used to discuss military strategy as they were advertised. Military strategy was discussed only in the light of political deals between the then three allies. At Teheran the long and fruitful association with Britain was shaken because President Roosevelt and some of his advisers, such as Harry Hopkins, decided that it was best for the United States and the world to side with Stalin

Britain appeared to our leaders then as a brave but wornout and crumbling empire. while the U. S. S. R. was viewed as a power of the future. And in order to enlist Stalin's good will for a "better world," which he alone could help establish with his despotic power over an enormous land mass containing 180 million people, he was appeased and given

everything he wanted.

We gave Stalin everything he wanted at Teheran and confirmed and added to these give-aways at Yalta. As a matter of fact, all our military efforts and victories were nullifled at the political conferences of the Big Three which none of the lesser allies who were fighting gallantly on our side, were permitted to attend. They had only hearsay information on what was discussed and de-

The most successful diplomatic gathering of the "big" powers was the Vienna conference, at the end of the Napoleonic wars. The wars were over, Napoleon was defeated, and the military power of France had been crushed. It was only after all military objectives had been attained that the representatives of the then "big four" gathered in the Austrian capital and decided on carving up Europe in a manner which prevented the outbreak of another war of many nations for 100 years.

The Vienna Conference also marked the most prosperous postwar era in the history of

Nothing of the sort happened after the last World War. Had it not been for what is commonly believed to be the inexhaustible resources of this country, Europe and the rest of the world would have gone completely to pieces. The Soviet Union, after having been saved from military disaster and helped to victory by its Western allies, proceeded to enlarge the gains made at the expense of the free nations and expanded both in Europe and Asia. Tens of billions of American tax funds and much of our substance had to be poured into military expenditures in an attempt to arrest this movement. It is by no means certain that we have yet succeeded.

Stalin took advantage of the emotional frame of mind of our wartime leaders at the wartime conferences and succeeded at least partially in creating a split between the British and Americans.

The postwar conferences were held during the period known as the cold war. And we our shirts. The Berlin Conference in 1954 is a typical example. We went there to discuss with the Russian dictators peace treaties for Germany and Austria. They had other ideas. They wanted Indochina for their Chinese Communist allies. After 10 days of talking we yielded and agreed to go to Geneva to debate that issue. Nothing was done about Germany and Austria. Northern Vietnam was surrendered by the French to the Communists.

The unchallengeable fact is that our military victories have been turned into diplomatic defeats mainly because we went to the conference table while fighting was going on to discuss purely political matters with a temporary associate whose overall aims were in ideological opposition to those of the American people.

The results of these conferences were so distasteful that our then leaders decided to cover up by hiding from us the actual concessions they made to the Reds. They have been partly revealed after 10 years in which the American people shed blood, sweat, and tears without actually knowing the real origin of their hardships.

The division of Korea at the 38th parallel was arranged by our representatives at Yalta. It resulted in the Communist aggression of 1950 which cost us 165,000 casualties and some \$15 billion. And we have not yet seen the end of that conflict.

Robbing Peter To Pay Paul

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

SMITH of Mississippi, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Sylvia Porter:

It's hard to rob Peter to pay Paul-even when Peter doesn't know he's being robbed. It well may be impossible to rob Peter to pay Paul when Peter does know what you're

up to. It was last July, you recall, that the President hiked the tariff on Swiss watch imports as much as 50 percent. The President admitted he did it reluctantly. But he did it; he ordered the first change in the watch tariff in 18 years. And the move was headlined around the world as a shocking example of how little our high-sounding phrases about freer world trade really mean.

Well, after the administration had hiked the tariff, it discovered it was into a new dilemma For under the trade agreement we have with Switzerland, we must offer compensation for losses she suffers because of the watch-tariff hike by reduction in tariffs on other goods.

We have therefore offered to talk tariff reductions on a long list of goods Switzerland sells us-including a wide variety of textiles, surveying instruments, chemicals, cameras, etc.

A conference between us is set for April in Geneva.

Now comes the ironic Peter-Paul twist.

For the textile industry isn't even waiting for the hearings to indicate what it thinks. Says William Pollock, executive vice president of the Textile Workers Union of America (CIO):

"It is unfair, immoral, and contrary to the national interest for the Federal Government to trade off one group of our citizens against another. . . We do not concede that the American textile industry must be sacrificed to preserve the American watch industry. * *

That isn't mincing words and it's just the

beginning.

The photographic industry certainly can plead that it is essential to our national defense and that it is getting plenty of competition from imports of German, Swiss, and Japanese cameras.

"When the hearings start, you'll hear some fancy fireworks from top men in this industry," forecasts an informed source.

The chemical companies are among the most vigorous, unreconstructed protection-

"De you think we're going to agree to a cut in tariffs just to subsidize the watch people?" said one chemical corporation officer when I called to ask the reaction. "Huh. Not us."

Peter knows he's being robbed to pay Paul-and he has no intentions of standing for it.

The whole miserable chain of events was set off by the tariff hike. And more and more miserable links will be added until the President breaks the chain by canceling the increase. Eventually the hike will be re-The sooner the better. versed.

Tribute to Congressional Medal of Honor Winner, Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, this coming Saturday there will occur the reinterment of the mortal remains of Cpl. Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., of Hatfield, Wis., who was awarded posthumously the Congressional Medal of Honor for gallantry on the field of action in Korea.

I send to the desk the text of a letter which I have addressed to the pastor of his church, along with the text of a newspaper article from the Milwaukee Journal on the award, and the official Army announcement.

I ask unanimous consent that this material be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD by way of my personal sincere tribute to this valiant American.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE. COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, March 22, 1955.

Pastor MITCHELL WHITERABBIT,

Winnebago Indian Mission Church, Rural Route 5, Black River Falls, Wis.

DEAR PASTOR WHITERABBIT: Thank you very much for your kind invitation to me to convey a communication which could be read at the burial ceremonies of Cpl. Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., who will be reinterred this coming Saturday.

It is an honor for me to submit the enclosed message.

May I advise that it will be my privilege also to include the text of this letter to you, along with the official Army notice of Corporal Red Cloud's winning of the Congressional Medal of Honor and a newspaper writeup thereon, in the Congressional RECORD

I only regret that the pressure of official duties prevents my being on hand in person

to convey my own personal sincere respects to this great patriotic American. With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

ALEXANDER WILEY.

A TRIBUTE TO MITCHELL RED CLOUD, JR.

No man can adequately do honor with mere words to what another man has achieved by unforgettable deeds, particularly a deed which has earned for a departed hero the Nation's highest military award.

The sacrifice which Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., of Hatfield. Wis., made near hill 123 in Korea on November 5, 1950, is too great and too lasting for myself or any other man to attempt adequately to praise.

A mere recall of the facts regarding his actions against a numerically superior foe will convey to all who see or hear the epic

gallantry of Mitchell Red Cloud.

This 28-year-old lad was the descendant of warriors of old who fought with courage in every fray in which they participated. Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., was worthy of that unbroken tradition. He symbolizes the heroism of the innumerable Americans of Indian descent who have shed their blood and given of their lives in the service of native soil which they themselves had owned long before the coming of the white man, and to which they have, nonetheless, given their patriotic devotion ever since.

To the bereaved mother of this courageous boy, Wisconsin and the Nation convey deepest sympathy in her great loss. She may speak in the Winnebago tongue more readily than in English, but the deed which her son performed speaks with a universal eloquence which no man in any tongue can match.

It is a deed which confirms once again that the color of a man's skin, the accent of a man's tongue, or that of his family or of his loved ones or of his forebears, is meaningless beside the true quality of a man's heart and the grandeur of a man's eternal soul.

Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., Wisconsin's most courageous modern Indian warrior, will be laid to rest in an ancient ceremonial ground among his ancestors. But in truth, he has consecrated too that far-distant spot in Korea where his lifeblood drained into the ground. And by that consecration he has signified to all free mankind that the sons of America, as dearly as they love their own land have proven their willingness to die for a universal cause-peace and freedom-in lands far distant from their native shores.

It is the prayer and faith of free men everywhere that the selfless deed of Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., and of 30,000 of his countrymen and of other boys under the United Nations banner who made the supreme sacrifice in Korea, will not have been in vain. May it have marked a turning point in the -old quest of man for a world in which right makes might and in which aggression shall no more occur.

May Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr.'s final resting place be a shrine to patriotic Americans of our State and Nation; and may it serve as a shrine to all free men's dedication to a warless, slaveless world.

The noble red men who fought for freedom on this continent against any odds have had a proud descendant in this fighting marine and Army infantryman who breathed his last on a far-distant continent.

May his matchless deed be an inspiration to us all. Thus, whenever our spirits may whenever we may become discouraged in the quest for peace, whenever voices of pessimists and mongers of gloom are heard throughout the land, may we remember the sight of Cpl. Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., critically wounded near Chonghyon, Korea, pulling himself to his feet, using a tree for support, and continuing to fire to halt an onrushing enemy.

With that type of dauntless spirit, we cannot fall in our efforts, and we will be worthy of his eternal valor.

God rest his gallant soul.

MEDAL OF HONOR (POSTHUMOUS)

Cpl. Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., Company E, 19th Infantry Regiment, distinguished himself by conspicuous gallantry and intrepldity above and beyond the call of duty in action against the enemy near Chonghyon, Korea, on November 5, 1950. From his position on the point of a ridge immediately in front of the company command post he was the first to detect the approach of the Chinese Communist forces and give the alarm as the enemy charged from a brush covered area less than 100 feet from him. Springing up he delivered devastating point blank automatic rifle fire into the advancing enemy. His accurate and intense fire checked this assault and gained time for the company to consolidate its defense. With utter fearlessness he maintained his firing position until severely wounded by enemy fire. Refusing assistance he pulled himself to his feet and wrapping his arm around a tree continued his deadly fire until again, and fatally, wounded. This heroic act stopped the enemy from overrunning his company's position and gained time for reorganization and evacuation of the wounded. Corporal Red Cloud's dauntless courage and gallant selfsacrifice reflects the highest credit upon himself and upholds the esteemed traditions of the Army of the United States.

Published in Department of Army General Order No. 26, April 25, 1951.

Date of award: February 19, 1951. Place of birth: Hatfield, Wis.

Entered military service from Wisconsin. Station: Chonghyon, Korea.

KIA November 5, 1950.

NOK: Mrs. Nellie Red Cloud (mother). Route No. 1, Merrillan, Wis.

IFrom the Milwaukee Journal of March 13. 19551

CPL. RED CLOUD TO GET A WARRIOR'S FUNERAL-CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL WINNER WHO DIED IN BATTLE TO BE BURIED THIS MONTH

HATFIELD, WIS.-Wisconsin's most courageous modern Indian warrior will be laid to rest among his ancestors this month in a cemetery so ancient that some graves still have the ceremonial boxes from which tribal spirits were "fed."

The warrior was Cpl. Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., cut down by Communist bullets on November 5, 1950, on a ridge near Chonghyon, Korea. For preventing the enemy from overrunning his company, he was posthumously awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, the eighth man to win it in the Korean war.

The medal representing the Nation's highest military honor was bestowed upon the hero's graying mother in a solemn ceremony at the Pentagon in Washington, D. C., in 1951 by soft spoken Gen. Omar Bradley. Some sny she swept away a tear. She said later that Indians don't cry, but bear their grief better than that. She finds it easier to speak in the Winnebago tongue than English.

BORN AT HATFIELD

Mrs. Nellie Red Cloud, now near 60, bears her pride well, too. A faint smile slips across her face when honors are bestowed on her son, as many have been.

Already two veterans' organization posts have been named after him-the Veterans of Foreign Wars unit at Black River Falls and the American Legion post at Adams-Friendship. Mrs. Red Cloud has often spent winter months at Friendship.

Young Red Cloud, 28 when he died, was born near this Jackson County community, where the family has always owned its own home on Indian lands. He is the most distinguished alumnus of Black River Falls high school. A bronze wall plaque at the school

pays tribute to his gallantry.

This descendant of warriors served in the Marine Corps for 4 years during World War II. He was one of Carlson's Raiders in the 1st Marine Division. He left Jackson County in 1941 as a junior in high school to fight Midway and Guadalcanal. His father tried to follow him into the corps but was rejected. Mitchell, Sr., a World War I veteran and a writer, died in 1946.

LAID LOW BY MALARIA

Red Cloud was a match for the Japanese but not for malaria. He left Black River Falls weighing 195 but returned to the Indian mission near here at 115 pounds. He got his high-school diploma while in service. When he recovered his health, he joined

the Army in 1948.

James Smoke, Tomah, of the Wisconsin Winnebago Veterans' Association, is not surprised at Red Cloud's valor. He says that the hero's great-grandfather was a fine sol-dier in the Civil War, and Red Cloud's relatives, not even citizens, fought in the Spanish-American War and World War I. Only one Winnebago mission youth was drafted in World War II, Smoke says, the rest volunteered.

On his mother's (Winneshiek) side, Chief Adam Thundercloud still has a silver medal presented to his ancestors (and Mitchell's) by George Washington in 1789, Smoke says.

STOOD IN BREACH ALONE

Red Cloud's rendezvous with death came in the first big battle between United States troops and Chinese Reds. His outfit was dug in near Hill 123 while the numerically superior enemy probed for a weak spot in its bridgehead.

At daybreak on November 5, 1950, the platoon commander, 1st Lt. John A. Anderson, Superior, heard Cpl. Red Cloud shout a warning and open fire on a large enemy force bearing down upon him. Then the corporal fell, critically wounded by burp gunfire, but pulled himself to his feet, wrapped his arm around a tree for support, and continued firing.

The enemy finally overran his lifeless body, but Red Cloud's company had been given time to reorganize. The Winnebago Indian's valor prevented heavy casualties. The enemy turned his body over to United Nations forces and it was buried at Sukchon, North Korea, prior to its return to the United States.

HONOR GUARD PLANNED

A military escort will bring his body from Oakland, Calif., to Black River Falls, arriving March 23. An honor guard of Winnebago Indians will remain with the casket at the Langlois-Galston funeral home there, where a short service will be held at 1:30 p. m., March 26. Services will be held at 2 p. m. at the Evangelical Reform Church at the Indian mission with the Reverend Mitchell Whiterabbit officiating.

The body will be interred near those of the hero's father and brother, Randolph, killed when only 18 on Army maneuvers near Fort Lewis, Wash., in 1949. Another brother, Merlin, of Black River Falls, will stand at his mother's side. He was a Navy Seabee in World War II.

Use of Helicopters in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, in a dispatch from Vienna which appeared in

the Portland Press Herald on March 19. 1955, May Craig described the extensive use of helicopters in Europe and an American exhibit on atomic energy in Vienna. This country is far behind Europe in the use of helicopters for commercial air traffic. In order that all of the members of Congress may have an opportunity to read these interesting observations by May Craig, I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EUROPE AHEAD IN HELICOPTER USE (By May Craig)

VIENNA.-Europe is ahead of us in using helicopters for passenger service between cities, for short hops. In West Germany we saw it. In Bonn there is no commercial airport. You must get there by boat, road, or train-unless you are lucky enough to get a seat in one of the small helicopters that will set you down in Cologne, for instance in 20 minutes. Here in Vienna I wish we had helicopter service from the airport, which is 20 miles from Vienna.

Belgium's Sabena lines have the first network of passenger helicopters in Europe, and they have hauled 13,000 passengers this summer. Great advantage is that expensive runways and airports are not necessary; therefore the helioports can save the pas senger time. The airline saves money; countries where land is so precious are saved the requisitioning of farms for airfields. Helioports are so small, snow removal is no problem. Some of the largest cities in Europe, previously impractical for air service, are now linked by helicopter.

This Sabena fleet has Brussels as the hub. Businessmen, diplomats, tourists who are lucky enough, use these copters all the time, coming right down on a roof or in the heart of a city on the ground-home by dinnertime. The Sabena says it is arranging for big 40-passenger copters, but that will be some years from now. The Sabena is experimenting with service across the English Channel. Now it takes so long to get from a London hotel to the big conventional airports that it exceeds time of crossing the channel. Air traffic across the channel is taking most of the passengers away from the little steamers that used to toss seasick passengers all night. Flying time across the actual channel is 17 minutes. The conventional airports are not near the channel

Helioports are being planned now near the heart of London, Paris, New York, the dawn of a new era of convenience for travelers. London will have its first one near Waterloo So much of Europe has been bombed that getting sites for helioports is no problem, as it will be in New York.

Amazing exhibit of atomic energy for peaceful uses in industry and medicine and the daily life is now here in Vienna. The exhibit is American, by our Government. It is part of our propaganda of atoms for peace. This exhibit has been in Berlin and goes from here to Hamburg. Crowds jam the street for a block, waiting to get in. It is free.

In the lobby are pictures of the men and Madame Curie, who discovered and developed what is now nuclear energy utilization. Several of them are Americans, of course.

In the first room of the exhibit, painted all black and darkened, there hangs from the ceiling a radiant replica of what an atom is like, with proton and neutron, a whirling ball of gleaming wire with its heart varicolored. One remembers how short a time it is since we believed the atom to be the smallest particle of matter, indivisible.

In the second room is a fine picture of President Eisenhower and a quotation-in

German; this whole exhibit has German captions, of course. He said: "Our country does not intend to destroy, but to build. This is good propaganda, and worth the money we spend on it.

Throughout the exhibit there are demonstrations. For instance, one shows a plant taking radiation and sending it into the leaves, eaten by a cow, lights show how it goes through the digestion, the blood, and down into the milk in the udder. Physical processes can be followed by the radiant particles. It shows how functioning of the human being can be followed, how healing can be applied.

Resolution by Serbian Organizations of Cleveland, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the city of Cleveland is proud to number among its population a considerable number of people of Serbian extraction. They are well known in Cleveland for their dedication to the principles for which the United States has beem symbolic since the days of its inception. All these loyal Americans of Serbian extraction have a deep concern for the welfare of their homeland which is now occupied by the Communists. They have very definite views on Tito which should be of interest to all Americans.

The following resolution was adopted at the regular meeting of representatives of 10 Serbian religious, fraternal, human, cultural, and educational organizations of Cleveland, Ohio, consisting of over 2,000 members, held March 5, 1955, at St. Sava Church hall, 1565 East 36th Street, Cleveland, Ohio, and under leave to extend my remarks, I include it here-

Whereas the official representatives of dictatorial Communist regime of Joseph Broz-Tito, and their known and unknown agents and followers in this country, are spreading news and propaganda of a necessity of invitation of said Joseph Broz-Tito to be guest of this country of ours; and

Whereas the American press is publishing stories about invitation of said Communist leader of Yugoslavia, which are disturbing the members of undersigned organizations: and

Whereas the Communist regime of Joseph Broz-Tito does not in any way differ from rest of the Communist regimes, tutored and supported by Soviet Russia; and

Whereas the political, religious and personal freedoms are nonexistent since the inception of the Communist regime of Joseph Broz-Tito in Yugoslavia; and

Whereas Americans of Serbian extraction are not unmindful of the fact, that their relatives in Yugoslavia are daily persecuted and tortured for their religious and political convictions by the order of Joseph Broz-Tito;

Whereas the dignity and honor of the American mothers, whose five sons were bru-tally murdered by the order of said dictator Tito, when they were performing military duty in peaceful mission, will be offended if said Communist dictator was invited to visit this country of ours; and

Whereas the Communist regime of Yugoslavia refused to cooperate with the Western Powers in defense of western civilization and the peace of the world, and by doing so, proved to the rest of the world its place is and always was with the rest of the Communist countries and regimes; and

Whereas Tito's coming here would result in completely opposite effect from that which was outlined by President Eisenhower in his recent address over the TV program "Crusade for Freedom of the Radio Free Eu-rope," that the masses of enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtains, represent the main, obstacle of Soviet aggression against the West, as long as they are reminded of the fact that the free world has not forgotten them: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we hereby appeal to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, to reject every attempt of the official and unofficial Communist representatives who are trying to bring dictator Joseph Broz-Tito, to hold a speech in the greatest democratic institution and tribunal of liberties and human rights, the American Congress.

We trust that Mr. President will consider our reasons and remove the possibility of an

insult to our great democratic country.

It was further resolved that copy of this resolution be sent to President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Hon. John Foster Dulles, Hon. John W. Bricker, United States Senator from Ohio, Hon. George H. Bender, United States Senator from Ohio, and Hon. Michael A. Feighan, Hon. Frances P. Bolton, Hon. Charles A. Vanik, and Hon. Oliver P. Bolton, Members of the Congress from Cleveland, Ohio.

St. Sava Serbian Orthodox Church, Tom Simich, President; Serbian National Defense, N. J. Vurdelja, President; Fraternal Unit Lodge 15 of SNF, Bosko Zailac, President; St. Sava Lodge 1 of S. B. F. U., Sinisa Djokich, Secretary; Circle of Serbian Sisters, Ana Uzelac, President; Serbian Brothers Help, Inc., Sinisa Djokich, President; Serbian Cultural Club St. Sava, D. Lazarevich, President: Serbian-American Women Club, Zora Herkley, President; Serbian Singing Choir "Njegosh"; Anna Julylia, President; Serbian Chetniks, Dragan Chupkovich, President.

A Long-Range Program Is Needed To Preserve Our American Shipping and Shipbuilding Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the importance of providing a long-term program to preserve the American shipping and shipbuilding industries was recently brought to my attention in a letter received from L. S. Blodgett, editor of Marine Engineering. The conditions he relates in his letter and the facts that support them are astounding. It clearly shows there is a need for remedial legislation at the earliest possible day. It cannot be delayed without resulting in irreparable damage to our shipping and shipbuilding industry. There is a clear and distinct duty to provide action in the matter at once.

The letter to which I refer and the open letter that is mentioned in the letter to me reads as follows:

MARINE ENGINEERING. New York, N. Y., February 28, 1955.

My DEAR REPRESENTATIVE WOLVERTON: For the postwar period, ship orders placed abroad have resulted in losses to the United States industry, employment and purchasing power totaling \$1,800,000,000, and these losses affect

every one of the 48 States.

In fact, right now only 14 merchant vessels of the 1.347 under construction in the world's shippards are being built in this country. To bring this problem and its serious consequences into sharp focus, Marine Engineering has published in its March issue an open letter to you and all other Members of the United States Congress, calling attention to the need for long-range legislation that will:

1. Encourage American ship owners to build and operate ships under the American flag. (In 1954 United States flag ships carried only 29 percent of this Nation's foreign trade.)

2. Insure a modern American-flag fleet, adequate shipbuilding facilities, and an effective force of trained professionals to meet a national emergency.

3. Expand the market for the wide range of materials used in shipbuilding which originate in every one of the 48 States.

Attached you will find a reprint of this open letter, together with a detailed summary of the more than 6 million deadweight tons of shipping ordered by American interests from foreign yards.

We hope you will give this national problem full thought and consideration in terms of long-range remedial legislation. After you have had an opportunity to read the attached reprint, we shall appreciate having any comments you may care to evpress.

Yours very truly,
L. S. BLODGETT

Editor.

[Open letter from Marine Engineering of March 1955]

LONG-RANGE REMEDIAL LEGISLATION FOR THE MARINE INDUSTRY IS NEEDED NOW. ADE-QUATE MERCHANT MARINE AND SHIPBUILDING FACILITIES ARE ESSENTIAL TO SUPPORT THE NATION'S WORLDWIDE COMMITMENTS FOR DE-FENSE. ACTION TO HELP THESE VITAL IN-DUSTRIES IS IMPERATIVE

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: Marine Engineering, which has served the United States marine field for 77 years, views with concern the future of this vital industry. The major roles played by shipping and shipbuilding, both in war and peace, are being neglected. This matter affects you and your constituents, Mr. Congressman, as the marine industry uses materials and products of all 48 States

At the present time this crucial problem needs your attention. The fate of the United States maritime industries hinges on its solution. In the past, Congress has rushed to the aid of these industries as a fireman does to a When the fire is out, it is forgotten until the next alarm is sounded. Such stopgap procedures must be replaced with longrange planning to assure an efficient American merchant fleet needed not only for the safety of the country but for economic reasons as well.

No peacetime industry is adaptable so readily to the needs of war. The same skills are employed to man cargo vessels as naval anxiliaries. The same facilities and skills are used to build warships as are employed in the construction of merchant ships.

The tense world situation could turn into an all-out war in a matter of hours. turning point of World War II occurred when our shipyards were able to produce ships faster than the enemy could sink them. This was accomplished by the mass-production methods undisturbed by enemy bombings. God forbid we find ourselves engaged in another world war, but if it does happen you can be certain that our shipyards will be prime targets for enemy attack. Yes, we have a surplus of World War II ships in our reserve fleet, which even in 1943 were no match for enemy subs. Russia's concentration on submarine construction of improved design is ominous. All of America's industrial might will be of little avail unless our fleet and shipbuilding facilities are geared to such an effort.

One of your big headaches in any future all-out mobilization, Mr. Congressman, will be to offset the handicaps imposed on merchant marine industries in recent years.

It costs money to maintain an American merchant marine, just as it costs money to maintain the Defense Department. Actually, the cost to the Government to support merchant marine is about 1 percent of the cost of the Defense Department. It is the only "arm of defense" which private capital finances.

From the beginning of our history the need for a merchant marine has been recognized. George Washington urged Congress to offer "such encouragement to our own navigation as will render our commerce and agriculture less dependent on foreign bottoms." This need has increased many fold since then. The United States is not as selfsufficient now as it was in earlier years. Raw materials must be imported. Manufactured goods and agricultural products must be exported if we are to maintain a high rate of production.

We firmly believe a strong United Statesflag merchant fleet and a well-equipped, continuously producing shipbuilding industry is not only a national asset but also a national necessity. Some of the questions posed with regard to the merchant marine are outlined below. Volumes of testimony at congressinal hearings and articles are available on each of these questions. We believe simple statements can answer most of them and have given our views on them.

"Can the United States depend upon foreign-flag vessels in time of war or emer-

The experience of two world wars and the Korean emergency should have taught us that we cannot depend on foreign-flag ships when most needed. No future wars will be localized affairs between us and one other nation. Foreign countries will need all their ships to serve their accelerated production and to supply their fighting forces.

President Eisenhower has stated: were caught flat-footed in both world wars because we relied too much upon foreignowned and operated shipping to carry our cargoes abroad and to bring critically needed

supplies to this country."

The availability of American-flag vessels during World War II and the cooperation of the owners resulted in time-charter rates for freighters of \$4 per deadweight ton in-stead of the world rate of \$10.20 with an estimated savings of \$500 million to the Government.

"How important is a United States-flag merchant marine to national defense?"

President Eisenhower has called the merchant marine the "fourth arm of defense." The Army, Navy and Air Force could not long survive in foreign stations without a steady flow of supplies. The merchant marine is the blood stream of the three armed services.

"Is the United States merchant marine costing the taxpayer too much money for value received?"

More money is spent on many individual commodity price supports than is spent on merchant marine subsidies.

A United States-flag fleet on the high seas, serving our industries to and from every part of world, is a protection to all United States business firms. It helps insure against discrimination of the United States exporter in foreign markets by foreign

World War II saw the staggering total of \$17 billion spent on new ship construction. Experts have estimated that if these ships had been built prior to the war, \$13 billion could have been saved in construction costs plus a \$390 million a year interest charge. We are spending each year in interest slightly less than is needed to maintain our ships and shipyards at the required levels.

During the first 14 years of operation under the 1936 Merchant Marine Act, the subsidized lines paid \$130,503,000 in direct Federal income and profit taxes. Operating dif-ferential subsidy payments for the same period totaled just \$16,655,324 above this amount. When indirect taxes are considered, tax revenues to the Government far exceed the amount spent in operating subsidy payments. Foreign lines do not pay these taxes.

As of March 31, 1954, the total postwar operating subsidies after recapture amounted to approximately \$380 million. Figures submitted by the present Maritime Administration indicate higher payments because the Government was behind in payments. When arrears are adjusted, the subsidy appropriations will appear in a better light.

"How is the Government deterring ship-

ping and shipbuilding?"

Many minor and major factors enter this picture. The basic deterrent is the lack of a continuous well-charted program of merchant marine development. The inability of the Government to adopt a comprehensive program and to carry it out affects all phases of the maritime industry.

Disagreement between various governmental agencies on maritime policies has highlighted this lack of a continuous policy.

Nonsupport of our merchant marine on the part of the Department of State has been noted in many instances. The State Department can and should work to aid exporters in developing new markets. Diplomacy can do much to remove restrictions blocking currency exchange and trade imposed by foreign governments.

"Has the United States Government subsidized foreign shippers and shipbuilding?"

The Ship Sales Act sold World War II built vessels to American and foreign operators at the same reduced price. Foreign operators purchased nearly 1,100 of these vessels. Thus, the United States subsidized competitors by nearly \$2,500,000,000.

Millions of dollars of United States money have gone into the rebuilding of German and Japanese shipyards. From 1946 through 1951, the United States spent \$23 million to rehabilitate Japan's merchant fleet. servative estimates indicate that \$36 million of United States economic aid went into European nations to repair war-damaged shippards, shipping and fishing industries, between 1948 and 1951 only. American shipowners had to fight vigor-

ously before they received from Congress a guaranty that 50 percent of United Statesfinanced cargoes be shipped in American bottoms. They had every right to request 100 percent of such cargoes. No other nation is so generous to foreign competition.

"Does a subsidized fleet aid other United States industries and the Nation's economy

as a whole?"

A ship operator, by signing a subsidy con-tract, guarantees the American exporters that there will be ships salling on a definite schedule to deliver his goods to the world's markets. The ship operator must sail on assigned routes on schedule. He cannot flit about as his competitor can, using ships in a trade which happens to be more lucrative. Undue dependence upon foreign ships renders the American shipper vulnerable to excessive rates and inadequate service when shipping conditions are tight.

Further, a subsidized operator must buy his supplies in the United States. He must have all repairs to vessels made in American yards even though foreign yards are cheaper. American-flag ships purchased over \$100 million worth of food supplies in the United States during 1953. Out of the over \$100 million in wages paid to seamen on subsidized vessels each year, approximately \$20 million of this is returned in taxes

"Is it necessary to have tramp ships?"

Over 50 percent of our foreign commerce moves in ships employed in tramp operations, of which 83 percent is carried in foreign Tramp ships move the bulk tramp vessels. commodities: iron ore, coal, wheat, etc., that are so necessary to industry and agriculture. Tramp ships provide the flexible and balshipping services that the Military Sea Transportation Service deems essential to national defense. The tramp fleet provides the nucleus merchant fleet to meet immediate military demands in an emergency.

"Should tramp-ship operations be subsi-

dized?"

The tramp-ship operator is faced with the same high cost of labor as the subsidized operator. Industry requires the available ships to carry bulk cargoes to and from wherever it is needed.

Subsidies are, in effect, an adaptation of the tariff system generally available for the well-being of most American industry. Be-cause the shipping industry is international in scope, it is not susceptible to regulation by tariff legislation. Subsidies are the only way to equalize the differential between American and foreign living standards. Therefore, if applied to one segment of the industry, it should be applied to all segments facing the same problems.

"Should the Government require vessel owners to replace their vessels prior to obsolescence so as to avoid block obsolescence of

the merchant fleet?"

The Nation's shipyards are not geared now to build a quantity of vessels equal to that which will become obsolete in 10 When that period is reached, they will be less able to do so unless given steady work now. By a steady replacement program, planned now and scheduled for years ahead, the ship-yards can plan their work. Competent personnel can be trained and retained. Construction costs will remain at a minimum, A modern merchant fleet will be assured.

However, inducements must be offered to the private shipowners to make it advantageous to them to replace their aging vessels. Ship-construction costs have risen since the present vessels were built. These vessels are being depreciated at what is now a below cost figure. New ships will increase capital expenditures and increase over-all costs.

A realistic program can be worked out so that all ships will be replaced in an orderly manner, the reserve fleet up-graded and the shippards kept busy.
"Is the revival of coastwise and inter-coatal shipping vital?"

In World War II better than 50 percent of all war-material tonnage shipped from this Nation was petroleum products. The bulk of the vessels used were those withdrawn from coastwise service. Fuel and gasoline rationing testifies to this condition.

The coastwise cargo vessels supplied the needed bottoms to carry war materials. do not have this reserve to call on now.

A Government-sponsored revival of coastwise shipping can be started. Industry now is preparing a study on this subject for the Maritime Administration. We urge you to study this report carefully when submitted and take the necessary action.

"Are foreign ships going to be allowed to

steal the Great Lakes trade?"

The Great Lakes' ports have witnessed an alarming increase in foreign vessels carrying waterborne export and import cargo Due to present restrictions in vessel sizes, the United States does not have vessels that can compete on an economical basis with these

small ships. When the St. Lawrence seaway is completed, the influx of foreign vessels will increase. Our present type of ship will not be able to compete even then on an economical basis because the Seaway still will be too shallow. Foreign owners are building now for this trade, we are not.

An essential trade route must be established which includes the lakes ports as an incentive for United States lines to build for this trade.

Accidents are occurring on the lakes at an alarming rate due to the unfamiliarity with lakes regulations by foreign captains. treaty with Canada should be drawn up that will require qualified pilots on all vessels.

"Is our reserve fleet satisfactory for emergency conditions?"

Ships become obsolete because of age in the same manner as any other equipment. The sight of 2,012 vessels in the reserve fleet give a false feeling of security. Most of them are slow Liberty ships unsuited for present day military logistics. The Maritime Administration is working on methods of improving the Liberty ships plus maintenance of other vessels. However, the reserve fleets must be upgraded continually. Useless ships should be scrapped.

"Has the maritime industry done its share in promoting the merchant marine?"

One Congressman who has supported the merchant marine stated that there are so many divergent opinions within the shipping industry itself that it is a wonder how any fair legislation has been passed. The mari-time industry must resolve its differences so that one spokesman gives an overall report of legislative needs.

The shipping industry has overlooked the value of public relations. It spends far less on this item than other comparable induson this item than other comparable maus-tries. The industry is composed of many groups each having divergent views as to what the industry needs. Each is fearful for its own existence. If Congress were more sympathetic to maritime needs, there would be fewer partisan views to confuse Congress.

United States shipping lines have failed to convince industry that it pays to ship in American-flag vessels. Many traffic managers do not realize that it is just as cheap to ship in American-flag vessels as foreign vessels. Only 29 percent of our waterborne export-import trade was carried in United States-flag ships during 1954.

"Has labor a share in the process of building a strong merchant marine?"

The maritime-labor situation must be stabilized. Labor costs represent approximately 60 percent of the total ship-operation cost. In many instances high labor costs are forcing the American-flag ship from the seas. Labor demands must be moderated by the tight competition facing the American shipowner today.

Excessive demands by labor groups on a shipowner confronted with a depressed market will act to the detriment of all. Not only will it reduce the size of the merchant fleet. but will increase the number of trained personnel without work.

Management, labor, and Government must share the responsibilities in achieving maximum efficiency in ship operation and maintaining a strong United States-flag merchant The Nation as a whole has a very marine. large stake in the survival of the American shipping and shipbuilding industry. Therefore, since national interests are paramount, the Government must provide the strong leadership needed. There is no one solution. We hope, Mr. Congressman, that you will give these assorted but related problems the attention they warrant. Yours very truly.

MARINE ENGINEERING.

Implications of Federal Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the News Leader of Richmond, Va. The article is entitled "This Was the House of Our Fathers: The Implications of Federal Housing."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS WAS THE HOUSE OF OUR FATHERS: THE IMPLICATIONS OF FEDERAL HOUSING

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Not very long ago the manager of a publichousing project in the little town of Hopewell, Va., passed an uncomfortable hour upon the public stage. He had issued a certain regulation, in a spirit of economy and social uplift, by which he proposed to maintain his project efficiently and to lead his tenants to the better life. Toward this end, he ordained that henceforth his charges could keep no pets; he decreed that no light bulb of a greater power than 60 watts could burn; and then he laid down the mandate that no tenant could consume intoxicating liquors in his own living room, or for that matter, in the kitchen or anywhere else.

Now the first of these might have been defended as a reasonable restraint upon one's liberties, for man's noblest friend can be a confounded nuisance; and the second of these might possibly have been defended in the name of economy, although this is doubtful. The tenants soon enough would thoughtfully have screwed in two 60-watt bulbs where a single 100-watt bulb had burned before, and the project's light bill would have soared by a full 20 percent.

But there was no defense for the third edict from the manager's office, as a vigilant press made clear forthwith. Virginia editors nailed the villain to a cross of scorn; local radio commentators took up the cry; a national television program found Hopewell and peered myopically into the project. From time to time we scribes and pundits are a little vague toward infringements upon individual freedom; often we overlook some subtle encroachment of the welfare state. This time we were alert. This time we were keen. A man's freedom to take off his shoes and drink beer was at stake, and this high freedom, though it seems not to have been enunciated with the other 4 or 5 in the fogshrouded Atlantic, is the sort of freedom one defends to the death. We gave him the

The upshot of all this was that the Hopewell Housing Authority nervously rescinded the order, or so much of it as applied to light bulbs and bourbons; the project manager, brooding over the unwillingness of fallen man to be uplifted, went back to collecting his rents; the local press went victoriously on to the basketball games. It was a 2-day story.

But unhappily, it seems to me, the real story was missed, for the Hopewell decree spoke eloquently of the evil abroad in our land; these petty, domineering regulations spoke of statism in terms the ordinary man could comprehend. Talk of governmental controls or warn of infringements upon individual liberty, and the talk and the warning are largely lost. But a 100-watt bulb is a tangible thing, and a can of beer may

adorn the humblest home. Here was the hand of the omnipotent state reaching into a citizen's living room, cutting off his lights and corking his bottle; here in Hopewell, in the person of an earnest if misguided Sunday-school teacher, big brother was watching us, and to contemplate the incident was to sense a sudden chill along the spine.

The lesson to be drawn in Hopewell was the lesson that some of us, beating in cheerful futility at our Underwoods, are forever attempting to draw, that governmental controls inevitably must accompany governmental subsidies, that the authority of the state inevitably will be used to curb the liberty of the individual, that as bureaucratic powers are extended, bureaucratic abuses must be extended also. But we do not often find a lesson in a light bulb. Here we did.

The same cold shadow of statism is to be found not merely in one public-housing project in Hopewell, Va., but in 450,000 public-housing units across the country; and not only in public housing, but in housing generally. It is doubtful if 1 person in 10,000 grasps the fantastic magnitude of the Government's operations in the field of housing and mortgage finance, or pauses to consider where current housing acts are taking

So-called low-income public housing offers merely the most obvious manifestation of the statist philosophy at work in the field. We have 3 such public-housing projects in my own city; they include 1,200 one-to-four-bedroom apartments, though they are not often called apartments. They are called units. These units are occupied by 1,200 families whose sole discernible qualification for the bounty of the taxpayers is that their incomes, or at least their reportable, discoverable incomes, are not above certain fixed amounts.

A man and wife may apply for admission provided their incomes do not exceed \$2,200 a year; a family of 4 is eligible up to \$2,400; a family of 5 up to \$2,700 a year. Hereabouts the tenants pay rent that may range all the way from \$14 a month to \$50 a month, depending upon a baffling table of values and factors. So long as they pay up by the sixth of the month and keep their incomes at a deserving sociological level, they are set: Stove and refrigerator furnished, all utilities included in the rent.

In theory, these rentals are supposed to be fixed at a scale one-fifth less than comparable private apartments would command; in practice, we found locally that apartments in the public-housing projects are renting for about half what comparable private property would rent for. Nationally, the American taxpayers put up a subsidy of \$63 million a year to close the gap between rental income and project operating costs. Locally, the figure can be pinned down to something more comprehensible: The taxpayers provide \$370 a year for each of the 1,200 families in our local projects. For every dollar in rent paid by the tenants, the taxpayer pays \$1, too. This is called the taxpayer's contribution to the public-housing program.

The interesting thing is that while low-income public housing is widely recognized and frequently resented (the House of Representatives is forever killing off the public-housing program, only to bow grumpily to the senior wisdom of the Senate), other governmental housing programs continue to expand to the sound of large, approving applause. What so proudly we hall as the boom in private-residential construction is a boom with a faintly hollow sound, for it stems entirely from the proliferate programs of Federal loan insurance.

You do not build a subdivision in America any more without Federal loan insurance; you scarcely build a single house without Federal loan insurance. The first question that is asked of an architect is not if his

plan is sound, or if his stresses are properly computed; the first question is whether his design meets the MPR, or to spell out the abbreviation, whether it meets the minimum property requirements of the Federal Housing Administration. Woe betide the builder whose kitchen shelf is 10½ deep instead of 11 inches, or whose closet is 35 inches wide instead of 36. Let us use steel cut nails on the flooring. Let us use steel cut nails, or there will be no insurance; no insurance, no loan; no loan, no house.

The building industry, that citadel of the free-enterprise system, has seen the light; it worships at the shrine of FIIA. And strange to say, the builders who wax indignant at public-housing subsidies are marvelously warm to loan insurance. It is plainly wrong for the taxpayer to pay the tenant's rent, but somehow plainly right for the taxpayer to assume the lender's risk.

What does the risk amount to? The Hoover Commission, in its report of March 14, put total loans, guaranties, commitments, and authorizations of all agencies in the housing field at \$59 billion. Senator Byrd, in a separate study, has placed the figure at \$61 billion. Whatever the accurate figure is, the contingent liability for housing loans alone evidently is now larger than the entire national debt of just 12 years ago.

tional debt of just 12 years ago.

No one assumes, of course, that all of these loans will suddenly go bad. Although the number of foreclosures is increasing, the number of foreclosures is still exceedingly small. Yet contingently and potentially, ownership of the vast bulk of housing erected in the past 10 years lies in the hands of the Federal Government.

They are far off, those hands, but they are busy hands. They are writing manuals, prescribing specifications, dispatching emissaries, issuing regulations. They are conducting research, they are testing materials, they are defining standards. They are bindand loosing controlling and directing. And many a responsible builder and banker and real-estate man, aware of this pervading influence from on high, admits an occasional uneasiness toward it all. It is faintly humiliating, somehow, for a good craftsman to submit his blueprints to officialdom; it is a bit enfeebling, in a sense, for a prudent lender to qualify his pledge of financial support on approval of Federal loan insurance. The homeowner, ready to sell his property, feels a sense of helplessness when he finds that the responsibility for fixing his price has been taken effectively out of his hands: No GI loan can be insured on property sold at a price higher than the GI appraisal, and the word of the appraiser is decisive.

To be sure, there is present, demonstable good to be found in the housing program. Many families move out of the slums and into a public-housing project, find there a measure of fresh dignity and hope, and then move out of the project as family income increases. In the field of loan insurance, it is doubtless true that Government support has stabilized the money market and opened new and profitable opportunities for builders and lenders. Many a young veteran, buying his house like rent, will make a go of the venture and find a source of pride, an inspiration to personal industry, in the sense of homeownership.

But goods and benefits must be weighed in terms of the price one pays, and the price is to be reckoned in much more than dollar subsidies and Government salaries. We pay for the housing program in terms of responsibilities surrendered and authorities granted; we pay in the extension of Government into the housing business, which is no business of Government; we pay in the abuses of privilege and the corruptions of power; we pay in a fantastic bubble of 40-year loans on small equity or no equity at all; and we pay, almost unknowingly, in the diminishing of those qualities of thrift and personal sacrifice and hard achievement that once

made the purchase of a home a thrilling and prideful milestone for the family.

The loss is not a loss of money. It is a loss

The loss is not a loss of money. It is a loss calculated in the vitality and integrity of the enterprise system. When the notion takes root that whole groups of citizens have a right to be subsidized in their rent by their brethren, something happens to old standards of family incentive and personal initiative. When builders and bankers alike surrender their responsibilities so that remote taxpayers may hold the risk, there is a weakening of the fiber, a little tarnishing of the spirit.

And when the presence of Government pervades the whole structure, counting the lightbulbs and measuring the shingles, we let down the moat, we open the castle. This was the house of our fathers. Soberly, one raises the question: What have we made of it now?

Indian Winter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, Harold E. Fey, executive editor of the Christian Century, has been making a personal survey of the Indian reservations in the West.

His first article is an interesting report of an objective observer and merits the thoughtful consideration of all Members concerned with legislation affecting the American Indians:

INDIAN WINTER

(First of a series of eyewitness articles on the present situation of the American Indians)

(By Harold E. Fey)

During the past frigid month I have circled the western two-thirds of the United States, visiting the major areas of Indian life and talking with Indians and whites about what the future holds for the 400,000 descendants of the original Americans. Almost without exception, I found Indian leaders full of foreboding. The present attitude of the American people, including that of the people who seek to do the Indians good, worries them. They have long memories. They recall other periods like this one and remember what happened then. The actions of recent Congresses fill them with alarm, When Glenn L. Emmons, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, visited the Northwest on January 21, 1955, the official representatives of the numerous Indian tribes in that area presented him with a Written statement. One sentence reads: Indian affairs are in a crisis more acute than any that has faced the Indians at any time."

When it is recalled that this was said by representatives of a people which less than a century ago seemed to be headed for extinction, its gravity is apparent. If not all Indians would attach such urgency to their appraisal of the immediate situation, it is because pressures affecting all Indians have reached their greatest intensity in the re-Source-rich Northwest. But even in the Southwest, Indian leaders with whom I talked were aware that they will not be spared for very long, and realize that they must make common cause or be overwhelmed. And near the Canadian border a tribal chairman said Indians are preparing to fight with all their might against present trends in Washington, trends which reflect the attitudes of average Americans in all parts of the country. He said that until recently his people believed they would do better just to throw themselves on the mercy of the Government. The results convinced them that the Government has no mercy, that slambang tactics are the right ones even though white men tell them this approach is bad.

HUMAN RELATIONS ARE PRIMARY

It is right that the American people, whose turn toward walking humbly with God has been the subject of so much recent comment, should also do justily and love mercy. Justice and mercy should be exercised in relation to their Indian minority as well as in other relations. No question of human relations involves our spiritual integrity more deeply than this one. At no point does the relation between the "white" and "colored" races more clear pose the issue of social justice. In no situation on this continent could an awakened conscience do so much good, and do it so quickly. The means to correct ancient and recurring wrongs are at hand. It is possible for us to make our actions more nearly consistent with our Christian professions. All we lack is knowledge of a situation that exists here in our own country right under our noses, humility to confess our sins, and the will to repent of them.

It is expedient as well as right that we should move now for justice and help for American Indians. Nearly every day some refugee from Europe or Asia assures us that the United States is the hope of the oppressed people of the world. We could dismiss these statements as self-serving rhetoric except for evidence that these widespread hopes govern the policies of a good share of the governments of the world. Faith and hope in America is a political fact of inescapable significance. Whether we like it or not, whether we are prepared for it or not, history has laid this faith and hope on our shoulders. Our burden of responsibility compels us to ask ourselves: Are we as just, compassionate, careful and wise as should be to bear this burden with fidelity? The answer to that question depends on the answer to another: Have we achieved at home what we are asked to do abroad?

ONE POLICY NOT TRIED

Honesty requires us to admit that we have largely bungled our relations with the original inhabitants of this continent and their descendants. In more than three centuries of association with this race, we have tried nearly everything. Some of the early European invaders tried enslavement, and that failed. Others tried to divide and rule, and that did not accomplish the desired results. From time to time there have been local attempts at extermination. These did not succeed, although they came closer than we like to think. Then many people, including some missionaries, tried to make the Indian over in our own image, without conspicuous or lasting success. The policy fol-lowed by our Government with most per-The policy folsistence has been to isolate the Indian, first in underdeveloped parts of the country, and then on reservations. But that has not worked either.

Since the beginning of this century our Government has spent more than a billion dollars to improve the economic condition of this minority. But the simple materialistic faith that filling stomachs solves all other problems, which seems to underlie our policy toward underdeveloped countries threatened with communism, has not solved the problem of our relations with the Indians. The only policy we have not tried consistently, determinedly and on a large scale is the policy of study of the Indian heritage, respect for the Indian as an individual and for his social groupings as essential to his way of life, and persistent,

long-term cooperation on the basis of full Indian understanding and consent toward the realization of a good life for both races in the continental home we occupy together.

Perhaps one reason we shy away from the discipline of understanding Indian attitudes today is that we fear to see ourselves as others see us. We should confront that necessity, in the present situation of the United States in world affairs, and recognize that it applies at home as well as abroad. We should examine the assumptions Indians have concerning American Indian affairs. Such an inquiry will help us do our part to improve relations with the Indians by establishing them on a basis of consent and mutuality. It will also help us understand something of the assumptions which dominate the thinking of people in India, Indonesia, Latin America, and many other places whose destiny is linked with our own, It may even help us understand ourselves

In February 1954 the editors of the American Anthropologist worked up a list of the basic assumptions underlying our national approach to what is sometimes inaccurately referred to as the "Indian problem." problem is at least two-sided, but we will not discuss that now.) These assumptions were circulated among more than a score of scholars and administrators, who made their comments and corrections. The corrected version was then discussed in a conference held at the University of Chicago on February 24, 1954, and the results appeared in the June issue of the American Anthropologist. Part of the record is a tentative list of Indian assumptions concerning American-Indian affairs. Ruth Hill Useem, who presented these to the conference, did not venture to assert that these assumptions were held by all Indians, but based her statement on what she knows of the Sioux. However, I found them echoed many times among the dozen tribes I visited in a swing from Santa Fe to Tacoma to Bismarck.

WHY DO THEY FEAR?

Mrs. Useem started by observing that "most Indian assumptions are negative, unenthusiastic and fearful-the outlook of a heaten people." Nevertheless the first Indian assumption reveals a certain thoughness. It is that "the Indian in the foreseeable future will remain a series of separate and identifiable groups, despite the fact that some individuals are absorbed into the dominant population." This contrasts sharply with the assumption which the conference found to underlie white American thinking and Government policy: That "assimilation of the American Indian into the normal stream of American life is inevitable," that "Indian tribes and communities will disappear." This fundamental contradiction helps to explain centuries of failure and fustration in Indian-non-Indian relations.

Here the anthropologists side with the Indians. They point out that while there is continuing adaptation of Indian groups to the non-Indian society around them, "forced or coercive assimilation is self-defeating in practice, tending to antagonize and drive underground in the Indian groups those leaders who might develop constructive and . . noncooperative attitudes toward * Indian society." They believe Indian communities will continue to maintain themselves as cultural islands, of which many already exist in the stream of American society. And plain Americans who are not anthropologists may well ask themselves: Why not? What is so wrong with self-determination that we cannot tolerate the thought that anybody should be different from ourselves, who differ so much from each other?

The second Indian assumption is that "over the years, the Indian can expect no consistency in policies concerning him. No

matter what the policy is today, tomorrow it will be different, even opposite." History sustains this dour opinion. Following the American Revolution, Indians were driven over the Alleghenies and told they might live and hunt there freely. Then President Andrew Jackson headed the movement which pursued them across the Mississippi, where they were told they might roam undisturbed. Then gold was discovered in the Far West, and the reservation system was started so that Indians would not endanger the wagon trains bound for California or Oregon. Next the Government, without consulting its wards, decided to make farmers and stockmen out of them. Beginning in the eighties, it allotted reservation land for individual holdings,

The result was that land in Indian hands shrank from 130 million to 52 million acres in less than 50 years, and Indian population reached the lowest point since long before Columbus. In 1934 the Government reversed itself again and passed the Indian Reorganization Act, which stopped sales of Indian land to non-Indians. Conditions improved for the Indians, although they were still the most disadvantaged group in American life. Then last year came another turn. Congress announced that the policy of the United States was to terminate the responsibilities the Federal Government had assumed in a long series of treaties and agreements written to endure "so long as the grass shall grow and the waters run."

A third Indian assumption is that "the

interests of the dominant society will take precedence over the interests of the Indians in any policy decision; Indian interests will be considered only when they coincide [with] or do not contradict white interests." The assumptions of white people are that the Government coddles the Indians, that they receive more consideration than they deserve. But what can we reply to the Three Affiliated Tribes of North Dakota when they ask us to witness what happened to their reservation lands when the white people of that State and of the Missouri valley decided to build Garrison Dam? As usual, the Indians were not consulted by the Congress which in 1944 authorized construction of the dam. Today their reservation is cut into five segments, with all the best land gone and their former homes, schools, and churches inundated. Or what shall we say to the Pimas and Papagos of Arizona, whose irrigation water-assured by solemn agreements supported by acts of Congress, which built dams and impounded water on which Indians held prior claim-is being taken by white farmers? Or to the Klamaths of Oregon or the Menominees of Wisconsin, whose valuable timber resources are in jeopardy?

NOT SO HELPLESS

The fourth Indian assumption is that "the Indian can do little to affect decisions concerning" his own rights, and that "non-Indians who are most sympathetic to Indian interests are individuals who have little power either to make or to influence decisions." These sympathetic but ineffective people conspicuously include churchmen and university people. But two factors contradict this gloomy prognosis. All over the country there is a wholesome beginning of organization by Indians to do just what most Indians assume cannot be done-to affect decisions concerning Indian rights. today the organizations of people friendly to the Indian have come closer to agreeing on what to do in his defense than ever in the past. These friendly forces include the leadership of Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, which do have considerable power to influence decisions if they choose to exert it.

There can be no doubt that the fifth Indian assumption is correct: "That whatever the policy enacted, the Indians will be told that such policy is in his best interests, or is for his own good." The sixth is much more important: "That the turning over of Indian affairs to the States is inevitable." There are many signs that this is coming, In the beautiful council house at Window Rock, Ariz., I heard an agricultural-extension agent tell the 73 men and 1 woman on the Navaho tribal council what he thought this was giong to mean to the 75,000 people in this largest of the Indian tribes in the United States. Faces were tense as he spoke, and prolonged discussion ensued when he had finished. Some spoke in Navaho and others in English, but each language was translated into the other. There was general agreement that there was no way to stop the development and that certain things, which were also laid down by Mrs. Useem, would follow:

"(a) That a State administration is more likely to be hostile to Indians than is the Federal administration. There is more patterned hostility toward Indians locally. (b) That State administrations will be less able to render health and welfare services (e. g., hospital care, relief, rehabilitation). Local State governments have fewer resources to run these programs than have the Federal agencies. (c) The State administrations will be run by persons with whom the Indians are in direct competition for land, tax dollars, services, etc., and therefore, even though they may understand the Indian more, they will be less likely to take Indian interests into account."

A SACRED TRUST

Two other Indian assumptions remain. One is that the stated goals of a policy may be and usually are quite different from the consequences of a policy, and that the goals are usually more favorable to Indians than the consequences. It is possible that this assumption applies to all human purposes, but the Indian finds difficulty in detecting the principle of universality in his particular situation, which makes him especially sensitive to hypocrisy. Finally, he assumes that some type of governmental agency should and will be responsible for Indian affairs, no matter what is said. He knows that Senator MALONE, of Nevada, will continue every year to introduce his perennial bill to abolish the Indian Bureau, but he expects the Bureau to survive in some form. He will continue to berate the Indian Bureau for its failures to come up to his hopes. But in spite of innumerable betrayals, he cannot believe that the people of the United States will finally and irrevocably violate what he regards as a sacred and perpetual trust.

These assumptions help explain negative, unenthusiastic, fearful mood of our Indian fellow citizens today. It remains to ask to what extent they are justified. interesting light was cast on this question by a farmer from Washington State-a fellow passenger on a bus northward bound in California. At a luncheon stop I learned that he had been basking in the sun at Phoenix, but had not seen a large cotton farm run by Indians in that vicinity. He was skeptical about my report concerning the success of the farm, which is managed and operated entirely by Indians. "I haven't heard of an Indian working since I was a boy," he said. "They're no good. was young two Indians came and helped us shear sheep and butcher, but they weren't spoiled as they all are today. Now the more you do for them the less they do for themselves. I hear the Government has given the Yakimas \$15 million because the Dalles Dam will spoil their fishing rights on the Columbia River. It doesn't make sense. They have the best land in Washington and don't have to pay taxes on it. They just lease it to white farmers and live in idleness. Imagine grown men dressing up in feathers and dancing. Now I'm told they are trying to claim the fishing rights on the whole Yakima River just because the lower river flows through their reservation. What brass. Some Congressman has put in a bill that would make them all leave their reservations and go out and work like other people. It would be a good thing if it passed. We are certainly not getting anywhere the way we are going."

It is not difficult to see the relation between this farmer's mood and the apprehensions of Indians in the United States today. For it happens that the views held by this farmer, with their explosive mixture of truth and error, are politically powerful in Washington and Olympia and other capitals. If they prevail and become the basis of public policy, they will only compound centuries of tragedy and frustration. To keep that from happening and to open the way for a new and mutually rewarding day in the relations between Indians and non-Indians, we must seek a deeper insight. The next article will look into Indian experience with Anglo-Saxon law and customs.

Resolutions of the Free Sons of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include

leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith two resolutions passed by the Free Sons of Israel at their recent conference held in New York: Whereas one line of American policy has

depended upon the erroneous assumption that West Germany could be made into becoming a dependable ally of the free world against totalitarianism; and

Whereas it appears from the growth and resurgence of nazism within Germany that she is not effectively interested in adopting an American form of political democracy; and

Whereas in spite of enormous financial and other inducements, there is a great lack of unanimity in Germany of support for any form of political or military alliance with countries of the Western World: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this conference urges upon the Government and the people of the United States, and all right-thinking people of the organizations with which they may be connected, that the Government of this country ought to engage in an immediate reappraisal of any and all policies concerning our relationship with Germany and any and all policies dependent upon any anticipated military or political support from Germany in situations involving conflict between the interests of the free world and the totalitarian governments.

Whereas investigations conducted by an official committee of the United States Senate 4 years ago disclosed that an enormous illicit trade had developed between West Germany and the Iron Curtain areas, in spite of Allied regulations to the contrary:

Whereas current trade statistics show that West Germany has become a major exporter of manufactured articles to countries in the Soviet area of control: Be it

Resolved, That the United States of America immediately exert its authority to forbid the continuation of such trade between West Germany and countries in the Soviet area. H. R. 4644

SPEECH

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. DINGELL, Mr. Speaker, the inadequacy of the bill, H. R. 4644, providing for pay increases relating to postal employees according to my appraisal is insufficient in its provisions. I cannot support this bill, which is said to be the committee's best composite effort, because I am committed to a straight across the board increase of 10 percent. I was, I believe, the first Member of the House to introduce a bill providing for a straight 10-percent acrossthe-board increase, and I do not like this 616 or 716 percent. I thought that this time the committee and the House would go "whole hog" and for once try to come abreast of the pay problem and that it would be done without quibbling or procrastination. Unfortunately, the majority of the committee did not see their way clear to do this.

Many of the committee members felt they must go along with the Eisenhower proposal of 5 percent or a little bit above that figure; others on the committee were browbeaten by the administration to go along with the program under threat of a Presidential veto. As a party man I would not permit the chiefs in my party ever to dictate to me in this instance or in any other. They never have

and they never will.

I have no fear about a Presidential veto either. In the first place, I do not think the President will have the courage to attempt to veto this early in the session. I did not think it was smart or courageous when the President waited until Congress went home in the 83d session before he vetoed the previous pay raise. Not having that advantage in this session he will not take the risk of a veto, but even if he should I would be the first one to vote to override it. because the demands of the postal employees and of the Federal employees generally for a 10-percent increase is not. according to my mind, too much, but I would rather have it too much than too little. I joined with my good friends. Senators NEELY and Johnston, and introduced an identical bill in the House, H. R. 2117, for the purpose of eliminating differences and controversy between the two Houses, and thus expediting the earliest possible pay increase law.

As a matter of principle I cannot vote for this bill. I do not believe the House will sustain the passage of the bill under suspension of rules, nor do I believe that the distinguished chairman of the committee should have made such an attempt, because it is obnoxious and offensive for the reason that it bars amendments and does not allow a sufficiency of debate. So on the double score of niggardliness and because the average Member is being denied the privilege of expressing an opinion or offering an amendment for a higher rate of pay,

I repeat, Mr. Speaker, I shall vote against the bill. Should the bill be defeated, there will be an opportunity to vote on the Senate bill which provides a retroactive clause at a higher rate of pay, and is in every respect more generous and desirable. If worse comes to worst, any attempt to bottle up the bill to give the President another chance at postadjournment veto can, and I am sure will be circumvented by the initiation of a petition which will blast my companion bill to the Senate Johnston-Neely bill out of committee. That is, of course, a last resort, and I would prefer not to undertake it, but there may be no choice nor any other alternative.

At any rate, I am voting against the Murray bill, H. R. 4644, and am urging my colleagues to do likewise.

Federal Aid for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the bogy of undue Federal control over education if Federal aid for school construction is given is discussed by John K. Norton in the NEA Journal for March 1955. Dr. Norton is head of the department of educational administration, Teachers College, Columbia. He effectively dispels any fears of infringement on traditional American educational policy by the enactment of legislation for Federal aid for school construction.

The complete article follows:

FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

(By John K. Norton)

Probably the most frequently voiced objection to Federal aid to public education today is that American education is by tradition strictly a State-local function with which the Federal Government should not be concerned.

Is this objection valid? History gives us the answer.

In the ordinance of 1785, 2 years before the Constitution was drafted, the Continental Congress reserved lot No. 16 of every township in the Northwest Territory for the maintenance of public schools. The same action was soon extended to the Southwest.

The ordinance of 1787 set up a clear policy of Federal aid for education, a policy which was subsequently followed by the Federal Government.

The Federal aid provided in the early period of our history was no mean amount. The 175 million acres set aside for school support was the greatest grant for the development of education in all history.

It is a historical fact that the Federal Government played a substantial role in the establishment of our State school systems and in providing for their support.

This decisive action of the national Government in promoting public education was consistent with the viewpoint of our Founding Fathers.

Washington advocated the establishment of a national university. Franklin, Adams, Madison, Jefferson, and many others emphasized the necessity of popular education as a foundation for a free society.

Since 1785 no less than 50 major bills concerning education have been enacted by Congress.

In 1862 Abraham Lincoln signed a bill providing for the establishment of a college of agricultural and mechanical arts in every State. This action, along with the supplementary acts of 1887 and 1914 providing for the experiment stations and the extension service, brought into being a remarkable program of collegiate and adult education. Federal legislation established this program, and Federal aid ever since 1862 has provided for its partial support.

In 1917, Woodrow Wilson signed a bill providing for the establishment and continuing support of a program of vocational education at the secondary level in all States.

Fifty-six major educational activities are now financed by the Federal Government at an annual cost of more than a billion dol-

Federal interest in education and Federal aid for its promotion are definitely a part of the American tradition. Those who oppose Federal aid for school-building construction on the basis that education is solely a State-local matter are disregarding historical fact.

A second reason given by some people for opposing Federal aid for school buildings is that the need is not great enough to justify Federal assistance.

And yet to correct present housing conditions in the public schools within a 5-year period would require over \$5 billion a year. In an 8-year effort, close to \$4 billion annual expenditure would be necessary.

Unless decisive action is taken, the classroom shortage will become more acute on the basis of children already born but not yet of school age. The annual enrollment increase will be well over a million a year in the immediate future, and—unless the stork gets wing weary—will continue to rise in the more remote future.

There are children now graduating from the eighth grade who have never attended school except on a part-time basis. More than a million and a half children are attending school in rented churches and garages and other makeshift quarters. Many are crowded into basement rooms, hallways, and obsolete firetraps.

Some people insist that the States can meet the need for school construction solely on their own resources. They say that the United States is merely a summation of the 48 States.

To these people we should say that there is a vast difference between action by each of the 48 States individually and Federal action. For example, industries and other taxpaying entities seeking to dodge their just share of the cost of schools and other public enterprises are able to move from one State to another, bribed by the prospect of a tax-free status. Such maneuvers are not possible when the Federal Government is concerned.

But, say opponents of Federal school aid, the way to meet the need is to slash Federal expenses and thereby make revenue available to States and localities.

This is a disarming argument, but the facts are that in spite of much fanfare about reducing Federal taxation, the cuts made thus far have been relatively small, and estimates indicate that in 1956 the Federal Government expects to collect more revenue than in 1955. Nor is there much promise of substantial future cuts, considering the world situation.

A variety of proposals for action in the States is being made by those who at any price would deny Federal assistance to education.

We are told that the local property tax should be reformed. This is true. But to-day the local property tax—which falls primarily on homeowners with modest in-

come—is raising more than half of the total public-school bill. Would the opponents of Pederal aid burden these taxpayers further?

Then, we are told that more State aid should be raised for education. This is true for some States. However, for the country as a whole, there has been a substantial increase both in the amount and proportion of State aid for education. In 1920, 14 percent of public-school funds came from the States. In 1954-55, the figure is 38 percent. Would that the Federal Government had been similarly responsive to school needs.

The States differ substantially in ability to finance education. Sole reliance on State fiscal capacity promises in the future, as in the past, to result in shocking inequalities of educational opportunity among the States.

We are also told that the States should

We are also told that the States should reorganize their local school districts. This is still true of some States. No State, however, has reduced expenditures by consolidating school districts.

There are two other points that are likely to be raised by those who place money high and children low in their scale of values.

The first is: Why do anything to increase Federal taxes—why not reduce them instead? We can and should afford public expenditures which are clearly essential to the progress and security of the United States. If these can be assured on a reduced tax bill, that will be fine. But if essential services such as education require increased funds, it would be folly not to provide them.

Another objection raised by the opponents of adequate school support is that we are too poor—our economy cannot afford the cost. This objection is perhaps the most unsound of all.

Gross national production exceeds \$355 billion a year. Disposable personal income, which is what individuals have to spend after personal tax payments, is at an alltime high. Disposable personal income per capita increased 45 percent in purchasing power between 1939 and 1954. Personal savings, approximating 20 billions a year, far exceed those of any other period.

Beardsley Ruml in a recent report of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools estimates on the basis of reasonable assumptions that: "The gross national product in 1965 can hardly be less than \$525 billion."

It is ridiculous to claim that such an economy cannot afford to spend whatever is necessary to house satisfactorily its school children.

Objectors to Federal assistance for school buildings always conjure up the bogeyman of Federal control.

Federal control of education does not result from mysterious forces which creep out of the night. The nature of the educational legislation is the determining factor.

If detailed specifications are contained in educational legislation, if special Federal authorities are created, if Federal agents are given both supervisory authority and discretion to determine how much money each State or locality is to receive, then Federal control of education is foreordained.

But, we have many examples of Federal aid for education which have not resulted in control.

Witness our program of higher education, research, and adult education established by the act of 1862. How many people think of our State land-grant colleges as under Federal control? And yet the Federal Government appropriates about \$50 million a year for the support of these institutions and their related activities.

Federal control has been avoided in this and other examples because the legislation did not specify in detail how the States were to use the funds in developing educational undertakings, and did not set up Federal authorities with general supervisory and discretionary fiscal powers.

As a result, the people in the States took charge and went beyond original conceptions as to the educational programs to be developed and the amount of support to be provided from State and local funds.

This experience seems to justify a basic conclusion: Federal aid properly allocated to education in the States strengthens rather than weakens State-local initiative, and this is the surest safeguard against control at the Federal level. Federal control is most likely to result from Federal fiscal starvation of the schools, which so weakens them that eventually the Federal Government feels obliged to take over.

The fear that supplementary Federal aid for such an essential purpose as school buildings will result in loss of local initiative finds little basis in past experience.

Most of the States now have offices in their State departments of education qualified to provide overall leadership in developing local school-building programs. This provides an additional means of resistance to possible Federal domination.

Furthermore, the area of school building is one of the least open to the dangers of Federal control. Even if some control were exercised in this area it would not lead to the capture of public education by the central Government.

In reviewing past experience, we find the considerations and principles which may well govern future Federal-State relations in education.

It should be a cooperative relationship. The Federal Government should promote and financially aid educational activities which are of fundamental national concern. Legislation to bring this about should be the type which inhibits centralized, bureaucratic control, and which places the expenditure of the supplementary Federal aid in the hands of the legal educational authorities of the States and localities.

The allocations to the various States from the Federal appropriation for assistance to school construction should be determined in the legislative act according to an objective formula; and one which anyone who can do arithmetic can calculate.

By these means we could eliminate the school-building shortage in from 5 to 10 years. This would not solve all the problems of education, but it would be a major and desirable step in this direction.

Utilization of Surplus Property

SPEECH

OF

CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

May I ask the gentleman from Massachusetts a question: This being a bill that he has introduced and that has the approval of the departments, all of them, is it not a fine example of the complete harmony that prevails here between the Democratic leadership and the Republican administration?

Mr. McCORMACK. I think this is a very excellent illustration of harmony.

H. R. 4644

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I was disappointed to again see a postal pay raise voted down by this House. I was firmly of the opinion that H. R. 4644 was the limit to which we could go without inviting a Presidential veto. The employee organizations, led by the national leaders for the clerks and carriers, were, from all indications, extremely active in promoting yesterday's refusal by the House to suspend the rules and pass this 71/2 percent postal pay increase. If a better bill emerges as a result of yesterday's defeat, they will have made the right decision. For the good of more than 300,000 clerks and carriers who sadly need a raise, I hope they did.

I cannot help but compare this situation with the one which existed in the closing days of the 83d Congress. If you will remember, the House refused to suspend the rules and pass a 7-percent increase last year. Some will say that the reason for last year's refusal was because a postal rate bill was tied to the pay measure. I am convinced that the same pressure from employee groups which was evident in the Halls yesterday. and the same hope that a better bill would result out of the defeat, was what caused failure of the 7 percent postal pay bill last year. You will remember the statement made by the present majority leader, Mr. McCormack, that if the 7-percent bill were defeated under suspension of the rules, the House would have another chance to vote on a pay bill. Mr. McCormack's prediction proved true. We did have another chance to vote on a pay bill, but it was not a better bill. If you will remember, instead of giving the employees 7 percent, it called for a much lower figure of 5 percent. It was overwhelmingly passed, and President Eisenhower vetoed it.

Thus, last year, we saw a 7-percent bill defeated for the purpose of waiting for a better one. What happened was that we passed a bill far less favorable to the employees, and this was vetoed. The employee leaders gambled and lost. They are gambling again. Will they win this time? Let us hope history does not repeat itself, because if it does, the leaders of the postal unions made a very unwise choice yesterday.

In order to avoid a repitition of last year's events I therefore urge both sides of this controversy to cast aside politics and personal feelings. I urge them to earnestly consider the question, "What is the highest possible pay raise which can become law?" When the question is answered, there is no reason why we cannot all join together in a bill which will give much needed relief to our postal employees. Personalities and politics must not enter when the welfare of human beings is being considered.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army: Prime Symbol of Freedom in the Russian Communist Empire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, students and observers of developments in the Communist empire have for a long time marveled at the patriotic tenacity and national exploits of the Ukrainian insurgent army in its heroic fight against Russian occupation of Ukraine. For 10 years, without any assistance from the free world, it fought the Communist enemy, both militarily and politically.

Since 1952, because of tremendous odds, it has continued its underground, patriotic struggle politically and through various propaganda channels. Periodic reports on its successes still continue to filter through the Iron Curtain. Not so long ago the British veteran soldier, William Piddington, who spent years in the Russian slave labor camps, attributed the widespread strikes in the Vorkuta camps to the Ukrainian underground movement-United Press release, Berlin, July 9, 1954. That such reports amply show the Ukrainian Insurgent Army to be truly in the vanguard of freedom's struggle behind the Iron Curtain, there can be no doubt.

Being intimately familiar with the imposing record of patriotic, national heroism on the part of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, it was my privilege last year to provide the introduction to the fascinating and informative book entitled "The Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom." This compact and factually packed work has furnished countless Americans with a genuine insight into the liberation struggle of the large Ukrainian nation against the domination of imperialist Moscow.

It is my pleasure now to insert in the Record, under leave to extend my remarks, an address on the subject of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, delivered by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of economics at Georgetown University and president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, before the Society of Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in United States of America, at the Hotel Commodore, New York City:

THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY: PRIME SYMBOL OF FREEDOM IN THE RUSSIAN COM-MUNIST EMPIRE

Anyone who has honestly and objectively reviewed the concrete and tangible evidence provided by the Ukrainian insurgent army in its truly heroic struggle against the tyranny of Moscow-centered communism can arrive at only one conclusion—that the Ukrainian insurgent army is the prime symbol of freedom in the Russian Communism Empire. The imposing record that it has built up in behalf of the forces of freedom behind the Iron Curtain is the object of reepect on the part of many leading Lithuanians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Poles, Slovaks, and Hungarians. It is the object of keen interest on the part of numerous West

European nations and many leading Americans. Above all, it is a shining tribute to the invincible urge and aspiration of the highly important Ukrainian nation to cast off the yoke of Russian Communist rule for genuine self-government, sovereignty, and independence.

Many notable events and developments over the past 12 years lend themselves to much sober reflection and appraisal of our own political behavior as a nation. It is significant that while the forces of the Ukrainian insurgent army were fighting since 1942 both the German Nazis and Russian Communists, the Western democracies, whether out of necessity or no, were incautiously allied with the totalitarian forces of the Soviet Union which, to add vinegar to salt, were widely publicized by some of our governmental agencies as being essentially democratic. The threat of the Red totalitarian menace had not yet struck home. But those whose national homes had been invaded, pillaged, and ravaged well knew that the struggle for freedom would not cease with the defeat of Nazi Germany and the elimination of its brand of totalitarianism. Those, like yourselves, who joined the ranks of the Ukrainian insurgent army to wage battle against both Russian Communist totalitarianism and the Nazi German type were in every sense of the word in the vanguard of the continued struggle for national and individual freedom. The patriotic sons and daughters of Lithuania, White Ruthenia, Poland, Slovakia, and others who aided and collaborated with the Ukrainian insurgent army, who were inspired by its tremendous truth that the Soviet Union is not and cannot be monolithic, are united in this vanguard of freedom.

In full and essential reality, the glorious Ukrainian insurgent army is the manifest historical projection of the continuous struggle of the large Ukrainian Nation for independence. Its spirit is the spirit of the patriot, the spirit of enlightened nationalism, the spirit that every true, patriotic American can easily recognize, sense, and uphold. Its will is one of natural resistance to a dehumanizing force that through skillful technologic means of systematic genocide is unalterably bent upon the destruction of nations, including our own country. The military battles that it fought during and after World War II, even to the point of necessitating the tripartite agreement among Moscow. Warsaw, and Prague to stamp out its military resistance, are feats of human glory that no historian of the contemporary fight for free-dom will be able to ignore. The irresistible force of enlightened nationalism, so brilliantly and heroically crystallized in the unassisted exploits of the Ukrainian insurgent army, cannot be extinguished by the Red empire builders of Moscow. It is the basic force of freedom throughout the world today. It is the natural force that Russian Communist imperialism fears most, and seeks to destroy every form of its evidence, as in the case of the Ukrainian insurgent army. Enlightened nationalism-patriotism for God and country—is the preserver of our own nation. And it should be clearly understood that anyone who deliberately plays down the gallant expressions and evidences of enlightened nationalism in either the free world or in the slave world of the Russian Communist empire deserves to be questioned as to his true loyalty. The freedom of nations is as important as, and oftentimes a prerequisite to, the freedom of persons.

Despite the increasing disclosures of the aboveground and underground operations of the Ukrainian insurgent army in the 1940's, disbelief prevailed in the free world as to its very existence. Much of this was dispelled by the appearance of several of its members in Western Germany in 1947, living proof that under extreme hazards made its way from the depths of the Carpathian for-

ests to convince the skeptical free world of the freedom fight being waged in the very front yard of imperialist Moscow. Still, as you and I know, there were some in this country who continued to disinform the American people as to the existence, no less the performances of the Ukrainian insurgent army. Curiously enough, representing themselves as anti-Communists, they repeated here the denials of Stalin and the Kremlin as to the existence of any such army and its resistance forces in Ukraine and elsewhere. It is this same Russia-first clique in this country, made up of certain Russian emigre writers and politicians, their unwitting American friends, and the most loval followers of Mr. Kennan, that today argues against any utilization of the powerful centrifugal forces, as represented by the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, for the defeat of Russian communism. By their words and deeds, they appear to be Russia first, in its basic territorial empire and its present power, rather than America first, in its proclaimed universal independence of all na-

The perseverance and continued existence of the Ukrainian insurgent army, now an underground in political rather than military warfare, is a thorn in the side of Kennanism and its advocates of the myth of peaceful coexistence. Despite the change in the administration of our Government, this breed is still heavily entrenched in the State Department, and influences greatly the foreign policy of our Nation. It would like to see no policy formulated toward the Soviet Union other than the one of status quo. But so long as resistance continues on the part of the Ukrainian insurgent army and on the part of other non-Russian groups in the Soviet Union, the day cannot be long postponed when such a formulation will become necessary. The opportunity and ca-pacity for resistance, as exemplified by the Ukrainian insurgent army, constitute also the basis of justification for a sound policy of liberation which, sooner or later, must come to pass. It it should come to pass too late, it might well fall short of success.

The expansion of national political undergrounds in the Russian Communist empire is in the crucial interest of our Nation. Aid and assistance for such expansion can only be provided through a policy of liberation interpreted solely as a continuous process of political warfare on the terrain of the Russian Communist empire. Given time—the chief commodity they are seek-ing today with their New Look of peaceful coexistence-the Russian Communists can attain to a superior advantage of position over us, in spite of all of our alliances, in spite of all of our nuclear weapons. Once their empire is consolidated and the sources of national resistance with leadership reduced to a shell, this position will have been formed for aggression with reasonable expectation of success. Present containment facilitates this: the policy of liberation, with its premium on resistance groups, can obstruct this and save nations from destruc-

Lest They Forget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include text of an editorial entitled "Lest They Forget," appearing

in the March 12 issue of the Army Times, relating to a most important spot in Arlington National Cemetery, namely, the Trophy Room. This room is visited by literally thousands of people each year who go to see the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and to visit the graves of

loved ones.

It is hope that this room can and will be maintained in proper order and repair so making it a fitting place to hold the collections of those items which mean so much to our American history.

The editorial follows:

LEST THEY FORGET

The Quartermaster Corps of the Army was more than a mite unhappy this week when it was learned that we had taken a series of pictures of the entranceway trophy room at Arlington National Cemetery. We were even more unhappy when we got a look at the pictures.

A spokesman for the Quartermaster Corps told us that the Army had been working for 2 years on the problem of submitting to Congress a proper request for enough money to repair the long-neglected damage. The request—in the amount of \$179,000—appears for the first time in the 1955 budget approved in January by President Eisenhower's Budget Bureau but not yet acted upon by the Congress.

Somewhat in conflict with the Army's 2 years of work to get an appropriation request before Congress, Representative Peter Roding, Democrat, of New Jersey, has charged that maintenance of the building "has been neglected for 7 years."

We know from long experience the difficulty sometimes encountered by Government agencies in their attempts to get repair items approved by the House Appropriations Committee. But we know also that the Army easily could have made satisfactory temporary surface repairs to replace the broken plaster and peeled paint so that the appearance of neglect and unconcern for our No. 1 national war memorial would not appear so obvious.

Relatively speaking, the distressing neglect of the trophy room at the near-sacred memorial, might appear to some as a minor matter. But to us, it is one more example of the official who cares? attitude toward the memory and problems of those who served with our Armed Forces.

We don't know who is to blame and we aren't going to point a finger at anyone. When the Department of the Army is partly responsible for fighting a hot war or streamlining itself to be at the ready throughout a long cold war, a paint and plaster job in a memorial trophy room undoubtedly rates no priority. But we've seen too many non-priority jobs of less merit done simply as a matter of convenience.

This newspaper has been receiving complaints about the slum-like appearance of the trophy room. We never ignore that type of complaint, but we confess that we didn't believe the appearance of the Arlington Cemetery room could be as bad as it was "painted." Then we saw the actual photos taken by our own cameraman.

Newspaper photographers notoriously are pretty thick-skinned guys (they have to be), but even our Sam Morris was shocked by what he saw and pictured.

The story and pictures about the trophy room—which is a full-page feature on our back page this week—is published not to needle the Army for its neglect, but in the hopes the pictures will be helpful in getting Congress to appropriate without a lot of fuss the funds necessary to make permanent repairs.

We hope it works out that way.

Children in Trouble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an excellent radio address on the subject of juvenile delinquency delivered by Charles Eliot Sands, assistant chief probation officer of the Boston juvenile court, delivered over radio station WVOM on February 4, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RADIO ADDRESS BY CHARLES ELIOT SANDS, FEB-RUARY 4, 1955; MORGAN MEMORIAL CHURCH OF ALL NATIONS, OVER STATION WVOM, 1600

As a probation officer for some years at the Boston Juvenile Court. I have observed quite a large number of so-called bad boys and their families, over a considerable period. These boys have been individuals, and some of them individualists, no two alike in mental ability, physical power, family upbringing, emotional adjustment, or experiences. However, if we leave out of consideration the children who get into trouble only once, or perhaps twice, and consider only the delinquents who more or less continuously break the law, we find that this group has certain characteristics which I should like to discuss briefly.

The most commonly observed trail and one which I believe to be basic, is that they are unhappy. A fair number have really good mental ability, but they are not really good at anything-in school, in athletics or competitive games, in craftsmanship or in art. In most forms of activity they tend to be mediocre to poor. Physical and mental deficiencies in some cases contribute to this, but not in general. A second contributing cause to this feeling of unhappiness may be the sense of insecurity resulting from cordant and irregular family life. Children need from their families essentially regular attention-warm affection and encouragement, and kindly but firm control and discipline. Children are not mature enough to be permitted to go their own ways; they must be guided and supervised. The parent who neglects his family for the bottle is no worse than the parent who from pressure of affairs or business has so little time to spend with the family, that the children grow up without necessary parental attention. Neglected children are unhapply children whatever may be the cause of the neglect. A third factor sometimes contributing to the delinquents' unhappy state, is the development within him of a feeling of hostility, merited or unmerited, against some member of his family or less unusually, an outsider, a teacher, a policeman, or perhaps a probation officer. The working out of this resentment may take the form of delinquent acts of all sorts, and against people completely different from the original object of the resentment.

The conclusion is forced upon me that a large number of the boys and girls whom we see, misbehave for reasons of prestige or getting attention. They want to be considered as amounting to something by somebody. They don't want to be ignored. They greedily snatch the newspapers to read accounts of their crimes, even though names of juveniles are not printed. One of my most pathetic—and aggravating probationers,

only recently is alleged to have remarked when he saw the account of the shooting of the filling station owner north of Boston-"I'll make the headlines yet." It is this desire to be noticed-for standing in the group to which they belong, which is their own undoing. There would be no point in "pulling a job" as they say, unless they told others about it—and that is usually what brings about their arrest. Policemen presenting complaints against children in court frequently begin their statements with: "As a result of a conversation," and continue perhaps, "I went to the home of the defendant who was in bed, but got up and showed me where he had hidden the articles he had stolen from so and so." In very few cases is the culprit able to refrain from bragging about his job; and prosecutions con-tinue to be begun "as a result of a conversation." Among other characteristics frequently met within our delinquent population is an apathetic attitude, a lack of thought for the future, a sense of futility and discouragement, with regard to work involving sustained effort and interest, largely the result of irreglar upbringing and lack of parental attention. The necessity of military service has been used by many of these boys as an excuse for not seriously attempting to find a steady employment. Many of them have actually found themselves in the service and acquire the maturity they lacked-in the regular life-duty and opportunity for recognition afforded by the Armed Forces.

Some of the boys are influenced by hero worship. It is not uncommon for one boy to state that if his friend is to be "sent away," he should go too. Recently a bright youngster whom I knew, though he was not on probation, came to the office where my probationers report each week, to inquire about his friend who, already on probation, had got into more serious trouble. He wanted to be committed if his friend was, and to prove his right to be committed recited a list of three breaks in which he had taken part, though no complaints had been made to the police. I subsequently verified that he had been telling the truth.

For those of us who are parents, there is much to be learned from observation of children such as these. First we learn the necessity of spending time with our children, of recognizing their actions by appropriate praise and reprimand as the case may be, of checking on their whereabouts-and their companions, but principally finding the time to be with them. It is important to set and maintain standards of honesty, truthfulness, duty, and consideration for others, to inculcate reverence for the spiritual values and truth which religion has passed on down through the ages. Such a task is difficult enough for both parents working in harmony to accomplish. When one of the parents is missing, or unable or unwilling to perform his duty, the burden on the other is greatly increased. I have the greatest admiration for the valiant efforts being made by those mothers who are handicapped by the loss of the husbands, to bring up their children to be God fearing and law abiding They de-serve every help, and our social agencies, Department for the Aid to Dependent Children, the Big Brother and Big Sister organizations. Guidance Centers, the Family Society, Morgan Memorial Goodwill Inn, and many others do a great deal to lighten their load.

In the last analysis courts such as the one I serve, and criminal courts in general, are a measure of our own inadequacy in the bringing up of our children. Courts or similar institutions we shall always have with us, but I find it somewhat shocking to contemplate that general observance of the Golden Rule would render all criminal courts obsolete.

Props Change Emphasis on Kansas Wheat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT D. HARRISON

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. HARRISON of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Chicago Tribune of February 28, 1955:

PROPS CHANGE EMPHASIS ON KANSAS WHEAT-QUANTITY SOUGHT, NOT QUALITY

(By Russell Freeburg)

A change has occurred in the last decade in the varieties of wheat covering the plains of Kansas, the leading wheat producer in the country. Grainmen point to the shift as a prime example of the bad habits encouraged by the Government's price support program for farm commodities.

Kansas wheat production from 1944 through the 1954 harvest each year was based less on quality and more on bigger yields and earlier maturity, Charles Pence, vice president of the Kansas Wheat Improvement Association, said in an interview in Chicago.

NO DEMAND FOR QUALITY

The Government loan program makes no distinction as to quality of wheat. Anything goes if the wheat meets normal grading standards such as cleanliness and moisture content.

Pence said as a result, the production of medium gluten wheat in the State rose from 15.6 percent in 1944 to 70.2 percent last year, while output of strong gluten wheat in the same period feil to 16.7 percent from 52.2.

Gluten is the sticky, tenacious substance which gives adhesiveness to dough. Medium

and strong gluten wheats both can be used for bread, wheat's best customer, but the top heavy medium production has caused a shortage of the high quality which wheat bakers prefer and which makes better bread. Also, some producers have concentrated on growing undesirable baking varieties strictly for the loan program, said Pence.

These varieties are cheap to grow.

OFFER TWO EXAMPLES

He gave two counties in the western part of the State, a region long known for premium wheat, as examples.

In Finney County, located in what is considered the heart of the State's premium wheat belt, 49 percent of the wheat the 1954 harvest was of the undesirable varieties, Pence said. In Meade County 58 percent of the 1954 planting was of the unde-Birable varieties.

The large increase in production of the medium varieties was attributed by Pence to the bigger yields, increased test weights, and earlier maturity they provide. The earlier maturity is advantageous in the annual scramble for storage space, now limited because of the surplus.

EASTERN WHEAT RISE

Pence said there has been an upswing of wheat acreage in eastern Kansas, where feed grains such as corn formerly were raised. The farmers there make more money raising Wheat for the Government than in raising feed grains, he said.

The wheat grown in eastern Kansas doesn't make baker's flour, but family flour for which

there is little demand, said Pence.

Despite about 500 million bushels of wheat in storage in Kansas, millers in the State have been importing the bread grain from Nebraska and Wyoming, where producers have concentrated more on quality.

Because of the shortage of high quality wheat, the higher prices it has been bringing, and an educational program, Pence thought the harvest in many areas of Kansas this year would show an increase in high quality milling wheat.

Resolution in Commemoration of Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the text of a resolution passed by 1,000 Americans of Lithuanian descent on Sunday, February 13, who were gathered at Webster Hall in New York City, to commemorate the 37th anniversary of Lithuania's independence:

We, Lithuanian Americans, citizens of the city of New York, gathered together upon the occasion of the observance of the 37th anniversary of the declaration of independence by the people of Lithuania, at a commemoration sponsored by the Lithuanian American Council of Greater New York, at Webster Hall, in said city on the 13th day February 1955, duly noting that Lithuania had proclaimed her independence on February 16, 1918, after 120 years of unceasing struggle against foreign domination, which had brought to Lithuania a most brutal enslavement and the prohibition of the Lithuanian language press in violation of the most sacred rights of the Lithuanian people as human beings and as a sovereign nation. Lithuania had played a long and honorable part in the destinies of Europe and had been traditionally blessed with internal liberty and tolerance of religious and political beliefs.

Noting that the same ruthless tyrant returned in 1940 to forcibly enslave Lithuania again, do now and here declare the occupation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union as unlawful, as are the continuing deportations under the guise of volunteer work to unknown and remote regions of the Soviet Union; and

Taking into consideration the Soviet propaganda line of peaceful coexistence and noninterference in internal affairs of sovereign nations, obviously aimed at perpetuating the Communist satellite regimes over the enslaved peoples of Lithuania and other similarly situated nations of Europe and Asia, we do here and now respectfully request the Government of the United States of America to demand in international conferences, to which the Soviet Union be a

1. That the Soviet Union live up to its international commitments heretofore solemnized in international treaties of peace and nonaggression concluded between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Lithuania, as well as other states of central and eastern Europe, and the Soviet obligations, as signatory of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Charter;

2. That the Soviet occupation troops and Soviet administrative personnel be with-drawn from Lithuania and other similarly situated countries:

3. That the Soviet Union return to their homes from the Arctic tundras and Siberian exile, the nationals of those countries;

4. That unless the Soviet Union complies with such demands, that it be declared an ag-

gressor, and be so branded, so long as the Soviet armed forces and Soviet Communist Party officials remain in occupation of those countries; and we do further respectfully request

5. That a new committee to investigate the facts, circumstances, and techniques of Communist aggression be appointed by the 84th Congress in order to continue and complete the work already commenced during the last Congress by the special House committee to investigate the forced seizure of the Baltic States by the Soviets, later called the Select House Committee on Communist Aggression; and we do further respectfully request

6. That the Genocide Convention be immediately ratified by the Senate of the United States, so that Soviet Russia may be declared criminally responsible for the Genocide perpetrated by it in the Baltic States and other countries behind the Iron Curtain; and we do further respectfully request

7. That the Government of the United States do not fall under the illusion of socalled peaceful coexistence, for the Soviet Russian meaning attached to said phrase means consent and a resignation to the enslaved control by the Soviet Union of hundreds of millions of people behind the Iron Curtain and as Abraham Lincoln expressed it so aptly nearly 100 years ago: "America could not endure permanently half slave and half free," and so, too, today the world at large cannot be half slave and half free.

P. J. MONTVILA,
Chairman. STANLEY J. GUXLAS, Secretary.

Termination Bill Should Be Revised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, in the 83d Congress a concurrent resolution was adopted (H. Con. Res. 108) declaring it to be the sense of Congress that certain Indian tribes be freed from Federal supervision and control and from all disabilities and limitations specially applicable to Indians.

Among the Indian tribes designated for termination were the Klamath Tribe of Oregon and the Flathead Tribe of Montana. The so-called termination bill passed for the Klamaths. Recently the Portland (Oreg.) Oregonian published an editorial calling for revision of the Klamath bill. The Glacier Re-porter at Browning, Mont., called attention to this editorial and noted its application to the Montana Indians. The comment of the Glacier Reporter and the editorial from the Oregonian follow:

[From the Glacier Reporter of February 25, 1955]

TERMINATION BILL SHOULD BE REVISED

A lucid explanation of the dangers involved in the administration's so-called Indian termination bill appeared in the Portland (Oreg.) Oregonian as a lead editorial in the issue of Sunday, February 20, under the caption "Revise the Klamath Bill."

While the editorial had to do particularly with the situation as it would affect the Klamath Reservation in Oregon, it is equally applicable to all reservations, as the termination bill, with few exceptions, is aimed at all Indian reserves. The editorial is re-

printed herewith in full:

"Congress should amend the act (Public Law 587) that sets up a 4-year program for termination of Federal controls on the Klamath Indian Reservation. There are several things wrong with the law, but we will examine herein only one of them, the withdrawal provision.

"Congress provided that after an appraisal of the tribe's wealth any adult member may decide to withdraw and require that property be sold to give him his cash share of the commonly held property. The act provides, further, that heads of family may make this decision for their minors.

"If the reservation is not to be wrecked, Congress must take a realistic view of this matter of withdrawals. Is it the wish of Congress to spoil completely the prospects of the Klamath Indian tribe? As it stands, this provision of the termination bill will do just that. It is pointless to argue that if the Klamaths are ready for termination of Federal controls, they are ready to break up the reservation. They are what they are and it is the United States Government that has made them dependent.

"Should the withdrawal provision be left unchanged, the future of the tribe collectively and of most of its members individually could easily be forecast. There are 2.070 members of whom 1.053 are minors. Of these, one-third, 690, live off the reservation. They will want their money, whether the reservation is continued or not. There is na firm record of how many of the other 1.380 actually live on the reservation, or merely use it as a place to stay between per capita payments. But enough are in this category to raise to about half the tribe those who would immediately demand a lump settlement of their shares of the tribe's property.

"The Klamaths own about 800,000 acres of land on which stand billions of board feet of virgin timber. There are thousands of acres of grazing lands, mineral rights, an irrigation system and good farm land. The reservation is worth more than \$40 million by any estimate.

"Each share would be worth upward of \$20,000. If 1,000 Indians want out, the tribe must pick out and sell property appraised at \$20 million. What would be left when the smoke cleared away? It is doubtful if anything like full value would be realized in a sale—or a closely-spaced series of sales—in such magnitude. The market would be glutted. And the reservation would be apoiled for development as a well-balanced agricultural-forestry unit to support the 1,000 Indians who wanted to stay.

"One or two—or even five—out of every 10 Indians who withdrew might realize something like maximum benefit from receiving a lump sum of \$20,000. But it is more likely that at least half of them would wake up with deep, throbbing headaches in a few weeks, their money gone and no reservation to go back to live on.

"Congress should give the tribe some control over liquidation of its assets beyond those flimsy controls in the termination bill. It is doubtful if 1 in 10 of the Indians on the roll is capable of going out to make his way unaided. Every one of them for many years past has grown accustomed to receiving per capita payments of up to \$800 a year from sale of tribal timber.

"We have no quarrel with the philosophy of termination of the Indian Bureau's control of the reservation. We support the switch in thinking in the Indian Bureau under the Elsenhower administration, a switch we would describe as a change in view: The American Indian is no longer an anthropological curiosity; he is an American of Indian descent.

"But we doubt that the provisions of Public Law 587 would accomplish the purposes

sought. Rather, we believe that it would serve to destroy the good things inherent in the Klamath Reservation system and to perpetuate the bad things. We foresee a time when Klamath county's public welfare lists would be burdened with destitute Indians. The income to be derived from taxing the reservation when it becomes possible to do this would not come near balancing the extra welfare costs that could be created by the uninhibited withdrawal discussed here."

Nixon Sets a Precedent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER NORBLAD

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial written by Mr. George Putman and published in the Salem (Oreg.) Capitol Journal:

NIXON SETS A PRECEDENT

Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON has set a new precedent for his office as an ambassador of good will, in which, according to all reports he has been most successful in creating friendship for the United States in foreign lands.

Nixon and his wife have just returned to report to President Eisenhower from a 7,500mile friendship mission to Central America and the Caribbean. Before that he made a similar successful trip to the troubled lands of southeast Asia.

Nixon visited 10 republics on his monthlong swing. He was warmly received by government officials and the man in the street in Cuba, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti.

In each he talked and listened to the heads of state, industrialists, farmers and workingmen. He acted as an unofficial go between to help ease the years-long tensions between Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza and Costa Rican President Jose Figueres.

Nixon wound up his tour with a strong appeal to the countries he visited to form a strong regional coalition to insure their political stability and economic prosperity. Such a Caribbean bloc, he said, would thwart any Communist design to infiltrate the Western Hemisphere through the smaller republics.

publics.

The Vice President throughout the long history of the Nation has been a sort of glorified fifth wheel in government, an onlooker whose duties were principally social, and played no part in government, but recently has been permitted to attend Cabinet meetings as observer. His was an emergency office to keep the Government in orderly operation in case of the demise of the President.

The Nixon tour in Asia is admitted, even by Democratic critics as fully important in psychological effect as that to Central America. His cooperation, friendliness, tact, and sociability were appreciated and most effective, and he showed an unusual grasp of their problems, and won him cheering applause.

There is already talk of another such good will Nixon expedition next fall perhaps to the Middle East. Anyway, he has set a fine example as to what a Vice President can do to make himself useful to his Government. The era of stuffed-shirt figureheads, partisan stooges, and fat calves Vice Presidents has, it is hoped, passed away.

Youth Aliyah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW TORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, when I survey only the cold statistics of Youth Aliyah, 65,000 youths from 72 countries have been brought to Israel in the past 20 years by Youth Aliyah; 45,000 Youth Aliyah graduates have formed 40 new Kibbutzim during this time; 31,000 youths have been trained within the past 5 years; 13,000 are training this year; 500 children are being integrated each month; 235 Youth Aliyah centers educate, house, and prepare young people for life in Israel; 160 of these are agricultural settlements.

I repeat, when I view these cold statistics, there emerge from them 2 figures—one, the youth itself who, by virtue of these statistics, can throw off the shackles of the past to enter into a new life of promise and fulfillment; and the other of the giver whose vision and heart compel him to remember the preciousness and promise of youth. As youth is served, so shall youth serve.

Perhaps no one would blame us if the young ones entered into Israel to take their chances in finding a new way of life, not receiving the proper training; if, hit or miss, they struggled to adjust to the culture of Israel; if, untrained and uneducated, they turned haphazardly in any and all directions to make their way in life. But it was the same foresight, the same intensity of imagination that brought Israel into being that fathered the birth of Youth Aliyah 21 years ago. No country can reckon without its resources, and the youth of the country are the most valuable, the least expendable, the most significant, of a country's resources. How the country will fare ultimately, how a country looks toward peace, toward liberty, toward the welfare of its citizens depends on the quality of its youth.

Youth Aliyah is a dramatic concept, and those who share in its work are participants in a drama as large, as poignant, as significant, as life itself.

Let me illustrate. A few months ago, I returned from a trip to North Africa. Today about half of Youth Aliyah children come from North Africa. French Morocco has a population of 8,500,000. Of this number, roughly 214,000 are Jews. There are two divisions of Moroccan Jews: The Berbers, who live in the southern part of Morocco in the neighborhood of the Atlas Mountains, have been there for centuries-even before the Jews were banished from Spain. It is thought that they are the descendants of the Israelites driven out of Palestine by Joshua. The others are the Sephardim Jews-descendants of those who fled from Torquemada.

The Berber Jews are nomadic and live chiefly in Saharan mountain villages. They are conspicuous by their black cloaks, black skull caps, and round black

G. P.

hats. They hold steadfastly to the customs and faith of their ancestors.

In addition to these Jews, there are some tribal Jews, a fanatical sect who live deep in the Sahara Desert and in the Atlas Mountains. They are warlike and are a fierce-looking people, and are known as the fighting warrior Jews of Morocco. They are said to be able to trek for hours and hours across the Atlas Mountain ranges with their children strapped across the backs of their women.

There are also some albino Jews residing in the mountain fastnesses along the coast. They are blind as moles, with yellowish hair, pinkish eyes, and a reddish complexion.

The Sephardic Jews, to a great extent, live in the mellah or ghetto. A mellah is found in every Moroccan city-Casablanca, Rebat, Marakeesh. In the mellah, thousands of Jews have lived and suffered, persecuted for centuries. In the old days, they never ventured forth. To remain within the mellah was their best protection from the onslaughts of the Moors. The Jews have suffered and still suffer injury, misery, and humiliation. They are not even second-class citizens in Morocco. The very word, "mel-lah," means salt. The Moor Caid, in the old days, were wont to decapitate the "infidel" or "unfaithful," or non-Moor, and place the head upon a pike to be exhibited in the public square. The head, however, was first salted and pickled in vinegar. This was done by the Jewish butcher, and the word "mellah"-saltwas finally applied not only to the place or abode of the Jewish butcher, but to the ghetto where they all lived as well.

Algeria is a part of metropolitan France, and its inhabitants are citizens of France. Under the Cremieux decree, Jews have been citizens of France since 1870, and this includes the Algerian Jews. The protection of Jews in Algeria parallels the period during which France has been in possession. The French have had a protectorate over Morocco only since 1914, but they have been in Algeria since the early part of the 19th century, and in Tunisia since 1870. The longer the French have been in control the greater has been the security of the

The position of the Jews is strongest in Algeria and weakest in Morocco. There is little or no evidence of any independence movement in Algeria. There was a flareup of Fellaghas or outlaws, who operated in the southern part of Algeria—in the Province of Constantine, as well as in the western part of Tunisia. They seek independence for Tunisia and Algeria. As far as Algeria is concerned, the movement is quite negative.

There are about 140,000 Jews in Algeria, most of whom live in Algiers and are happy and contented. A small number have gone to Israel. The Jews in Algeria have great faith in the French.

Hence, these newcomers from North Africa have had very little, if any, opportunity for education or training. Beds, shoes, forks, books, schools, pajamas—all items which we ourselves take for granted, are alien to them.

I would say that in the main the oriental parents object to the education

of the children. Into the sensitive area of familiar relationships. Youth Aliyah steps cautiously and constructively to win over the parents to these new concepts. Youth Aliyah, then, I shall say, is a magnificent act of husbandry, insuring the richest harvest for the future of Israel itself.

Which brings me to thoughts of Israel's future general. Israel today lives in military isolation, through no act, through no fault, through no desire of its own. Inclusion in the Middle East Defense Alliance has been denied her. Shipment of arms is denied her. Export licenses for the purchase of arms from the United States are denied her. Her avowed enemies, the Arab nations, are wooed and soothed by present administration policy. The only answer given to Israel's question is "You have nothing to fear," and all the while the arms are shipped to the hostile Iraqui Government, and all the while the economic boycott of Israel by the Arab nations continues, and all the while the infiltrations, the marauding, the thefts, and the murders continue on Israeli borders, and all the while the Arab nations will take not one little step forward toward peace with its democratic neighbor. "You have nothing to fear," say American policymakers, and yet will make no move to insure the territorial integrity of Israel's borders. What manner of answer is this, as Israel lives daily in a sea of hostility, outnumbered and without powerful friends. Even a child can understand that an equation of arms plus hatred equal disaster. The Arab nations are in possession of arms and are possessed with hatred. Is it, therefore, the conclusion of our policymakers that Israel is expendable? Are our policymakers subject to the blandishments of the Arab nations, who say, "Let mine enemies be thine enemies and we shall be friends"? Is this ever, in all the world's history, the base for any trustworthy friendship?

Let there be economic aid to both the Arabs and Israel. Let there be mutuality in a regional defense alliance based upon an earnest wish for peace. I have repeated again and again in previous statements, and I say it once more, if the United States is to feed the strength of the hostile Arab nations who make no secret of their enmity toward Israel, then surely it is to the very best interests of the United States in avoiding the outbreak of war in the Middle East to preserve likewise, and to feed likewise, the strength of the fledgling democratic State of Israel. Only preservation of balance can best serve the interests of the United States in that area.

Certainly it would be most desirable to keep shipments of arms out of that area. Certainly it would be most desirable that a Middle East defense pact be developed, including Israel. Certainly it would be most desirable for the United States to throw all the weight of its prestige and power in the direction of influencing the Arab nations toward an acknowledgment and acceptance of Israel's existence. But since an affirmative policy has already been set by our State Department toward wooing Arab favor, throw-

ing the scales of equity out of line, then counterpart action should follow to set those scales straight and right. The least, the very least, that the United States can do toward the restoration of balance would be, first, guarantee the integrity of present Israeli borders; and second, remove the military disadvantage of Israel brought on by shipment of arms to Iraq.

I note that the Secretary of State indicated a few days ago at a press conference that the Gaza incident would delay new United States guarantees of Israel's integrity. The Tripartite Declaration of 1950, in which the United States, Britain, and France pledged themselves to avoid an arms race between Israel and her Arab neighbors and to uphold the status quo in the Middle East, it is apparent from Mr. Dulles' statement, has no meaning in law. Now, using the Gaza incident as a further excuse for delay, Mr. Dulles makes no mention of the bitter tensions in that area which led to that incident.

Egypt has been censured 35 times by the United Nations Mixed Armistice Commission for its activities on the Gaza frontier. These censures are blandly ignored in a press conference where it is made to appear that the whole burden of guilt rests on Israel. That the Arab nations will not make peace is not of sufficient importance for Mr. Dulles to note this in a press conference. Naturally, Mr. Dulles failed to state anything at all about Egypt's efforts to wreck the Turkey-Iraq Pact. Mr. Dulles knows as well as you and I know that the one, the only answer to the tension of the Middle East is the conclusion of a peace. He knows that sooner or later, in the best interests of the United States, such a peace must be established. He knows as well as you and I that the Arab nations will not make peace, and he knows as well as you and I that the United States will have to bend, ultimately, all its efforts in the direction of making that peace. There is no other answer.

Is it some fanciful wishful thinking that if the United States woos the Arab nations long enough, the Arabs will yield to the pleas for peace? Does he want to believe, as a child believes, that if he shuts his eyes to the unpleasantness the facts themselves will disappear? Does he wish to believe that the Arab nations, once cradled in the security of United States protection, will consent to a peace? If so, what is his estimate of time—a month? a year? 5 years? 10 years? a generation? a lifetime?

In the meantime, the tensions grow, the economy of Israel suffers, the democratic growth of Israel is impeded, the welfare of the Arab peoples themselves, diseased and poverty stricken as they are, is held back, the fires of hostility are fanned—and yet the United States confesses that it waits.

Our policy in the Middle East is at odds with history, is at odds with our own moral principles, and serves only the fitful winds of expediency, and, at that, an expediency that has never been thoroughly thought through nor dared to state toward what end it reaches.

But the people of America will not desert Israel; we see that daily. We see it in the work of all the friends of Israel, and we see it concretely in the work of Youth Aliyah, a work that projects itself into the future and harvests for Israel the potential of youth, its buoyancy, its vitality. Through and with its youth, Israel will endure.

From Where I Stand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following words of Rabbi Harry Halpern are well worth reading; they appeared in the Bulletin of the East Midwood Jewish Center, of Brooklyn, N. Y.:

FROM WHERE I STAND

The desire to get ahead and to succeed in life is understandable and praiseworthy, but it must be watched very carefully lest it deteriorate and become an overpowering drive which can ruin the highest ideals of life. In intimate relationship with the desire for success stands the love of honor. That we should crave recognition is perfectly natural but that this craving should be satisfied at the cost of riding roughshod over others is both irreligious and inhuman.

If one becomes interested in a cause, we have a right to assume that he is convinced that it is worthwhile. Beyond the satisfaction of knowing that one is helping achieve some great objective, there should be no expectation of any other reward. If honors come they should be regarded as a bonus which one is glad to receive but cannot claim as a right.

It is pathetic to see how often people are offended because their name is not mentioned at a public function or because their names are unintentionally omitted from a program. The fact that their feelings are wounded by such petty things could be overlooked and forgiven if these people did not make the state of their feelings so obvious. One observes these people and is impelled to laugh at their strategy in calling attention to themselves.

Poor, unhappy men and women, who are not content until they are sure you know whose hand they have shaken and which celebrity they can call by a first name. And, if you don't know these facts, they do not hesitate to tell you about them. The important thing is that you must be impressed. These seekers after honor do not realize that they betray their pitiable insecurity and feelings of inferiority by their attitude. They do not understand the words spoken by Emerson, "I cannot hear what you say because what you are speaks so loudly."

When one gazes upon a beautiful stage set, he is impressed by the ingenuity involved in fashioning the sight before our eyes. But if we were to walk behind this scenery and see the struts and the props, the rags and the paint—the materials of which it is made—I am sure that much of our delight in it would vanish. Similarly, the sight of a person who plays an active role in communal affairs is a sight which makes us rejoice. However, as soon as we get behind them and discover the mechanism which impels people to work, our enthusiasm wanes. Wisely did the rabbis of old say that honor cludes him who chases after it, for, if one pursues it, it ceases to be an honor.

The Communist Program—Article by Louis F. Budenz

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the students of the International Relations Club of the Mount Marty, S. D., High School, have formed the commendable practice of studying and analyzing current magazine articles dealing with the tricky world situation.

The Mount Harty International Relations Club recently sent me an article entitled "Scaring Us to Death," written by Louis Francis Budenz, and published in the February number of the St. Anthony Messenger, which it felt was outstandingly good, and which it recommended to the consideration of Congress.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SCARING US TO DEATH

(By Louis Francis Budenz)

Anyone whose duties compel him to read Communist literature regularly, as mine do, is struck by one current dominant Red note. It is like a tom-tom beat in a jungle, incessantly repeated. Frequently it breaks out in the Daily Worker in words that shrick.

"The H-bomb danger grows!" "Halt the danger of war!" "Stop the atom-manlacs!" runs the refrain.

There is being worked up the same frenzy in regard to fear of war that was brought to a hysterical height by the Soviet fifth column in the "battle against McCarthyism," which paralyzed the American Government so successfully. We Americans are to be made to cringe in our homes, frightened by the possibilities of atomic warfare upon us, in order that our leaders can be persuaded to surrender once more to Soviet demands—this time by again betraying Nationalist China.

Hundreds of thousands of pamphlets, containing the program of the Communist Party have been mailed to non-Communist citizens in many American cities and have even penetrated into small communities. center of that program is the danger of war. The make-believe picture which it presents can be summed up in this quotation from its pages: "Wall Street has done all in its power to build a worldwide coalition against the Soviet Union. But this coalition is now falling apart. Wall Street has no real allies. Even its present so-called allies cannot deliver on its commitments. The people of the world, including the American people, do not intend to goosestep to the martial music of Wall Street. They are tired of constant war tension, unbearable armament burdens, the threat of atomic devastation, and of both hot and cold wars. They want

United States leadership is presented as aggressive, thirsting for a war, and over against it is depicted the Soviet Union, mighty and invincible but set upon peace.

This description of the present state of affairs is such a caricature that it would be laughable if it were not the basis for such possible tragedy to the American people. The leadership of the Government of this country has been timid, hesitant, constantly weakening before Soviet pressure under the

plea that this was the only means by which we could hold "our allies." If we are today uncertain as to who are with us and who are against us, it is because our Government has refused to take a firm stand. It is our planes which are shot down, and all that our Government can do is to send notes which are in effect thrown into the Soviet wastebaskets. This weakness and vaciliation was no better indicated than by a brief but important sentence in the statement of Secretary of State Dulles, at the Cabinet session presented over television on October 25.

It was then that Mr. Dulles said, in discussing the Paris agreement to rearm Germany partially, that this agreement was designed "to protect Russia as much as it protects anybody else against the possible resurgence of German militarism." When I heard this statement. I could not believe my ears. Therefore, I turned to the copy of the full transcript of this Cabinet session as presented in U. S. News & World Report of November 5. And the amazing sentence, believe it or not, was there.

Such an attitude indicates the lack of a realization in Washington of the nature or objectives of Soviet communism. It tells us that the Government is still pursuing the policy of "peaceful coexistence," a term invented by Stalin in 1927, to throw dust in the eyes of non-Soviet nations and to aid Soviet world conquest. Our leaders are living in the make-believe world that the German people have on them permanently the mark of the beast, instead of understanding that they can become our greatest and stanchest al-That they are likely to do so becomes all the more probable since the West Germans can look across the border and observe in East Germany the slavery and degradation to which their fellow countrymen are subjected under Soviet rule.

This Dulles' statement is a concession to Soviet propaganda against German rearmament for our defense. It is more than ironic that our State Department felt the necessity of stating that we must "protect" the Soviet dictatorship from these Germans. Has he forgotten that the Soviet is the very dictatorship that is committed fundamentally to our destruction? I cannot but recall once more that for the Kremlin the present period of history is "the period of world revolution," that is, of Soviet conquest. It is in this period, as Stalin has written in his Foundations of Leninism, that the dictatorship in Soviet Russia is to be used as the base for the overthrow of all other governments.

But this "overthrow" and world conquest are not to be advanced by a direct military attack on the United States by Soviet Russia in the days immediately at hand. The Kremlin knows better than we do our physical strength, our productive capacity, and our pre-eminence in physical science. It was this which caused Stalin to underscore "American efficiency" in his writings and speeches. During World War II, it was "American productive capacity" to which Stalin referred as being the great asset to the Soviet dictatorship in its death struggle with Hitter.

The Kremlin also knows better than we its own weaknesses. These are expressed in the widespread slave labor, the unrest of the people in the satellite regimes, and the labor passport system. Under this last, no "free" worker dare leave his job without the consent of the government bureaucracy. Under such gross conditions of slavery, it is no wonder that the constant plaint in the Soviet press and in the solemn statement by Dictator Malenkov last spring concerns "the lag in production." Slave labor and the machine system do not work together, and slave labor is a weak instrument upon which to rely in time of military conflict.

There is a real H-bomb that the Kremlin has in its possession and to which the Communists do not refer in their feverish efforts to frighten us to death. It is the continued penetration of American public opinion by

the Communist line, making use of the general press, television, and radio as "transmission belts" for that line. It was by this means that the United States was persuaded to agree to its own defeat on occasion after occasion. That was the road followed in our betrayal of China and Poland to Moscow. That is the means which has been employed to win such great Red victories over the American Nation in "the battle against McCarthyism." That is why the titular heads of the Republican and Democratic Parties have now mouthed, along with Winston Churchill, the Stalin-created slogan of peaceful coexistence." And most tragic of all, it was the Communist influence in our own media of information which led to the policies which lost the war in Korea, a war that we now know could have been won.

It is not surprising, therefore, that we note in the general press many items referring to "the growing strength of Soviet Russia," while at the same time the prospect of durable peace is held out to us if we only continue negotiations with the Kremlin.

It is quite evident that these echoes in the general press of the outcries of the Communists are not dictated by any apprehension that a general war is imminent. They are handed out to us, in order to stampede us into new surrenders to Moscow, this time

by a deal with Red China.

Several times during the month of Norember, the commentator Walter Winchell has warned all America that the State Department is preparing to betray Chiang Kaishek and to make an arrangement with Mao Tse-tung. On November 9, the well-informed New York Daily News declared editorially: "How about the disquieting rumors again cropping up that the administration is inching around to a sell-out of Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist Chinese Government on Formosa?" To which the editorial adds; "Appeasement of Communists never has worked yet. Some of the Eisenhower administration's current moves look alarmingly like appeasement." The Communists, when writing for them-

The Communists, when writing for themselves and for their own instruction, blandly let us know that these assumptions are correct. Nothing shows the fraudulent character of peaceful coexistence more than the article by William Z. Foster, leader of the Soviet fifth column in this country, on that subject. It appeared in the August issue of Political Affairs, official theoretical organ of the conspiracy in the United States. Falsely holding out peaceful coexistence as the only alternative to a general war, Foster then relates the conditions on which this coexistence can be assured. They tell their

own story.

In order that the United States may carry out this coexistence, Foster declares that this Nation must give up all defense preparations, establish such trade relations as will build up the Soviet war machine, encourage Communist-led revolutions in all countries, and abandon NATO and the defense of Europe. Primarily and immediately, this whole chain of events must be set off by the seating of Red China in the United Nations.

Look those conditions over again, and you will come to realize their arrogance and the contempt they indicate for the intelligence of the American people. The whole scheme is quite clear. We shall be persuaded to enter into negotiation after negotiation, first coming to an arrangement with Red China under the name of peace, and then being compelled to go on and on, until the United States has surrendered completely.

There is nothing new about all this. On August 8, 1953, Dictator Malenkov laid down similar conditions, starting off with recognition of Red China, as the sole means whereby there could be "an easing of international tensions." That is simple enough, is it not? The United States can win peace by capitulating, step by step, to Soviet demands—

until our Nation is so undermined that Soviet Russia can readily attack and conquer us. If anyone wants a Soviet-controlled America, the path of peaceful coexistence is the way to get it.

As early as May 1, 1952, I wrote in my book, The Cry Is Peace: "In Soviet terminology, the cry for peace is but a cover for expanding war. This has tended to be wilder the American mind. And the bewilderment has increased when the forces of appeasement in our midst have used peace and the averting of general warfare as their excuse for yielding to Soviet aggression. This has prevented us from taking that firm stand which would have halted a foe bent on world domination and only thus opened the road to

real peace."

Every experience that we have had since those words were written has confirmed them. It was by the claim that we would bring on a general war if American forces bombed beyond the Yalu that Gen. Douglas MacArthur was forbidden to win the war in That immediately released the Korea. Kremlin's armies in Asia to assault Indochina. Thereupon, in the name of a "durable peace," we were inveigled to go to Geneva, where the European Defense Community was destroyed, France left our side completely, and a new area in Asia was turned over to Red control. That arrangement now makes it possible for Red China to threaten Formosa, with Moscow declaring in the New Times and other international Red sheets, that there will be no more peace until Mao Tse-tung takes over that island.

This method of procedure is quite logical from a Communist viewpoint. To the Kremlin and its followers, the only peace that can ever be established is after the world Soviet dictatorship is set up and then withers away into the earthly paradise, the Communist society. That is why Foster, while urging the comrades to plug for peaceful coexistence, also advises them that both Stalin and Lenin warned that the only way to get rid of the danger of war is to get rid of American imperialism—that is, by overthrowing the American Government.

The contention, which is heard in the most unexpected quarters, as the result of Communist stimulation, that the only alternative to peaceful coexistence is a general war turns out to be the height of folly. The big alternative the United States has is to stand on its own feet, to face Communists squarely by breaking off relations with Soviet Russia and its satellite regimes. That would lead to disturbance in the countries under satellite control, would compel Soviet Russia to retreat, would complicate the Soviet dictatorship's problems, and eventually lead to its collapse. If anyone doubts that, he should sit down some quiet evening with Prof. James Burnham's book, Containment or Liberation, and learn what the ingenuity of America could do if we actually moved politically against Soviet aggression.

Professor Burnham could sum up our peril—that is, our real peril—in a single sentence. It holds even more weight today than when his book was written 2 years ago. And it is this: "If the Communists succeed in consolidating what they have already conquered, then their complete world victory is certain. * * * The simple terrible fact is that if things go on as they now are, if for the time being they merely stabilize, then we have already lost."

Is it any wonder, then, that Moscow and its agents are doing all in their power to throw fear of atomic war and general military conflict into the American mind? They have everything to gain, if they merely succeed in making us stand still. But as things now shape up, they are doing better than that for themselves and for their proposed world Soviet dictatorship.

The worst thing that we can do is to throw up our hands and give up hope. We can yet

upset the Soviet plans. To do so, it is necessary that we proceed unafraid, unaffected by the synthetic warnings of the danger of war. We will have to look realities in the face, and understand that to save the United States and the world, it is essential that we give hope to the peoples of the world by cutting off all relations with Soviet Russia and those regimes which it dominates.

We are in a big battle on the home front, to win the American mind to a courageous and intelligent position. In that battle, resolutions in organizations, letters to the press, letters to Senators and Representatives, talks to community groups, are as vital as hand grenades and bullets in military contests. As a result of her trip to Moscow, Senator Margarer Chars Smith, of Maine, who has hitherto had a quite contrary opinion, added her voice to those who have already urged President Eisenhower to take this step. She now sees no other alternative but to break off relations between Moscow and Washington. If it has to be done—and it does—then it is much better that it be done now.

Pricing Formula

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ROBERT D. HARRISON

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. HARRISON of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Manitoba Co-Operator of February 17, 1955:

PRICING FORMULA

A modernized method of formula pricing for the establishment of support prices for agricultural products was submitted to the annual convention of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture at Edmonton the last week of January this year. The recommendations of the policy committee were approved by the board of directors of the CFA and the Government will be asked to include the formula pricing in the Agricultural Prices Support Act.

The pricing formula is unique. It is free from rigidity and suggests a range of 65 percent to 85 percent of the basic price established for a number of agricultural commodities. It differs greatly from the United States parity price formula in that the support price should never become an incentive one. Under normal conditions it offers some measure of guidance over the production of various commodities although crop hazards or exceptionally favorable growing conditions must naturally influence the production picture.

The support price formula recommended by the Canadian Federation of Agriculture appears economically sound. It is tempered by moderation and under conditions that can be considered normal can prove to be a definite insurance to the efficient producer. At the same time it is not intended to sustain the man operating a poor farm or the inefficient operator. The formula is a pattern that can be followed by the Government in its price-support program. It also narrows what might be considered speculation in establishing a support level to a 20-percent range—that is, of 65 percent to 85 percent of the basic price.

This pricing formula is the only one that has ever been submitted for the consideration of the Government of Canada and it has the support of Canada's national farm organization from coast to coast.

A Lesson in Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I would like to introduce the following editorial from the Oceanside Daily Blade-Tribune, Oceanside, Calif., of February 28, 1955. This editorial most clearly points out the great difficulty in retaining good men in public office. I believe it is especially timely in view of the recent controversy over the raise in pay for Members of Congress:

A LESSON IN GOVERNMENT

The resignation of John Bemis as Oceanside's mayor is regrettable because the city will lose the services of a man who has won respect for his integrity. The resignation also affords an interesting study in American government.

Here you have a man who had a proud career as a Marine Corps officer, retiring as a general, but who never intended to be a politician, and was certainly not one in any sense that the word usually means. He is not a handshaker, not the hall-fellow-well-met type. He expected to be elected and was elected because he had an honorable career and people respected his education, his background, and his quality of uprightness.

John Bemis probably didn't know, when he ran for office-or if he did know, he didn't fully understand-the manner in which the American public is accustomed to treating its elected servants. For the sum of \$25 per month—not enough to pay half the expenses of the banquet and luncheon tickets he had to buy-John Bemis worked at the public business conscientiously and well. He worked all day, and most nights, and he took the decisions that had to be taken, most of them unpopular with one group or another. From the time of his election until he resigned last Friday, very few people ever said to him, "Good job." Nobody ever thanked him for his service to the city. Most people who called him at his home called to swear at him. In the last few months no friend dropped in to see him just to be friendly. Throughout the town he heard the second-hand gossip that some decision he had made or was about to make would put money in his pocket. sense of shock that cut deep into his pride he heard himself and his fellow councilmen referred to on the streets as "the gang at city hall."

A few weeks ago John Bemis began to think that he had no friends, and that what he had hoped would be honorable retirement had become a life of calumny. So he quit.

His resignation is not altogther the fault of Oceanside. Americans learn in their schools the respect that is due to public officials, but anyone who knows anything about politics knows that this respect seldom gets communicated to the politician himself. It may be that John Bemis ought to have known. Nevertheless, the abuse which we Americans are inclined to communicate to our public officials has come as a shock to many of them, and some who reach high-office coudn't stand it. It broke Ulysses S. Grant, and it has made an old man early out of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

But to some extent the Bemis resignation is Oceanside's fault. We are a small city and a growing one, and so we subject our public officials to greater scrunity than larger populations do. We are a growing city and not a settled one, and we witness constant fighting and bickering among each other about which road to take, what way to grow. There's nothing wrong in this. What is wrong is that in our arguing and fighting we are inclined to forget that government of the people, whether city, State or Nation requires both governors and governed. We are inclined to forget that if a government is to function, the relationship between the governors and the governed must contain the element of mutual respect.

Effects of Imports of Foreign Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I am including as a part of my remarks a statement made by Robert L. Williams, of Wichita, Kans., representing the Kansas Independent Oil & Gas Association, to the Finance Committee of the United States Senate on March 15, 1955. This statement, in my judgment, represents rather clearly the position of the independent oil and gas industry in Kansas. Excessive imports of crude oil from foreign countries has become a serious problem in the oil-producing industries of our country.

Mr. Williams' statement follows:

I am an independent oil producer of Wichita, Kans., and I submit this statement as a representative of several thousand independent oil producers and small investors in the Kansas crude oil industry who are dependent upon a demand for a sufficient quantity of domestic crude oil production which will permit them to continue their operations and investments on a reasonably profitable basis.

The oil and gas industry is the second ranking industry in Kansas, exceeded in dollar volume only by agriculture. Kansas is the fifth ranking oil-producing State in the Nation—exceeded in daily production only by Texas, California, Louisiana, and Oklahoma. Thus, the future of the Kansas oil industry is important, not only to the State of Kansas, but to the economy and safety of the Nation as a whole.

I wish to recall to your attention the chart submitted in the record to this committee on Friday, March 11, by Mr. Eugene Holman, chairman of the board, Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), which graphically portrays the static position of Kansas oil production for the past 8 years at approximately 100 million barrels per year. This chart does not disclose that national consumption of crude oil has increased more than 40 percent during this same period, nor that unrestricted imports of foreign oil have increased by 140 percent. Obviously, then, our Kansas Pro-ration Department has been unable to increase the allowable rate of crude-oil production in the State during these past several years as imported oil has acquired the market created by the expanding national consumption.

The Kansas per well allowables have already been reduced to an irreducible minimum allowable (barring another complete shutdown similar to October 1953) of 25 barrels daily, which does not permit the small producers and small investors sufficient profit margin to adequate expand their ex-

ploratory operations in the search for new oil reserves, nor does it encourage the development of known oil reserves.

If imports of foreign oil are restricted by congressional action, thus eliminating a portion of this unfair competition, Kansas would receive a share of the accumulative increased domestic demand for crude oil over the past several years and also a part of any increase or decrease in future national demand.

The subsequent increased allowable rate for the Kansas wells would then permit the small independent producers to initiate more aggressive exploratory programs which would contribute to the economy of Kansas and make available more of the State's oil resources in peace or war. This would be in the best interests of the national economy and national defense.

Conversely, if imports of foreign oils are not restricted by quotas imposed by Con-gress, the small independent producers of Kansas, who in the past have discovered the preponderance of new oil fields in the State. will be faced with the danger of everincreasing imports of foreign oil, and our State's allowable production must necessarily be reduced. Only the major oil companies, particularly the five large importing companies who also produce substantial quantities of oil in our State from oilfields usually discovered by an independent producer, and possibly the larger and stronger independent companies, could well survive such a condition of a further reduction in allowable production. The small producers, who must be relied upon to discover the largest percentage of this Nation's future oil reserves, many of whom are already burdened with financial arrangements that require minimum monthly payments from their crude oil runs, would not be in a healthy position to risk capital in the search for new oilfields or develop their proven

It becomes readily obvious that congressional action in imposing quotas on imports of foreign oils is both desirable and necessary in the interests of the national economy and national defense.

"Lameduck" Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert an editorial appearing in the Shreveport Journal, Shreveport, La., of March 17, 1955. Civil defense is important to each individual in the country and I take this means of bringing this editorial to the attention of the Congress. The editorial is as follows:

"LAMEDUCK" CIVIL DEFENSE

One week we are told there is only one defense against the hydrogen bomb, and that we must prepare to evacuate the cities and towns within a hundred miles of any prime target area because the fallout will spread out over an area of 7,000 square miles.

The next week we are told to build some sort of underground shelter, right now, and stock it with sufficient food and water to last for 5 or 6 days as the most that any individual citizen can do for his own and his family's protection.

These two conflicting advices were issued by the same man, Federal Civil Defense Administrator Val Petersen. At the same time, he announced a nationwide civil-defense test to be held, not right now, the time he was urging individuals to dig their shelters, but next June, 3 months hence. This, though he rightly said, "No man has any way of knowing when an actual attack may come. We hope it may never come. But it may come sooner than later."

This was in testimony before a Senate Armed Services Subcommittee. It was prompted by the appearance before the committee of Gov. Christian A. Herter, of Massachusetts, who told the committee State governments are in the dark as to what should be done to protect their populations

in case of an attack.

If the truth be told, so is everyone else in the dark. One reason is that civil defense has been a matter of political patronage from the start. President Truman appointed a lame duck Governor of Florida the first civil-defense administrator. President Eisenhower followed the same political pattern by appointing Petersen, former Governor of Nebraska, to the post.

Civil defense today is part of the military defense of the country. Foreign invaders may come to this land by air for the first time since our independence. The Congress has shown a realistic understanding of the role of civil defense by giving the Armed Services Committee jurisdiction over it. The Executive should be no less realistic. There are enough retired, well-trained and experienced high officers of the Armed Forces to head up and give the country the awareness, discipline, and organization needed for the civil-defense effort necessary for survival in a hydrogen age. They should be in charge

Arab Border Attacks Continue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following news item which appeared in the March 4, 1955, issue of the Israel Digest:

ARAB BORDER ATTACKS CONTINUE

JERUSALEM,—Arab attacks against Israel from across the border have continued unabated in the past 2 weeks. Following is a partial list of the incidents:

On February 14 a tractor driver from the settlement of Shamir in the Hule Valley was fired at from across the Syrian border.

On February 14 the settlement of Sh'ar Yashuv in the Hule Valley was attacked by Syrians.

On February 15 a tractor driver from the settlement of Bohan, in central Israel, was attacked by shots fired from across the Israel-

Jordan armistice lines.
On February 17 an Israel patrol was attacked north of Duweima in the Negev.

On February 17 an Israel patrol encountered Egyptian marauders north of Nir Izhak in the western Negev. The marauders fled into the Egyptian-controlled Gaza strip.

On February 17 Syrians penetrated into Israel territory and fired at the settlement of Gonen in upper Galilee. The attackers were repulsed. The same day Syrian marauders opened fire at a border patrol in the area. Later in the day the settlement of Gonen was again fired at.

On February 18 an Israel patrol southeast of Duweima in the Negev was attacked by Jordanians. One Israel soldier was wounded.

On February 19 Syrians fired at a boat belonging to the settlement of Gonen in the Hule.

On February 20, Syrians opened fire from across the border at a group of harvesters from the settlement of Gonen.

On February 22, shots were fired from across the Israel-Jordan Armistice Lines at an observation post in Ramat Rahel, a settlement on the outskirts of Jerusalem.

On February 23, Jordanian infiltrators attacked an Israel patrol near Beit Govrin in the south,

On February 24, shots were fired from across the Israel-Jordan Armistice Lines at Magal, a village in the Sharon.

On February 24, Jordanians attacked an Israel patrol east of Beit Naballa in the Shefela.

On February 25, an Israel cyclist was killed by Arab infiltrators near Rehovot. The next day, an Israel patrol encountered three infiltrators near Yad Mordecai in the south. The infiltrators escaped across the Egyptian-controlled Gaza Strip border. Investigations of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization revealed that the footprints of these men matched those found near the man murdered in Rehovot.

On February 25, two police vehicles were attacked by Arab infiltrators south of Yavne, in the Shefela.

On February 27, 3 students—two Israel Arabs and a young Jewish woman from the United States, were kidnaped by members of Jordan's Arab Legion near Beit Tsafafa, south of Jerusalem. They were returned to Israel the next day after having been interrogated by legion officers.

A Positive Approach to Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I submit an article which appeared in the December 1954 issue of Federal Probation, an official publication of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts in cooperation with the Bureau of Prisons of the Department of Justice. The author is the Reverend John Edward Coogan, S. J., of the University of Detroit, where he is chairman of the department of sociology. Father Coogan is recognized as one of our leading contemporary sociologists who has been most articulate in the field of corrective penology. The article follows:

RELIGION A PREVENTIVE OF DELINQUENCY

(By the Reverend John Edward Coogan, S. J., chairman, department of sociology, University of Detroit)

Only religious faith, perpetually renewed, President Eisenhower has warned us, "is equal to the challenge of today's tyrants." I Of the absolute need of religion to control one of the most menacing of those tyrants, the spirit of lawlessness in American youth, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation grimly agrees. Speaking from 30 years' experience in his office, Mr. Hoover declares:

Footnotes at end of speech.

"Invariably when you analyze the reasons for such (criminal) actions, certain facts stand out stark and revealing—the faith of our fathers, the love of God, and the observance of His Commandments have either been thrust aside or they never existed in the heart of the individual transgressor. * * The secular way of thinking must give way to the spiritual if our Nation is to stand. * * What we need most in this country are the things unseen—spiritual development, moral power, and charter." ²

But is even "religious faith," the "faith of our fathers," so urged by our President and Mr. Hoover, "equal to the challenge" of this lawlessness? The casual attention commonly paid to its possibilities by academic criminologists and penologists would not seem to indicate much hope. As Pauline V. Young remarks in her impressive volume, Social Treatment of Probation and Delinquency, "It is significant that little space is devoted to the church and religion by writers on delinquency. * * Not a single paper is listed under "Church" or "Religion" in the 1947 and 1948 Yearbooks of the National Probation and Parole Association-volumes dedicated to Redirecting the Delinquent and Bulwarks Against Crime.3 The three subsequently published yearbooks are as silent on religion. The Gluecks include "religion and ethical instruction" among the means that must be used if we are to make much progress in delinquency prevention. Yet they all but ignore the striking evidence (included in their own findings) for such need, preferring to give us a thousand ex-quisite details of physical measurements in their study of erring youth.

PLACE OF EELIGION IN DELINQUENCY PREVEN-TION GIVEN LITTLE ATTENTION BY CRIMINOLO-GISTS

A more interesting study of the importance of religion for delinquency prevention and control is that proposed and generously financed by the late Richard Clarke Cabot, Harvard professor of social ethics and clinical medicine. We mean the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study, employing 84 investigators in all during a period of 9 years, and resulting in a record of 22,000 singlespaced typewritten pages. The study was meant by Dr. Cabot to test his theory; "In every case of criminal reform known to me, someone has come to know the man in so intimate and friendly a way that he comes to a better understanding of himself and to a truer comprehension of the world he lives in." Could not then-Dr. Cabot askssuch a "sustained ego-ideal for boys in trouble" turn them from delinquency?

Authors of the study are inclined to conclude that Dr. Cabot's theory failed in their test. But he had stipulated that religion be central to the preventive treatment used, a stipulation almost completely ignored during the 9 years of the test. Only a single counselor, Dr. Cabot's personal appointee, followed his directive regarding religious emphasis. Her success was the highlight of the entire experiment. Otherwise, as one boy remarked, "They taught us the names of snakes, what to do in case of fire, how to make a boat, and how not to steal and hop trucks." *

EVIDENCE OF REFORMATIVE POWER OF PERSONALIZED RELIGION

In ou surmises as to the importance of religion for delinquency prevention and control, are we left to the reluctant findings of such formal research projects? Has life itself and the reformative efforts of society given us no real evidence on which to go? We think that there are many such examples of the power of personalized religion. To confine myself to a single example with which I have had some special acquaintance, let me point out the worldwide system of

Footnotes at end of speech.

the Good Shepherd homes with their reformative efforts for girls and young women. This example is in a sense denominational. But few religious efforts go very far or very deep on any other basis. Moreover, the nobility of the objectives and the absence of denominational barriers among the beneficiaries of the Good Shepherd efforts should win for the efficacy of those efforts a sympathetic scrutiny. In the work of the Good Shepherd Sisters,

In the work of the Good Shepherd Sisters, the first evidence of the reformative power of religion is shown in its gathering of so many dedicated volunteers pledged for life to its labors. Begun in France in 1835, the order had spread to every continent in the world by the time of the death of its foundress. In 1952 it carried on its work of prevention and correction in 389 houses. In a spirit of religious dedication, its now sainted foundress had proclaimed:

"You will go forth, my daughters, and pitch your tents from one end of the earth to the other. Your zeal must comprise all lands and all peoples. I do not wish any longer to be called French. I am Italian, English, German, Spanish. I am American, African, Indian. Every country is my own where there are souls to be saved."

Today there are nearly 10,000 of these Sisters carrying on their work, largely among young women. Seventy-seven of their institutions are in North America. Essentially the same methods are used everywhere: but let us, in order to be concrete, single out for study one of their homes. Vista Maria is in the midst of a beautiful campus of 87 acres on the outskirts of Detroit. It comprises 10 modern buildings, including 5 student residences, a clinic, school, and auditorium. This impressive institution was built a dozen years ago, largely by general subscription from the entire Detroit community. The interdenominational response was the consequence of an appreciation of the spiritually reformative results achieved during nearly 60 years in Detroit with much less suitable surroundings and facilities.

THE PROGRAM OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD HOME

Admission is by court placement or personal application and is without restriction of race or creed. Religion is the animating and coordinating spirit of the entire project, but religious instruction is obligatory only in accordance with the faith of the participant. Non-Catholic students are under the instruction and attend the services of a minister appointed by the Detroit Council of Churches. Catholic students have classes of religion four times weekly. The formal day begins with chapel services for those who wish to go (two-thirds of the students are there), only the Sunday service-lasting about 1½ hours—being obligatory, and that only for Catholics. Short prayers morning and evening are held in the residence halls, sometimes in common, sometimes alone. Group religious exercises are made interesting and beautiful-music, lights, flowers. artistic vestments, all combining to emphasize that God is Himself both beautiful and good. Reception of the sacraments is always encouraged, but is a personal matter, never of obligation. Habitual confession, available normally once a week, is the preparation.

The importance given sacramental confession in the Good Shepherd scheme makes advisable here a somewhat extended discussion. Tributes to the value of confession for mental and emotional normalcy are today being found on all sides. Thus Pierre Janet, the unbelieving French psychiatrist, has declared: "Regular confession might have been instituted by some mental specialists of genius. * * * Confession acts upon all states of despondency like a healing balm to pacify trouble and quicken dying hopes." ** The

American psychiatrist, Dr. Edward A. Strecker, remarks, too, that while "confession is good for the soul" may be a hackneyed phrase, "it is a very true one. Confession at once decreases and devalues anxiety and tensions. It does this in many way. * Frightening, concealed ideas and emotions are robbed of much of their terror by objectifving them in a frame of words. At the same time, confession both lessens and punishes built." " The insistence of Alcoholics Anonymous upon the frank and habitual avowal of fault is, of course, well known. Finally, as William James has declared, "For him who confesses, shams are over and real-ities have begun." If one has not actually ities have begun." If one has not actually gotten rid of his faults, "he at least no longer smears it over with a hypocritical show of virtue-he lives at least upon a basis of veracity." is

Such tributes are paid by experienced scientists even to confession as a mere human act. Sacramental confession, sincerely believed in, stands on an essentially higher level. Here the confessor is conceived of as the human instrument of a divine pardon, so that the penitent who acknowledges his faults with regret for the past and a firm determination to make the future worthy, has the conviction that-as Isias put it: "If your sins be as scarlet, they shall be made white as snow." Girls admitted to the Good Shepherd homes are advised, in preparation for the general confession of previous mis-deeds, "Look into your hearts, but with deeds, "Look into your hearts, but with cheerful eyes." Even a misspent past has its uses: "We can use all our past in the service of God, even our sins." Moreover, "What-ever my past has been, I can still do my best; and neither God nor man can ask more from After such a sacramental confession. the girls are taught to treat the past as dead. They are not to look upon themselves as something unworthy; rather, "In many things we all offend." And as for the future, "There are 40 million reasons for failure but not a single excuse. So, my dears, laugh up to God and try again."

The confessors provided for the girls of the Good Shepherd homes are priests picked for their long experience and sympathetic understanding. They are surprised at nothing and ingenious in finding reason for hope. They know not merely what faults to expect but what are the likely causes and their remedies. Confessions are made as anonymously as the girls may wish, through gratings and a curtain such that not even a kindly eye is the witness of such embarrassment as may be. On the other hand, the penitent may wish from week to week to be guided in her reform of life by the confessor who retains the memory of past difficulties. The past need never be mentioned yet should not be looked upon as a "chamber of horrors" that will not bear a helpful backward

IMPORTANCE OF A CLEAN-CUT CODE OF MORALS

Both in preparation for her first general confession and in her subsequent religious formation, a girl in a Good Shepherd home is given a clean-cut code of morals. It is built up on the foundation of the natural law, the law declared by the Founding Fathers in our Declaration of Independence to be "self-evident"; the law promulgated by the Creator through reason, binding upon all men, and largely summarized in the Ten Commandments. In addition to this code, Good Shepherd girls are given a strong sense of personal worth. They are taught to look upon themselves not as spontaneously generated adolescent female anthropoids, but as divinely created, "a little less than the angels." Loved children of Almighty God, made to "praise, reverence, and serve Him in this life, and to be happy with Him for-ever in the next." And such virtuous service is to win for them "an hundred-fold, even in this life." They are taught, again in the words of Scripture, that "a holy and modest woman is grace upon grace." And no matter how sordid the past, the sweetly striving girl of today is a thing of beauty. As Lionel Johnson declares:

"Fair though it be, to watch unclose
The nesting glories of a rose,
Depth on rich depth, soft fold on fold:
Though fairer be it, to behold
Stately and sceptral lilies break
To beauty, and to sweetness wake:
Yet fairer still, to see and sing,
One fair thing is one matchless thing:
Youth in its perfect blossoming."

"I CAN DO ALL THINGS IN HIM"

No matter what bad habits the past has known, the girl striving to reform is given complete assurance that "I can do all things in Him who strengthens me." She is taught the fact of free will; that no matter what may be the pressure of temptation arising from abused nature and soiled memory, given full advertence of mind to the evil character of the suggested conduct, she can stand firm in her virtuous resolves. She is convinced, too, that the God who gave us His morality code will give clarity of mind and firmness of will to those who in their crises cry out to Him from prayerful hearts. (Of course all that is the sheerest nonsense to the aprioristic academician who has never made the test; but then, as the Episcopalian Canon Bernard Iddings Bell has declared: "I have heard more astonishing absurdities about Christianity from grave dons in faculty clubs than in any other place where men and women of intelligence meet together."

In addition to this conviction of personal power and divine assistance, the girl is taught to live under the eyes of an ever-present God: "I am never as little alone as when I am alone." She learns that it is not what man thinks of one that counts, but what God thinks; and "I am what I am in the This loving living under the eyes of God urges to aversion from unchastity even in thought. A truly virtuous life, she is taught, cannot tolerate deliberate compromise even about its fringes. "He that con-temns trifles shall fall by little and little." And "He that loves danger, shall perish in The search for virtue, therefore, is not for the Good Shepherd girl a matter of playing with temptation, followed by a belated suppression of half-fomented desires. It is a determined living in a purer atmosphere, with a gaze deliberately averted from corrupting sights and memories. Of course there may frequently come weaker moments and perhaps deliberate and serious fault, But the firm, clean standards are there and can quickly be returned to.

This concept of a life lived under the eyes of God is quite other than some skeptics have pictured it, showing Him, "spending every moment of His eternity in exvesdropping and spying on immortal man, haunting every bedroom and listening to every obscene story, and equally observant of the murderer with his bloody chopper and the child with its fingers in the jam." The religious concept is that God, because He is by nature infinite, cannot fail to know; but His purposes are benevolent and "His mercles are above all His works." When to the claims of God the Father upon the Good Shepherd girl are added the claims of the Son, the suffering Redeemer, the girl is readily brought to ask, "What shall I give to the Lord for all He has given unto me?" The quick answer is, "Love never says, 'it is enough'."

PRECEPTS ARE SUPPORTED BY EXAMPLE

Those being trained to a better life in the Good Shepherd Homes have held before them, in addition to the life of Christ—

"fairest of the sons of men"—His blessed mother. As Christ upon the cross gave her to St. John, saying, "Son, behold thy mother," so these girls are taught she is given as a mother to each of us. They are assured of her continued interest in them and readiness to help at the mere asking. For them, too, the example of St. Mary Magdalen, the sinful woman raised to sainthood because "she has loved much," has its personal lesson. The Good Shepherd girl has only to imitate the Magdalen in her love and devotion to Christ, then all will be eternally well with her.

But it is not only through faith that the girls of the Good Shepherd come to see and believe in supreme virtue. They are sur-rounded by women who have left home and human aims to give themselves for life to the ennobling of young women misused by the world. Of such consecrated women, even Lecky, the rationalist, was forced to confess: "In the Sisters of Charity the religious orders of Catholicism have produced one of the most perfect of all types of womanhood." 14 From much more intimate experience, Florence Nightingale adds her tribute, begging to be permitted a nun's training in preparation for her own nursing career: "For what training is there compared with that of a Catholic Those ladies who are not Sisters have not the chastened temper, the Christian grace, the accomplished loveliness and energy of the regular nun." 18 At the continued sight of such lives, devoted without recompense to an unceasing service in their behalf, these girls cannot maintain the cynicism that scoffs, "Everybody's got his racket. What wonder that in daily association with such beauty of character the blighted maiden grows to sweet and modest womanhood?

Such, then, is the religious formation of these girls. In other respects their Good Shepherd training is much that of any good girl's boarding school, with the one exception that these girls seldom leave the spacious grounds, and then only for home visits as a reward for good conduct. Academic instruction is given from grades 7 to 12. The graduates have been trained to competence in cosmetology or office work. Music is much used even in school hours, filling minds and memories with haunting, wholesome meladier.

BY THEIR FRUITS TE SHALL KNOW THEM

All this with what final result? Is conduct improvement notable and firm? The Sisters frequently regret that the average stay with them is only 14 months, often a pitiful little while for lives so badly scarred. But most of the girls are committed by the courts and over their removal the Sisters have no control. These court cases are returned to the court caseworkers to whom they had been assigned and remain under their care until at 19 they pass out of the age group with Which we are concerned. A lack of financial resources has made it impossible to maintain individual check on graduates; but many remain in friendly contact with the Sisters, happy to tell of subsequent jobs, marriages, and children. And while no ade-Quate followup can be maintained, there is much testimony from unbiased and professional sources that the resuults are good, indeed.

In preparation for this article a letter was sent to the 27 juvenile courts in the United States making principal use of Good Shepherd homes. The presiding judges were asked whether the homes were a help to them in their efforts; how much, and why—if helpful at all. Of course, their answers would be matters of opinion, but intelligent, informed, reflective opinion. Where is anything better to be had? Despite the fact that the inquiry was made in the heart of the vacation season, there came these follow-

ing 15 prompt replies. From Marion K. Mathews, probation officer of the Peoria court: "The Sisters and their program have impressed me enormously. * * * In no case have I ever heard any epression but warmth and regard for them from the girls themselves. * * * In the girls I am working with the moral, ethical, and spiritual teaching has made very real inroads and is a positive influence in their behavior."

By Judge John J. Wingrave, of the New Orleans juvenile court, we are told: " * * In 95 percent of these cases the Sisters are able to work wonders with these girls, because of religious training and general spiritual at-From the Nashville juvenile court, Judge D. F. Blackman writes: always found the spirit of cooperation and attitude of the institution most pleasing. * * * The convent is a very valuable asset not only to this court but for the State as well." A Helena district judge, Victor H. Fall, reports that the girls he commits are often too far gone to be much impressed; however, "I know of girls of that age who have been affected by, and, of course, help-fully, being brought face to face with active practicing Christianity." From the Cleveland juvenile court, Judge Harry L. Eastman reports: "On the whole, very good work is being done at this school. The influence of the Sisters has been helpful and few girls who have completed their period of training are returned to court."

A Seattle judge of the superior court. William G. Long, is equally impressed: "Every contact with the management impresses me with their earnestness and devotion to the best welfare of the children. * * * Accordingly. I consider the Home of the Good Shepherd one of our most valuable resources for rehabilitation and redemption." The St. The St. Louis juvenile court judge, James F. Nangle, adds his praise: "You may be assured that I cannot pra e the good work of the Sisters too highly. Without their help we would find it quite difficult to function in this community." A judge of the circuit court, Kansas City, Mo., Henry A. Riederer, feels he has too recently assumed office to speak with other than an interested citizen's experience of many years; he believes that the sacrifices of the Sisters are a great boon to the communities fortunate enough to have their services.

The Omaha juvenile court, through Judge James T. English, reports: "Our overall experience with the local Good Shepherd Convent has been most satisfactory. * * out the facilities offered by the Good Shepherd, the court's work would lose much of its effectiveness." The Portland, Oreg., juvenile court judge, Donald E. Long, says that the convent is "one of our major resources for older adolescent girls having difficulty making an adjustment. Our working relationship with it is very close, and I might add a most happy one." We have two reports from the magistrate's courts of New York City. Judge Abraham M. Block says, "The religious teachings, the warmth and the understanding of the good sisters are a significant contribution to the moral reawakening of many of our girls." And Judge Peter M. Horn: "I have worked with the Sisters for over 14 years. Our record of achievement would not be possible were it not for the cooperation of the sisters. * * It is my firm conviction that in the planning of training schools of the future, we should encourage their establishment under religious aus-

The Louisville Juvenile Court uses its Good Shepherd home for difficult placements. Of it Judge Louis H. Jull says: "The results speak eloquently of the good work of the Sisters. * * * To me the success of the Sisters is amazing. I would not take time to argue with one inclined to the contrary view." From Cincinnati Juvenile Court, the chief probation officer, Harold R. Muntz, re-

ports "a most enthusiastic response" from his staff regarding the corrective work of their local home: "* * There are a few failures and if the Sisters are allowed to retain the girls until adjusted, the results have been most gratifying." Judge George Edwards of the Detroit juvenile courts tells much the same story: "There is no question about the importance of religion in the rehabilitation of wayward children. * * Vista Maria and Villa Maria have proved excellent answers for the future of many wayward girls sent there by this court whose lives otherwise would have continued in a criminal and immoral pattern."

We have kept to the last the response of Philip B. Gilliam of Denver, given as president of the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges, with 17 years of judicial ex-

perience:

"In my opinion the Home of the Good Shepherd has been a great assistance to the juvenile court * * * the guidance given to the young girls is excellent. I am not of the Catholic faith and you may be assured that this is a strictly unbiased report. Many girls have written me thanking me for placing them in the care of the convent. * * * Frankly, I would be at a loss if I did not have the convent to help solve these more difficult problems."

Not content with that testimony, Judge Gilliam has sent the enthusiastic comments of a Mormon girl from Utah, at 14 years of age guilty of long distant and repeated flights from home, and of parental defiance.

The following is from her story.

"My probation officer had previously recommended delinquent girls to the Home of the Good Shepherd and many of them had come back with outstanding qualities in their character makeup toward becoming good citizens. * * My mother was greatly impressed since she thought the one principle I needed was religion and it was definite that I was in need of a change in environment. She knew, too, that the thought and practice of religion were almost completely absent within our home as a result of long years of negligence. It was decided I be sent to the Good Shepherd Home in Denver. * *

"The warm welcome from the first Sisters I ever met deeply impressed me, and it was something I will never forget. On the third day of my arrival I was placed with the girls some of whom were not very sociable. Because of this I frequently kept to myself and was absent from recreation. I occupied my spare time reading. Because I was homesick and repenting for my previous occasions of wrong-doing, I found a great deal of comfort in reading religious literature, and novels. This was certainly to my advantage, for I learned a great deal of what religion was and what it meant. * *

"The wonderful sisters took great interest in my ambitions and tried to accommodate me in every way, and I am deeply grateful for their kindness. I, too, tried to help the sisters in every possible way; although I did little, I always felt happy for what I could do, and I felt I received ample grace for my generosity in helping them do God's work.

"The letters I wrote to my family were always on the spiritual order. I found so much happiness in learning to know and love God that I wanted my family to share a little of the joy I possessed.

"In my senior year I made the final decision of wanting to be a registered nurse. At this time I also received the \$25 war bond from the Honorable Philip Gilliam as the most outstanding student of our graduating class.

"I feel that my progress has been largely due to the religious environment in the Home of the Good Shepherd, and has contributed greatly toward the development of my character. It has also played an important part in regards to my outlook on life—namely, the spiritual side."

Footnotes at end of speech.

To sum up: In our use of the Good Shepherd homes as examples of the delinquencypreventive and corrective force of religion we have shown religion as the force that attracted and welded together the 10,000 dedicated women who are giving their lives to this work in the Good Shepherd Order around the world. We have shown religion, too, as the force that inspired the donors of funds for the erection of their institutions. We have finally shown religion as the means and final end of the retraining of each problem girl. Our testimony has been to the power of religion as religion, the "spirit of reverence of the individual for Almighty God." Thus our claim for religion is something quite other than the concession of the secularist to the reformative powers of religion acting as a mere welfare institution maintaining asceptic swimming pools, character-building rumpus rooms, and dairy bars. Religion can and should use such things. But religion has its own unique contribution to make over and beyond.

CAN SECULAR METHODS (OR SECULARISM) SUC-CEED IN DELINQUENCY PREVENTION?

But, we are asked, aren't such results of delinquency prevention possible from secu-lar methods? From methods consistent with the naturalistic concept of man as a product of blind materialistic evolution from a life cell spontaneously generated on the shore of a Paleozoic sea at low tide, from sunkissed slime? In reply it should be remembered, as Reinhold Niebuhr has well said, that secularized morality "lives parasitically upon the religious convictions of the past." What, in fact, is morality in a frankly secularized social order? Dr. Millard S. Everett, of the University of Minnesota, makes bold to give us his manmade earthbound sex

"Any desire whether powerful or weak, or any end whether chief or small, may with perfect morality be realized, and should be realized, providing it does not interfere with the realization of other desires to the extent of reducing the sum total of human sat-

isfaction." " And Dr. Donald Taft, of the University of Illinois, is somewhat more specific in his description of what-with no word of approval-he conceives to be the current sex

code of the secularized college campus:
1. Though "necking" is permissible and even advocated, it should stop short of actual intercourse.

"2, "Heavy necking" should be confined to a couple who are "going steady." Though generally excluding intercourse this implies: "3. A sort of temporary monogamy.

"4. Married couples should ideally be true to each other." "

No wonder Dr. Kinsey has found so many hard-eyed coeds who count the day lost that has not known its orgasm. Such casual campus queens would be quarantined from the honest unwed mothers of a Good Shep-

herd home. The embarrassment of the consistent secularist in his work of developing character even among nondelinquents is clear from probably the outstanding plan of the kind, the Children's Morality Code inculcated through the Iowa plan, both projects of the Character Education Institution, Washington, D. C. The authors were faced with task of developing character within a framework which could allow no reference to God, to religion, to spiritual soul, or free will. The motive for morality should be "to be a good American." The ultimate urge to morality lay in "the earth life in which we live and move and have our being." person is morally safe, we are assured, "who has reverence within his inner parts." (What are the inner parts of a mere anthro-

poid, we are not told.) Characteristically vague, too, and at most half true, are such generalizations as, "Admiration for comely objects is schooling in the highest act of worship." (Flo Ziegfeld with his Follies worship." (Flo Ziegfeld with his Follies built better than he knew.)

But whatever the merits of the secular scheme, its possibilities are all available to the religious. Religious character training gives point and spirit and compelling motive to the finest product of secularism. With some chosen spirits, as George Washington has said, secular motivation may perhaps suffice; but "reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle." With the added wisdom of a century and a half of national experience, President Eisenhower reminds us again of that truth: "Only religious faith, perpetually renewed, is equal to the challenge of today's tyrants.'

America, September 27, 1952, p. 616 ff.
 Brooklyn Tablet, May 15, 1954, p. 3.
 New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952,

*Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency, Cambridge; The Commonwealth Fund, 1950, p. 287.

⁵ Ibid., p. 166.

*Ibid., pp. 183-197.

*Edwin Powers and Helen Witmer, An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency, New York; Columbia University Press, 1951.

Ibid., p. vi. * Ibid., p. 154.

19 Raphael McCarthy, Safeguarding Mental Health. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1937, p. 254n.

" Basic Psychiatry. New York: Random House, 1952, p. 349.

Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 462.
 Atlantic Monthly, October 1938, p. 511.

¹⁴ History of European Morals, vol. II, chapter V. p. 370.

15 James J. Walsh, the History of Nursing, P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1929, p. 224.

36 Contributions of Religion to Social Work. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932,

17 The Need for Birth Control. New York: Vanguard Press, 1938, p. 17.

18 Criminology (rev. ed.). New York: Macmillan Co., 1950, p. 280.

The California Avocado Crop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to advise that I have just received a report from the avocado growers of my congressional district in southern California, which indicates that this year's crop is reaching an all-time high in production. Ten to twelve carloads are being shipped to all parts of the United States each day. Prices are now 25 percent lower than last year's crops, and the quality is of the best. The avocado is appreciated not only for its wonderful flavor but for its practicability and high protein content. For economy and value, I am urging that Government agencies give consideration to purchasing avocados while they are so plentiful.

St. Patrick's Day Address by Judge Leonard P. Walsh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following address by Leonard P. Walsh, chief judge, municipal court for the District of Columbia, March 17, 1955, before the Ancient Order of Hibernians:

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellency Arch-bishop Patrick A. O'Boyle, Your Excellency Bishop McNamara, Right Reverend and Very Reverend Monsignori, Reverend Fathers, the Honorable Oren Harris, of Arkansas, and his learned colleagues, distinguished guests, members of the Ladies' Auxiliary and of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and friends, it is a signal honor to be invited by the Ancient Order of Hibernians to say a few words on this anniversary of the death of the patron saint of Ireland. St. Patrick's Day is a traditional occasion in America when everyone becomes Irish.

Would that I had the eloquent accent of a Robert Emmett or of a Daniel O'Connell to bring to you some new expression or new description of a day set aside in the hearts

of the Irish.

St. Patrick's Day is synonomous with laughter, galety, and a common expression of an inward feeling for a land that most of us have never seen, but which gave birth to those closer than all others in the worldour own mothers and fathers.

At a tender and impressionable age we came to know and love that land, its habits, traditions and history, from a most authoritative source-the oral recitations of our parents. Undoubtedly many of the sorrows and painful experiences of an oppressed and poverty ridden people were described through eyes and recollections that dimmed the sadness and enhanced the gladness of their recollection. For no land could be as beautiful as painted by them.

And so it is that we are gathered here tonight as representatives of an ancient order-an order that reaches back through the centuries to an early period when the Knights of the Golden Charm and the Bardic Order gathered around the ancient kings. Their basic concepts of social ideals were expressed in patriotism to Ireland.

As we know, the order itself was part and parcel of the ancient island, and was in existence and receptive to the presence and the teaching of the patron saint. The Ancient Hibernian Order of Knighthood was consecrated by the early Christian priesthood. The form was enriched with religious ceremonies, and its close alliance with the mother church has continued to the present

OUR MODERN DAY

As we know, because of political oppression and religious persecution many of the Irish scattered abroad-not only to America, but to Spain, to France, to Austria.

The Sons of Erin-loyal sons of the mother church-joined together in the modern order with the basic concept of pledging friendship, unity, and true Christian charity. The ancient order was transferred to our friendly shores in 1836. The charter is clear and expresses the basic concept better than any other words:

"You must love, without dissimulation, hating evil, cleaving to the good. Love one

another with brotherly love-let the love of brotherhood abide in you, and forget not hospitality to your emigrant brother that may land on your shores, and we advise you, above all things, have natural charity among yourselves."

In 1838 our society became known as the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and since that time its members have remained steadfast in loyal service to the King of Kings.

The ladies auxiliary is not the least of this order and has in the past and is at present the heart of our organization. The auxiliary in the District has been paid great honor by having among its members, Miss Lillian Fay, a national president. We pay our respect to the ladies of our order and to their patronnesses, the Holy Mother and St.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians is this year signally honored by having as its national president that fine man who bears the name Michael Dowd, whose only interest in life is to be helpful to other people. We are proud of his accomplishments and suc-

cess.

But, why do we cling to the memories, and why are we so proud of a land that is so small, so lacking in world importance, with no wordly goods, no great place in the seat of nations, no great political influence?

We are proud, and we are gathered here tonight, because the people of that land have ideals of liberty and freedom that predominate and persevere. They are God-given ideals and are kept alive by families from one end to the other of our land. There is no division in these ideals, they merge one into the other, they go to make up an entity. These ideals of liberty and freedom are best exemplified in

1. Love of God and the Holy Mother the Church.

2. Love of home and family.

3. Love of country.

Tonight we pay tribute to that land's patron saint. St. Patrick took with him into Ireland, and handed to posterity, two great and related ideas, faith and freedom.

We know St. Patrick was born in what is now Wales, late in the fourth century, the son of a Christian deacon. At the age of 16 he was captured by pagans and taken to Ireland as a slave, and tended swine. After 6 years of slavery, he escaped to England and then went to France and studied in a monastery and was ordained. About 432 A. D. he returned as a missionary to Ireland. While studying for the priesthood he received the call for his missionary work, to return to the land of his captivity.

St. Patrick's time was an era of confusion. The Roman Empire was disintegrating and with it the political structure of the civilized world. Britain was no longer protected by Roman troops and was invaded by pirates. There was fear and uncertainty where once had been the order of the Roman Empire.

It should be remembered that Ireland was not a part of the Roman Empire; it was beond the limits of the Roman order and civilization. St. Patrick returned to the land which had held him a captive, where there were few Christians, and no ordered society existing.

As an apostle of the Christian faith, St. Patrick made Ireland dominantly Christian, and for the next 700 years Ireland was a center of learning, and a center of missionary activity. From Ireland went missionaries to Scotland, to northern and central Europe, and to all parts of the world.

As an apostle of freedom, St. Patrick, the former slave, endeavored to make people free. He inspired the people of Ireland to live under laws and to purify the literature in their schools. St. Patrick loved the Irish character and he sought to save their ancient language and literature and to reconcile them with Christian character. He enabled the Irish folk to throw off their ancient

pagan beliefs and to olish a national life LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF and government according to Christian principles, and instilled in them an ideal of freedom and good government based upon a spirit of justice and enlightenment for which the Irish have fought and died throughout the past 15 centuries.

The Irish have carried on the fight for their ideals of liberty and freedom in a bold imaginative manner. Their humor, wit, and fighting qualities have always been used to accomplish these fundamental ideals.

This heritage has been handed down through the heroes of other days-Cormac, Finn and Brian Boru, Tyrone, Red Hugh, Hugh O'Neil, Robert Emmett, O'Connell, Parnell, Collins, our own Barry-and untold thousands of leaders in our own land up to the present day.

That ideal has spread throughout the Western World and to America. It is not necessary to note that the Irish were numerous in the colonization of America and brought with them ideals of freedom-of religion, speech, and assembly. There were Irish among the pioneers of American liberty and they have remained vigorous defenders of the rights and liberties of the common man. They brought with them and have maintained a loyalty to ancient spiritual sanctions and a strain of poetic tenderness in the American life.

As we all know, the Irish have made outstanding contributions to the American scene and history—as signers of the Declaration of Independence; Members of the Continental Congress; soldiers under George Washington; in the settlement of the West; in religion, professions, industry, politics, and government; and in our culture, entertainment, humor, and sports.

Just to deviate a moment, let us reflect on one of the great institutions of learning and its history. Even the lineup of the Norwegian-started "fighting Irish of Notre

lists 1 or 2 Irish names. Dame"

We Americans of Irish descent, with our inheritance of faith and love of freedom in all things, must carry on in the tradition of St. Patrick and his followers against the evils of the present day, at home and in the world. We must keep alive those God-given qualities of love of God, the Holy Mother the church, love of home and family, and love of country.

The sons of Erin are well equipped in personal qualities to carry on as leaders in any and all fields—warmth and enthusiasm; a sense of humor, no matter how great the adversities of life; a fear of God; the ideal of family life, with the mother as the personification of the Christian virtues inspiring the entire family to purity, integrity, and unity. With these, we cannot fail. We are citizens of the country that is the fairest flower in God's great garden and we must preserve our ideals and history.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when

recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing. who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable). copies of the daily RECORD, of which I shall be delivered at his residence, I at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the dally RECORD at \$1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

REPRESENTATIVES WITH	Ch
RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON	Ch
OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building, Washington, D. C.	1
[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]	Ch
Speaker, Sam Rayburn	Ch
Abbitt, Watkins M., Va	Cla
Abernethy, Thos. G., Miss6278 29th St.	Cle
Adair, E. Ross, Ind3971 Langley Ct.,	Co
Addonizio, Hugh J., N. J	Co
Albert, Carl, Okla	. Co
Alexander, Hugh Q., N. C	Co
Allen John J. Jr. Calif	Co
Allen, John J., Jr., Calif Allen, Leo E., Ill	Cra
Andersen, H. Carl, Minn4545 Conn. Ave.	Cre
Andrews, George W., Ala3108 Cathedral	Cri
Are.	Cu
Anfuso, Victor L., N. Y	Cu
Arends, Leslie C., Ill4815 Dexter St.	Cu
Ashley, Thomas L., Ohio Ashmore, Robert T., S. C	Da Da
Aspinall, Wayne N., Colo_Arlington Towers,	Da
Arlington, Va.	-
Auchincloss, James C., N. J_113 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.	Da
	Da
Avery, William H., Kans Ayres, William H., Ohio	Da
Bailey, Cleveland M., W. Va_ Baker, Howard H., Tenn Baldwin, John F., Jr., Calif_ Barden, Graham A., N. C2737 Devonshire Pl.	Day
Baldwin John F Jr Calif	Del
Barden, Graham A., N. C 2737 Devonshire	Det
Pl.	Der
Barrett, William A., Pa Bass, Perkins, N. H	De
Bass, Ross, Tenn	Die
Bass, Ross, Tenn Bates, William H., Mass	Dig
Baumhart, A. D., Jr., Ohio_ Beamer, John V., Ind110 Maryland	Dir
Ave. NE.	Do
Becker Frank J N V 1727 Mass Ave.	Do
Belcher, Page, Okla	Do
Belcher, Page, Okla	Do
Bennett, John B., Mich 7304 Bradley Blvd.	Do
Bethesda, Md.	
	Do
	Do Do
Berry, E. Y., S. Dak2720 Terrace Road SE.	Do
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak2720 Terrace Road SE. Betts, Jackson E., Ohio	Do Do
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Do Do
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Do Do
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak2720 Terrace Road SE. Betts, Jackson E., Ohio Blatnik, John A., Minn Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga Boggs, Hale, La Boland, Edward P., Mass	Do Do Du Eb
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak2720 Terrace Road SE. Betts, Jackson E., Ohio Blatnik, John A., Minn Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga Boggs, Hale, La Boland, Edward P., Mass	Do Do Do Eb Ed Ell
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Do Do Du Eb Ed Ell Ell
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Do Do Do Eb Ed Ell
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Do Do Do Eb Ed Ell Ell En Ev
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Do Do Do Do Eb Ed Ell Ell En Ev Fa
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Do Do Do Do Eb Ed Ell Ell En Fa
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Do Do Do Do Eb Ed Ell Ell En Fa Fa Fe Fe
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	DO D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	DO D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	DO D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	Do D
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	DO D

Chiperfield, Robert B., III1713 House Office Building
Christopher, George H.,
Mo. Chudoff, Earl, Pa Church, Marguerite Stitt, 2122 Mass. Ave.
Clark, Frank M., Pa
Clark, Frank M., PaThe Jefferson Cole, W. Sterling, N. Y1610 44th St. Colmer, William M., MissCooley, Harold D., N. CThe Dorchester
Cooley, Harold D., N. CThe Dorchester
Cooper, Jere, Tenn
Corbett, Robert J., Pa Coudert, F. R., Jr., N. Y
Cramer, William C., Fla454 Tindall St. Cretella, Albert W., Conn
Crumpacker, Shepard J., Jr., Ind.
Curningham, Paul, Iowa Curtis, Laurence, Mass3314 O St. Curtis, Thomas B., Mo
Curtis, Thomas B., Mo
Dague, Paul B., Pa Davidson, Irwin D., N. Y
Davis, Clifford, Tenn4611 Butter- worth Pl.
Davis, Glenn R., Wis2550 South Joyce, Arlington, Va. Davis, James C., Ga Dawson, William A., Utah
Dawson William L. III
Delaney, James J., N. Y
Deane, Charles B., N. C Delaney, James J., N. Y Dempsey, John J., N. Mex. 2500 Q St. Denton, Winfield K., Ind
Derounian, Steven B., N. Y. Devereux, James P. S., Md.
Dies, Martin, Tex Diggs, Charles C., Jr., Mich. The Congressional
Dingell, John D., Mich
Dixon, Henry Aldous, Utah_ Dodd, Thomas J., Conn
Dollinger, Isidore, N. Y.—— Dollinger, James I., Iowa——3752 Jocelyn St. Dondero, George A., Mich.—The Continental Donobly, Haydd D. Mass
Dondero, George A., MichThe Continental
Donovan, James G., N. Y
Donohue, Harold D., Mass. Donovan, James G., N. Y. Dorn, Francis E., N. Y. Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C.
Dovle Clyde Calif 3877 30th St. N.
Arlington, Va. Durham, Carl T., N. CThe Lee House
Edmondson, Ed, Okla Elliott, Carl, Ala
Fileworth Harris Oren 4301 Mass Ave.
Engle, Clair, Cutt/
Arlington, Va. Evins, Joe L., Tenn5044 Klingle St. Fallon, George H., Md
Fascell, Dante B., Fla
Feighan, Michael A., Ohio- Fenton, Ivor D., Pa3725 Macomb St. Fernandez, A. M., N. Mex-200 C St. SE.
Fernandez, A. M., N. Mex_200 C St. SE.
Fino, Paul A., N. YCalvert_Woodley
Fjare, Orvin B., Mont
Fine, Sidney A., N. Y Fino, Paul A., N. Y Fisher, O. C., Tcx Calvert-Woodley Fjare, Orvin B., Mont Flood, Daniel J., Pa The Congressional Flynt, John J., Jr., Ga Fogarty, John E., R. I 3627 Chesapeake
Forand, Aime J., R. I.——4108 Dresden St., Kensington, Md.
Ford, Gerald R., Jr., Mich514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria,
Va.
Fountain, L. H., N. C3251 Q St.
Forrester, E. L., Ga3251 Q St. Fountain, L. H., N. C3251 Q St. Frazier, Jas. B., Jr., Tenn. Fairfax Hotel Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr., 3014 N St.
N. J. Priedel, Samuel N., Md
Fulton, James G., Pa
Gamble, Ralph A., N. Y Garmatz, Edward A., Md
Gary, J. Vaughan, Va Garry 31st Pl.
Gavin, Leon H., Pa
Gary, J. Vaughan, Va
Gordon, Thomas S., Ill

Grant, George M., Ala	
Haie, Robert, Maine	Gray, Kenneth J., Ill
Halleck, Charles A., Ind	
Arlington, Va. Harrison, Robert D., Nebr Harvey, Ralph, Ind	Halleck, Charles A., Ind4926 Upton St. Hand, T. Millet, N. J Harden, Cecil M., IndThe Congressional Hardy, Porter, Jr., Va Harris, Oren, Ark1627 Myrtle St.
Ave. NE. Hays, Brooks, Ark	Harrison, Robert D., Nebr
Henderson, John E., Ohio125 Marthas Rd., Herlong, A. S., Jr., Fla	Ave. NE. Hays, Brooks, Ark314 2d St. SE. Hays, Wayne L., OhioThe Woodner Hayworth, Don, Mich Hébert, F. Edward, La104 Cockrell St.,
Herlong, A. S., Jr., Fla	Henderson, John E., Ohio_125 Marthas Rd.,
Hillings, Patrick J., Calif— Hinshaw, Carl, Calif— Hoeven, Charles B., Iowa 2108 Suitland Terrace SE. Hoffman, Richard W., Ill— Holifield, Chet, Calif— Holmes, Hal, Wash— Holt, Joe, Calif— Holtzman, Lester, N. Y— Hope, Clifford R., Kans—3541 Brandywine St. Horan, Walt, Wash— Hosmer, Craig, Calif— Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo— Hyde, DeWitt S., Md— Ikard, Frank, Tex— Jackson, Donald L., Calif— James, Benjamin F., Pa—200 C St. SE. Jarnan, John, Okla— Jensen, Ben F., Iowa— The Washing— ton House Johansen, August E., Mich— Johnson, Leroy, Calif——630 North Carolina Ave. SE. Jonas, Charles Raper, N. C. Jones, Paul C., Mo——3613 Greenway Fl., Alexandria, Va. Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala— Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala— Jones, Woodrow W., N. C.— Judd, Walter H., Minn——3083 Ordway St. Karsten, Frank M., Mo— Kean, Robert W., N. J——2435 Kalorama Road Kearney, B. W. (Pat), N. Y Kearns, Carroll D., Pa——Sheraton-Park Keating, Kenneth B., N. Y. 1249 31st St. Kee, Elizabeth, W. Va— Kelly, Edna F., N. Y— Keogh, Eugene J., N. Y— Keogh, Eugene J., N. Y— Keogh, Eugene J., N. Y— Keig, Cecil R., Calif— King, Carlot R., Calif— King, Carlot R., Calif— King, Karl C., Pa— Kirwan, Michael J., Ohio— Klein, Arthur G., N. Y— Kenty, Venty, Carlot Michael Kenty, Carlot Michael Kenty, Venty, Johio— Klein, Arthur G., N. Y— Kenty, Venty, Johio— Kenty,	Herlong, A. S., Jr., Fla Heselton, John W., Mass Hess, William E., Ohio Hiestand, Edgar W., Calij
Terrace SE. Hoffman, Clare E., Mich. Methodist Bldg. Hoffman, Richard W., Ill Holifield, Chet, Calif Holt, Joe, Calif Holt, Joe, Calif Holtzman, Lester, N. Y Hope, Clifford R., Kans 3541 Brandywine St. Horan, Walt, Wash Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo	Ave. NE. Hillings, Patrick J., Calif Hinshaw, Carl, Calif
Holmen, Chen, Calif Holtzman, Lester, N. Y Hope, Ciliford R., Kans	Transport CH
Horan, Walt, Wash	Holmers, Hal. Wash Holt, Joe, Calif Holtzman, Lester, N. Y Hope, Clifford R., Kans3541 Brandywine
Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa 200 C St. SE. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio. The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat, Va	Horan, Walt, Wash Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George, Jr.,
Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa	
Johansen, August E., Mich. Johnson, Leroy, Calif	Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. SE. Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio The Mayflower Jennings, W. Pat. Va Jensen, Ben F., Iowa The Washing-
Johnson, Lester R., Wis3816 Pope St. SE. Jonas, Charles Raper, N. C. Jones, Paul C., Mo3613 Greenway Pl., Alexandria, Va. Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala Jones, Woodrow W., N. C Judd, Walter H., Minn3083 Ordway St. Karsten, Frank M., Mo Kean, Robert W., N. J2435 Kalorama Road Kearney, B. W. (Pat), N. Y. Kearns, Carroll D., PaSheraton-Park Keating, Kenneth B., N. Y. 1249 31st St. Kee, Elizabeth, W. Va	Johnson, Leroy, Calif630 North Caro-
Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala Jones, Woodrow W., N. C Judd, Walter H., Minn3083 Ordway St. Karsten, Frank M., Mo Kean, Robert W., N. J2435 Kalorama Road Kearney, B. W. (Pat), N. Y. Kearns, Carroll D., PaSheraton-Park Keating, Kenneth B., N. Y. 1249 31st St. Kee, Elizabeth, W. Va Kelley, Augustine B., Pa Kelly, Edna F., N. Y Keogh, Eugene J., N. Y The Mayflower Kilhurn, Clarence E., N. Y. The Gen. Scott Kilday, Paul J., Tex 3507 AlbemarleSt. King, Cecil R., Calif King, Karl C., Pa Klein, Arthur G., N. Y Klein, Arthur G., N. Y	Johnson, Lester R., Wis3816 Pope St. SE. Jonas, Charles Raper, N. C. Jones, Paul C., Mo3613 Greenway
Karsten, Frank M., Mo Kean, Robert W., N. J 2435 Kalorama Kearney, B. W. (Pat), N. Y. Kearns, Carroll D., Pa Sheraton-Park Keating, Kenneth B., N. Y.1249 31st St. Kee, Elizabeth, W. Va Kelley, Augustine B., Pa Kelly, Edna F., N. Y Keogh, Eugene J., N. Y The Mayflower Kilburn, Clarence E., N. Y. The Gen. Scott Kilday, Paul J., Tex 3507 AlbemarleSt. Kilgore, Joe M., Tex King, Cecil R., Calif King, Karl C., Pa Klein, Arthur G., N. Y Klein, Arthur G., N. Y Klein, Arthur G., N. Y Knox, Victor A., Mich	Va
Kearney, B. W. (Pat), N. Y. Kearns, Carroll D., Pa Sheraton-Park Keating, Kenneth B., N. Y.1249 31st St. Kee, Elizabeth, W. Va Kelley, Augustine B., Pa Kelley, Augustine B., Pa Kelly, Edna F., N. Y The Mayflower Keogh, Eugene J., N. Y The Gen. Scott Kildurn, Clarence E., N. Y. The Gen. Scott Kilday, Paul J., Tex 3507 AlbemarleSt. Kilgore, Joe M., Tex Kilgore, Joe M., Tex King, Cecil R., Calif King, Karl C., Pa Kirwan, Michael J., Ohio Klein, Arthur G., N. Y Kluczynski, John C., Ill Knox, Victor A., Mich	
	Karsten, Frank M., Mo Kean, Robert W., N. J2435 Kalorama

CONGRESSIONAL AECORD

Laird, Melvin R., Wis Landrum, Phil M., Ga	Pilcher, J. L., Ga Pillion, John R., N. Y	Tumulty, T. James, N. J Udall, Stewart L., Ariz
Lane, Thomas J., Mass	Poage, W. R., Tex2309 Skyland	Utt, James B., Calif
Lanham, Henderson, Ga	Pl. SE.	Vanik, Charles A., Ohio
Lankford, Richard E., Md Latham, Henry J., N. Y	Poff, Richard H., Va Polk, James G., Ohio	Van Pelt, William K., Wis
LeCompte, Karl M., Iowa_Sheraton-Park	Powell, Adam C., Jr., N. Y	Van Zandt, James E., PaThe Senate Court Velde, Harold H., Ill
Lesinski, John, Jr., Mich	Preston, Prince H., Jr., Ga.	Vinson, Carl, Ga4 Primrose St.,
Lipscomb, Glenard P., Calif.	Price, Melvin, Ill	Chevy Chase, Md
Lorg, George S., La Lovre, Harold O., S. Dak1605 Sherwood	Priest, J. Percy, TennThe Berkshire	Vorys, John M., Ohio2032 Belmont Rd
Road, Silver	Prouty, Winston L., Vt	Vursell, Charles W., IllThe Congres-
Spring, Md.	Quigley, James M., Pa	sional
McCarthy, Eugene J., Minn_419 Raymond St.,	Rabaut, Louis C., Mich Radwan, Edmund P., N. Y_	Wainwright, Stuyvesant, N. Y.
Chevy Chase, Md.	Rains, Albert, Ala	Walter, Francis E., Pa
McConnell, Samuel K., Jr.,	Ray, John H., N. Y	Watts, John C., Ky
Pa,	Rayburn, Sam, Tex	Weaver, Phil, Nebr9408 Crosby Rd.,
McCormack, John W., Mass. The Washington	Reece, B. Carroll, Tenn	Westland Jack Wash Silver Spring, Mc
McCulloch, Wm. M., OhioWestchester Apts. McDonough, G. L., Calif	Reed, Chauncey W., Ill2009 Glen Ross Rd., Silver Spring,	Westland, Jack, Wash Wharton, J. Ernest, N. Y
McDowell, Harris B., Jr.,	Md.	Whitten, Jamie L., Miss 5804 Nebraska
Del.	Reed, Daniel A., N. Y The Woodner	Ave.
McGregor, J. Harry, Ohio_The Westchester	Rees, Edward H., Kans1801 16th St.	Wickersham, Victor, Okla
McIntire, Clifford G.,	Reuss, Henry S., Wis2750 32d St.	Widnall, William B., N. J.
McMillan, John L., S. C 1201 S. Barton St.,	Rhodes, George M., Pa1809 Franklin St. NE.	Wier, Roy W., Minn Wigglesworth, R. B., Mass_3257 N. St.
Arlington, Va.	Rhodes, John J., Ariz	Williams, Harrison, Jr.,
McVey, William E., Ill3130 Wisconsin	Richards, James P., S. C	N. J.
Ave.	Riehlman, R. Walter, N. Y_3210 Wis. Ave.	Williams, John Bell, Miss1001 26th Road S
Macdonald, Torbert H.,	Riley, John J., S. C.	Arlington, Va.
Mass.	Rivers, L. Mendel, S. C	Williams, William R., N. Y_1241 Pa. Ave. SE.
Machrowicz, Thaddeus M., 812 Park Ave.,	Roberts, Kenneth A., Ala_4545 Conn. Ave. Robeson, Edward J., Jr., Va_	Willis, Edwin E., La Wilson, Earl, Ind
Mich. Falls Church, Va.	Robsion, John M., Jr., Ky1500 Delafield Pl.	Wilson, Robert C. (Bob),
Mack, Peter F., Jr., Ill Mack, Russell V., Wash	Rodino, Peter W., Jr., N. J	Calif.
Madden, Ray J., Ind3250 T St. SE.	Rogers, Byron G., Colo	Winstead, Arthur, Miss
Magnuson, Don, Wash	Rogers, Edith Nourse, Mass. The Shoreham Rogers, Paul G., Fla	Withrow, Gardner R., Wis-
Mahon, George H., TexAlban Towers	Rogers, Walter, Tex	Wolcott, Jesse P., Mich3707 Thornapple St., Chevy Chase
Mailliard, William S., Calif.	Rooney, John J., N. Y	Wolverton, Charles A., N. J_1336 HOB
Marshall, Fred, Minn Martin, Jos. W., Jr., MassThe Hay-Adams	Roosevelt, James, Calif	Wright, Jim, Tex
Mason, Noah M., IllThe Baronet	Rutherford, J. T., Tex	Yates, Sidney R., Ill
Matthews, D. R. (Billy),	Sadlak, Antoni N., Conn	Young, Clifton (Cliff), Nev_3202 So. Stafford
Fla.	St. George, Katharine, N. Y.	St., Arlington, V
Meader, George, Mich3360 Tennyson St.	Saylor, John P., Pa Schenck, Paul F., Ohio3801 Conn. Ave.,	Younger, J. Arthur, Calif4545 Conn. Ave.
Merrow, Chester E., N. H Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Apt. 307	Zablocki, Clement J., Wis
Miller, A. L., Nebr2801 East-West	Scherer, Gordon H., OhioThe Mayflower	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y
Highway, Chevy	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	DELEGATES
Chase, Md.	Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE.
Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave.	Ave.	Alaska.
Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend	Scudder, Hubert B., Calif 4545 Conn. Ave.	Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii.
Lane, Kensing-	Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr.,	RESIDENT COMMISSIONER
ton, Md.	Conn.	Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St.
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave.	Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va.	
Minshall, William E., Ohio_	Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., III	OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE
Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va.	Shelley, John F., Calif	Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts.
Morano, Albert P., Conn	Sheppard, Harry R., Calif	Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller.
Morgan, Thomas E., Pa	Short, Dewey, Mo	Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. I
Morrison, James H., La4420 Dexter St.	Shuford, George A., N. CSheraton-Park	1421 Montague St.
Moss, John E., Jr., Calif	Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J. Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla	Postmaster—H. H. Morris.
Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y	Siler, Eugene, Ky	OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE
Mumma, Walter M., Pa The Coronet	Simpson, Richard M., Pa_4545 Conn. Ave.	
Murray, James C., Ill	Simpson, Sid, Ill2100 Mass. Ave.	SENATE
Murray, Tom, Tenn	Sisk, B. F., Calif	James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Cher
Natcher, William H., Ky5108 Bradley	Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St.	Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane.
Blvd., Bethesda,	Alexandria, Va.	Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St.
Nelson Charles B. Mains	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrac
Nelson, Charles P., Maine Nicholson, D. W., Mass	Smith, Wint, Kans	J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE.
Norblad, Walter, Oreg	Spence, Brent, KySheraton-Park Springer, William L., Ill	Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St
Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave.	Staggers, Harley O., W. Va.	Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St.
O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y	Steed, Tom, Okla	Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Di
O'Brien, Thomas J., IllThe Hamilton	Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo	Silver Spring, Md.
O'Hara, Barratt, IllThe Congressional	Taber, John, N. Y	Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St.
O'Hara, Joseph P., Minn2813 31st St.	Talle, Henry O., Iowa	Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Av
O'Konski, Alvin E., Wis4201 Mass. Ave. O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr.,	Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif	HOUSE
Mass.	Teague, Olin E., Tex6015 Mass. Ave.	W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Av
Osmers, Frank C., Jr., N. J.	Thomas, Albert, Tex2901 34th St.	Roy L. Whitman, 4820 Linnean Ave.
Ostertag, Harold C., N. Y_100 Maryland	Thompson, Clark W., TexSheraton-Park	F. S. Milberg, 5032 Massachusetts Ave.
Passman Otto P 72	Thompson, Frank, Jr., N. J.	E. B. Clark, 604 Bennington Dr., Silver Sprin
Passman, Otto E., La Patman, Wright, Tex117 Carroll St. SE.	Thompson, Ruth, Mich 726 So. Royal St.	Md. Frank E. Battaglia, 957 East-West Highway.
Patterson, James T., Conn.	Alexandria, Va.	Claude S. Scheckel, 6 East Blackthorne St
Pelly, Thomas M., Wash	Thomson, E. Keith, Wyo	Chevy Chase, Md.
Perkins, Carl D., Ky	Thornberry, Homer, Tex	Albert Schneider, 7516 14th St.
Phillip Phillip I Mass	Tollefson, Thor C., Wash	Paul L. Miller (clerk), Shadyside, Md.
Philbin, Philip J., Mass	Trimble, James W., Ark	Sidney W. Williston (assistant clerk), 183
Phillips, John, Calif	Tuck, William M., Va	Longford Drive, Hyattsville, Md.

CONGRESS RECORD

SENATORS WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

Office Address: Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated] Vice President, Richard Nixon

Aiken, George D., Vt_____Carroll Arms. Allott, Gordon, Colo____

Anderson, Clinton P., 6 Wesley Circle. N. Mex.

Barkley, Alben W., Ky..... The Woodner. Beall, J. Glenn, Md..... The Mayflower Bennett, George H., Ohio... The Mayflower Bennett, Wallace F., Utah...

Byrd, Harry Flood, Va The Shoreham. Capehart, Homer E., Ind ... The Westchester.

Carlson, Frank, Kans......Sheraton-Park
Case, Clifford P., N. J......
Case, Francis, S. Dak......4545 Conn. Ave.
Chavez, Dennis, N. Mex....3327 Cleveland _4545 Conn. Ave.

Ave. _2800 Woodley Rd. Clements, Earle C., Ky_____Cotton, Norris, N. H_____

Curtis, Carl T., Nebr Daniel, Price, Tex______ Dirksen, Everett M., Ill____ Douglas, Paul H., Ill____ Duff, James H., Pa_____

Dworshak, Henry C., Idaho_

Eastland, James O., Miss__5101 Macomb St. Ellender, Allen J., La_____Ervin, Samuel J., Jr., N. C__

Flanders, Ralph E., Vt____ Frear, J. Allen, Jr., Del____ Fulbright, J. William, Ark ...

George, Walter F., Ga____The Mayflower, Goldwater, Barry M., Ariz_

Gore, Albert, Tenn_____ Green, Theodore Francis, University Club. R. I.

Hayden, Carl, Ariz. Hennings, Thomas C., Jr.,

Mo. Hickenlooper, Bourke B., 5511 Cedar Park-Iowa. way, Chevy Chase,

Hill, Lister, Ala_ Holland, Spessard L., Fla__Sheraton-Park Hruska, Roman L., Nebr..... Humphrey, Hubert H.,

Minn. Ives, Irving M., N. Y ...

Jackson, Henry M., Wash__ Jenner, William E., Ind____ Johnson, Lyndon B., Tex__ Johnston, Olin D., S. C____

Kefauver, Estes, Tenn......4848 Upton St. Kennedy, John F., Mass..... Kerr, Robert S., Okla...... Kilgore, Harley M., W. Va...3834 Macomb St. Knowland, William F. Calif.

Kuchel, Thomas H., Calif__

Langer, William, N. Dak...The Roosevelt. Lehman, Herbert H., N. Y. Sheraton-Park Long, Russell B., La.....

McCarthy, Joseph R., Wis ... McClellan, John L., Ark.... McNamara, Pat, Mich.....

Magnuson, Warren G., The Shoreham.

Wash. Malone, George W., Nev ___ The Mayflower.

Mansfield, Mike, Mont.... Martin, Edward, Pa.... Martin, Thomas E., Iowa...

Millikin, Eugene D., Colo__ Monroney, A. S. Mike,

---- 5020 Lowell St.

Murray, James E., Mont ... The Shoreham.

Neely, Matthew M., W. Va ... Neuberger, Richard L., Oreg.

O'Mahoney, Joseph C., Sheraton-Park

Pastore, John O., R. 1____ Payne, Frederick G., Maine_ Potter, Charles E., Mich__ Purtell, William A., Conn__

Robertson, A. Willis, Va.... Russell, Richard B., Ga....

Saltonstall, Leverett, Mass_2320 Tracy Pl. Schoeppel, Andrew Kans.

Scott, W. Kerr, N. C ..

Smathers, George A., Fla...
Smith, H. Alexander, N. J...Sheraton-Park
Smith, Margaret Chase,
(Mrs.), Maine.

Sparkman, John J., Ala ____ 4920 Upton St. Stennis, John, Miss_ Symington, Stuart, Mo

Thurmond, Strom, S. C Thye, Edward J., Minn__

Watkins, Arthur V., *Utah*... Welker, Herman, *Idaho*....4823 Tilden St. Wiley, Alexander, *Wis*.....2122 Mass. Ave. Williams, John J., *Del*.....

Young, Milton R., N. Dak__Quebec House So.

OFFICERS OF THE SENATE

Secretary-Felton M. Johnston. Chief Clerk—Emery L. Frazier. Sergeant at Arms—Joseph C. Duke. Secretary for the Majority—Robert G. Baker. Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice. Chaplain-Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D.

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

Messrs. Ellender (chairman), Johnston of South Carolina, Holland, Anderson, Eastland, Clements, Humphrey, Scott, Aiken, Young, Thye, Hickenlooper, Mundt, Williams, and Schoeppel.

Committee on Appropriations

mmittee on App.

Hayden (chairman), Russell,
Kilgore, McClellan, Messrs. Chavez, Ellender, Hill, Kilgore, Chavez, Ellender, Hill, Kligore, McCleilan, Robertson, Magnuson, Holland, Stennis, Clements, Bridges, Saltonstall, Young, Know-land, Thye, McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Dworshak, Dirksen, and Potter.

Committee on Armed Services

Messrs. Russell (chairman), Byrd, Johnson Messrs. Russell (chairman), Byrd, Johnson of Texas, Kefauver, Stennis, Symington, Jackson, Ervin, Bridges, Saltonstall, Flanders, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Case of South Dakota, Duff, and Welker.

Committee on Banking and Currency

Messrs. Fulbright (chairman), Robertson, Sparkman, Frear, Douglas, Lehman, Mon-roney, Capehart, Bricker, Ives, Bennett, Bush, Beall, Payne, and Morse.

Committee on the District of Columbia Messrs. Neely (chairman), Gore. Bible, Mc-Namara, Beall, Hruska, Case of New Jersey, Allott, and Morse.

Committee on Finance

Messrs. Byrd (chairman), George, Kerr, Frear, Long, Smathers, Johnson of Texas, Barkley, Millikin, Martin of Pennsylvania, Williams, Flanders, Malone, Carlson, and Bennett.

Committee on Foreign Relations

Messrs. George (chairman), Green, Fulbright, Sparkman, Humphrey, Mansfield, Barkley, Wiley, Smith of New Jersey, Hicken-looper, Langer, Knowland, Aiken, Capehart, and Morse.

Committee on Government Operations

Messrs, McClellan (chairman), Jackson, Symington, Ervin, Humphrey, Kennedy, Symington, Ervin, Humphrey, Thurmond, McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Cotton, Bender, and Martin

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Messrs. Murray (chairman), Anderson, Long, Jackson, O'Mahoney, Scott, Bible, Neu-berger, Millikin, Malone, Watkins, Dworshak, Kuchel, Barrett, and Goldwater.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Messrs. Magnuson (chairman), Pastore, Monroney, Smathers, Daniel, Ervin, Bible,

Thurmond, Bricker, Schoeppel, Butler, Potter, Duff, Purtell, and Payne.

Committee on the Judiciary

Messrs. Kilgore (chairman), Eastland, Kefauver, Johnston of South Carolina, Hennings, McClellan, Daniel, O'Mahoney, Wiley, Langer, Jenner, Watkins, Dirksen, Welker,

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Messrs. Hill (chairman), Murray, Neely, Douglas, Lehman, Kennedy, McNamara, Smith of New Jersey, Ives, Purtell, Gold-water, Bender, and Allott.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

Messrs. Johnston of South Carolina (chairman), Neely, Pastore, Monroney, Hennings, Scott, Neuberger, Carlson, Jenner, Langer, Curtis, Martin of Iowa, and Case of New Jersey.

Committee on Public Works

Messrs. Chavez (chairman), Kerr. Gore. Symington, Thurmond, McNamara, Neuberger, Martin of Pennsylvania, Case of South Dakota, Bush, Kuchel, Cotton, and Hruska.

Committee on Rules and Administration

Messrs, Green (chairman), Hayden, Hen-nings, Gore, Mansfield, Jenner, Barrett, Mc-Carthy, and Curtis.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.

Mr. Justice Reed, of Kentucky, the Mayflower. Mr. Justice Frankfurter, of Massachusetts, 3018 Dumbarton Ave.

Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 3701 Connecticut Ave.

Mr. Justice Burton, of Ohio, the Dodge.

Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.

Mr. Justice Minton, of Indiana, the Methodist Building.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Clerk-Harold B. Willey, 3214 N. Wakefield St., Arlington, Va. Deputy Clerk—Reginald C. Dilli, 1329 Hem-lock St.

Deputy Clerk-Hugh W. Barr, 4701 Connecti-

cut Ave.

Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Road.

Reporter—Walter Wyatt, 1702 Kalmia Rd.

Librarian—Helen Newman, 126 3d St. SE.

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS JUSTICES ASSIGNED TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia. First judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frank-furter. Maine, New Hampshire, Massachu-setts, Rhode Island, Puerto Rico.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frankfurter (temporary appointment). Vermont, Connecticut, New York.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Burton, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Virgin Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Loui-siana, Texas, Canal Zone.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Reed. Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Min-

Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Arkansas.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Washington, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, Cali-fornia, Nevada, Arizona, Alaska, Hawaii. Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Kansas, Oklahoma,

New Mexico.

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE Committee on Agriculture

Messrs. Cooley (chairman), Poage, Grant, Gathings, McMillan, Abernethy, Albert, Abbitt, Polk, Thompson of Texas, Jones of Missouri, Watts, Hagen, Johnson of Wisconsin, Anfuso, Bass of Tennessee, Mrs. Knutson, Messrs. Jennings. Matthews, Hope, August H. Andresen, Hill, Hoeven, Simpson of Illinois, Dague, Harvey, Lovre, Belcher, McIntire, Williams of New York, King of Pennsylvania, Harrison of Nebraska, Laird, Dixon, Mrs. Farrington, Messrs. Bartlett, and Fernos-Isern.

Committee on Appropriations

Messrs. Cannon (chairman), Mahon, Sheppard, Thomas, Kirwan, Norrell, Whitten, Andrews, Rooney, Gary, Fogarty, Sikes, Fernandez, Preston, Passman, Rabaut, Yates, Marshall, Riley, Sieminski, Evins, Lanham, Deane, Shelley, Boland, Magnuson, Natcher, Flood, Denton, Murray of Ulincia Takey, Flood, Denton, Murray of Illinois, Taber, Wigglesworth, Jensen, H. Carl Andersen, Horan, Canfield, Fenton, Phillips, Scrivner, Coudert, Clevenger, Wilson of Indiana, Davis of Wisconsin, James, Ford, Miller of Mary-land, Vursell, Hand, Ostertag, and Bow,

Committee on Armed Services

Messrs. Vinson (chairman), Brooks of Lou-islana, Kilday, Durham, Rivers, Philbin, Hébert, Winstead, Price, Fisher, Hardy, Green of Pennsylvania, Doyle, Wickersham, Miller of California, Bennett of Florida, Holtzman, Mollohan, Lankford, Huddleston, Short, Arends, Cole, Johnson of California, Gavin, Norblad, Van Zandt, Patterson, Cuming Arends, Cole, Johnson of California, Gavin, Norblad, Van Zandt, Patterson, Cunning-ham, Bates, Hess, Nelson, Devereux, O'Kon-ski, Bray, Wilson of California, Osmers, Mrs. Farrington, Messrs. Bartlett, and Fernos-Isern.

Committee on Banking and Currency

Messrs. Spence (chairman), Brown of Georgia, Patman, Rains, Multer, Addonizio, Barrett, O'Hara of Illinois, Mrs. Buchanan, Mrs. Sullivan, Messrs. Fountain, Reuss, Mrs. Griffiths, Messrs. Ashley, Vanik, Davidson, Bell, Wolcott, Gamble, Talle, Kilburn, Mc-Donough, Widnall, Betts, Mumma, McVey, Hiestand, Nicholson, Oliver P. Bolton, and Bass of New Hampshire.

Committee on the District of Columbia

Messrs. McMillan (chairman), Harris, Abernethy, Smith of Virginia, Klein, Teague of Texas, Davis of Georgia, Morrison, Dawson of Illinois, Williams of Mississippi, Steed, Wier, Jones of North Carolina, Rutherford, Simpson of Illinois, O'Hara of Minnesota, Talle, Miller of Nebraska, Auchincloss, Allen of California, Kearns, Patterson, Gubser, Browhill, and Hyde. Broyhill, and Hyde.

Committee on Education and Labor

Messrs. Barden (chairman), Kelley of Pennsylvania, Powell, Bailey, Perkins, Wier, Elliett, Landrum, Metcalf, Bowler, Chudoff, Mrs. Green of Oregon, Messrs, Roosevelt, Zelenko, McDowell, Thompson of New Jersey, Udall, McConnell, Gwinn, Smith of Kansas, Kearns, Velde, Hoffman of Michigan, Bosch, Holt, Rhodes of Arizona, Wainwright, Frelinghuysen, Coon, and Fjare.

Committee on Foreign Affairs

Messrs. Richards (chairman), Gordon, Morgan, Carnahan, Chatham, Zablocki, Burleson, Hays of Arkansas, Mrs. Kelly of New York, Messrs. Dodd, Hays of Ohio, Donovan, Jarman, Byrd, Selden, Pitcher, Williams of New Jersey, Chiperfield, Vorys, Mrs. Frances P. Bolton, Messrs. Smith of Wisconsin, Mer-row, Judd, Fulton, Jackson, LeCompte, Rad-Morano, Mrs. Church, Messrs. Adair, wan. Prouty, and Bentley.

Committee on Government Operations

Messrs. Dawson of Illinois (chairman), ollfield, McCormack, Chudoff, Brooks of Hollfield, McCormack, Chudoff, Brooks of Texas, Holtzman, Mollohan, Fountain, Hardy, Blatnik, Jones of Alabama, Garmatz, Moss, Kilgore, Fascell, Mrs. Griffiths, Messrs. Reuss, Hoffman of Michigan, Riehlman, Mrs. Harden, Messrs. Brownson, Meader, Brown of Ohio, Lipscomb, Reece of Tennessee, Younger, Knox, Krueger, Jonas, and Minshall.

Committee on House Administration

Schenck, Carrigg, Harrison of Nebraska, Corbett, Bennett of Michigan, Hillings, Oliver P. Bolton, Lipscomb, and Halleck.

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Engle (chairman), Aspinall, Messrs. Engle (chairman), Aspinail, O'Brien of New York, Rogers of Texas, Mrs. Pfost, Messrs. Haley, Shuford, Powell, Edmondson, Metcaif, Christopher, Sisk, Udall, Diggs, Rutherford, Mrs. Green of Oregon, Messrs Miller of Nebraska, Saylor, Wharton, Berry, Dawson of Utah, Westland, Pillion, Young, Hosmer, Rhodes of Arizona, Budge, Chenoweth, Utt. Mrs. Farrington, Messrs. Bartlett and Fernós-Isern.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Messrs. Priest (chairman), Harris, Klein, Granahan, Carlyle, Williams of Mississippi, Mack of Illinois, Roberts, Moulder, Staggers, Dollinger, Rogers of Texas, Dies, Friedel, Flynt, Macdonald, Hayworth, Wolverton, Hinshaw, O'Hara of Minnesota, Hale, Dolliver, Heselton, Bennett of Michigan, Hoffman of Illinois, Beamer, Springer, Bush, Schenck, Carrigg, and Derounian.

Committee on the Judiciary

Messrs. Celler (chairman), Walter, Lane, Feighan, Cheff, Willis, Frazier, Rodino, Jones of North Carolina, Forrester, Rogers of Colo-rado, Donohue, Fine, Brooks of Texas, Tuck, Ashmore, Quigley, Boyle, Beed of Illinois, Keating, McCulloch, Miss Thompson of Mich-igan, Messrs. Hillings, Crumpacker, Miller of New York, Taylor, Burdick, Curtis of Massachusetts, Robsion of Kentucky, Hyde, Poff, and Scott.

Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries Messrs. Bonner (chairman), Boykin, Gar-matz, Robeson of Virginia, Mrs. Sullivan, Messrs. Thompson of Louisiana, Miller of Messrs. Thompson of Louisiana, Miller of California, Kluczynski, Byrne of Pennsylvania, Bell, Tumulty, Davidson, Zelenko, Clark, Ashley, Machrowicz, Tollefson, Allen of California, Seely-Brown, Sheehan, Van Pelt, Ray, Mailliard, Dorn of New York, Pelly, Cederberg, Baumhart, Chase, ———, Bartlett, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

Messrs. Murray of Tennessee (chairman). Messrs. Murray of Tennessee (chairman), Morrison, Davis of Georgia, Rhodes of Penn-sylvania, Lesinski, Dowdy, Alexander, Moss, Robeson of Virginia, Mrs. Pfost, Messrs. Fas-cell, Tumulty, Kligore, Holifield, Rees of Kan-sas, Corbett, Mrs. St. George, Mr. Gross, Mrs. Harden, Messrs. Cretella, Gubser, Broyhill, Cederberg, Henderson, and Johansen.

Committee on Public Works

Messrs. Buckley (chairman), Fallon, Davis of Tennessee, Biatnik, Jones of Alabama, Dempsey, Smith of Mississippi, Machrowicz, Kluczynski, Steed, Thompson of Louisiana, Gentry, Burnside, Mrs. Blitch, Messrs. Wright, Hull, Gray, Clark, Rogers of Florida, Don-dero, McGregor, Auchincloss, Mack of Wash-ington, Scudder, George, Becker, Scherer, Withrow, Cramer, Baldwin, Schwengel, Alger, Bush, and Nicholson.

Committee on Rules

Messrs, Smith of Virginia (chairman), Col-mer, Madden, Delaney, Trimble, Thornberry, Bolling, O'Neill, Allen of Illinois, Brown of Ohio, Ellsworth, and Latham.

Committee on Un-American Activities Messrs. Walter (chairman), Moulder, Doyle, Frazier, Willis, Velde, Kearney, Jackson, and Scherer.

Committee on Veterans' Affairs

Messrs. Teague of Texas (chairman), Dorn of South Carolina, Mrs. Kee, Messrs. Long, Byrne of Pennsylvania, Edmondson, Boykin, Aspinall, O'Brien of New York, Shuford, Christopher, Diggs, Sisk, Haley, Mrs. Rogers of Massachusetts, Messrs. Kear-ney, Ayres, Adair, Fino, Weaver, Avery, Thomson of Wyoming, Siler, and Teague of California.

Committee on Ways and Means

Messrs. Cooper (chairman), Dingell, Mills, Gregory, Forand, Eberharter, King of California, O'Brien of Illinois, Boggs, Keogh, Harrison of Virginia, Karsten, Herlong, McCarthy, Ikard, Reed of New York, Jenkins, Simpson of Pennsylvania, Kean, Mason, Holmes, Byrnes of Wisconsin, Sadlak, Baker, and Curtis of Missouri.

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT (United States Court House, 3d and Constitution Ave.)

Office Residence Chief Judge telephone telephone Harold M. Stephens, Washington 1, D. C. terling 3-5700 Adams 4-6420 Sterling 3-5700 Circuit Judges

Henry White Edgerton, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3-5700 Emerson 3-6 Will - K. Miller, Washington 1, D. C. Emerson 3-6017 Sterling - 5700 North 7-8109

E. Barrett Prettyman, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3-5700 Oliver 2-3263 David L. Bazelon, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3-5700 Emerson 2-0544

charles Fahy, Washington 1, D. C. Emerson 3–6267 Sterling 3-5700 Emerson 3-626 George T. Washington, Washington 1, D. C. erling 3-5700 Adams 2-6327 John A. Danaher, Washington 1, D. C. erling 3-5700 District 7-4704 Sterling 3-5700

Sterling 3-5700 District 7-4'
Walter M. Bastian, Washington 1, D. C.
Sterling 3-5700

COURT OF CUSTOMS AND PATENT APPEALS

(Internal Revenue Building. Phone National 8-4696)

Chief Judge—Finis J. Garrett, of Tennessee, 3550 Springland Lane. Judge—Ambrose O'Connell, of New York, Hunting Towers, Alexandria, Va. Judge—Noble J. Johnson, of Indiana, 4318

Warren St.

Judge—Eugene Worley, of Texas, 4745 32d St.
North, Arlington, Va.
Judge—William P. Cole, Jr., of Maryland, 100
West University Parkway, Baltimore, Md.
Judge—Joseph R. Jackson (retired), of New
York, Westchester Apts.

THE UNITED STATES COURT OF CLAIMS (Pennsylvania Ave. and 17th St. Phone, District 7-0642)

Chief Judge--Marvin Jones, of Texas, 1500 Massachusetts Ave. Judge-Benjamin H. Littleton, of Tennessee,

1868 Columbia Road. -Samuel E. Whitaker, of Tennessee,

4921 Quebec St.
Judge—J. Warren Madden, of Pennsylvania,
300 East Broad St., Falls Church, Va.
Judge—Don. N. Laramore, of Washington, 4912 Brookway Road, Sumner, Md.

EMERGENCY COURT OF APPEALS Washington 1, D. C.

Chief Judge—Albert B. Maris, Philadelphia 7, Pa. (United States Circuit Judge for the Third Circuit.)
Judge—Calvert Magruder, Boston 9, Mass. (Chief Judge, United States Court of Appeals for the First Circuit.)

peals for the First Circuit.)
Judge—Thomas F. McAllister, Grand Rapids,
Mich. (United States Circuit Judge for
the Sixth Circuit.)
Judge—Walter C. Lindley, Danville, Iil.
(United States Circuit Judge for the
Seventh Circuit.)
Judge—Bolitha J. Laws, Washington, D. C.
(Chief Judge, United States District Court
for the District of Columbia.)

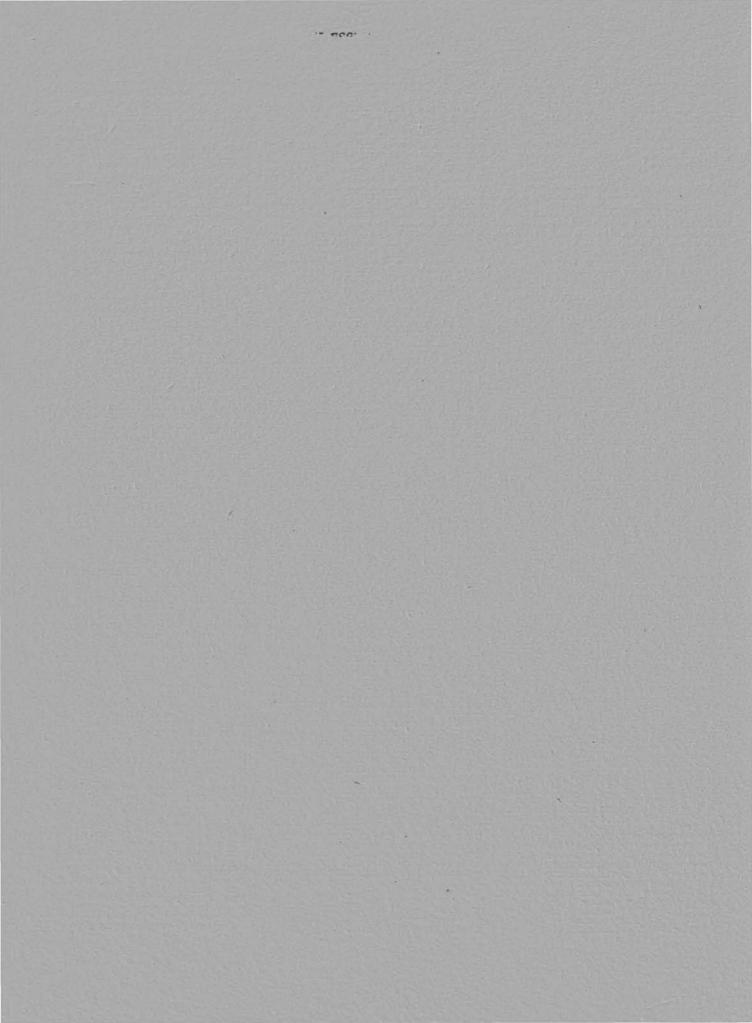
UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGES District of Columbia (Washington 1, D. C.) Chief Judge Bolitha J. Laws Judges

F. Dickinson Letts Edward M. Curran Edward A. Tamm Charles F. McLaughlin Burnita S. Matthews James W. Morris David A. Pine Charles F. McLaug Matthew F. McGulre Burnita S. Matthew Henry A. Schweinhaut James R. Kirkland Alexander Holtzoff Luther W. Youngdahl Joseph C. McGarraghy Richmond B. Keech

UNITED STATES COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS

(United States Court of Military Appeals Building, 5th and E Sts. NW.)

L HOME, LHOCL by	0-0100
Chief Judge	Robert E. Quinn
Judge	George W. Latimer
Judge	Paul W. Brosman
Commissioner	Richard L. Tedrow
Clerk	Alfred C. Proulx



Appendix

Meeting the Communist Menace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address entitled "Meeting the Communist Menace," delivered by Hon. Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States, before the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, in Boston, Mass., on March 21, 1955. The address is a fine exposition of what his Department and the Government are doing with relation to that problem.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEETING THE COMMUNIST MENACE

(Address by Hon. Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States, before the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, Boston, Mass., on March 21, 1955)

Nearly a year ago, at President Eisenhower's request, I reported to the American people on the threat of Communist infiltration here at home and what the Federal Government is doing about it. I said that the menace of communism was very real; that it would be foolhardy to minimize the dangers it posed; that we should not have exaggerated fears of those dangers; that our Government was well aware of them and was meeting them in an orderly and effective way.

We have made a great deal of progress in the past year-progress which I shall outline to you today along with new problems Which have arisen. But it is clear from the intelligence information provided to me by the FBI that we cannot lower our guard. We cannot relax our vigilance. The dangers-even many of the same problems-still exist, because of the very nature of the Communist conspiracy. It is a worldwide plot, directed by scheming, ruthless men Would bend the whole world to their selfish Will. They cannot rest, they cannot succeed, until they have enslaved all the world. When repulsed in one area, they try another. When one plot is exposed, they hatch an-

The hard core of Communists in this country are cast in the same mold. They are willing to devote their lives to destroying in this country the very freedoms which allow them to speak and write and act.

The Communist Party, U. S. A., is like an iceberg. Only a small part can be seen, but the bulk is beneath the surface. The exposed part of the Communist conspiracy in this country is shrinking but there continues to be much activity beneath the surface. The members of the Communist Party resort to secret meeting places, secret schools, even secret symbols or numbers in place of hames. They use an Aesopian language in

describing their aims and functions, an admittedly protective form of expression which most of us consider just plain doubletalk.

The Communist Party line has not varied much in the past year. The Communists still use any available issue or incident to villify the United States and glorify the Soviet Union. They oppose rearming West Germany; they advocate admission of Red China to the United Nations. At home, they seek repeal of the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Communist Control Act of 1954. They advocate merger of Communist-dominated unions with others affiliated with the CIO or A. F. of L. Stress is laid on infiltrating non-Communist groups to advance Communist objectives, on penetrating basic industries and on recruiting members, particularly Negroes, youths, and industrial workers. They have attempted to step up Red propaganda. Last fall, for example, they distributed more than half a million copies of a pamphlet carrying the party program. That pamphlet was entitled innocently enough. It was called the American Way to Jobs, Peace, and De-

But I can report to you that the Communists are having their troubles, too. are not having much luck recruiting, or even maintaining their membership. know their fund-raising drives are falling short. They are hard pressed to keep an active leadership intact and functioning in the face of Government actions. They have set up their own internal security apparatus to offset infiltration by the FBI. That apparatus has not only been ineffectual, it has spread fear and distrust within Communist ranks, and created disorder in party communications. The party's schooling program is dwindling. Its largest school, the Jefferson School of Social Science in New Yorfi, has been disrupted by the Subversive Activities Control Board hearings. These have resulted in a recommendation the school be required to register as a Communist front.

The SACB hearing examiner held that the school was established by the Communists to teach both Communist ideas and work. The school trustees have been trusted party members. The Communist organization supplied funds to run the school and provided quotas of students. Instruction ranged from Marxist theory to such more practical subjects as recruiting party members.

Similarly, proceedings brought before the Board of the Department of Justice against the Labor Youth League has hampered Communist efforts to recruit members and spread hate propaganda among our youth. After other lengthy hearings, the Board has ordered the Labor Youth League to register with the Attorney General as a Communist front, so the public may know its officers, its financial support, and the objects to which its resources are devoted.

Evidence shows that the Labor Youth League has never deviated from the Communist Party line. It can't, because it has been supported financially and otherwise by the Communist Party; persons who directed and led youth activities of the party became the leaders and officers of the league. The evidence showed that these persons were subject to Communist discipline and that

the league personnel and funds have been devoted consistently to furthering the aims of the Communist Party.

Meanwhile, we have continued to strike at the Communist conspirators with a number of other legal weapons. Another 250 subversive aliens have been deported or ordered deported since last April 9. Six persons have been convicted of lying to the Government about their Communist affiliations and another six indicted for the same offense. Four persons were convicted of harboring fugitive Communist Party leader Robert Thompson, who was himself jailed with an extra penalty for jumping bond.

The Smith Act, which makes it a crime to advocate the violent overthrow of the Government, remains a most effective legal weapon to strike at the leadership. Nine party leaders and organizers were convicted at Philadelphia and five others at St. Louis in the past year. Seven were indicted at Denver, eight at New Haven, and eleven in Puerto Rico. Four leaders have been apprehended on indictments under the membership count of the Smith Act. One of these four has become the first person to be convicted for membership in the party, knowing that its aim was overthrow of the Government. He was Claude Lightfoot, of Chicago.

Lightfoot, as our evidence showed, was member and leader of the Communist Party for 20 years. In recent years he had joined other leaders in the party underground. He was indicted last May 14, apprehended by vigilant agents of the FBI in June, tried and convicted in January, and sentenced in February to 5 years in jail. At his trial, his own counsel conceded that Lightfoot was a member of the party; conceded that Lightfoot had held offices ranging from local organizer to alternate member of the national committee, the Communists' highest governing body. He conceded that Lightfoot understands communism and has taught its meanings in classes and in writings. Lightfoot told students in a secret party school in 1947 that the party would spill blood, if necessary, in carrying out its objective of overthrowing our Government.

Two new laws are added deterrents to those who would play the Communists' game.

The first of these is the so-called immunity statute. One case under it already is before the courts. It involves William Ullman, a man identified in sworn testimony before a congressional committee as a member of a World War II Communist spy ring. Ullman was called before a grand jury and refused to testify. Under the new law, a Federal judge was asked to grant him immunity from self-incrimination and order him to testify. The judge did so, but Ullman persisted in his refusal. The judge sentenced him to 6 months in jail for contempt of court. Ullman has served notice of appeal.

The second tool comes in the Communist Control Act of 1954. It utilizes machinery of the Subversive Activities Control Board to determine if Communists have subverted a legitimate business or labor organization and to enable members to free themselves from such domination.

It is no secret that the Department of Justice is reviewing and updating files on various unions which were thrown out of the CIO some time ago on the ground that they had fallen under Communist domination. When those reviews are complete, we will bring whatever proceedings are war-When those reviews are complete, we ranted by current facts.

Meanwhile, some of the unions which might be involved have made moves to do

1 or more of 3 things:

1. Take action to cleanse themselves of Communist domination, which is exactly what Congress wants them to do.

2. Attempt to conceal such domination.

3. Seek affiliation with other unions which which are members of the A. F. of L. or CIO and thus gain exemption from the act. This, recall, is one of the new facets of the Communist line and responsible leaders of the major unions have warned their member unions to look very cautiously at such affilia-tion proposals and to insist on certain safeguards to insure that they will not be allowing themselves to be infiltrated through affiliation.

Perhaps the heaviest blow which this ad-ministration has dealt the Communist conspiracy has been to dry up sources and po-tential sources of information in Government, to virtually eliminate the opportunity of setting up a fifth column within the Gov This has been done by establishing a realistic employee security program.

The Civil Service Act of 1912 established minimum procedures for dismissal of per-manent employees for the good of the service, but left much discretion to agency

heads.

During the early years of World War II several attempts were made by Congress to obtain better security precautions in the executive branch. Summary removal powers for national security purposes were enacted late in 1942.

Then, in 1947, Executive Order 9835 initiated an employee loyalty program. But only when an employee was held to be currently disloyal was any action generally taken under that order until 1951 when it was broadened to include reasonable doubt of an employee's loyalty. It made no allow-ance for the fact a person might be a risk to our national security even though his loyalty was unassailable.

Congress, in 1950, passed Public Law 733, after pointing out that persons subject to blackmail, those who talked too much and those with unsatisfactory associations or habits, could constitute a serious security danger as well as traitors. During hearings, one high official testified that a single act of a disloyal person and a single act of an indiscreet employee can do equal damage

to our security.
When President Eisenhower took office, he established the present employee-security program to carry out the purposes of the 1950 law enacted so overwhelmingly by Congress. As the law demands, the head of each department or agency is made responsible for effective security within his de-partment or agency. The order requires investigation, in varying degrees, of all appointees to Federal positions. It establishes criteria for judging whether employment is consistent with security. It requires suspension and, after review, termination of employment of those deemed security risks. And, right here, let me quote a little of Public Law 733. It says:

"To the extent that such agency head determines that the interests of the national security permit, the employee con-cerned shall be notified of the reasons for his suspension and within 30 days after such notification any such person shall have an opportunity to submit any statements or affidavits to the official designated by the head of the agency concerned to show why he should be reinstated or restored to duty.

"The agency head concerned may, following such investigation and review as he deems necessary, terminate the employment of such suspended civilian officer or employee whenever he shall determine such termination necessary or advisable in the interest of the national security of the United States, and such determination by the agency head concerned shall be conclusive and final."

The law, and the machinery under the order, provide for written statements of charges to suspended employees, an opportunity for them to answer, a hearing upon the employee's request, a review of the case by the agency head or his representative, and a written statement of final decision.

An example of the effectiveness of the employee security program is the case of Joseph Sidney Petersen, Jr. He was a trusted employee of the National Security Agency, one of our most sensitive agencies. In the course of a security check, allegations arose which could have led to his dismissal under the Executive order. In the ensuing investigation, information was obtained indicating Petersen might have illegally in his possession certain highly classified documents. Under the order, the investigation immediately was referred to the FBI. Petersen admitted having stored such documents in his apartment, where they were recovered, and also admitted furnishing contents of the documents to representatives of another government. He was arrested and indicated on three counts of the espionage laws. He finally entered a plea of guilty to one count and was sentenced to 7 years in prison.

tremendous job of checking the 2,300,000 Federal workers is almost completed. Ahead, then, the big task will be only to screen applicants for Government jobs. This administration is dedicated to a policy not only of getting security risks out of Government, but also we propose to keep them out of the Government as long as we

are in office.

As a result of all this progress in the fight against communism, resulting from our new Internal Security Division under Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins, the Communists themselves have recently made a major shift in the emphasis they place on their various programs. It is becoming increasingly clear that the current violent attack against Government witnesses and against the FBI's confidential sources of information has many of its roots in a Communist effort to stem the successful campaign against subversion.

The Communist Party has sought for years to uncover, to smear, to destroy the informant system of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Communists call the FBI the enemy. The party's Manual of Organiza-tion, published in 1935, discussed how to "safeguard the party organization against stool pigeons" and "how to expose stool pi-geons." Those "stool pigeons," included anybody who worked for the FBI, who provided information to the FBI, or who testified in court against the Communist Party. Other articles in Communist publications have repeated this attack year after year.

A young man named Harvey Matusow has become the current focal point of the attack. Harvey Matusow testified for the Government in two criminal prosecutions. He also appeared before the SACB and before congres-

sional committees.

Matusow now claims that virtually everything he said in those appearances was a lie. The Department of Justice, 2 Federal courts, a grand jury and a Senate committee have been investigating and 1 case has come to a conclusion which I believe is well worth reporting today.

Fourteen months ago, Clinton E. Jencks, an official of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, was convicted of filing a false affidavit to the National Labor Relations Board in that he denied being a member of the Communist Party. Seven witnesses, including Matusow, testified con-cerning Jenck's Communist connections. Jencks himself, when confronted with Matusow's testimony by a Senate committee, invoked the fifth amendment and to this day has not denied, under oath, any of Matusow's testimony.

Despite this, Matusow filed an affidavit in the United States district court at El Paso, Tex., where Jencks was convicted. Matusow claimed in that affidavit that his original testimony was false. Jencks simultaneously filed a motion for a new trial, based on the affidavit.

District Judge Robert E. Thomason, who had presided over the original trial, held hearings for a week on the Jencks' motion.

Presented in evidence at the hearing was tape recording made by the publisher of Matusow's recent book of a conversation between himself and Matusow. In that conversation, Matusow declared of his original testimony:

"I knew Jencks was a party member and I said so."

Then Matusow added:

"I can't say here that Jencks wasn't a party member after he signed the affidavit (to the NLRB) because I know that he was.

And yet Matusow went into court and tried to convince the Judge that Jencks was not a Communist. Evidence also showed that the original book outline prepared by Matusow did not even mention Jencks, the El Paso trial or false testimony in any criminal prosecution. The Government showed that material prepared by Matusow differed markedly with the finally published version in other respects and that the mine-mill union of which Jencks was an official advanced several thousand dollars to the publishing house in connection with the book, some of which in turn was advanced to Matusow, before and after he signed his affidavit claiming he had lied.

Judge Thomason denied a new trial, stating that "there has been nothing developed" in the hearing "in the way of evidence or testimony that has caused the Court to have any doubt" that Jencks was guilty as

charged.

The judge then ordered Matusow before him and declared:

"By recanting your former testimony, given in this court, which I believe in substance was true, you have, in my opinion, deliberately, designedly and maliciously at-tempted to obstruct the justice of this court."

Judge Thomason found Matusow in contempt of court. Last Wednesday, he sentenced Matusow to 3 years in jail. the statement Judge Thomason made at that time sums up that phase of the Matusow case as well as is possible at this time.

Let me read it to you: "I am firmly convinced from the evidence of the witnesses, including that of Matusow, not only that the evidence offered, in support of the motion, is not worthy of belief, but that Matusow alone or with others, wilfully and nefariously and for the purpose of defrauding this court and subverting the true course of the administration of justice and obstructing justice, schemed to and actually used this court of law as a forum for the purpose of calling public attention to a book, purportedly written by Matusow, entitled 'False Witness.'

"This court finds the fact to be that as early as September 21, 1954, responsible officials of the IUMMSW under the guise of seeking evidence in Jencks' behalf, subsidized the writing and publication of this book by authorizing the expenditure of union funds This at a time when, from for that purpose. the evidence, Matusow had no intention of writing any such book as was here exhibited or of changing his testimony given in the Jencks trial. I find that this subsidization was deliberately done the more easily to persuade Matusow to lend himself to the perpetration of a fraud on this court by means of the filing of his recanting affidavit and his testimony given herein. I find that Matusow wilfully and with full knowledge of the consequences, lent himself to this evil scheme for money and for notoriety. "It is my firm conviction, moreover, that this hearing was deliberately brought on for the purpose of attacking the judgment of this court, attacking the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Justice Department, in a carefully thought out scheme to generally discredit by these means the testimony of undercover agents and former Communist Party members who give evidence against the Communist Party of the United States and its adherents. Matusow, by his action, conduct, and testimony, had, and done in my presence during this period, ob-Viously made an effort to convert these proceedings into a trial of the Department of Justice rather than of the issues before this court. Nothing that Matusow has offered in his defense has persuaded me otherwise."

As you see, while the fight against communism goes on, the tactics of these diabolical conspirators change. But the important thing is that we are making great progress in our fight against them.

Release of the Yalta Papers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, in the New York Times of today there appears a most revealing story by Drew Middleton as to the manner in which the State Department dealt with the British Government in regard to the release of the Yalta papers.

It has been said here that Sir Winston Churchill reluctantly and finally agreed to the publication of these documents. If Mr. Middleton's dispatch is accurate, and we can hardly doubt that it is, we are forced to place a new interpretation on the word "agreement."

Mr. Middleton refers to revelations by Sir Winston in the House of Commons as to his part in the matter. Sir Winston informed the Commons that on February 11 the British Government had been informed by the Department of State that our Government had decided not to publish the documents. Four days later, the Prime Minister said, "we Were told publication could not be re-Sisted any longer."

I submit that being told that publication could be resisted no longer is vastly different from being asked to agree to publication.

It must have come as something of a shock to the British Prime Minister to learn later than the State Department had been forced to release the Yalta documents because this same State Department had deliberately leaked the full text of the documents to the New York Times.

This, it seems to me, is duplicity com-pounded. And when the victim of this duplicity happens to be our most important ally, it becomes all the more shocking.

I ask that the full text of the article in the New York Times be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHURCHILL CHIDES UNITED STATES ON YALTA CASE—SAYS PUBLICATION OF PAPERS WAS UNTIMELY-VANDALS SMEAR ROOSEVELT

(By Drew Middleton)

LONDON, March 22.-The United States Government changed its mind over the untimely publication of the Yalta Conference documents, Price Minister Churchill told the House of Commons today.

The British Government was informed March 11 that the administration in Washington had decided not to publish its record of the Three-Power meeting, Sir Winston said. Four days later "we were told publication could not be resisted any longer," he

The concern of both the Conservative and Labor members of Parliament over the publication of the Yalta papers was emphasized by the cries of astonishment and dismay that greeted Sir Winston's statement.

In the view of Government and opposition spokesmen, the release of the papers may prevent a meeting between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. By giving the Russians a pretext to make the proposed meeting a platform for their propaganda, publication of the Yalta documents may impede any real progress toward a relaxation of the tension between the East and West, these sources say.

BRITISH PUBLICATION OPPOSED

British opinion in the highest circles is opposed to the publication by this country its record of the Yalta meeting. sources are critical of the United States plans to release the minutes of the Potsdam and Teheran conferences.

"Where will publication end?" a senior British official inquired today.

Won't the Republicans now ask for the minutes of the secret sessions of the Council of Foreign Ministers since the war and if these provide no ammunition for the minutes of all other meetings we have held with the Russians or even among ourselves?

"Do they really believe in Washington that the United States can negotiate with any country successfully if everything said in private meetings is to be thrown open to public?" the source added.

The British policy, as put forward by one of the Nation's most respected statesmen, is: Open covenants secretly arrived at.

Sir Winston's distaste for the whole affair, obvious to anyone in the Commons, was heightened by news that the words "Traitor of Yalta," had been scrawled across the base of the statue of President Roosevelt in Grosvenor Square.

The writing was in red oxide paint, and. according to official of the Ministry of Works, it may do irreparable harm.

The statue was erected as a memorial to Roosevelt "as a great war leader, a great man of peace, and a great citizen of the world." It was unveiled by Mrs. Roosevelt in April 1948 in the presence of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, the present queen mother.

At the time of the Yalta conference, Churchill doubted the wisdom of Roosevelt's policies, and he does today. But these doubts do not outweigh in his mind the debt of gratitude owed to Roosevelt for his help in 1940 and 1941.

Although there is much criticism of the issuance of the Yalta documents there is little of Roosevelt in this country. The de-facing of the statue introduced a note of blind hatred that is alien to public opinion

The Prime Minister gave the Commons a detailed account of the exchanges between his Government and the administration in Washington about the Yalta documents.

These began last summer when the British were informed of the administration's wish to publish papers relating to the big power conferences at Yalta and Potsdam and the United States-British meeting at Malta that preceded the Yalta Conference.

GALLEY PROOFS SENT TO BRITISH

The British received galley proofs of the Yalta documents in December. But Sir Winston said sharply it was not the duty of the British Prime Minister or his Foreign Secretary to read through such a vast amount of material about the past.

"I was consulted on a few points of detail,"

Sir Winston conceded.

Sir Anthony Eden, the Foreign Secretary. with the Prime Minister's agreement, sent a message to Washington deprecating on general grounds detailed record of important international documents being published so soon after the event.

The Foreign Secretary told Secretary of State Dulles, January 12; that while he did not suggest the abandonment of publication he thought it most undesirable at present, the Prime Minister added.

"On March 11 the United States Government informed us they had decided not to publish," Sir Winston continued. "But on March 15 we were told publication could not be resisted any longer. Twenty-four hours later it occurred.

"The British Government has not decided whether to publish its own reports of plenary meetings and the foreign ministers conferences at Yalta," Sir Winston declared. "These reports are being carefully examined to see whether publication is necessary," he added.

The Prime Minister said that, although in his opinion the British representativesthat is he and Sir Anthony—came out of the Yalta report very well, this did not alter his conviction that publication was untimely.

Taxed by a Laborite member about a remark attributed to him in the documents to the effect that he did not like the Poles. Sir Winston said he did not remember having made any such remark and "if so, it must have been completely out of context."

Anyone who cares to read the documents can see how "again and again I fought for the interests and rights of Poland at Yalta and Potsdam," Sir Winston asserted.

Clement R. Attlee, opposition leader, asked Sir Winston to negotiate an agreement with the United States to prevent the release of documents on future international meet-

Sir Winston replied that the Yalta documents might have been influenced by accidental circumstances and their release should not be judged as definite United States policy.

Other ministers and senior civil servants fear the United States Government, at the request of the Republican right-wing Senators, will continue to issue documents on international conferences. They believe that, as a result, the prospects of talks with the Soviet Union or any sort of serious diplo-matic negotiation will be reduced.

Public Power Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the distinguished broadcaster, Edward P. Morgan, made some very pertinent comments on the attitude of the President of the United States toward public power projects.

These observations were included in the March 16, 1955, program of Mr. Morgan, under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor, over the network of the American Broadcasting Co.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Morgan's remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

President Eisenhower doesn't like to see the Federal Government in the power business. He thinks the idea creeps, socialistically and otherwise. He prefers what he is fond of calling partnership—letting local communities and private utilities work out their power problems together. If something gets too big for them, Washington can lend a hand but it prefers to beam a sort of big brotherly encouragement at a distance. The implication is that partnership is a package bargain: Power at the cheapest price, in the best tradition of free enterprise, plus a kind of insurance policy against creeping socialism.

But somehow at his news conference this morning, the President made both the partnership and the price features of this package seem a little less than real, or at least a

little less than a real bargain.
The city of Memphis, Tenn., is growing fast and needs more electric power. But Mayor Frank Tobey announced defiantly last month that Memphis would built its own plant before it would buy private power from Dixon-Yates. Queried on the subject, Mr. Eisenhower gave Memphis, in effect, his blessing, "Local private ownership of power," as he termed it, could be not only a good thing but very effective. But, the President added, referring to building powerplants, "when the Federal Government does this, they can print money to do the job," and that means, he added, cheapening money, taking something out of every dollar in a taxpayer's pocket.
You couldn't help wondering how this

You couldn't help wondering how this squared with things in Memphis and whether the Federal Government had ever explored these things in a partnerlike way with the city before telling Dixon-Yates to go ahead and build a powerplant; after all it was Memphis' expansion that produced the main need for more power in west Tennessee. It was easy to get Mayor Tobey on the telephone and this reporter did. No sir, he had detected no gesture of partnership. "We were never consulted by Dixon-Yates or the Federal Government at any time," he said.

Memphis buys power from TVA now and is a satisfied customer except that it wants more; it doesn't really want to build its own plant. But Mayor Tobey said, "Before Memphis accepts power from a Dixon-Yates plant, directly or indirectly, it will build its own."

Why was the mayor so opposed to private power? Memphis had it, he said, before 1938, and doesn't want to return to the extreme high rates of those days. But what about President Eisenhower's statement that you had to print money to finance public power?

Why, Mayor Tobey said, "When the President says it's taking money out of the tax-payers' pockets he is wrong. * * * TVA is a seif-supporting institution. * * Dixon-Yates can't possibly supply electrical energy as cheap as TVA can supply it."

"I'm just afraid," Mayor Tobey of Memphis

"I'm just afraid," Mayor Tobey of Memphis said, "that the President is determined to defeat TVA."

So much for partnership and price in Memphis. As for projects in the Pacific Northwest, Senator Neuberger, a Democrat from Oregon, quotes figures from Secretary McKay's Interior Department to the effect that Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River is some \$65 million ahead of schedule in repayment of its capital investment. In 11 years of full operation, Neuberger says, Bonneville has returned \$48 million to the Federal Treasury in power revenue, from a total capital outlay of \$128 million in construction, maintenance, and operation.

Against that not exactly creepy figure, NEUBERGER calculates that under the administration's proposal to build highways by the bond-issue plan, for every dollar spent on roads, 55 cents will go to banks to pay the interest—which would total \$11½ billion over the life of the program. It makes you wonder whether this business administration can really get it for you wholesale.

Address by Hon. Pat McNamara, of Michigan, to the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, of Rhode Island, had the rare privilege and opportunity on St. Patrick's Day of hearing a speech by the distinguished junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNamara], who now occupies the chair, and thus is presiding over the Senate at this moment. I ask unanimous consent that the speech made by him on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the Record, because of the rare vision and spirit of prophecy and understanding it displays.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Address by Senator Pat McNamara Before THE FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK, PROVI-DENCE, R. I., MARCH 17, 1955

I feel truly privileged to have been chosen to reply to the toast to the United States. And to respond to that particular toast here in Rhode Island is a real challenge, for it was in these parts that so much of American history was made.

I pride myself on the fact that I was born and grew to manhood in New England. And I am made happy by the fact that today, as a Senator for the State of Michigan, I feel myself at home, really at home, whether I am in Michigan or here. Maybe I should add, at this point, that if ever I feel as much at home in Washington as I do here, why, that really will be something.

We have come here tonight to honor the land of our fathers and the patron saint whose kindness and wisdom shone like a beacon light through the pagan atmosphere of early Ireland. It was the good St. Patrick whose deeds and example have done so much to make the Irish into the militantly kindly people that one associates with Ireland. I do not know whether I have the skill or anyone else has the insight to put into words the deep feelings that move us on St. Patrick's Day. It might sound a little like a paradox if put into words—at least, it might to anyone who has no Irish blood. But anyway, let me say it plainly—we all feel somehow that what is truly Irish is truly Ameri-

can. I am sure we don't feel that this is just an accident of history. I think we feel that America is good fruit of the Irish spirit just as the Irish spirit has always had in it a yearning of which America is the best expression.

I think we are proud of our ancestry, but we really did not come here tonight just to glory in it. I do not think the true American lives or wants to live in the shadow of his forebears. I say to you tonight as I would say to any American worthy of his citizenship: "Never mind who your grandparents were—that does not prove you are a good American. Think of what your grandchildren will be—there is the test of your Americanism. You have earned no credit for your grandparents, for who can choose his ancestors? But you do have it in your power to deserve credit for your grandchildren.

I cannot help but think of the great faith of the men and women who put their imprint on America, and through America—on the world of today and of tomorrow. They were prophets, as was St. Patrick, who transformed a hundred pagan tribes into a great people. You know, we often misunderstand the function of the prophet. The true prophet is not one who foretells the future as by magic or through a crystal ball. The prophet is not the man who foretells the future—he is the man who makes the future.

It is easy to have the gift of hindsight. Who among us is not sure that, listening to a St. Patrick, he would have forsaken the heathen idols of his fathers and embraced the true faith? Who among us is not sure that, faced with the challenge of the Revolution, he would have rallied to the call of the Continental Congress and offered his life that a new nation might be born?

But let us consider the times and the circumstances of the rebellion which brought forth the United States of America. If you or I had then lived, could anyone have blamed us if we had said: What kind of delusion are you trying to sell the colonists? You are asking them to rebel against constituted authority for the pursuit of life, liberty, happiness, democracy, and equality. But is it equality which denies the vote to anyone who is not a property owner? Is it democracy which denies to the women of America the right to vote? Is it liberty which denies the slave or the bondsman the right to be free? Is it life or happiness which conceives it to be the duty of government to stand aside while the strong devour the

Such questions would have been honest questions. They would have been pertinent questions in that day. Indeed, we are still in the process of finding the answers to some of these questions.

But if one knew enough about the American people—if one were wise enough to realize that America was more than just the defined quantity—if one understood the yearnings of the American people, the silent philosophy of the Catholic, the Protestant, the Jew, the longings of the Negro and the white, the worker and the farmer, he would have anticipated the answer to these questions.

He would have known that in every society, as in every individual, there is a gap between the self-expressed ideal and the reality. He would have known that progress is the process of closing that gap. He would have known that within a few years the franchise would be extended to all men. He would have known that four score years after the Declaration of Independence a bitter and bloody civil war would be fought to free slaves. He would have known that a century and a quarter after the adoption of the Constitution women would get their vote. He would have known that the time would come through a century and a half of slow prog-

ress after the Revolution that first one great political party, and then by precept and example another great political party, would accept the idea that it is not the proper role of government just to act as an umpire, or to stand with folded hands at one side while vast parts of the Nation live in misery.

But to know all this he would have needed faith, faith in the ideals of America and faith in the upward thrust of the American people toward the realization of those ideals. He would have needed faith, not just faith in the Colonies as they were at the time of the Revolution, but faith in America for what she would become if enough Americans had faith

When you stop to think of it, wasn't this Just what St. Patrick started going in Ireland? Isn't this the Irish spirit? This was the Irish spirit—and this is the American spirit.

So it seems to me that the lesson of this day for all of us may well be—that America is a land in the making. That America will always be a land in the making. A land in which the noblest flowering of the human spirit will find finer expression than ever before. A land with a constant challenge—the challenge of better living and a measure of basic security for more and more people; the challenge of translating into reality the teaching of all the saints whose destiny it has been and always will be, to mold a better world. And the greatest challenge of all—the challenge of that great faith in mankind, which, as age follows age, hammers the world into the prophetic concept of the Kingdom of God.

My friends—this is my reply to the toast to the United States: Let us strive to make the world all the things our hearts desire.

The Stock Market Investigation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Why Is the Stock Market So Sensitive?" published in the Arkansas Gazette for Thursday, March 17, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY IS THE STOCK MARKET SO SENSITIVE?

Throughout the Senate Banking and Currency Committee's study of the stock market, Senator Homer Capehart, of Indiana, has shown himself to be more interested in turning the issue to partisan advantage than in reaching the essentially nonpartisan goals fixed by Chairman J. William Fulbright, of Arkansas.

Senator Fulseight's announced purpose is to find out whether existing legislation is adequate to prevent repetition of the 1929 crash. This secondary purpose is to find out whether the present laws, if they are adequate, are being properly administered by the Federal agencies established during the recovery era to ride herd on the market.

These goals may be difficult of attainment. The questions they involve will get as many diverse answers as the more immediate question of whether the Senate committee study itself was primarily responsible for the break

in the market earlier this week. Nevertheless they are legitimate goals of congressional inquiry, and a lot of people besides Senator FULBRIGHT have decided that it is time the questions were asked.

However, Senator Capehart took off on a partisan tangent on the very first day of public hearings and has never returned to earth. The ranking Republican member had barely got his seat warm before he attempted to lead the president of the New York Stock Exchange into an affirmation of the thesis that the soaring market was sound as a dollar used to be and represented nothing more nor less than a feeling of confidence in the Eisenhower administration. The witness refused to bite, but Senator Capehart didn't give up.

Unfortunately, Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey now has chosen to give Senator CAPEHART the partisan answer he's been looking for.

Mr. Humphrey says that the market's rise in recent months has represented a rebirth of confidence in the functiong of our free-enterprise system. There is no need for concern over the extent of that rise, he contends, but there is ground for fear that any inquiry into other possible causes of the rise may jeopardize that reborn feeling of confidence.

However, the Treasury Secretary's answers lend themselves to some interesting new questions.

If the reborn child is so rachitic as to be knocked off its feet by the kind of conservative, low-keyed inquiry that Senator FULBRIGHT is given to conducting, then there is that much more reason to believe that the study was necessary

study was necessary.

In his testimony before the committee last week, Benjamin Graham, the chairman of a New York investment house, put it another

"If this study puts the market down, then the market was due to go down and should go down."

Secretary Humphrey, and of course Senator Capehart, obviously feel differently.

However, if Mr. Graham and others are right, and Senator Humphrey and others wrong, it just may be that the people will be better served by getting the shakedown news from a Senate committee rather than by waiting for one of Mr. Walter Winchell's advance tips.

The Forest Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a most informative article published in the Missouri Conservationist, paying tribute to the United States Forest Service on its 50th anniversary.

This great organization, founded half a century ago by Gifford Pinchot, has done more to save the resources of our country for all the American people than any other agency of Government. As a resident of the State of Oregon, which has 15 percent of its area in national forests, I have been in a position all my life to appreciate the morale and ability and public-spirited service of the men of the United States Forest Service.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIFTY CANDLES FOR FOREST SERVICE

(By Dan Saults, editor, in the Missouri Conservationist)

It was just 50 years ago that the United States Forest Service was born. Its sire was Gifford Pinchot and its dam was Intelligent Planning; its god father was Theodore Roosevelt and its godmother was Congress.

The Service has had a distinguished llf's since then, and it would appear to be in a state of vigorous maturity today. It was reared, nurtured, and educated according to a basic precept enunciated by Godfather Teddy: "Forestry is the preservation of forests by wise use." And wisdom has been a pretty good guide to behavior even though men change the legends by which they live.

Gifford Pinchot became the first chief of the Forest Service; he was also the first native American to have professional training in forestry. And the Service has been run by professionals ever since. This seems a reasonably sound idea, too, in fields as widely separated as medicine and baseball.

Forest Service has a lot of children, now. Nearly all States have their agencies working in the field, just as Missouri has its Forestry Division in the Conservation Commission. Thirty universities and colleges, among them the University of Missouri, offer full instruction in forestry. (Pinchot had to go to Europe to learn.) Forty-five States, including Missouri have extension programs in forestry conducted by the State agricultural colleges. And today, some 5,000 professional foresters are employed by private industry.

Back in the days of its callow youth, Forest Service wasn't quite socially acceptable and frequently got snubbed by local people. But at 50 years of age, Service has become not only respectable but even a romantic hero, subject of movies, novels, and radio programs.

How times do change in 50 years. Too bad the men who dreamed the great dreams, who birthed the idea, aren't around to see people accept their scion.

Just consider the matter of public forests, pretty much taken for granted today although attacks are still being made on them by interests who have learned nothing and forgotten nothing since the turn of the century. Ever think what would have happened to our national forests if a protecting hand hadn't been laid on them a half century ago?

Those public forests—nearly 1,500,000 acres of them in Missouri—are big lumbering operations on the controlled-use principle, though our acreage here is only now developing into the harvest stage. Apart from sustained yield, they were visited by 35 million people last year—not just visited but used by those people for hunting, fishing and outdoor recreation.

The Service is helping educate a lot of people, too. The most dramatic example of that is the development of Smokey Bear as symbol of cooperative forest fire prevention, a program jointly conducted by the State foresters and the Service.

It has been a good 50 years, despite two world wars and an amazing growth in population and industry, which meant tremendous pressure against the Forest Service. But what will the future bring?

The Service doesn't know any more than in 1905 it could foresee 1955. But it guesses there will be steady growth for forest recreation and for timber needs; that the forest's protective role on the watersheds will become even more important. Perhaps forestry research will develop new and better kinds of trees and other concepts of timber management.

Fifty years can be a long time to men, but it isn't much to a redwood or even to a Missouri white oak.

So the 18-year-old Conservation Commission of Missouri wishes the 50-year-old Forest Service of the United States a cheery golden anniversary and many, many happy returns of the day.

New Story of Masaryk's Fall Again Denies Suicide Version

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 20, 1955, the Baltimore Sun published a remarkable story about the death of Jan Masaryk, in which the Communist version of Masaryk's suicide was denied according to a new evidence which came from the intelligence sources of the Slovak underground.

In the cold war which is being waged between the East and West the underground intelligence is to us of inestimable value. Due to its day-by-day knowledge of what the Communists did in the past or what the Communists are doing and planning now, it serves us, the people of the West and many times it gives us an efficient weapon or instrument to refute the big Communist lie. Would we support the underground intelligence more fully it could very well be one of the decisive factors in preserving freedom and peace in our world. Reds comes from various sources. It is only at the end of the line that all bits of information are pieced together into a comprehensive picture and then coordinated and evaluated. This is necessary because the underground intelligence is not one, but several networks which work independently. In the Slovak underground intelligence, certainly one of the best behind the Iron Curtain, there are some networks whose operations were conducted with the neatness and finesse of a highly successful and well-organized group. Their deep knowledge of everything connected with the Communist domination of their homeland makes these networks or the men who head them an asset on our side of that cold war. One such network was that of Dr. Michal Zibrin or that of Col. J. Muran, and more recently the group headed by Capt. M. Baar or the one of Col. Jan Bukar. It is safe to mention at least these few as concrete examples because the Reds in their native Slovakia know about them and it cannot harm them any more since other Slovak patriots are carrying on the work started by these active opponents of communism.

The denial of Masaryk's suicide published by the Baltimore Sun is a good illustration of the value of the underground intelligence. Knowing the truth about Masaryk's death is not only important to us here in the West, but more

so to those who are still oppressed, because knowing the truth gives them one more reason to defy their masters who deprived them not only of freedom and prosperity, but who—for obvious reason—perverted even the meaning of the truth itself.

The article referred to is as follows: New Story of Masaryk's Fall Again Denies Suicide Version

Washington, March 19.—On this ninth anniversary of Jan Masaryk's death a local outpost in Czechoslovakia's anti-Communist underground released today a new version of it, contesting the Prague regime's report of suicide.

Almost simultaneously, American authorities here made available a study of how the Communists, having got rid of Czechosiovakla's last anti-Communist Foreign Minister, have since been striving to eradicate both him and his father, the late Thomas G. Masaryk, from the memories of Czechoslovak peoples.

This has involved them in, among other things, a repudiation of pledges they made immediately after their February 25, 1948, coup d'état, the study showed.

MASARYK'S STATE

It noted that shortly thereafter—on the 98th anniversary of the elder Masaryk's birth—the late Klement Gottwald, then premier of the Communist regime, laid a wreath on the grave of the Czechoslovak Republic's founder and Vice Premier Nejedly, also a Communist, broadcast on that same occasion this assurance to the Czechoslovaks:

"Today's republic is Masaryk's state and, in regard to safeguarding his great liberation, it is even much more protected now than before. * * If anyone claims that the present people's democracy is not Masaryk's, it is an insult * * * to Masaryk, the founder of this state and one of the last great democrats of the Old World."

NO SUCH CEREMONIES NOW

There were no similar ceremonies in honor of the elder Masaryk this month and none in honor of his son who was found dead beneath the windows of his suite in Prague 12 days after his father's rites in 1948.

The only comparable event the Communist regime has celebrated was the second anniversary on March 14 of the death of Gottwald, billed in its memorial preachments as our first workers' president.

The new account of how the younger Masaryk died was made available by V. Stefan Krajcovic, local representative of the National Committee for Liberation of Slovakia,

Slovaks have a special interest in the Masaryks, for, though Masaryk père was a Czech, he was born near the edge of Slovakia and, beside speaking a dialect close to Slovak, was so sympathetic as to be called the lonely Slovak at Prague.

The gist of Krajcovic's report is that the younger Masaryk did not commit suicide but, instead, was "killed by a Major Sram" of the Communists' State Security Police and that Sram was "himself liquidated" 2 months later. The report, relayed from a spot on the Iron Curtain's fringe, is the work, Krajcovic attested, of two of his committees "experts on Communist methods."

Most of its circumstantial details are of a physiological and unprintable nature.

TESTIFIED FOR UNITED STATES COMMITTEE

Krajcovic identified the reports' authors as Col. Jan Bukar, who testified before a congressional committee here in May, 1953, and Stefan G. Lukats, who, he said, is now in Munich but coming to Washington next month.

According to their report, a Dr. Teply, the first police surgeon to reach the spot where Masaryk's body lay, made findings that con-

troverted those of a Dr. Hajek, who performed the subsequent autopsy on which the Communista' suicide charge was based.

The Bukar-Lukats report says Dr. Teply found that Masaryk had died hours before the 6 a.m., discovery of his body plus multiple evidence that he had not jumped from a palace window but, instead, had been clinging desperately to its ledge before he finally fell, feet first, to the ground.

DOCTOR CALLED SUICIDE

It also says that Dr. Teply stuck by his findings in opposition to the Communist verdict and committed suicide on Christmas. 1948.

It adds that Dr. Hajek, who underwrote the Communist verdict, had previously been imprisoned by the Russians for serving the Nazis on the international commission they organized to investigate the so-called Katyn massacre of Polish officers by the U. S. S. R.

The Bukar-Lukats report asserts, in addition, that whereas other Communist officials hastily summoned to the Masaryk death scene were so roughly clothed as to indicate they had been roused from bed, Viado Clementis, who was Masaryk's deputy and became his successor as foreign minister, showed up not only promptly but impeccably dressed.

SAYS CALLS WERE TRANSFERRED

It asserts, too, that Clements, who was later involved in the Slansky espionage trial and executed by his Communist confreres, had ordered all Masaryk's calls transferred to him during the night that ended in Masaryk's death.

The foreign ministry's day book showed that, the report says.

The study by American authorities of how the Communists have been going about eradicating memories of Masaryk among their subjects links their efforts to the U.S.S.R.'s "hate Americans" campaign and notes that those efforts extend to more than

tearing down all statues commemorative of "Masaryk's state."

ELDER MASARYK ACCUSED

They have extended, instead, the study says, to the issuance of a book Masaryk's Antipopular Policies, in which the Czechoslovak Republic's first President is accused of:

- 1. Plotting to murder Lenin.
- 2. Warmongering against the U.S.S.R.
- 3. Selling his country to American, English, and French imperialism.
- 4. Wallowing in a mud of lies, larceny, and corruption.

"Documents allegedly found in Masaryk's archives are published to back the charges, but," the study says, "they are so flimsy as to suggest that those responsible for the book may have had in mind sabotaging the endeavor.

"If they meant what they said, they have committed a despicable act of national selfabasement.

"They have committed it in their desire to kowtow before the Kremlin and to invelgle the young generation by painting the Masaryk republic in the blackest black and the Communist era in the purest white."

The 5,250-word study, from which the above is quoted and which is attributable only to Ameircan authorities; undertakes to dissect and disprove scriatim each charge the official Communist publication has made in derogation of the Masaryk who, born in 1850, died in 1937.

Opining that "Masaryk's American connection may have heightened the desirability of removing him from his pedestal, literally and figuratively," it notes that "he married an American girl and used her maiden name—Garrique—as his middle name" and adds: "The hate-America campaign in the Soviet world has thus engulfed even a Czech hero because of his relatives."

Deserved Honor for George Meany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, for the first time in the 73-year history of the annual presentation of the Laetare medal by the Notre Dame University, this high honor was bestowed upon a man drawn from the ranks of organized labor-the president of the American Federation of Labor, George Meany.

It is, indeed, fitting that Mr. Meany should have been selected to receive this, the highest honor bestowed by the Notre Dame University on a Catholic layman. His distinguished record of untiring activity on behalf of American labor has won the respect and recognition of peo-

ple throughout the Nation.

In presenting Mr. Meany with the Laetare medal, Notre Dame University has honored him both for his personal integrity, and for his considerable contribution to the task of raising the entire labor movement to a position of new importance.

I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Meany upon this deserved recognition of his accomplishments. At the same time, I should like to include in the RECORD two editorials which ap-Deared in the Milwaukee Journal of March 20, and in the Washington Sunday Star of that same date, commenting on the 1955 Laetare medal award.

[From the Milwauke Journal of March 20, 1955]

DESERVED HONOR FOR MEANY

Notre Dame University has chosen wisely in selecting George Meany to receive its Laetare Medal for 1955.

The award, announced on each mid-Lenten Lactare Sunday since 1883, is made to Catholic men and women whose genius has ennobled the arts and sciences, illustrated the ideals of the church, and enriched the heritage of humanity.

As the first labor leader to receive the award, the president of the American Federation of Labor is honored both for his own achievements and in recognition of the position of importance to which he has helped raise the entire labor movement.

In the 30 years he has held offices of leadership, George Meany has fought hard for labor. His ability has been universally rec-Ognized, his integrity never questioned. He has struggled to rid labor of racketeering influences and protect it from subversive elements. He has also stanchly defended the free enterprise system, for as he himself has sald:

"Where there is no individual liberty, there is no free trade union movement, either. We are dedicated to freedom, not only political but also economic, through a system of free enterprise. We believe in the American profit system. We believe in free competition."

As fitting as is the award, so is it timely, because the AFL president is destined to head the larger federation that will result When the CIO returns to the AFL fold as the result of the merger efforts he so largely initiated.

It is reassuring to know that a man whose faith and stature are now so properly recognized will be at the helm of labor.

[From the Washington Sunday Star of March 20, 1955]

LASTARE MEDAL WINNER

The University of Notre Dame has turned for the first time to the ranks of organized labor in naming George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor, as 1955 winner of the Laetare medal. The award is considered the highest honor bestowed by the university on a Catholic layman and Mr. Meany joins a distinguished list of men and women in the 73-year history of this annual presentation.

In selecting the AFL head this year, Notre Dame has recognized Mr. Meany's service not only to the labor movement but to his church and to his country. It made particular mention of his militant opposition to communism, and its attempts to infiltrate the labor movement both in this country and abroad. There is a timeliless, too, in selecting Mr. Meany in the year when he is scheduled to become president of the largest labor organization in American history, resulting from the pending merger of the AFL and the CIO. It is a deserved recognition.

Newsprint From Bagasse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to hail a new era in the industrial development of Louisiana and in the production and processing of sugar cane, one of our major crops.

As Representative in Congress from Louisiana's famed Sugar Belt, I am particularly pleased to call attention to the fact that 25 weekly and daily newspapers in my home State recently joined in issuing their publications on newsprint made from bagasse, heretofore generally considered a waste product of the sugar mills, but which now offers unlimited possibilities.

The Valentine Pulp & Paper Co.'s plant at Lockport, La., becomes the first in the world to use both the pith and the fiber of sugarcane to make paper. This outstanding achievement climaxes a research and experimental program which Valentine began in the 1930's and which has been watched with intense interest by the publishers of newspapers and the printing industry as a whole.

In addition to the new product, the Valentine plant produces fine writing paper, book paper, mimeograph paper, and tablet paper. A large part of the company's output is sold to the United States Government. The \$4½ million facility at Lockport was completed last

Having been in close touch with the progress of the research and experimental program, I am especially pleased and gratified over the successful culmination of the efforts expended by those who have worked so hard to make the production of paper from bagasse a reality. The action of 25 newspapers in using the newsprint obtained in this process is a fitting tribute to those who have pioneered in this movement, as well as a

practical demonstration of the project's

The successful use of bagasse in the production of newsprint is of tremendous and vital importance to the sugarcane industry which centers in the Third Congressional District of Louisiana—the Sugar Bowl. This development has brought enthusiastic comment from public officials and leaders in the industry who see a far-reaching effect on the future welfare of this phase of agriculture and upon the economy of the entire State of Louisiana.

The fine plant at Lockport was constructed and engineered by Brown & Root, Inc., of Houston, Tex. The Valentine Pulp & Paper Co. was formed by Brown & Root, and the Valite Corp. of Lockport and New Orleans. Will J. Gibbens, Jr., president of the corporation, has been a pioneer in the utilization of bagasse in the manufacture of a variety of products. For instance, Valite produces industrial synthetic resins from bagasse. These resins are widely used by the major domestic phonograph record companies and are used in Europe, Australia, and South America.

Board members of the new paper company are Mr. Gibbens and T. M. Barker. the latter of Lockport; Herman Brown, George R. Brown and Herbert J. Frensley, all of Houston. The executive vice president and general manager of the company is W. A. Zonner, a nationally known and widely experienced figure in paper-mill operations. W. L. Hendrix, formerly general superintendent of Herty Laboratory in Savannah, is general superintendent. Consulting engineers are Edwin L. Powell, of Chattanooga, and Thomas R. McElhinney, vice president and technical director of Valite, an affiliated company of Valentine Sugars, Inc. of Lockport.

Valite revealed just a few years ago that it had patents pending on a process of making pulp from bagasse. were proven to be very satisfactory and this was verified by independent observers. Mr. McElhinney played a leading part in developing the Valite process. In 1948 the paper engineering firm of Merrit, Chapman & Scott investigated the process and declared that it was economically feasible. Following the Korean war the program was accelerated and the company firmly established the fact that economical white, unbleached pulp could be made from bagasse.

In 1953, Brown & Root, Inc., and Valite announced formation of the Valentine Pulp & Paper Co., to build a paper mill at Lockport capable of manufacturing 50 tons of finished paper products daily. Fine grade writing paper, newsprint, mimeograph paper and book paper were produced by the plant, and the Government contract secured. The demand for paper products was such that the company has revealed it is launching an expansion program that will increase the capacity to 80 tons daily.

Sugar cane has now created yearround employment in the Lockport area of Louisiana and we can forecast the apparent development that will follow in other parts of the 18 sugar-producing

parishes—counties—of Louisiana which together produce 300,000 tons of bone dry bagasse, less than 40 percent of which is now used for industrial purposes.

The paper mill at Valentine employs 180 persons. During the regular harvest season an additional 200 persons are employed in the sugar factory.

To me the brightest and most important aspects of this new industry are twofold. First, it was conceived, developed and financed through private sources under our system of free enterprise. And second, this new outlet for bagasse, a by-product of sugarcane, is an argument which speaks with more force than mere words in fayor of the adoption of an amendment to the Sugar Act to increase the mainland area sugarcane quota.

Elsewhere in today's Record I have exposed the propaganda by paid Cubanminded lobbyists who would deprive our domestic sugar industry of the right to a fair share of our expanding domestic sugar market, due to yearly population increase. No one should hesitate to encourage an industry which has shown not only willingness but ability to increase and expand its efficiency; and to those who put out such propaganda I say, "Look at the new plant at Valentine and think twice before you presume to speak against the best interests of our farmers."

The Louisiana newspapers which have so well demonstrated the value of bagasse newsprint by printing on this product include the Abbeville Meridional. Bastrop Daily Enterprise, Bunkie Record, Clinton Citizen-Watchman, Colfax Chronicle, Coushatta Citizen, Denham Springs News, DeRidder Beauregard News, Donaldsonville Chief, Eunice News, Franklin Banner-Tribune, Houma Courier, Jena Times, Jefferson Parish Times, Morgan City Review, Napoleon-villion Assumption Pioner, New Iberia Daily Iberian, Opelusas Daily World, Port Allen West Side Journal, Ruston Daily Leader, St. Martinville Teche News, Sulphur Southwest Builder, Thibodaux Lafourche Comet, Ville Platte Gazette, White Castle Iberville Parish

The cooperative project of these newspapers in making use of the newsprint produced from bagasse has received widespread publicity in their columns and in other publications. Among editorials summarizing the outstanding effects of this development and the great future it forecasts are the following from three of the participating newspapers published in the Third Congressional District of Louisiana, in their issues of February 24, 1955:

[From the Franklin (La.) Banner-Tribute]
THE SUGAR BELT MAKES HISTORY TODAY

Thursday, Pebruary 24, 1955, will go down in history as one of the most momentous days in the economic revolution that is taking place in the Sugar Belt of Louisiana.

All over the 18-parish area in which sugarcane is grown, and even in some sections of Louisiana that do not cultivate and harvest the tall, sweet grass, small-town weekly and daily newspapers are going to press today with a special type of newsprint.

The cooperating publications are publishing their regular editions on paper that has

been made from Louisiana sugarcane bagasse by the Valentine Pulp & Paper Co., of Lockport, La.

This significant announcement means that at long last a byproduct of the principal crop grown in southern Louislana is being put to use for the manufacture of one of the most important commodities consumed in a free country. Over one-half of the 700,000 tons of bone-dry bagasse that has been produced in the State has largely gone to waste. Now it is going into newsprint and other paper products to help to satisfy the needs of a dynamic, growing population.

There are many far-reaching aspects to this official announcement. For one thing, it means that now the sugarcane farmer will be growing a crop that will be used in its entirety. It marks the beginning of an era when year-around employment will be realized in the cane patch, supplanting the uncertainty of the seasonal cane grinding. The Valentine properties at Lockport substantiate this statement. The new paper mill adjoins the sugar factory, canefields, and research department of the company. There are jobs to be had in the sugar mill and the fields and in the laboratory, and now there are 180 more men and women employed in the paper mill.

This has resulted in a boom in the Lockport community and throughout the parish of LaFourche. A big new housing development is now going into Lockport, and the new payrolls will mean new families and new homes and a higher standard of living and a bigger and better town.

What the smokestacks of Valentine have done for that area will be accomplished throughout the sugarcane-growing part of the State just as sure as night follows day. St. Mary and her sister parishes are bound to benefit from this program.

This is a rich and diversified agricultural area but cane is king in the land. The farmer can grow sugarcane better than he can grow any other kind of crop. He has proven this for over a century now, overcoming every conceivable type of obstacle from disease to world politics. He has developed new varieties of sugarcane and by sound farm practices he has been able to realize a higher yield per acre with each passing year. Now he will be growing cane for sugar, sirup, molasses, feed—and paper.

It there has even been any doubt in the mind of the cane planter about the value of research the Valentine mill should erase it forever. This new development was due to hours and months and years of patient, painstaking work and experimentation in the laboratory of the Valite Corp., an affiliate research company of Valentine's. The work began back in the 1930's and was accelerated after the Korean war. In 1952 newsprint was made from 100-percent bagasse by the company on an experimental basis at the Herty Laboratory in Savannah, Ga.

After economic feasibility was established Valentine interests banded together with Brown & Root, one of the world's greatest construction firms, to form the Valentine Pulp & Paper Co. A mill capable of producing 50 tons of paper products daily was built at Lockport. The success of this mill is attested to by the fact that hardly had it been completed but what the company announced that it was being expanded into a \$4½ million facility capable of manufacturing 80 tons of paper a day, including newsprint.

Small town newspapers in Louisiana and all over the Nation have been confronted with a problem that parallels the problem of the cane farmer in magnitude. Newsprint has been a scarce and expensive commodity. Most of it had to be imported. Financially unable to build their own mills or even enter into long-range contracts the small newspapers have had to fight for news-

print in the open market on a catch-ascatch-can basis. During wartime the situation had been particularly acute and the black-market operators thrived.

The newsprint market has improved considerably, but the future for the small town newspaper had been in doubt. Now, with the mill at Lockport able to supplement established sources the nonmetropolitan press can face the future with confidence. Newsprint is the basic commodity on which the free press is printed and if it is cut off the real victims will be the American people because without the newspaper for the dissemination of news and advertising freedom would die on the vine.

Member newspapers of the Louisiana Press Association look on the mill at Lockport as "their mill" because for almost 4 years now the LPA has been working hand-in-hand with the Valentine company on this project. The ultimate benefit to the economy of the State of Louisiana is beyond the imagination.

There is one last conclusion that can be drawn from this development. The Farm Bureau of Louisiana, the American Sugar Cane League, Louisiana Congressmen, and other agencies have fought a hard but discouraging fight for an increase in the mainland quota of sugarcane. If there had been any hesitation on the part of the Congress or the national administration to justify this increase that question should now be resolved in favor of the increase. There are about 120 small town newspapers in Louisiana and over 8,000 in America. They won't all use bagasse newsprint but this new source may one day mean the difference between success or fallure to many of them.

This story is being told in Louisiana today, but in a few days it will be known all over America and in most foreign countries. Great industries are built over a long period of time. The south Louisiana paper manufacturing industry will be built around bagasse. The only way to insure its full growth is with an ever-increasing supply of sugarcane now and in the years that lie ahead. The only safe and sure way to obtain the product needed by the American farmer and American publisher is to have it grown on the same ground that gave birth to the red, white, and blue.

[From the Lafourche Comet, of Thibodaux, La.]

SUGAR HAS NEW ALLIES

Along with the accolades which will pour into the office of the Valentine Pulp and Paper Co. this week, we, of course, want to offer ours.

Out of the expressions of congratulations and best wishes which will be given to the company, we sincerely hope there will come the real recognition of the tremendous accomplishment of the men who had the courage to carry out an idea.

The \$4,500,000 paper mill built in Lafourche Parish is an important addition to the industry of our locale, but its true significance can only be measured in what it has done for two major industries in the United States. It has brought together for the first time the mainland sugar industry and the paper industry. It has also brought the Nation's greatest disseminators of news, the weekly and daily newspapers to the side of the sugar growers and processors.

Through their foresight, the men who built the Valentine paper mill, have given the sugar people powerful allies which must stand alongside them in the fight for the continued expansion of the mainland sugar

Just a few months ago the newspaper publishers of this country were at the mercy of the Canadian paper manufacturers and just a few years ago all paper manufacturers felt the pinch of a serious paper shortage. With

this country continually at odds with an ever more powerful Red menace, it is not too hard to conceive of other periods of paper shortage unless we take advantage of the important development in the use of bagasse by Valentine.

We know the wood pulp paper manufacturers are always confronted with a lengthy growing period ranging from 12 to 40 years for their main ingredient but with the use of bagasse, this country can have an inexhaustable supply of pulp for its paper.

Today the 18 sugar producing parishes of Louisiana produce approximately 800,000 tons of dry bagasse annually. Of this amount about 35 percent is purchased for the manufacture of wall board, fertilizer, and feeds.

While Valentine will not use the balance of the bagasse available this year, or the next, it is not beyond the realm of belief that other paper mills similar to Valentine will be built in just a few years in Louisiana, in Florida, and possibly in Cuba and Puerto Rico, A half dozen more mills like Valentine Pulp & Paper Co. will soon put bagasse in short supply.

Action in Congress this year can provide for the future. Congressional action in amending the Sugar Act to increase the mainland quota by 100,000 tons this year will not only ald the sugar farmers but will protect the tremendously important paper in-

An increase of 100,000 tons of sugar over the regular quota will give the industry an additional 150,000 tons of dry bagasse annually. And bagasse properly stored does not

The mainland sugar quota of 500,000 tons has been in effect for a number of years. Even though the sugar industry has spent thousands of dollars perfecting improved varieties of sugarcane for greater productivity, Congress has continually curtailed the growth of the industry by the flexible quota.

Today this country uses in excess of 8 million tons of sugar annually and during the past 5 years the population of the country has grown substantially. However, the sugar quota for the mainland producers has been at a stalmate. No consideration has been given to population growth, nor to improved productivity in the industry.

proved productivity in the industry.

This week, through the use of bagasse newsprint by some 25 Louisiana weekly and small daily newspapers in Louisiana, it becomes apparent that our mainland sugar crop is tremendously important to not only a small area in Louisiana and Florida but to the entire Nation, and it must be allowed to expend

[From the Daily Iberian, of New Iberia, La.]

BAGASSE NEWSPRINT A REALITY

Today's issue of the Daily Iberian and Jeanerette Enterprise are printed on a new kind of newsprint, produced from sugar cane waste known as bagasse, and made at Lockport, La., by the Valentine Pulp & Paper Co.

Production of this fine quality newsprint from a fiber that has experienced difficulty in being utilized, may well lift the economy of the mainland sugar-producing States to a higher level.

Sugar cane farmers will welcome this new product that makes a brand-new industry for Louisiana which means additional employment and the utilization of a raw material into finished product.

Member newspapers of the Louisiana Press Association have played a big part in keeping alive the interest in developing a newsprint plant for Louisiana to help break the stranglehold that Canada has always had on the manufacture of newsprint.

Newspaper publishers can well remember how the price of newsprint zoomed upward from \$40 per ton before the First World War to the present level of \$130. The same pub-

lishers can recall during the war that they often had to buy newsprint on the black market which cost as high as \$300 per ton.

The use of bagasse will have a tremendous effect in keeping Canadian mills in line, if nothing else.

Since it opens up new opportunities for employment, it is highly possible that Secretary Benson, and Congress, will listen with a sympathetic ear to the pleas of sugar farmers for an increase in the mainland quota.

As the market for the bagasse paper continues to grow, it will need larger and larger amounts of bagasse, which means more and more sugarcane.

It is only reasonable to assume that as the bagasse newsprint catches on that additional mills will be built. One of the additional mills could conceivably locate in Iberia Parish where there is an abundance of sugarcane bagasse. This would give mill operators and eventually farmers more return for their sugarcane.

We salute this new industry and the courageous and pioneering executives and owners of the Valentine Pulp & Paper Co.

Louisianians will live to see the day when most of her vast supply of natural resources will be processed here as finished products and build the economy to its rightful position.

Sugar Quotas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, we have under consideration a proposal to renew the Sugar Act and at the same time to amend it so as to increase domestic sugar quotas.

Let me hasten to point out that the proposed amendment will simply permit domestic producers to participate in our expanded sugar market in the United States as our population increases in the future. In other words, under the proposed amendment Cuba, in the future, will not receive a pound of sugar less than she received in the past.

To understand this we must realize that under the present law Cuba gets a regular quota; then she gets 96 percent of the unused quotas of other areas, and finally she gets 96 percent of the annual increase of domestic sugar consumption. Our population increases by approximately 2,500,000 every year, and as a consequence our annual consumption increases by about 125,000 tons of sugar every year; and Cuba has been receiving 96 percent of this windfall. Thus in the last 10 years Cuba has received at least 1.250,000 tons of sugar, over and above her regular quota, under the formula of the Sugar Act, and over and above her lion's share-96 percent-of the unused quotas of other areas.

On the other hand, under the terms of the Sugar Act, the domestic sugar quotas are rigid, the mainland area cane quota being fixed at 500,000 tons per year. But that is not all. While the mainland area arcreage has not varied over 2 percent in the last 5 years, greater yields have been achieved due to better farming and milling practices, under the

guidance and encouragement of the Department of Agriculture. And instead of being rewarded for good performance, the farmers' acreage was cut on an average of 10 percent in 1954 and an additional 8 percent has been ordered for Therefore, while Cuba has been enjoying an annual increase from our consumption, our farmers have been suffering a cutback. This, in short, is what the current proposed amendments seek to correct, by devoting to our own farmers a fair share of the annual increased amount of sugar it takes to feed our own babies, without deducting from or taking away a pound of Cuba's present quota. What is wrong with that?

Any fairminded person will admit

that the proposal under consideration is fair and equitable. Since a just cause cannot be fairly combated, paid Cubanminded lobbyists have resorted to propaganda. I brought this out in a speech on the floor recently and I pointed out that these lobbyists had resorted to veiled subtle threats and big talk. Now I find that they have been trying to use the poor-mouth strategy, by means of a letter inserted in Investor's Reader, a publication of Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner, & Beane. As a complete answer to this poor-mouth strategy, I wish to call to your attention the reply of a group of responsible people engaged in the domestic sugar industry. The people who signed this reply represent the beetsugar industry, but their problems are common to the domestic sugarcane industry in Louisiana and Florida. Their reply, which appeared in the March 9, 1955, issue of Investor's Reader, follows:

GENTLEMEN: In your issue of January 26, space was given to the publication of a letter from a paid publicity man for certain Cuban sugar interests. This being so, we assume that you will give at least equal prominence to this letter from us.

Part of the Cuban sugar industry has set itself against any consideration of changes in the Cuban share of the United States market decreed by existing law. To accomplish this objective it is part of the Cuban strategy to talk poor mouth.

For example, the writer of the letter which you published complains that Cuba no longer can fill the Philippine sugar quota in this market, a backhanded protest against the rehabilitation of the Philippine sugar industry. Cuba knew that the privilege given her of filling the Philippine deficit was only temporary and that she could not hope permanently to augment her output at the expense of the Philippine industry.

of the Philippine industry.

Cuba protests that out of her quota some relatively small increases in the shares in the United States market of Peru, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico were made in 1951. What was done was approved, in fact, initiated by the State Department. It comes with poor grace for Cuba to protest any transfer to other foreign countries, many of whom are also friends of the United States and numbered among its best customers. Cuba today receives approximately 96 percent of the entire share of the United States market set aside for foreign suppliers shows how generous the present situation is to her. That large percentage also explains why other sugar-producing countries to the south of us have initiated a determined claim to part of Cuba's share.

The present law was enacted in 1947. From that year to 1954, United States annual consumption has increased over 1 million tons. Neither the domestic beet industry, the mainland cane industry, or the Hawaiian indus-

try received 1 ounce of this large increase in consumption. Not only that, but the way the law was framed and stands today, foreign suppliers, with Cuba getting 96 percent, will continue to get the entire and complete benefit of the increase in consumption sure to take place in the future. The domestic in-dustries complain that they should not be foreclosed from a share in the growth and progress of this country. They are helping to make this growth possible. Actually, Cuba's basic quota—disregarding deficits—increased between 1948 and 1954 from 26.7 to 33 percent of the total quotas of all areas supplying sugar for United States consumption. The fixed-tonnage quota of the domestic industry obviously results in gradually reducing the percentage of the expanding United States market which the domestic industry is permitted to supply. The domestic beet-sugar quota, for example, was 25 percent of the total quotas in 1948, and now is less than 22 percent.

The sugar brought by consumers from the domestic area is produced with less man-power and greater efficiency than that which reaches us from foreign sources. Finally, it takes fewer minutes of the average workingman's employed time to buy a pound of sugar in the United States today than at any other time in history or in any other place in the

world today.

Very truly yours,

J. A. SUMMERTON, President, American Crystal Sugar Co. Frank A. Kemp, President, The Great Western Sugar Co. MERRILL E. SHOUP, President, Holly Sugar Corp. Douglas Scalley,

Executive Vice President,

Utah-Idaho Sugar Co.

Elsewhere in today's Record I commented on the fact that 25 weekly and daily newspapers in my home State of Louisiana recently joined in issuing their publications on newsprint made from bagasse, heretofore generally considered a waste product of sugarcane, but which now offers unlimited possibilities. The story of the Valentine Pulp & Paper Co.'s plant at Lockport, La., as unfolded elsewhere in today's RECORD, is a tribute not only to our free-enterprise system but is an argument in favor of the proposed amendment to the Sugar Act, as a wellearned encouragement to an industry which has shown itself capable of everincreasing efficiency.

National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include herein several communications relating to a National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week:

> AMERICAN MATERIAL HANDLING SOCIETY, INC., Toledo, Ohio, March 21, 1955.

Hon. Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Member of Congress,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RODINO: I am enclosing a letter from C. C. Furnas, chancellor, University of Buffalo, N. Y. which was sent to Chester LeVine, president, Niagara Frontier Chapter, American Material Handling Society, Inc.

The letter refers to a check for \$1,000 presented to the university for the purpose of establishing a fund for the purchase of books for a material handling library and for awarding a series of prizes to students presenting the best papers on the subject of material handling.

This gift, proceeds of conference and exhibit staged by the Buffalo group, is only one of the many such gifts to institutions of learning throughout the Nation by the men of the material handling industry and profession to help promote the advancement of the art and science of material handling.

In the interest of the effort to establish National Better Material and Packaging Week, may I request that this letter be included in the record as beneficial to the program.

Very truly yours,

J. W. HALL, National Secretary, Westinghouse Electric Corp., Meter Division, Newark, N. J.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO, Buffalo, N. Y., February 25, 1955. Mr. CHESTER LE VINE,

Niagara Frontier Chapter, the American Material Handling Society, Inc.,

Buffalo, N. Y.

DEAR Mr. LE VINE: I am very happy, indeed, to acknowledge the check for \$1,000 which you presented to the University of Buffalo on behalf of the Niagara Frontier Chapter of the American Material Handling Society. Inc.

It is a pleasure to express my thanks and appreciation on behalf of the university to you and to the members of your chapter for this substantial evidence of your interest in the continuation and strengthening of engineering education at the University of Buffalo. This check is a symbol of the interest which the members of your society have in the continued growth and welfare of the University of Buffalo. It is a demonstration of the kind of interest which we believe the citizens of this community will be demonstrating in ever increasing numbers in the active support of university education at the University of Buffalo.

Sincerely yours, C. C. FURNAS, Chancellor.

AMERICAN MATERIAL HANDLING SOCIETY, INC., Toledo, Ohio, March 21, 1955. Hon. PETER W. RODING, Jr., Member of Congress,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RODINO: I am enclosing for your information a letter, written by Mr. G. C. Stewart, general manager, National Safety Council.

It is with extreme pleasure that I ask that the letter from this organization, devoted only to the increased safety of every human being, be included into the record as a part of the effort to establish A National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week.

Very truly yours,

J. W. HALL. National Secretary, Westinghouse Electric Corp., Meter Division, Newark, N. J.

NATIONAL SAFETY COUNCIL, Chicago, March 7, 1955.

Mr. J. W. HALL,

National Secretary, American Material Handling Society, Care of Westinghouse Electric Corp., Meter Division, Newark, N. J.

DEAR MR. HALL: Your letter of February 24 inviting the National Safety Council to

endorse a proposed National Material Handling Week was received with much interest.

The increased use of material handling equipment has been a factor in the reduction of occupational injuries. Further, we know of the good work of equipment manufac-turers in fostering safety training for em-ployees using their equipment.

We are, therefore, happy to endorse and commend your effort to draw attention to the safety, as well as economic benefits often derived from material handling equipment. Cordially,

G. C. STEWART, General Manager.

This Is Your Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include a series of three articles written by my very good friend, Louis Bromfield. As usual, these articles are well worth reading:

> THIS IS YOUR COUNTRY (By Louis Bromfield)

No matter what action Congress takes with regard to the proposed dangerous program for universal military service or even for the extension of the so-called Selective Service Act, it would be well to consider how this act has operated in the past, its many faults and its failure to carry through its original intent and purpose. This failure and the muddled situation arising from its loose and varied administration can be laid primarily at the feet of Congress itself which never had the courage to put through a law which had reality of purpose and the necessary explicitness which would have produced the results originally asked for by President Roosevelt and the writers of the bill.

In Congress there were too many men without courage and character who, realizing that an unpopular forced military service act was a necessity, ducked their responsibilities and simply tried to produce a law which would make them as little unpopular as possible. The result was to leave the law wide open to any interpertation of it the Armed Forces chose to make and to shift onto the shoulders of the longsuffering, selfsacrificing and honorable citizens who served on the local draft boards all sorts of responsibilities for decisions and interpreta-tion which Congress itself should have set forth definitely in the first place.

The very name of the act, which eventually came to have no meaning owing to the way it was interpreted, implied its original purpose and the soundness of that purpose. It was not meant to be simply a draft such as was imposed during the War Between the States. Its original purpose was to set up a law under which every citizen within certain age limits would be put to a task in which he could be of the most use to his country under conditions of total war. Until World War I there had never been any such thing as total war in which civilians were killed and maimed in greater numbers than the actual troops, conditions under which it was necessary, as in the case of this country, for one agriculturally rich Nation to provide food, not only for its own population and Armed Forces but for the nations which were her allies, conditions under which frequently a skilled scientist or food producer

listed or conscripted soldiers.

Well, as we all know, that original purpose became lost all together. Because the law became subject to virtually any interpretation any village draft board saw fit to give it, the whole program merely degenerated into a helter-skelter conscription of every man, regardless of his ability or talents or contributions, into the ranks of the infantry where nobody in particular wanted to serve.

There has been much talk about the necessity for providing a large and permanent army and reserve force for defense, but there has been very little talk of creating such a force selectively and with a purpose. In other words, the fact that we live in the atomic age, in which total war is more total than ever before and when malnutrition or actual starvation for millions lies only a few days behind the outbreak of war, there is still no intelligent program under which every citizen can serve in the place in which he can contribute most to the welfare, defense, safety, and victory of the Nation. Selective Service has never existed in this country. does not exist today and apparently is not even being considered. Where the intent of the law has been carried out, it has only been through the wise judgment and commonsense of an individual draft board or of officers here and there in the armed services.

In European nations and even in those Latin-American countries which have long suffered the blight of forced military service, the laws governing conscription have been based largely upon the fact of total war and administered and carried out on the basis of putting the citizen where he can contribute most. In Britain, when a man is doing a valuable work, from raising food to atomic research, he is frozen into the job he is doing for the period of his military service and is so listed in the reserve forces. Even in Soviet Russia, the man or woman making an authentic contribution economscientifically or even culturally, to the nation, is left free to continue his work and encouraged to do so. Exactly the opposite occurs in this country and there are already protests from those with proper knowledge and authority, that we are failing to produce engineers, doctors and dentists, scientists and agricultural producers in sufficient numbers to meet the needs of peace let alone the extremely urgent needs of total war.

Moreover, there is little evidence that any effort has been made to round up the draft evaders who have never even taken the trouble to register for the draft. I should think it probable that, if any effort were made in this direction, the pool halls, the beer saloons, the dance halls would yield up a whole army of idle and shiftess young men who have never bothered to register or make any contribution whatever toward the welfare of the Nation.

The whole Selective Service Act and its administration has been from the beginning an inefficient, unscientific, ramshackle, hit and miss affair, which has contributed as much as any other single factor in the production of juvenile delinquency and crime tince it has made impossible for countless young men to plan steady work or undertake a steady job or career or to be employed by any employer who wants to count upon steady solid help which is not going to be snatched from him at any moment by the draft.

Nor is it possible to say that the discipline of the Armed Forces has been on the whole beneficial to delinquents; the record, the evidence and the statistics are altogether on the other side as indeed they are in any European country where conscription has long been in practice. I suggest that every

or technician had the value of dozens of en- citizen think twice about the whole problem of conscription and universal military service and then write to his Senator and Rep-

THIS IS YOUR COUNTRY (By Louis Bromfield)

During the coming few weeks Congress will have many serious things to consider but perhaps the most serious of all in its effects upon the freedom, welfare, and future of the Nation is the question of military service in one form or another by its young This is a difficult and complex prob lem yet it can be solved, and solved I think without resorting to the blight which Europe has long endured because for centuries there have existed side by side nations poised to attack one another. In the past, in Europe, conscription in some countries was a barbaric necessity and sometimes in the poorer countries it served to solve economic problems of low living standards and un-employment. None of these conditions have ever existed here and do not exist today. The need for large armies of foot soldiers to protect us from Mexico or Canada is obviously nonexistent and the idea absurd.

Why then are there advocates in Congress and elsewhere for large land armies? There can only be one reason-that these same advocates would send our conscripted American young men as cannon fodder into such messes as that in Korea or the potential mess in Indochina or that we must continue to draft our American young men to provide an army for the defense of Germany and Western Europe which has a total population about three times as great as this

Why do these same advocates want to draft our young men for a period of 2 years when in most European countries the conscription period, in the case of the young men who are drafted, is much shorter than that for American boys?

We maintain in Europe today more than six divisions of young Americans, most of them in Germany, where there is no conscription and where there is great agitation at the moment among the against any military service at all. You against any military service at all. Why at the moment among the younger men should they endure the hardships of con-scription so long as the American Government will supply an army of drafted young Americans equipped by and paid for by American taxpayers. Why should young Germans want to undergo compulsory military service, or the taxpayers and industrialists pay the heavy taxes for armament and defense when the Americans will take care of all of this?

The truth is that if our troops were withdrawn from Europe and the job of defending Europe and Germany was left to the Europeans and Germans, there would be no need for compulsory military service in this country and the budget might be balanced and taxes reduced. The situation is especially grotesque considering the fact that only recently Germany was a cruel and bitter enemy and, as not a few wise Europeans fear, might easily become again within a generation.

We poured more than \$2 billion into Indochina to force the French to continue a colonial domination from which they were only eager to free themselves. There was left behind for the Communist-dominated enemy hundreds of millions worth of war material paid for by you and me-a fact which the Armed Forces and the interventionists are not mentioning. Yet there are still generals and admirals who advocate continuing this kind of policy in what remains of Indochina, where conditions are worse now than they were at the time of our earlier intervention.

General Ridgeway himself has voted consistently against any further military intervention in Asia because we "do not have sufficient ground troops to carry out such extended operations." The implications of this statement are worse than if the general had voted for intervention because it implies that in our Armed Forces there are generals and admirals who would be willing and even eager to involve us in the intervention everywhere in the world and even to start the most evil of all maneuvers-a preventive war-such a policy mean that from now on we should conscript cannon fodder year after year to be into such tragic messes as Korea and Indochina as well as for the defense of a Europe and a Germany which drag their feet.

The recent reductions in the Army and in the draft quotas were not made by an irresponsible and inexperienced or political President angling for votes as other Presidents during the past generation have done. They were ordered by a man who is probably the most able and experienced military man of our time, who is not only a great tactician but a great executive, as any man who carried out the Normany invasion had to be. He is also a man with greater experience in international politics than any other American. He is also a good man. The biggest reproach brought against him from some quarters is that he does not understand politics and that he refuses to act from cheap political motives. Why then should we doubt the wisdom of his decisions as against those made by hotheads or old men in Congress and in the Armed Forces who are living in a world which no longer exists, planning war in terms of the Battle of Bull Run?

The truth behind all of this is that if Congress and the Armed Forces chose to make a career in the Armed Forces attractive enough, with the rewards worthy of skilled intelligent and able men, we should not need conscription at all in any form. We should have a volunteer Army, Navy, Marine, and Air Force of the very highest type trained in truly modern warfare with modern weapons * * indeed an organization very nearly invincible in offense and defense. And it would cost us all much less money and fewer lives. And who can doubt the superiority of a volunteer, professionally trained army over one made up of reluctant, poorly trained temporary conscripts?

THIS IS YOUR COUNTRY (By Louis Bromfield)

The acceptance by any nation of permanent conscription and forced military service in peacetime is a step downward and backward and one which should certainly not be considered or accepted by a free people who have never before suffered blight upon the life of its young people.

Forced military service in time of peace, when there is no real necessity, is an actual abrogation of the Bill of Rights which involves involuntary servitude. But other equally important rights-those of a trial by jury or a legally constituted court are abrogated at the same time. And at the present time the Armed Forces and especially the Army are operating under regulations, traditions, and even codes of discipline which are archaic and barbaric with little or no relationship to advances in civilian codes of law and justice. Actually the code of the Army is that set up for the British Army in 1732. Very few changes have been made and under such a code every sort of injustice can occur either to conscript or volunteer who had been forced to give up the major portion of his rights as a free American citizen.

In time of peace such servitude and abrogation of rights is unspeakable and should not be considered by a free people. Yet this is exactly what is being asked under any program of conscription, universal military service, or even by an extension into peacetime of conscription under the existing absurdly unreal name of selective service.

It is abundantly clear that if opportunities, honors and rewards were made worthy of the object in view-that of creating an expert, professional, modern Armed Forces, there would be no difficulty whatever in finding a sufficient number of vigorous, intelligent and even skilled volunteers to supply all the needs of the Air Force, the Navy, and the Marine Corps. If there is a difficulty at the moment in producing sufficient man-power for the Army, it is because great armies of foot soldiers have become obsolete and are needed in this country only if we propose as a permanent policy to intervene in every sort of border war throughout the world or to supply conscripted cannon fodder for the defense of other nations unwilling to defend themselves.

If this is the kind of permanent policy which the advocates of conscription and big armies of footsoldiers have in mind, let them come out honestly and say so. There is no other condition which could possibly justify large armies of footsoldiers in the atomic age. But even in the case of the Army, it is probable that if conditions of military service were modernized and the rewards increased by Congress and the Armed Forces, there would be little difficulty in finding a sufficient number of young volunteers willing to take up the Army as a permanent career.

Outside the admirals and the generals—and one cannot include some of the wiser ones among these—the advocates of universal service or of extending conscription are the world savers, the warmongers, the hotheads, and those who are amazingly ignorant of international politics, economics, and world conditions.

Conditions of freedom, of decency, of living standards in Soviet Russia have not improved over those existing in the time of the Czars and in some fields conditions are actually worse today. Many observers believe Russia to be weak even as a military nation. The principal reason is that for nearly two generations the biggest part of the Soviet budget has been expended upon military might and land armies. The youth of Russia, which might have been contributing enormously to her industrial and agricultural production and to her advance politically and culturally has been conscripted into military service. Yet if war broke out tomorrow it is possible that this vast and hideously expensive army of foot soldiers might be completely useless.

Soviet Russia may choose to live under conditions of the 18th century but there is no reason why we should imitate the Communist Russians. Who can believe that in any modern atomic war or even in a war of planes, any war would last long enough to require the use of infantry in great numbers or even the use of infantry at all? Or who can believe that under modern conditions large armies or Russian infantry would have time enough to invade the United States or even Western Europe.

There has been a great deal of talk about the New Look at the Armed Forces and much of it has come from those whose profession is war or from old and middle-aged men in Congress and out, who are in no danger of being conscripted. The only fault has been that the New Look has not yet been new enough or extensive enough. Certainly under conditions of modern werfare, large armles of foot soldiers armed with rifles and machineguns have become as obsolete as the cross bowmen at Agincourt—unless we are going to conscript young Americans to provide the rest of the world with a police force.

No intelligent European would consider universal military service or conscription anything but an evil in every sense of the word and there is no European nation today which would not be delighted to be freed of its blight. It seems to me therefore that the American people and their representatives in Congress should think a long while before voluntarily establishing an evil which may not and probably is not neessary in this modern world.

Admitting Hardship Cases of Single Persons To Public Housing Projects— What Hardship Really Means

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, it is hard for a person who is well-fed, well-housed, and in comfortable circumstances, as most of us are today, to realize what the grim tragedy of inadequate housing means in old age, especially in obtaining decent housing at a price you can afford to pay. Sometimes this lack means the difference between continuing living and almost committing suicide

So, before I comment upon a bill that I wish to present to this body on the vital question of admitting aged single persons in hardship cases to low-rental, federally aided housing projects, I would like to indicate briefly, the importance of this matter by giving you a dramatic case in point. It is nothing unusual, and could be duplicated many times during my terms in office, and I assure you each one is always a heart-rending experience.

I shall clothe the name of my constituent in anonymity to spare his feelings by merely calling him Mr. Smith. For many years Mr. Smith and his wife lived comfortably in a modest home until the years crept up upon both of them. Then, after a prolonged illness and great medical expense, she died and Mr. Smith was left all alone, an old, forlorn householder.

Their home was now too large, and it was beyond his economical and physical abilities to maintain. Nevertheless, it was rich with memories. Every piece of furniture and each object in the household was clothed with loving memories that recalled the many happy years they lived together. Gradually, work fell off, his income dropped, and he no longer could afford to keep up their former home. For months on end, he continued the long and dreamy rounds of seeking, through the newspapers and the realestate offices, a simple place where he could move to and live with some of his cherished household effects and their treasured memories. It was in vain. The rents were all prohibitive.

So he turned to me as the Representative from his district and begged me to see if I could not possibly help him to get into a public-housing project. It was a forlorn, dejected, and desperate man who pleaded with me. I was visibly moved.

I approached our Public Housing Administration and was advised that under the present law only couples could be housed in low rent public-housing projects that were aided by the Federal Government. They were right. The present law leaves them no other alternative.

When I gave Mr. Smith that tragic news, it was mere chance that kept him from taking his life. I resolved from that day forward that the same law which was designed to help families of low income should also assist aged persons who are the helpless victims of circumstances and cannot afford to pay the high existing rentals from private landlords.

Are we to cast them out upon the streets? Are we not all concerned as our brother's keeper in providing decent housing for the aged, and handicapped, the crippled, the disabled veteran, the widower, at a price that they can afford to pay? How can we hold our heads high when we attempt to rehabilitate the decrepit shacks and villages in South Korea, in Japan, or Indochina at the same time that we neglect our aged at home, who, unlike these Asiatics are able and willing to pay rents within their financial means?

While the original purpose of the Federal Public Housing Act was to provide decent housing in a good environment so that the families and children could get out of the slums and live in healthy surroundings, there is no logical reason why this same philosophy should not be extended to aged people who by chance or circumstances now find themselves unable to pay the high prevailing, existing, private rentals. Under the general-welfare clause of our Constitution we are trying to promote a form of Government which advances the general welfare of all the people. This means not only those who can afford it but those of lesser means as well. Assuredly, this concept of promoting the general welfare includes the aged and the less fortunate in our midst.

Moreover, aged couples now commonly occupy units in the low-rent federally aided public housing projects. Shall we deny to an aged, single person that which now is afforded to those who are couples? By what form of twisted logic are the benefits to be withheld from a handicapped or elderly person merely because his spouse is no longer alive?

Actually, in many public housing projects throughout the Nation, it is now the policy of the administration to permit the remaining spouse to live in such property where the other one passes on. So the reality is that such elderly persons are actually now living alone in such housing.

Shall we again draw a distorted distinction between an elderly single person who remains in public housing because he or she formerly had a spouse, and a similar person who is trying to get in there in the first place?

Moreover, the most compelling reason of all why a single person in hardship cases should be admitted to low-rent housing projects is to be found in the fact that under the existing law enacted by Congress in the last session, tenants displaced from slum clearance projects have first priority to public housing. Likewise, they cannot be displaced from their present slum residences until such public housing is provided for them. As a result, in large cities like New York and Chicago, single persons are now obtaining first priority, in federally aided, low income housing projects. This should be precedent enough for my bill which provides similar opportunities for other elderly hardship cases.

All of these facts and precedents point to one inescapable conclusion, sound public policy requires that we treat all aged hardship cases alike. This is simple justice to the individual and to the community in which he lives. To this end, I have this day introduced a bill which will authorize the Federal Public Housing Administration in its dealings with the local public housing authorities, to permit, in hardship cases, elderly single persons and related hardship cases to be admitted to federally aided low-rent housing projects.

St. Jude's Parish Federal Credit Union: A Study in Self-Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD I should like to report a visit I made recently to the St. Jude Parish Credit Union of East Side Detroit, Mich. I was very impressed by the spirit and cooperative attitude of the members of this organization and the financial institution they have organized for their mutual self-help. It reemphasized the Latin proverb "Multae manus onus levius faciunt"-many hands make the burden light. So it is with the community-spirited parishioners at St. Jude's, a cooperative enterprise designed to lighten the financial burdens of its faithful. The following is a short history of this organization's development and a description of its method of operation.

The St. Jude credit union is the first parish credit union on the east side of Detroit to operate on a full-time basis and in January of last year opened an office to serve its members. The credit union has a membership potential of 3,000 and is presently serving over a third of this group with loans, a shares depository and free credit life insurance. Since its inception 4 years ago with paidin share holdings of \$1,700, the credit union has made 1,038 loans for \$539,-043.13 and has presently on its books \$210,240.58 in loans and \$182,240.62 in shares deposits.

On the occasion of my visit to this fine organization, I presented the first claim paid under the credit unions free credit life-insurance program with the Credit Union National Association mutual lifeinsurance program. Under this program all loans and shares deposits up to \$1,000 are insured free to members, and the premiums are paid by the credit union. I presented Mr. John Jacobs a check for \$500, which represented the amount equal to the shares deposited with the credit union by his mother, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, deceased.

The credit union is under the general auspices of Father J. J. Ording, pastor of St. Jude parish, and the business management is attended to by an able board of lay parishioners having a president, vice president and treasurer. All administrative offices of the organization are elective and for a term of 1 year. This permits greater group participation and serves to make a greater number of the community familiar with domestic problems of finance and credit. At present the credit committee members are making a study of the differences between Federal and State regulated credit unions which should be very helpful to all legislators concerned with such problems.

Secretary for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, when President Eisenhower assumed office, Frank E. Gannett, president of the Gannett newspapers, wrote him urging that he establish a Department of Peace. For more than 20 years, Mr. Gannett has advocated such a step in newspaper editorials and public addresses. Peace, he has pointed out many times, is not merely the absence of war; it is the presence of justice. Nations sometimes blunder their way into war; they cannot blunder their way into peace. It must be planned for, nurtured, promoted, and everlastingly protected.

In urging the creation of a Department of Peace, Mr. Gannett was, of course, giving voice to thoughts which have been shared by millions of people. The Reverend David Rhys Williams, of Rochester, N. Y., foresaw, with prophetic vision, that such a dream might materialize under President Eisenhower. In a sermon during the Christmas season of 1952, Dr. Williams said:

Some day, some soldier of commanding genius is going to have the imagination to test the Christian principle of overcoming evil with good on a grand enough scale to succeed.

Could it be that President-elect Eisenhower has come to power to play some such prophetic role for our time? Having reached the pinnacle of fame in the field of war with no further military luster to gain that could be greater than what is already his, could it be that he has undertaken the arduous and exacting responsibilities of the Presidency to see what he can do to establish some measure of peace among all nations?

Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower has indeed played such a prophetic role, ever

since he assumed office. With firmness, with dedication, with restraint, he has labored patiently but resolutely to foster peace among the nations. This week he took the further dramatic step of appointing FOA Administrator Harold E. Stassen as, in effect, Secretary for Peace, a post with Cabinet rank.

Mr. Stassen's task is of enormous dimensions. So also are his opportunities. There is no more vital work to be done in the world today than that of halting the current deadly arms race, and replacing it with a truly just and lasting peace, a dynamic peace that will channel men's minds and energies into the building of a better world.

It is an undertaking that will capture the imagination of all mankind. Certainly it will be welcomed by those like Frank Gannett and Dr. Williams who have yearned for, and prepared the ground for, such an eventuality. Mr. Stassen's appointment, and the considerations which led up to it, may prove to be one of the most historically significant events of our time.

Modesto and Turlock Irrigation Districts Oppose Engle Bill, H. R. 2388

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEROY JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, in 1913 a very important bill was passed through the Congress which became known as the Raker Act. The law gave San Francisco certain rights-of-way in the Yosemite National Park and permitted the city and county of San Francisco to construct dams and appurtenant works on the Tuolumne River. The reservoirs which impounded the water behind these dams are known as Lake Eleanor and Hetch Hetchy Reservoirs.

The Raker Act recognized the prior rights to water under California law. This recognized the rights of both districts to 2,350 second-feet of water and 4,000 second-feet after April 15. This represented from 600,000 to 1,200,000 acre-feet a year.

From the revenue from this power and by direct taxation, the districts became two of the most successful in California. Practically all of the bonded debt of both districts has been paid off.

The result of these operations was also to furnish water at a very cheap rate to the irrigators—perhaps the cheapest rate of any of the irrigation districts in California where we have over 150 irrigation districts.

The Turlock Irrigation District and the Modesto Irrigation District and the city and county of San Francisco entered into an agreement in 1949 with the Federal Government to operate their reservoirs on the Tuolumne for flood control, the Federal Government to pay for flood-control benefits only.

These districts not only developed the water resources for their members of the districts who were irrigators but they also developed an electric system which provided cheap electricity for the area served by the districts.

These irrigations districts, as well as their officers and members, are practically all in my congressional district—

the 11th District of California.

The leading newspaper in the area comprising these districts is the Modesto Bee, a McClatchy newspaper. It is an aggressive and intelligent publicity organ and in a recent issue of the paper summed up the case in its editorial columns very well.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including this editorial, which

DISTRICTS ACT WISELY IN OPPOSING ENGLE BILL

The Modesto and Turlock Irrigation Districts have set forth clearly the seriousness of attempts being made to amend the Raker act, national legislation which protects Tuolumne River water and power rights of the districts and the city of San Francisco.

In a well worded resolution, the irrigation districts have declared themselves unalterably opposed to any such proposition as is being made by Congressman CLAIR ENGLE, Democrat, of the Sierra and Mother Lode Counties. ENGLE wants to take from the city of San Francisco a power site which it owns and give it to another agency.

Such action would cut to the heart of the cooperative use of Tuolumne River power and water resources by the districts and San Francisco. Already \$250 million has been spent on this highly beneficial development.

If this program is jeopardized it will have a lasting detrimental effect upon the irrigation and electrical operations of the two districts

Recognizing this threat, the boards of directors of the two irrigation districts have instructed a delegation to go to the Nation's Capital to press the fight against it.

With them will go the resolution which outlines the basic arguments of the irriga-

tion districts.

The Modesto and Turlock Irrigation Districts, which even now are using privately generated power because the Tuolumne generating capacity is used up, have an urgent need for all the electrical energy which can be manufactured at power sites now under consideration.

In order to guarantee satisfactory irrigation conditions for every year regardless of drought, the two irrigation districts need increased holdover storage capacity which can be realized only through the construction of the greater Don Pedro Dam. Should this power site be taken from the city of San Francisco, the districts declare "the entire program or plan for the construction of new Don Pedro Reservoir will be greatly delayed, if not abrogated, and the districts will be deprived of the great benefits resulting to them in the form of increased holdover storage and the additional quantities of electrical power that would otherwise be made available."

And finally in fairness, the districts argue, that the city of San Francisco should not be deprived of the site which is of value only because of the city's \$20 million investment in the Hetch Hetchy Reservoir a short distance upriver from the disputed site.

Tampering with the Raker Act is dangerous under any circumstances and the proposition now being considered poses a special threat to the irrigation districts.

It is well that officials of the two districts are awars of the hazard and are carrying their fight against modification of the Raker Act to every battlefield necessary. The fight must be fought with all the vigor the districts can muster. Loss of water or power rights would mean a loss of the lifeblood of the region which has made it one of the Nation's richest agricultural areas.

Medicine for a Hangover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I offer a recent editorial from the Wall Street Journal which comments upon current proposals for disposal of surplus wheat:

MEDICINE FOR A HANGOVER

Normally, the American economy consumes about 700 million bushels of wheat a year. The American farmer grows in excess of a billion bushels. The problem: What to do with the other 300 million or so bushels.

The answer might seem quite simple since there is a vast market for wheat in other countries of the world. But it is not so easy as that because the world price of wheat is considerably below the domestic price of wheat. And the domestic price of wheat is above the world price of wheat because the United States Government makes it so.

Why should anyone sell wheat abroad for a low price when the Government will take it for a higher price?

Ever since the Government started helping American farmers with price supports, world prices and United States prices for the major crops have been getting further out of line. Foreign production, quite naturally, has been encouraged to increase to take advantage of this. The war brought a brief respite, but now the plight of United States growers of wheat, cotton, and other commodities is so bad that the farmers' friends in Congress have decided to do something about it.

The proposal—in the case of wheat—is an export subsidy to help the wheat farmer recapture the foreign markets lost by the domestic subsidy. The House Agriculture Committee wants the Government to keep wheat prices high for the United States consumer; wheat would then be sold abroad at the lower world price with the Government making up the difference to the farmer.

Since this would take care of the export problem, the committee concludes it can also hike the domestic support price even higher without losing the farmer any world markets; it wants a return to rigid 90-percent-of-parity price supports for wheat and other basic crops.

And, of course, with all the marketing problems thus neatly disposed of, there would be, the committee thinks, no need for any production limitations. Under this plan there would be no acreage restrictions; a farmer could grow as much as he liked so long as his excess was sold abroad.

Well, we doubt if the House committee members will be much bothered by what this dumping operation will do to the economies of our foreign friends. But they might reflect on what it will do to United States consumers and taxpayers—and to United States agriculture.

As it is, the United States consumer is penalized twice for his wheat; once in taxes to support the support program, and again in the higher price which is the result of the support program. How much extra it will

cost to have this new program for subsidizing exports is hard to estimate, but it will be considerable.

More importantly, this is a program for making the United States farm problem worse, not better. The root of the present trouble is that the support program encourages production without any regard for the demand in the marketplace. A program which puts support prices higher, which then dumps the surplus abroad to make way for more surpluses and which at the same time encourages still more production—all this intensifies the very ills that are the present sickness.

The hair of the dog that bit you may give brief respite to a hangover. But it's the kind of medicine that long repeated gives the

patient delirium tremens.

Partnership in Power and the Public Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRIS ELLSWORTH

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, political opponents of the administration proposal for expediting the construction of badly needed multiple-purpose river development projects which include power by permitting local participation have distorted the meaning and intent of the partnership plan. In an effort to set the record straight on this important subject, I prepared an article which was printed in a recent issue of the Reporter magazine. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the article which follows:

PARTNERSHIP IN POWER AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST

(By Representative HARRIS ELLSWORTH)

In an attack on the Eisenhower administration's partnership policy which appeared in the Reporter of February 24, Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER of my home State, Oregon, closed with the sentence; "The public good must come first."

I agree.

But what is the public good?

For power development in the Pacific Northwest, the public good is to get the job done—so that the people and industries of that rapidly growing area will have the electrical energy they need when and on the scale they must have it and at a cost they regard as fair. The Pacific Northwest has only one-tenth of the land area of the United States and only one-thirtieth of its total population, but it possesses 40 percent of the Nation's hydroelectric power potential—and only one-seventh of this has been developed so far. The potential of the Columbia River system alone is about 34 million kilowatts, of which more than two-thirds remains to be developed.

Even though much has already been accomplished, all agree that the abundant remaining water resources of this region must be harnessed to human use. The remaining question is how we are going to do it.

ACTION VERSUS NO ACTION

For 20 years the Federal Government has been in the field of power development on a large scale, and there are those, Senator NEUBERGER among them, who claim that only the Federal Government can do this enormous job. But what is the record?

History demonstrates that exclusive reliance on the Federal Government for the development of power resources has too often meant no development at all. The Government just does not have the tax money to develop all the projects that have been proposed for all the rivers of our land and do the other things it must. In a number of instances Congress has been unable in good conscience to authorize or to appropriate money for new power development around the country. As a consequence, the result in particular regions has frequently been no action at all.

The problems inherent in exclusive development by the Federal Government are emphasized by the fact that the projected power needs for the Pacific Northwest during the next 10 years will require an investment in the Columbia River Basin area alone of roughly \$2 billion. Even though the Northwest has received a most generous share of total appropriations for public works, it would require new funds out of all proportion to past appropriations to meet the future power-development needs of the Pacific Northwest area alone. We, in the Northwest, cannot be so foolish as to sit back and make plans for the future in the hope that Federal appropriations will be forthcoming on such a lopsided scale.

Thus we are presented with a clear choice between a serious slackening of industrial development or the rapid evolution of a dynamic new program realistically designed to

meet projected power needs.

Faced with the stark reality of this situation, the men in the Pacific Northwest began to explore the possibilities of local interests cooperating with the Federal Government in financing multiple-purpose projects. This was the germ of the partnership idea.

THE PARTNERSHIP POLICY

In August 1953 the Eisenhower administration formally set forth a new, constructive, forward-looking policy of partnership in power development. This policy was designed to promote the fullest possible local participation in power development. Only by bringing every possible resource to bear, private and governmental, can we expect to accomplish the job that has to be done. The policy is also advocated by the President because, as he has said, partnership will permit the American people in their communities and homes throughout the Nation to "reserve to themselves as many of the basic decisions as possible. In this way, our people will remain free to carve out their destinies as their predecessors did."

The partnership idea of power development means people working together. It means that local interests will be encouraged by the Federal Government to go ahead with necessary power projects on their own. It means further that the Federal Government will continue to sponsor those projects which because of their scope and cost cannot be undertaken locally. It means also that in certain instances, where feasible, the Government will share the cost of a project with local interests.

In other words, the Eisenhower policy means that no method of supplying the power needs of the Nation will be arbitrarily eliminated; it means that all sources of financing will be utilized—private, State, and Federal—to meet this enormous challenge. It means, finally, that we shall not have to rely solely on the Federal Government, which, as history demonstrates, is too often without tax money for allocation to this purpose.

When President Eisenhower dedicated McNary Dam in the Pacific Northwest last fall, he said: "Where local enterprise can shoulder the hurden, it will be encouraged and supported in doing so. But where local action cannot or should not fully meet the need, we shall have Federal action." We can therefore be assured that the Federal Gov-

ernment will continue its active participation in the development of our water resources.

There is a complete determination on the part of the Eisenhower administration to boost power development in accordance with the Nation's requirements. By encouraging the maximum possible local cooperation and partnership with the Federal Government, the vast amount of work that remains to be done will be most rapidly accomplished.

ALTERING COUGAR DAM

To illustrate concretely how this policy is working, Congress, some time ago, authorized the construction in the district I represent, of the Cougar Dam for flood control. By altering the design of the dam slightly and increasing its height, it was found that 37,000 kilowatts of power could be produced in addition to the millions of dollars that would be saved in flood damage to farmlands and buildings in the area. Congress, accordingly, modified the authorization to include construction of these power features at an additional cost of \$11 million. The Eugene Water and Electric Board, a publicly owned electric utility system operated by the city of Eugene, Oreg., finding itself in need of additional generating capacity, offered to construct the power part of the Cougar project and thus obtain the power it needs for the people it serves.

Under the partnership legislation introduced last year, the city of Eugene proposes to pay the entire \$11 million cost of the power facilities, and in addition, to contribute \$500,000 toward constructing the flood-control part of the dam. Further, it would pay 15 percent of the cost of operating the flood-control portion of the project throughout the 50-year life of its license with the Federal Power Commission. That payment will total another million dollars.

The water board believes this to be a good proposition because its system will acquire an additional 37,000 kilowatts of power which it needs. The cost of construction per kilowatt will be about on a par with its other capital investment for such facilities and the type of power generated can be integrated into the rest of its system.

This partnership project will also be of distinct advantage to the Federal Government. The people will get the flood control and power they need, but the cost of installing and maintaining the power facilities will not be an unnecessary burden upon the Federal taxpayer.

All partnership proposals have the same purpose—to get additional power as quickly as possible and at the least possible expense to the Federal Government.

And how is the Eisenhower administration's partnership policy working out? Is it getting the job done? Results to date have been eminently rewarding. They indicate conclusively that industry and local government are more than willing to assume their share of the responsibility. Since the administration's announcement of its partnership program, the kilowatt capacity represented by applications made to the Federal Power Commission has increased by 50 percent.

The President, in his Economic Report to the Congress this year, said: "During the last 2 years applications to the Federal Power Commission for permits to survey potential hydroelectric developments represented a larger total of kilowatts than was covered by the applications during the prior 7 years." He went on to say: "At the end of last year the volume of such permits outstanding was by far the greatest in the history of the Commission. The workings of the partner-ship policy are also illustrated by six multipurpose projects for which provision has already been made or is contemplated in the coming fiscal year. It is estimated that these projects will result in a Federal expenditure af about \$200 million, while an

additional \$800 million may be expended by local interests, private or public."

Fourteen Federal Power Commission license applications by local interests plus another project to be built on a partnership basis would mean an additional 4 million kilowatts for the Pacific Northwest.

This would be the equivalent of two Grand Coulee Dams and would mean an investment approaching \$2 billion, not supplied unnecessarily by Federal taxpayers but by private savings.

Illustrative of savings produced by the partnership approach are four projects which would have cost the taxpayer \$575 million if authorization for their construction by the Federal Government had not been withdrawn. Private and local government development of these projects will not only relieve the United States taxpayer of the burden of their initial cost, but as to those projects constructed by private industry, it will mean additional tax revenue and thus a corresponding lightening of the citizens' tax burden. These economies are another example of the broad benefits that result from the application of the Eisenhower partnership policy.

One of the four projects is the Alabama-Coosa River project, authorized for Federal construction in 1945 under legislation sponsored by Senators John Sparkman and Lis-TER HILL of Alabama. During the next 9 years, however, no funds for the project appropriated by Congress. Last year Senators Sparkman and Hill supported new legislation which took the Federal Government out of the picture. The Federal Power Commission has already granted a preliminary permit to the Alabama Power Co. to build a 239,500-kilowatt project. The Federal project would have developed only 200,-000 kilowatts and would have cost the Federal Government \$114 million which it was apparently unable to make available.

REVIVAL OF INITIATIVE

One of the most heartening developments that the President's partnership policy has produced is a noticeable improvement in attitude. No longer are our local people, whether in private or public activities, waiting for the Federal Government to take care of their needs and spoon out power to them.

Renewed vigor and initiative are now abroad in the land. Local groups interested in power are exhibiting a new independence, a willingness to provide for themselves. They see now that only in this way can they get what they need, when they need it, and on their own terms. Eloquent testimony to this fact can be found in the recent action of the Oregon Legislature memorializing Congress to approve three partnership projects.

Another important point that must not be overlooked is that the savings made possible by the partnership power policy will make money available for other pressing responsibilities of the Federal Government for which there are no alternative sources of funds.

In his article Senator Neurrors made the rather startling observation that partnership over the years will deny to the Treasury hundreds of millions of dollars. Apparently he assumes that once the cost of a project has been paid the Government will maintain rates at the same levels and thus produce a profit for the Treasury.

Nowhere in any act of Congress, however, is there any general authorization for the Federal Government to go into or conduct a power business as such. The Bonneville Power Administration in the Department of the Interior, for example, operates the great Bonneville system into which power from all Northwest projects is fed. It sells the power at wholesale to publicly and privately owned distributing systems. The Bonneville Act of 1937 spells out how the rates shall be made: "Rate schedules shall be drawn having regard

to the recovery of the cost of producing and transmitting such electric energy, including the amortization of the capital investment

over a reasonable period of years."

There is no provision in that law for the Government to make a profit for the Treasury from the Bonneville system. After the people who use the power have paid for the system, they may and probably will enjoy a reduction in rates when the amortization charge ends. The Treasury gets its money back with interest. That is all. Thus, unless Senator Neuserger proposes that the power business be socialized and turned into profit-making enterprise for the Federal Government, his assumption that the partnership program will "deny the Treasury hundreds of millions of dollars" is palpably false.

The Senator also makes the strange argument that the Federal Government under the partnership plan will be "saddled with the apparatus that returns no cash dividends-locks and fish ladders." He neglects to mention that his apparatus has long been considered a Federal obligation and that even the TVA specifically excludes these costs in determining its power rates. Does the Senator want only the people of Oregon and the other Northwestern States to pay for flood control and navigation in their electric bills? His comparison to the department store with its revolving doors and sales counters is cute but misleading.

Remember also that where power is developed by private companies the public interest is always fully protected. Private and local power projects must be licensed by the Federal Power Commission, and before the Commission grants a license it must see evidence that the project makes maximum use of the developed resources. And, as President Eisenhower has made clear, when a project is licensed it is not removed from public control. Rates and services remain under regulation, State and Federal. Moreover, as Senator Neuberger has failed to mention despite his burning interest in adding to Federal revenues, every privately op-erated electrical utility, like any other corporation, pays a corporate income tax of 52 percent if it earns a net income. In the year 1953 the Federal treasury collected \$875 million in income taxes paid by electrical utilities.

STEVENSON, SPARKMAN, AND HILL

But let us get back to the fundamental issue that is involved here: The problem of meeting the enormous and increasing power

needs of our growing Nation.

The real question is whether we are going to use every available resource, private, State, and Federal, to get a job done that has to be done, or are we going to flounder around, moving at reduced speed, because some dogmatically insist, with Senator Neu-BERGER that water resources should remain undeveloped unless the Federal Government does it alone?

The answer, it seems to me, is clear. It is also clear to many others, I submit, regard-less of party lines. For example, two leading Democrats, Senators Sparkman and Hill, of Alabama, have recognized that Federal spending alone is not the answer. And in Portland, Oreg., in May of 1952, Adlai Stevenson, later leader of the Democratic Party and its chief spokesman, said, "Where private enterprise can and is willing to do the lob, I think it should be left free to do so. It seems to me that Government enterprise should be primarily addressed to the maintenance and enforcement of competition in our economic life, not its destruction.

Senator Neuserger, on the other hand, prefers to take his stand with the past and with former Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, who in 1941 predicted that the Pacific Northwest would in due course be a public power domain.

On the strength of these facts, I am compelled to conclude that Senator Neuberger is out of step with the new needs and conditions of our times and with the leadership and other important members of his own party. The evidence equally compels me to suggest that Senator Neuberger, liberal though he may claim to be, is certainly, on this issue at least, a reactionary.

Diplomatic Papers-Historical Political Weapon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following article from the Washington Post of March 22, 1955:

HISTORICAL POLITICAL WEAPON

(By Irving Brant)

To get a proper perspective on Secretary Dulles' release of the Yalta papers, one needs to go back to a time when diplomatic dispatches were the principal weapon in American politics. That was in the first decade of the 19th century, when politics and di-plomacy were really boiling in the United States and the world was as much of a madhouse as it is today.

In that decade-near the high point of Napoleon's colossal power—England and France were engaged in a hot war with each other and each of them in a cold war with the United States. Charges of French influence were hurled at leaders of the Democratic Party (then called Republican) as zestfully as "20 years of treason" is today. Diplomatic dispatches were held back or published with one eye on Europe and the other on American politicians and newspapers, but with differences more important than the resemblances to the Dulles pattern.

The campaign literature which was used to elevate James Madison to the Presidency in 1808 consisted of diplomatic letters, about half of them written by himself as Secretary of State. These letters were given to Congress and the press in two batches-one of them so voluminous that it filled the newspapers for 2 months. And all were written within a year, not held back 10 years. However, everything that would have betrayed confidential talks with European officials was pared out, as such material was in a dozen other releases of papers by the Presidents in that era-releases regularly made in connection with their annual messages to Con-

Individual Senators were as irresponsible and unethical then as now. To emphasize the wickedness of Bonaparte and the treason of Democratic officials, Federalist Senators surreptitiously secured the publication of dispatches from Paris sent to the Senin confidence—an action which made Minister Armstrong's position at Napoleon's court almost untenable. Again, a British diplomatic dispatch mysteriously appeared in the American press. It looked as if British Minister Erskine had slipped it to a newspaper to hurt the President. But he had a simple and convincing explanation. To protect himself against Federalist criticism, he had shown the dispatch in confidence to 2 Senators of that party and 1 of them secretly copied it. Such incidents, however, were not the official acts of responsible officers of Government.

Had some counterpart of the Yalta papers been given to the press in 1810, with all the circumstances corresponding to the course pursued by Mr. Dulles, the manner of itthe presumed motive-would shocked the country. It would have been shocking on four accounts, all deeply grounded in American politics:

1. Not one of the Presidents who held office in that decade-John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison—would have dreamed of disclaiming responsibility for the action of his Secretary of State. Any one of them might have called it a Cabinet action, in which he shared, but to say publicly that he had no part in it would have lowered him in the eyes of every American.

2. Lumping Presidents and Cabinets together, not one of the Executives in that decade would have published such a set of papers under pressure from Congress, or to gain political advantage, if such action adversely affected the country's interest or its international standing.

3. Not one of the Secretaries of State in that period-not even the incompetent Robert Smith-would have said at one moment that the papers would not be released and released them the next.

4. Not one of those Executives would have released the papers in opposition to the wishes of a friendly European statesman concerned in them, or even, one could safely say, in violation of the amenities toward an unfriendly statesman.

The year 1810 is taken as an example because such an issue arose at that time. In the preceding fall, President Madison cut off all diplomatic relations with British Minister Francis Jackson-in effect ordering him out of the country-because he felt personally insulted by that Minister's conduct. The political heat that followed was terrific-Federalists supporting Jackson and Democrats upholding the President. And everybody asked: How would England react to the dismissal?

Sailing ships sped eastward across the Atlantic and beat their way slowly back. Four months passed without a word. Crucial spring elections lay just ahead—elections of State legislatures which would choose United States Senators.

Then, on March 12, the administration's chief newspaper organ published a little item. The Secretary of State had received a private note from the American minister in London, saying that Lord Wellesley "did not attempt to vindicate Mr. Jackson," but admitted he was in the wrong and would recall him.

Here was a statement which upset the Federalist election campaign. They called the letter a forgery, a thing which did not exist. Produce it, they cried. The House of Representatives, coerced by the minority, passed a resolution asking the President to transmit late dispatches from London. Madison replied that none but this private note had come, and "personal considerations of a delicate nature" forbade its disclosure.

After Congress adjourned the cries of "forgery" became a veritable scream when it turned out that Wellesley, in recalling Jackson, gave him praise instead of censure. Every political consideration now demanded publication of the private note. Continued silence would cast doubt on the President's integrity and imperil Democratic chances in the congressional election.

Why not publish this brief record of a confidential talk, which furnished evidence that a British foreign minister had said one thing and one the opposite in a controversy with the United States? Why not add American Minister Pinkney's later statement that Wellesley had changed his attitude when he learned that the Federalist Party in the United States was supporting the ousted British diplomat? There were two reasons for not doing so: It would weaken Pinkney's position in London and would be a discourtesy to the British foreign minister.

The President said nothing. The Federalists were still crying "forgery" when Madison received this personal note from Pinkney:

"I am glad you refused to lay my private letter before the Congress. The publication of it, which must necessarily have followed, would have produced serious embarrassments."

In that same decade, European diplomats called the United States a nation ruled by public opinion. So it was, but it was a nation ruled by the opinion of an informed public, wise in political ways and contemptuous of men who lacked the nerve to stand firm against political clamor.

The Merchandise Mart of Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I am always pleased to read the stimulating pages of the noted magazine, Think, published by the International Business Machines Corp., a great business organization which has contributed invaluably to American growth.

Among the many articles of deep interest in its current March 1955 issue is one on that fabulous institution, the world's largest commercial building, generally described as the greatest showcase on earth—the famed Merchandise Mart of Chicago.

This enormous enterprise, the foremost display center for wholesale business in the Midwest and in the Nation, is representative of the miracle of American distribution, which has brought costs down so low for mass sales in this country, the greatest market of the world.

The Merchandise Mart, too, represents the vision and enterprise of its forward-looking owner, Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy, Sr., father of our distinguished colleague from Massachusetts. Mr. Kennedy, Sr., has, within a decade, regenerated the Merchandise Mart and brought it to its present peak of efficient, modern service to the great heartland of America and to the United States free enterprise system.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the Think article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORLD'S GREATEST MARKET PLACE (By Irving Wallace)

In the heart of Chicago and, strangely shough, on a site where Indians once brought their wares to frade with the white men, stands the world's largest market place, the Merchandise Mart. This mammoth building was conceived and built by one of the greatest names in the merchandising world, Marshall Field & Co. When it was opened in 1930 to tenants and the public it was the largest structure, in actual size, in the entire world. Today, only the huse Pentagon Build-

ing in Washington, D. C., is larger than the Merchandise Mart, but it still has the distinction of being the world's largest commercial building—with no close second.

This structure covers 2 entire city blocks, having a gross area of 4,023,400 square feet—equivalent to 93 acres. The constant stream of humanity through the main halls (there are 7½ miles of corridors), entrances, and transportation facilities makes one think of a busy railroad depot at the height of a holiday rush period. Yet all moves in orderly fashion.

Literally, the Mart is the largest showcase on earth. No other single structure has such an amazing example of merchandise display methods. The very latest in lighting effect, use of color, material and design is here for the storekeeper anxious to increase his business back home. More buyers and more stores order more wholesale merchandise from firms located in the Mart than from any other market in the world.

Consulting the directory, one sees that there are 700 pages devoted to goods available and to the 3,200 manufacturers offering them for sale. In alphabetical order—from acetate fabrics to yarns—one finds items ranging from airplane kits to waste baskets, from baby boots, balloons, and barometers to wheel goods. There are 1,209,000 items on display.

From every corner of the world come buyers of merchandise, seeking the latest in everything. The children of India now play with metal toys fabricated in America because businessmen of Bombay and Calcutta trekked to the Merchandise Mart and placed their orders for shipment to the Orient.

But this is strictly a market for wholesale business. No huge stock of individual goods is stored here, only samples of the newest and finest products made. Here are some of the goods displayed: 948 lines of china, glass, pottery, and gifts; 205 lines of furniture; 407 of housewares, appliances, radios, and TV sets; 348 of men's and boys' clothing; 174 of curtains, draperies, and fabrics; 133 of floor coverings; 125 of toys, games and wheel goods; 224 of lamps, shades, and lighting fixtures; 817 of women's, children's and infants' wear; and 161 of linens, bedding, and domestic goods.

Though only registered buyers from recognized stores are permitted to make purchases, the general public is cordially invited to visit. During the week, Monday through Friday, specially trained personnel conduct tours on a half-hour schedule, and hundreds of people each day pay a nominal fee to take the 1½-hour tour to see the city under 1 roof. Surveys have shown that, as a direct result of the tours, a large percentage of tourists placed orders through their merchants at home for items seen in the Mart.

Here is truly a "city under 1 roof," with a daily working population of more than 20,000 people, and another 20,000 or more who come each day on business. Robert Ripley of "Believe It or Not" fame astounded the readers of his newspaper feature when he revealed that all the people of Chicago could be placed in the building at one time.

Housekeeping at the Merchandise Mart is on a gigantic scale, with a staff of over 300 and an annual budget of \$1,500,000. The locksmith must keep track of the keys to 15,000 locks, and there are over 10,000 telephones to take care of. Washing windows isn't a seasonal chore but a year-round job, for there are 6,500 windows to keep clean. Last year they used 30,000 gallons of paint, and this figure didn't include a carload of a water-soluble variety. Nearly all the rooms and corridors are air-conditioned. Equipment for this plant weighs over 7,000 tons.

Those who are appalled by winter fuel bills may take consolation in reading that as much as 27,000 tons of coal have been used in a single year to heat the Mart, and as much as 225 tons have been consumed in

a single day. New heating equipment has been installed, making it possible to use gas, oil or coal, or any combination of these fuels.

The huge building also has its own police force and traffic officers on duty round the clock. Mail carriers assigned there aren't bothered by rain, sleet, snow, biting doks nor the chilly wind from Lake Michigan. For they need not leave the building as they deliver some 40,000 pieces of mail and approximately 1,000 parcel post packages on their 4 daily trips. The post office has an average annual revenue of \$2 million, making

it the fifth largest in Chicago. Many of the Nation's outstanding industrial companies maintain their home or regional offices on the lower floors or in the tower. Yet it is not an office building. But it is only in such an amazing structure that the entire office force of a huge corporation could be placed on just a part of a single floor in an area comprising almost three acres, as are the general offices of the Pullman Co. Other outstanding companies to take advantage of the facilities offered include Quaker Oats, United States Rubber, Borg-Warner Corp. (Norge division), Dear-born Chemical, and Westinghouse, whose whose offices have cost as much as \$700,000 to design and construct. The upper floors have both the National Broadcasting Co. and the American Broadcasting Co. studios and ecutive offices, as well as television studios. The major space, however is allotted to display rooms with floor after floor of showrooms, beautifully decorated, and filled with

the finest products in the Nation. One of the Nation's leading commercial banks is located on the main floor. The Merchandise Mart National Bank has deposits in excess of \$74 million. On the first two floors there are 11 eating places where more than 30,000 people dine each day. These restaurants range from coffee and sandwich bars to the swank Fantasy Room operated by Henrici's, a popular restaurant name in Chicago. Also on the lower floors, employees-as well as the public-find firms giving all the services expected in a small city. There are 40 independent retail establishments selling groceries, drugs, gifts, cameras, tobacco, liquors, food for pets, shoes, sports equipment, radio and television supplics, appliances and housewares. Personal services include doctors, dentists, barbers, beauty parlors, and travel information.

The Mart is a magnificent structure, dominating Chicago's entire Loop area from the northern end. The main portion is 18 stories high, and the tower continues to 25 stories, 353 feet high. It has a 577-foot riverfront between Orleans and Wells streets. The building was erected on 458 caissons which go down into the earth 100 feet.

It is difficult to comprehend the large amount of material needed to construct a building this size. Some of the important items needed were: 3,915,000 cubic feet of concrete; 9 million feet of steel reinforcing wire for floors; 5 million feet of lumber; 20 million bricks; 54,000 tons of steel; 380 miles of wiring; 60 miles of plumbing; 35 miles of pipe for heating; 142 miles of piping for sprinklers; 132,000 square feet of glass; 7,000 tons of granite; 16,000 tons of terra cotta; 200,000 cubic feet of stone; 70,000 sprinkling heads and 40,000 lighting fixtures. The original cost was \$32 million. Actually construction started in 1928 and the first tenants moved in during 1930. (Eighty-two percent of the original tenants are still there.)

There are 30 large electrically controlled passenger elevators to accommodate the thousands of employees, businessmen, and visitors. Officials estimate the elevators carried more than 25 million people last year. Five freight elevators, each capable of carrying a 5-ton load, handle the tremendous amount of incoming and outgoing merchandise.

Few buildings, if any, in the United States have freight transportation facilities comparable to those of the Mart. It is served by railroad, water, air, and highway. Trucking facilities play the major role in today's business. There are truck-loading platforms on two levels, and the largest can handle as many as 80 vehicles at one time. There are 6 railroad tracks running under the building where railway cars can deliver fuel and merchandise right to the freight elevators. Other iver front are docks 2 blocks long and on the roof is a landing area for helicopters.

For passenger transportation facilities, Chicago's elevated trains come into a depot on the second floor, making it possible for the traveling public to reach any point in Chicago. The North Shore electric trains, serving suburban cities north of Chicago all the way to Milwaukee, use this same depot, where more than 2 million fares are collected annually. The Mart is but a few minutes ride from any of the major rail terminals. There is easy access for buses and taxis.

The building was sold 10 years ago to Joseph P. Kennedy, Boston banker, and former United States Ambassador to England. "Chicago's Merchandise Mart brought me a challenge and an opportunity," Mr. Kennedy said. During his ownership he has carried on a steady development program for the convenience of tenant firms and customers. Even so, the Mart is something to be watched, for Mr. Kennedy says he has only started.

The Yalta Conference and President Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Roosevelt Was Right at Yalta," published in the Montgomery Adviser of March 18, 1955.

Mr. President, I should like to call attention to the fact that the four editorials which I am presenting for the Record on the subject of the Yalta Conference are taken from newspapers which supported the Republican ticket in 1952. Therefore I am certainly not introducing any partisan material. I believe they are very objective views on this perplexing and complex subject.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROOSEVELT WAS RIGHT AT YALTA

The uncorking of the Yalta papers is causing a misbegotten effort to discredit the war leadership of Franklin Roosevelt.

Though Roosevelt was often a slick and dishonest hornswoggler, he was undeniably

His vision and realism concerning communism were not of the order of the supreme prophet, Churchill, but this country owes a great debt to Roosevelt for his splendid war leadership.

The current controversy over Yalta is an effort to prove that our troubles with Russia would not exist had Roosevelt not made unnecessary concessions to Stalin in order to get Russia to come in against Japan.

Many mistakes were made concerning Russia, and you can argue to good effect that Roosevelt's enormous vanity led him to sup-

pose that he could handle the Russians, But making concessions to get Russia into the war against Japan was no error. He could not have done otherwise without betraying a million and more American soldiers and their families.

It must be remembered that at the time of the Big Three meeting at Yalta, Germany had not been vanquished. The A-bomb success was 5 months off. As Churchill records in his Yalta memoirs, American war planners thought it would take 18 months after the surrender of Germany to defeat Japan.

It was further thought that the storming of the Japanese islands would be one of the bloodiest events in the history of warfare.

But it would be much less bloody if the Russians joined in, assailing Japanese forces on the one hand and preventing the large and powerful Japanese Army in Manchuria from marching to the defense of Japan.

This reinforcement with Russian forces was a great prize to be won, and we should not forget how anxious we were in those days over whether Russia would come in. With the frightful vision of the bloody Japanese beaches before him, Roosevelt would have registered a colossal failure indeed had he not nailed down the help of the Russians. He owed that to every American soldier, sailor, and airman.

There are a lot of wise ones today croaking and rasping that Japan was by this time already used up and hence it was not necessary to entice Russia into the fray. Such was the case, but the same military leaders who had provided the brilliant victory in the ETO were convinced that Japan would slaughter many Americans in her death convulsion.

There are those who contend that, actually, there was no way to keep Russia out of the war on Japan. Probably that is true, but there never was a time when any man, not even Churchill, knew what the Russians would do in a given situation.

As for the Yalta agreement, what matter is it what Russia might have been induced or coerced to sign? Russia would not have honored the agreement in any event.

The Yalta Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Yalta Papers Should be Studied in Relation to 1945 Conditions," published in a recent issue of the Birmingham News.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YALTA PAPERS SHOULD BE STUDIED IN RELATION TO 1945 CONDITIONS

It is no secret to anyone now that the late President Roosevelt was unwise in agreeing to Asian concessions to Stalin's Russia, at Yalta; or that it was unwise to allow Russia to have 3 U. N. votes to 1 for the other powers; or that Roosevelt and Churchill thought they had a reliable agreement with Stalin as to free postwar elections in East Europe. And it is not news about a great many other things discussed at the Conference held in February 1945.

What well might be remembered with respect to a principal decision, that involving concessions to bring Russia into the war with Japan, is that when it was made Russian troops were on the east bank of the Oder, Allied forces were at the Saar, in Italy the fighting continued tough below Balogna. Manila was afire. And when Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt were meeting, United States planes were bombing Iwo Jima dally—as they had been for more than 2 months—in preparation for the Marines' attack, which came the next week. There was still very much war going on.

Military representatives at Yalta, the papers show, thought the European war could run until the end of 1945. It was estimated by them that the end of the war with Japan would come 18 months after Germany's defeat. This was the estimate Mr. Roosevelt had to rely on when he considered whether to try to win from Russia agreement to join in the Japanese war. It ought to be remembered, also, that Operations Olympic and Coronet—the Japanese Islands invasion-were in the early stages of planning at that time. Okinawa was not even ours. In brief, a good case can be made that there was reason to want Russia to share part of the expense in blood and arms apparently to be required before the fanatical Japanese were brought to surrender.

No atomic bomb had been exploded, and there was vagueness about that weapon. A report of the period by Maj. Gen. Leslie Groves, of the Manhattan project, obviously did not forecast anything like the destructiveness which Hiroshima showed possible.

So hindsight, for some, has brought a view which is wholly critical of most of what was decided at Yalta. But, as has been said, that is due not so much to faulty decisions—some undoubtedly were—as to the fact that Stalin and Soviet Russia as we later learned had no intention of respecting such agreements. In the warm glow of wartime friendship and common purpose in arms, we let our guard down. But it is hard to keep a guard up against a friend and use his support in conflict.

The British are reported much disturbed. But the British have known—knew then—the American view was that Hong Kong should be turned over to China (it was then Nationalist China), and we cannot see much grounds for affront because Mr. Roosevelt feit British aid would not be needed in the postwar Korean situation.

The release of the papers manifestly brings conditions which are almost certain to put new strains on diplomacy. Mr. Dulles apparently is already reacting to pressures certain to come, as demonstrated by some testiness when asked in Washington why he had elected to release the papers now. He had, in fact, said only a few days ago they wouldn't be released. One explanation offered by an unidentified State Department source is that a New York newspaper already had a copy of the report. But that is not a good explanation—inviting only further inquiry as to how copies of the report were guarded.

Our American debate about Yalta ought not to be weighted by political considerations. Some Republicans long, now, have sought to use the Roosevelt decisions as a weapon against the Democratic Party. This has placed an unfortunate burden on foreign policy.

The Yalta Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in

the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "Yalta After 10 Years," published in the Christian Science Monitor of March 18, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YALTA AFTER 10 YEARS

At Yalta in one fateful week, Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt attempted to shape the postwar world.

Yalta was from the first indictable for secrecy, and the secrecy on its major decisions was too long maintained. But Sir Winston Churchill declares that the release of details in the State Department's report

is even now unwise. He also adds that there are serious mistakes in the American version. So the report may easily start more controversies than it will settle.

Indeed reactions at home and abroad suggest that a Pandora's box has been opened, and that once more domestic political considerations have been placed above the Nation's position in the world.

Yet its publication has one great value. It helps to place the Yalta decisions more clearly in the context of 1945 events. The Soviet Union's breaking of Yalta agreements has made the whole arrangement appear much worse than it was. But even in 1945 voices of warning were raised against the assumption that those agreements—particularly on Eastern Europe-would hold.

Commenting on President Roosevelt's report to Congress, this newspaper said March

"We are less confident than Mr. Roosevelt appeared to be that the arrangements made or planned will end spheres of influence or the balance-of-power system. The results of the pledged cooperation to set up free governments will have to be seen to be judged."

We added that they would be tested by whether elections were honest.

History will not excuse Franklin Roosevelt for seriously misjudging the Kremlin's postwar purposes. He was so intent on winning the war he failed to plan adequately for peace. He disregarded Sir Anthony Eden's good advice on concessions to Rusgia. But the light shed by these documents sharply jolts the easy hindsight of recent years which has explained Yalta in terms of treason or incredible naivete.

We acquire clearer views merely by noting

that Yalta's agreements were made when the American Army, recovering from the "Bulge," was just entering Germany, that Russian troops were within 40 miles of Berlin; that in the Pacific American power had only reached Manila, and that the atomic bomb was still only a promise.

The report reminds us of several other factors which are essential to fair judgment of Yalta. The ghost of Brest-Litovsk peeked over the shoulders of western diplomatsthey remembered that agreement with Germany in 1918 by which Russia withdrew from World War I. They greatly feared a repetition. The Joint Chiefs of Staff were saying it would take 18 months to subdue Japan after Germany was beaten-and urg-

ing efforts to win Russian aid. Yalta did not give Stalin all he sought, and in only a few cases did it give him anything his forces did not already hold. Finally, it should be remembered that much of the Postwar expansion of Soviet power followed not so much from gifts at Yalta as from a retreat of American power caused by disbanding armies to bring the boys home.

We have misjudged Yalta by forgetting some of the circumstances surrounding it. But in another sense we are too close to itand too partisan about it. Even now our information is not complete. Yet the disclosure of these records might well give us wisdom for today:

1. To seek a clearer line of action based more on enduring moral principles, less on temporary military urges, so that today's friends will not become tomorrow's enemies.

2. To base peace planning on a deeper sense of brotherhood and effective cooperation with like-minded peoples.

3. To avoid talking beyond our power to perform; to take positions carefully, and then support them vigorously by moral, military, and economic strength.

The Yalta Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial on the Yalta Conference, published in the Washington Evening Star of yes-

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YALTA POLITICS

One feels impelled to agree with Senator BRIDGES that the Republicans are at liberty to discuss the "mistakes" made at Yalta, and that "by studying the mistakes of the past and trying to avoid them in the future we can help our country."

It is not so easy, however, to reconcile this high-level pronouncement with the news that Senator Bringes has instructed the Republican Policy Committee, which he heads, to compile information from the Yalta documents, for use by GOP speakers.

This has all the earmarks of an attempt to pounce upon the Yalta texts for partisan. vote-getting purposes. If so, the move is one which should and which probably will meet with little success.

Of course, mistakes were made at Yalta. They ought to be studied at a responsible level with a view to guarding against repetition in the future. But this is no job for stump speakers armed with vest-pocket editions of oversimplified speeches lifted, in all probability, out of context by a vote-conscious policy committee.

After all, the mistakes at Yalta were made years ago in the closing stages of the world's costliest war. This, of course, does not excuse the mistakes. But it does suggest that the Republicans are not going to be able to squeeze much political advantage out of them at this late date-especially since there is no apparent way of rectifying the errors except through another war, which the GOP is not likely to advocate.

It is to be hoped that responsible Republican leaders will balance the slim prospect of political gain in this business against the potential injury to the national welfare if the Yalta agreements should become the subject of a cat-and-dog partisan fight. Nor should the possible extent of this injury be underestimated.

The Christian in Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, during a conference last fall of the Blair County, Pa., ministerium held in the city of Altoona, Pa., it was my privilege to deliver the following address on the subject the Christian in Politics:

THE CHRISTIAN IN POLITICS

(Address by the Honorable James E. Van ZANDT, of Pennsylvania)

In speaking to you on the subject the Christian in Politics it is appropriate to consider briefly some of the definitions or statements defining politics.

We are told for example by Webster that "politics is the art and science of govern-

ment."

James Freeman Clarke says: "A politician thinks only of the next election—a statesman of the next generation."

And finally Daniel O'Connell admonishes

that "Nothing is politically right that is mor-

ally wrong."

To these definitions I wish to add the following statement attributed to Andrew Oilver of Boston and written over 155 years ago. It summarizes, in telling fashion, what I think is a brief and comprehensive word picture of the term "politics" and is as true today as when uttered over a century and a half ago. Andrew Oliver said "Politics is the most hazardous of all professions. There is not another in which a man can hope to do so much good to his fellow creatures. Neither is there any in which by mere loss of nerve he may do widespread harm. Nor is there another in which he may so easily lose his own soul. Nor is there another in which a positive and strict veracity is so difficult.

"But danger is the inseparable companion of honor."

With all the temptations and degradations that beset it politics is still the noblest

career any man can choose. When I decided to become a candidate for Congress I was told in a jovial manner, and then again by some serious minded friends that in entering the political arena I was choosing a career in life that has been described by careless slanderers as a

cesspool of inquity.

How often have we heard the caustic remark, "that politician," or "its just politics," or "I'm not going to vote for any of them, they're just a bunch of politicians."

Such unworthy remarks are directed daily at persons in public life by thoughtless people that it is little wonder that many good men and women shun public office.

President Eisenhower in a public pronouncement, warmed the hearts of great army of honest public servants when he admonished those who have an active interest in political affairs "to wear their political badge with considerable pride." He continued: "For politics ought to be the part-time profession of every citizen who would protect the rights and privileges of free people and who would preserve what is good and fruitful in our national heritage."

"Politics," said the President, "must be the concern of every citizen who wants to see our national well-being increased and our international leadership strengthened. In that combined sense politics is the

noblest of professions."

The Chief Executive of this great Republic seems to have echoed the thoughts of Andrew Oliver, of Boston, uttered 155 years ago, thoughts that are as applicable in this hydrogen-atomic age as they were in the infant days of the Republic.

It is a serious setback to the millions of American citizens interested in good government to reflect upon the widely publicized results of a Gallup poll published in 1953. This poll revealed that 70 percent of the persons interviewed stated they would not like to see their sons go into politics as a

This attitude is disturbing because the poll was not sectional or confined to any group

of partisans.

The expressed opposition to politics as a career was nationwide and extended to all walks of life. Since politics should be, and essentially by nature is, an honorable profession inseparable from the welfare of society, such a nationwide indictment is not to be dismissed lightly.

When it is revealed that a profession that

touches the life of every man, woman, and child is regarded as having fallen into disrepute, it is imperative that an explanation must be sought for such an unwholesome

situation.

It is true that in politics there are found weak-kneed persons who are not as Ceasar's

wife "above suspicion."

Yet considering the constant temptations that confront even the most virtuous, it would be too much to expect that in the field of politics all men would be paragons of virtue endowed with infinite wisdom and actuated by a sincere desire to fully justify the confidence placed in them.

In all segments of American life we have misfits who do not measure up to their responsibilities. Yet we refrain from denouncing their profession or vocation in life and charging it as being wholly responsible for harboring such misquided mortals.

By the same token we should, in exercising Christian charity, recognize the frailties of human nature and refuse to be stampeded into subscribing to the wholesale indictment of corruption and moral degradation leveled collectively at all persons in political life.

We should, on the other hand, examine such a sweeping indictment and try to find the reason for such widespread criticism. In so doing, we will find that among the chief causes for the scornful attitude directed toward those in political life is the fact that some unscrupulous and irresponsible politicians, by their conduct, have reflected discredit on all public servants and have cast the stigma of suspicion and distrust on them as a class.

In addition to corrupt public officials who are few in number, due to the high and exacting standards required of men in public affairs, there is the regrettable tendency on the part of the public to characterize every politician as demogog and a knave, thus judging all of them by the misconduct of a relatively few who have fallen by the wayside in violating the public trust. Such sweeping criticism is unjust and can serve but one purpose, and that is to discourage good men and women from entering politics.

For the few corrupt politicians that are exposed from time to time, there is a vast army of loyal and faithful public servants who should not be made to suffer by careless criticism directed at the sins of the few.

A Senate committee report on ethical standards of Government published in 1951 contains the testimony of Comptroller General Lindsay Warren, recognized as a militant crusader for higher moral standards in the public service. While testifying before the

Senate committee he expressed his opinion that "an overwhelming majority of Government people are honest, capable, and conscientious."

The Senate committee, in its conclusions, went so far as to say "the ethical standards of public officials are probably higher than those prevailing in business and other walks

It is convincingly evident from the results of the Gallup poll and the tendency to degrade politics that it is time the American public must begin to discriminate between the good and bad politician. This is difficult to do, however, when public apathy is so prevalent on election day, that only about half of the American people qualified to vote exercise their precious franchise.

Herein lies the solution to this distressing indictment of those in political life who, in Webster's definition, are engaged in a career in that lofty profession defined as "the art

and science of government."
Undoubtedly many interviewed in the Gallup poll exercise their right to vote. Yet when we realize that a recent report stated there would be over 100 million Americans privileged to vote on November 2, based on the previous voting records of the American people, it will be a modern miracle if the 1952 vote which was recorded at 611/2 million will be equaled, let alone surpassed.

The point I wish to make is that when only about half of the American people go to the polls are we not guilty, by comparison, of only a half-hearted effort in electing capable and honest public officials to administer the affairs of government? Are we not indicting ourselves when we complain of "that bunch of politicians" when half of us refrain from exercising the precious privilege of voting for public officials who literally hold our future as American citizens in the palms of their

If we cry out against "stuffed ballot boxes" are we not aiding the culprits in political life by "starved ballot boxes"? Clean and honest government will never be achieved by halfhearted efforts on our part.

When only half of us vote it shows that we only half care about how our Government is operated. Such an attitude of indifference is certain to permit the election of persons we later criticize.

Yet, if we spent an hour on election day in casting our vote we could have helped to avert such a calamity.

The churches of the Nation are of utmost importance in the crusade for good government because they are eternally dedicated to the seemingly endless struggle against the forces of evil. Therefore, as spiritual laboratories, they watch over, nurture, and develop the inner man from the time his name is inscribed on the cradle roll until the day that he is summoned for a final accounting by the same God who made him.

In the interim the Christian mode of living becomes ingrained on his heart and in his soul as he absorbs the eternal truths taught him regarding his purpose here on earth. Fortified with the Christian way of life it follows that any man devoted to his faith in Almighty God is certain with the help of divine grace to lead an exemplary life, and in so doing merit the respect of his men. Such a man is an asset to his community and a force for good in its civic life. If he has the inclination and the will to enter politics the community, State, or Nation is richer by his presence for he is capable of rendering public service of the highest order based on the Christian ideals which have been indelibly inscribed on his heart and in his soul.

How often in recent years when the very foundation of our form of Government has been menaced by sinister and atheistic forces, have we heard repeated over and over

again the stirring prayer of the poet as he implores divine providence:

"God give us men!

A time like this demands strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands:

Men whom the lust of office does not kill; Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy; Men who possess opinions and a will;

Men who have honor; Men who will not lie."

The churches of America from their spiritual reservoirs of manpower, have supplied such men and will continue to do so.

From personal experience I know that the thousands of God-fearing men I have met have elevated public life by their services to mankind. Their edifying conduct and spotless reputation have served to rout the scoffers who jokingly, or in earnest, regard politics as a questionable and disreputable means of making a living.

The church can gain nothing from becoming engaged in partisan politics, yet it fails in its mission if it hesitates to take an unmistakable position on any moral issue affecting the spiritual welfare of its members. Such a solicitous attitude does not require that the church identify itself with any particular political party for it would be folly to attempt to destroy the freedom of its members to select the political party of their choice.

The point is that a good Christian will practice his faith in everyday life and by so doing, he transmits his sense of moral sponsibility to others, regardless of whether he is an elected public official or prefers to portray the role of the average American citizen.

With the granting of the franchise to women in 1920 and since some 30 million of them voted in 1952 as compared to over 31 million men, the family now plays an important part in deciding political issues. The Christian family, therefore, can wield the balance of power in any election, provided its members become informed on the issues and above all vote.

It is inspiring to realize that there is a mounting interest in Washington in the spiritual side of official life. Such increased interest is edifying and is a good example to the rest of the Nation. Prayer breakfasts attended by President Eisenhower are held at frequent intervals in the Mayflower Hotel and the response to the invitations extended greatly exceed the fondest expectations of the sponsors. In addition, a prayer room has been erected in the United States Capitol where Members of Congress may retreat to a chapel-like atmosphere and engage in silent meditation.

During the 83d Congress legislation was approved adding the words "under God" to the pledge of allegiance to the flag. This spiritual attitude that is being publicly displayed in official circles in Washington, reveals that despite the stereotyped and baseless slanders against politicians as a class, there are countless men in public office who are concerned not alone for the material needs of the Nation but they are convinced, like our forefathers, that Almighty God has dominion over the affairs of this Nation. They know that the inscription on the great seal of the United States when translated from Latin says: "He has favored our undertakings." They know, too, that on our coinage the founders of this Republic inscribed, "In God we trust," and that Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg, expressed the same basic idea when he said that this Nation's "new birth of freedom" would be "under God."

Holy Scripture also reminds us of the Master's majestic and dramatic words in defining our duty to God and to the state, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's."

Our Divine Lord was making it crystal clear that the church and state should work in harmony-each in its proper field for each has rights over man and both have common origin in God.

With this divine interpretation of the relationship of government to God, Christian men and women, because of their dedication to the religious ideals upon which this Nation was founded, can serve their country well in political life because they are aided by their love of God and love of their neighbor.

With such an abiding faith in their country, their neighbor, and their God they are the instrument through which, by their interest in politics, public office can be elevated to its proper place in our everyday lives, thus refuting the accusations of those who degrade it when they speak of it as a career to be shunned.

The Day We Celebrate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the annual St. Patrick's Day celebration of the 154th anniversary of the Hibernian Society of Charleston, S. C., on March 17, 1955, the Most Reverend John J. Russell, bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of South Carolina, delivered a magnificent and most thought-provoking address. He reviewed, with a masterful voice, the events at the time of St. Patrick, the events of today and the challenge confronting each of us in the present mortal strife beween Christianity and international communism. He reminded us of our responsibilities.

Mr. Speaker, he spoke for countless

millions of Americans.

Mr. Speaker, he spoke for my peoplehe spoke for me.

THE DAY WE CELEBRATE

Hibernians all. On this day we celebrate, I am both honored and happy. Honored to have the privilege of speaking to this distinguished gathering of friends and fellow Charlestonians. Happy, here in our charming city where we hear much of St. Michael's steeple, St. Philip's churchyard, St. Cecelia's Society, St. Andrew's Parish, happy to put in a word for St. Patrick's feast day. French Society, the German Society, the Scotch Society, the New England Society, all take a back seat today for on St. Patrick's Day we Irish take over completely.

"So, come all o'ye; and share our jubilation! Oh, the music in the air

An' the joy that's everywhere-Shure the whole blue vault of heaven's wan

grand triumphal arch, And the earth below is gay Wid its tender green the' day

Fur the whole world is Irish on the Seventeenth of March!"

The whole wide world over, March 17 is St. Patrick's Day. Shamrocks suddenly blossom, and green ties or little green ribbons are Worn with belligerent pride or a casual selfconsciousness or with teasing good nature. Even for a lone Irishman in any city or nation, St. Patrick's Day is a grand holiday. Where two Irishmen are gathered it becomes a celebration. If there are three, naturally

there is a parade. You cannot have a parade with less than three, for there must be a grand marshal, the main marching body and the rear guard. Here we have more than a mere parade-we celebrate the 156th anniversary of the Hibernian Society-Charleston's 156th celebration of St. Patrick's Day.

The usual pattern is for speakers on this occasion to turn the warm and mellow phrase to the glories of St. Patrick and an Ireland no proper Irishman believes is anything, but solely and exclusively a land of saints and There is much that is justified and some that is extravagant, and mixed with it all is many a story to lift a banquet hall high in mirth. Too much does St. Patrick's Day oratory sing of the past, too little of today and tomorrow. And so tonight I speak not of Ireland's past, but of her present, and of America's use of our Irish heritage.

The world hangs under a cloud today, cloud of apprehension occasioned by the threat of totalitarians. The Republic of Ireland shares that apprehension, and yet in many respects the situation there on this St. Patrick's Day is better and more encouraging than it has been at any time since the invader first set foot upon its shore.

Ireland's place among the nations of the world is what previous generations there, and previous generations of those of Irish extraction elsewhere, hoped and prayed for. They never for a moment doubted that one day Ireland's hope would be realized, but the obstacles were so great, that they sometimes were tempted to think that the day of

achievement would be far, far in history.

Today, however, Ireland exercises all the powers of a sovereign nation, with Hon. John J. Hearne, chief envoy in the United States, having the rank of ambassador, and with the United States represented in Ireland by Ambassador William H. Taft, III, the grandson of a former President and Chief Justice. In as disturbed a period as the world has seen short of war, Eire is enjoying internal peace; there have been fewer changes of government there since Ireland's independence was restored than in any major country in the world.

Only one more development is needed to fulfill Ireland's hopes, and that is the end of partition—the partition of the nation into two political entities, not by majority will of all Irishmen but by outside force-and this in the face of statesmen's pious preachments on a small nation's right to self-determinataion. With our objection to partition of Korea and Indochina by enemy invasion, Americans particularly should understand that justice requires the ending of the partition of Ireland, where northern Ireland, 5,238 square miles in extent, is artificially separated from the 27,137 square miles of the republic. May this be one of the last of the St. Patrick's Days observed in an Ireland that is partitioned.

So much for Ireland-now how about America-does St. Patrick's Day have a lesson for us? St. Patrick's great contribution to the world was that he taught his followers faith and patriotism, love of God, and love of country. These have been the chief characteristics of Irishmen down through succeeding centuries.

Suppose St. Patrick were to land on our shores today, 1955, in the atomic age, what would be his message to America?

He would call upon our leaders and our citizens as he summoned the Irish rulers and people to accept, to profess and practice the same principles of righteousness-to adore and obey Almighty God. He would say, "You will not find the lasting peace you crave which like every good and perfect gift cometh down from the Father of Lights unless you live like the sons of God." call ourselves a Christian Nation, we invoke the blessing of God upon the sessions of Congress-our public meetings are opened and closed with prayer to the Almighty; the seal

of our Nation bears the words "In God we trust", yet out of deference to atheists we acquiesce in leaving God out of the deliberations of the United Nations. Half of our citizens acknowledge no religious affiliation and take no part in any religious exercises.

"What God has joined together let no man put asunder," yet nearly 1 out of 3 marriages in our country ends in divorce, family life is declining, juvenile delinquency in-creasing, scandals, treachery, and treason in high places no longer shock us. As a nation, we seem to have squandered our birthright; to have lost along with our faith in God, our patriotism and even our sense of shame. Patrick, who saved Ireland, would save the United States by the same means—faith in God-the faith which is the salvation of men and of nations.

As he tore down the false gods whose shrines dotted the emerald isle, so he would tear down the false gods that men have placed upon pedestals in our own midstthe gods of lust and luxury, worshiped by defiling the home and family, by the pagan immorality of much of our entertainment; of our reading matter, of the gods of avarice worshiped by injustice in business, in industry, in government, the gods of ignorance worshiped by spending millions of dollars on the education of millions of American children, teaching them nothing about the God who made them, so that many of the present generation do not even know the Ten Commandments. He would remind us that of the 19 civilizations the human race has known, 16 of them perished from within, from decadence resulting from disregarding the moral law established by the Supreme Lawgiver. Patrick would say, If you want God's blessings upon America, make America less unworthy of God's blessing. If you want peace and security against the forces of atheistic communism, if you want God on your side, first be on God's side.

As he did of old with the pagan Irish, he would take what is good in our national character, our native courage, energy, resourcefulness, our inventive genius, our mechanical know-how; he would elevate and strengthen, but he would root out whatever is weak and wrong and venal and dishonest and pagan in our American way of life.

Let the lesson of this day we celebrate be for each of us this-that just as one man under God saved and reclaimed a nation, so each of us as individuals, if we have the courage and strength of conviction and fortitude and moral fiber of Patrick, can make a mighty contribution to the salvation and redemption of America. That my friends is the first lesson and the first message and the first inspiration of the day we celebrate.

And the second is this: Patrick taught love God and love of country. I am afraid he would be ashamed of us on both counts. We have secularized our society and our government, our national life to the point where we no longer put God first-and in our dealings with other nations we do not put America first. At Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam we surrendered the countries of Eastern Europe to Stalin, then we refused the necessary help to the Chinese Nationalists and let the Communists take over the mainland of China. We have been witnesses if not accomplices of the development of atheistic communism into a force controling the destinies of one-third of the human race, and atheistic imperialism goes on enslaving people in Europe and Asia, determined, if possible, to enslave all free people. Meanwhile, we lack the courage, the forti-tude, the free and patriotic spirit of our forefathers.

We have thrown away everything we had built up over a century of effort on the mainland of China. More than 500 million Chinese were firmly convinced that the United States was the most powerful nation

in the world and regarded America as their friend and protector. Now we have lost face and they have lost faith in us and hope. A small group of pro-Communists and pseudointellectuals have effected, in a few years, one of the greatest turnovers in history. Now we send a foreigner to talk with the Chinese reds, begging them to release American citizens and soldiers from prison and we even seem to be content to remain ignorant of the answer that was given.

The west (our friends and allies to whom we give lavish gifts) trade with China and other Red countries and thus feeds the workers who produce the guns to kill Americans. How Mr. Churchill, Mr. Dulles and other negotiators of lesser stature in the free world can contemplate dealing with these men who come to the conference table with hands reeking with the blood of our soldiers is beyond comprehension.

How low must burn the feeble flicker of our self-respect, before our American spirit blazes forth once more a beacon of light, hope in the world and a warning to those that would assail us? And yet it is better to light one candle than just to curse the darkness, so from reflecting on the virtues and teachings of a man dead 1,500 years who in his day changed the world in which he lived-let each of us determine to do what we can-I am only one, I cannot do much, but what I can I must do and with God's help I will do-to live right in God's sight nd to put my country, America first.
That, my friends, is the lesson of the day

we celebrate.

To Make Our Security System Secure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an article from the New York Times magazine of March 20, 1955, entitled "To Make Our Security System Secure," by Vannevar Bush:

WASHINGTON .- After a spell of fever the country has now returned to an almost normal temperature as it regards the problem of loyalty on the part of its citizens in high or sensitive places. Key cases have disappeared from the front page, the last of these being so patently absurb that it was ludicrous. Oppenheimer is living a happy and constructive life, contributing to our losophy if not to our defense. Condon is teaching physics rather than making new kinds of glass, and no doubt teaching well. Ladejinsky is back at work on his specialty.

But no one looks back on the recent imbroglio over loyalty procedures with any pride or satisfaction. For widely different reasons the feeling prevails that the system of loyalty clearance under which we have operated has been defective. We need a new system, not a bit of tampering with the old; we need a 1955 model, not an antirattling device to be attached to a Model T.

The new system should be built from the ground up by a competent body of men with an unrestricted assignment. That should include members who are vigorously alive to the dangers of subversion and others who are equally alive to the rights of citizens. It should not be just a collection of scientists. It must, by all means, be divorced from politics. It need not be hurried at its job, for our present situation is apt to continue a long time. But it should be so thorough that it will bring the whole problem of enemy penetration and disloyalty under control, without again making it a political football and without wrecking the careers of humble public servants.

First, the body should visualize the world conditions under which the revised system is likely to operate; second, it should analyze the objectives and methods of our enemy in the field of propaganda and subversion; third, it should write down the objectives which the new system is to accomplish; fourth, it should establish a group of principles to which the system should conform; and, fifth, it should create a system that is to attain our objectives in accordance with the established principles. Here we can touch only the high spots of this program.

As nearly as we can now see, we are entering a period of technical stalemate, in which wars are unlikely to occur, though secondary wars fought with limited means may be a common occurrence. This seems, at least, to be the best that we can hope for at present. For no great war can ever again be won; it can only end with the partial or complete annihilation of both contestants.

Our enemy relies chiefly on the weapons of penetration and subversion to weaken us so that later he can destroy us. He tries to steal our secrets, to penetrate our organizations and influence our actions, and, all, to spread confusion and mutual distrust among us. In this last purpose he has been extremely successful—so successful, in fact, that he need hardly try further; for we are carrying on the process without his aid.

The enemy's success in this respect has had an especially severe impact on the scientific community. For scientists occupy a key position with respect to those secrets that should be most strictly kept. They are an individualistic lot; otherwise they would be

of little value as scientists.

While they concentrate in their special fields, they are often extremely naive in others. When we dreamed of world understanding as a means of ending all war, there was a greater portion of gullible men among them than among most other intellectual groups. And there were a few-an exceedingly few-traitors among them.

Much of the recent witchhunt, therefore, seemed to concentrate on their profession. Yet in no other place could its effects be more disastrous to our national interest. Young men hesitate to enter the scientific professions, and in particular to participate in the scientific programs of the military arms because of the danger to their reputations and success. We must change this situation if we are to compete on even terms with the enemy.

But let it be perfectly clear that scientists ask no special privilege. To restore the principles of the Bill of Rights in all the processes of government is not to grant special privilege. To urge a revision of our present faulty security system is not to seek special privilege.

The great question now is whether our recent public behavior is a passing phase, or whether we propose to change our part of the free world until it becomes a replica of the captive world which opposes us. If we choose the latter, the struggle will be over, for it will then no longer matter which tyranny prevails.

What, then, should be our objectives as we construct and operate a system for examining into the lovalty of Government servants and those who serve voluntarily on boards or committees?

In the first place, we want to throw the Communists out. If there is a man, of any rank in the Government, who is taking his orders from the Kremlin, we want to get rid of him promptly. If there is a teacher who is imparting to the young principles which are not his own but are dictated to him by the machinery of the Communist

Party, we want to see to it that he stops teaching.

There is a point here which needs more

discussion. We believe in free speech and a free press and that any man has a right to express his honest opinions and to criticize his Government.

We believe with Brandels that "freedom to think as you will and to speak as you think are means indispensable to the discovery and spread of political truth; that without free speech and assembly, discussion would be futile; that with them, discussion affords ordinarily adequate protection against the dissemination of noxious doctrine; that the greatest menace to freedom inert people; that public discussion is a political duty; and that this should be a fundamental principle of the American Government.

We have generally accepted the statement by Holmes that 'We should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death, unless they so imminently threaten immediate interference with the lawful and pressing purposes of the law that an immediate check is required to save the country."

We hesitate, however, to go as far as Lincoln did when he said, "This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

But there is a vast difference between the honest citizen who would change our system of Government because he thinks he has a better system-even when his acts border on the violent-and the person who is part of a foreign conspiracy to wreck the Nation. Regarding the latter we have no doubts and no hesitancy. If he is a citizen, he is a traitor. If he is a guest in the land, he is a spy. In either case he must be found out and dealt with according to his deserts.

This alone, however, is not a sufficient objective. We want to make it possible for a humble citizen to serve his Government without fear of powerful men, we want de-cency in our national life. More than that, we want to establish an atmosphere of trust and mutual confidence among our citizens. Our security system needs to have two objectives, one to get rid of our enemies and their adherents, and the other to encourage, support, and protect honest, loyal citizens as they work on matters that are important for our safety and our prosperity.

If a man was once a fool, do we condemn him for life, or do we let him prove that he has outgrown his folly? If we excluded from Government and from other employment all who have sometimes been foolish. we would not have enough left to man our guns or run our factories. But we are concerned here more particularly with the man who once subscribed to or flirted with the Communist philosophy and later, realizing his error, became a loyal citizen.

There are all degrees of involvement, of course. We certainly don't want to welcome with open arms, and introduce into sensitive spots, the man who professes sudden reformation. But neither do we want to exclude permanently from the practice of his trade or profession the man who did no more than attend a meeting of Communists out of curiosity when he was an adolescent.

The best proof of a change of heart is loyal service, and there are plenty of places in the Government where one can serve loyally without having access to military secrets. In the struggle with Russia we shall need all the capable men we can muster.

Quite apart from the question of decent humanity, we cannot afford to waste our most precious resource: the talents of our trained citizens. So, one object of our system should be to give the individual about whom there is doubt a chance—a safe one, certainly, but a path up instead of down, and an opportunity to remove whatever doubt exists.

If a new system is to be built, there are several principles to be kept in mind. A considerable catalog of them is contained in the Bill of Rights.

There seems to be a feeling about that the Government does not impose a penalty on a person unless it fines him or puts him in jail, and two fallacles have emerged from the confusion in this regard. It is said that to work for the Government is a privilege and, therefore, that the Government has a right to terminate one's employment with it arbitrarily.

There is no question of privilege involved. When a citizen serves the Government he is paid a salary and presumably gives capable, honest service in return. He has a duty to serve well and loyally. But the Government also has a responsibility to avoid imposing hardship on any man who has served it faithfully, except on proof of disloyalty or for reasons apart from those we are considering here, such as incompetence.

If disloyalty is not proved but loyalty is doubted, we need not cut off a man's support and place a stigma on him that will make his employment elsewhere almost impossible. He can be shifted to an insensitive job with little difficulty and no danger. We have already damned for life too many humble employees of the Government merely because there was doubt or because our security system was too clumsy to resolve it.

In our courts we have a complex system of rules of evidence to protect a citizen against unwarranted prosecution, to expose liars, and to arrive at facts as far as is possible in the light of human frallties. Undoubtedly we have at times carried this system to extremes and hobbled our procedure unnecessarily. But the system has evolved as a result of a thousand years of experience, and we should not abandon it lightly.

We cannot carry it all over into loyalty procedures without rendering them cumbersome. Still, such procedures place a man in jeopardy—not, to be sure, of life or limb, but of his good name, which may be more precious; and, therefore, the best advice of men learned in the law should be obtained if we are to have a sound and fair system embodying the safeguards that have been found essential for wise judgments.

We have had, recently, some very striking and disheartening examples of how far an unscrupulous liar can go and the harm he can do when proceedings are loose and informal, and he does not have to run the gantlet of vigorous cross-examination.

The Bill of Rights says that a man shall not be twice placed in jeopardy for the same offense. In our loyalty system there is no finality. Important men who could contribute much to the Nation's real security have found it necessary time after time to go through the same rigmarole, filling our forms, appearing before loyalty boards, reassuring their neighbors that constant inquiry does not necessarily mean they are subversive.

Some have also had to spend their own money, time after time, merely defending themselves against ill-founded attacks. This has not generally been the result of new evidence presented. It has just been because we have a clumsy, inadequate system, steeped in confusion. When a man is cleared he ought to stay cleared unless there is new and pertinent evidence that he should not be.

Do we still subscribe to that item of the Bill of Rights? Or do we think it is not jeopardy when a man may lose position, reputation, and friends because of the acts of his government?

The most serious aspect of our system to date has been that it has been used for spite and for thought control. Wholly unsupported charges lodged mainly for spite have been entertained seriously and made the basis for action when a proper court would have completely disregarded them.

The matter of thought control has been more subtle and more disastrous. Apparently the argument goes something like this: A man expressed opinions contrary to those which have been accepted as a government policy. Perhaps he did so in the interests of Russia. We shall, therefore, examine whether his opinions were sound. What a travesty on the ideals of free speech.

And I am not writing merely of cases that have been in the headlines. I have in mind cases of a number of persons that received no publicity. My information about them is fragmentary, and I could prove nothing; for they have been surrounded with all the paraphernalia of secrecy; they have been the subject of star chamber proceedings.

But I believe there has been altogether too much thought control of this kind; for if it has been practiced in the full light of day, as it has, we may be sure it has been practiced far more in secret—sometimes on no better ground than that a man's arguments regarding policy have been found inconvenient.

Now I do not intend to prescribe an ideal system. I hope very much that a fully competent board will be given the task of doing so before more harm is done. But I have three suggestions in that direction.

In the practice of criminal law we have grand juries. They are part of our heritage from the long struggle of the past against arbitrary power. Their power is to protect the individual against capricious acts on the part of government officials. Before a district attorney can jail a man and force him to defend himself in court against serious charges, he must have him indicted. And no indictment will be returned unless the district attorney can convince a grand jury, made up of the man's fellow citizens chosen by lot, that he has a strong enough case to warrant setting all the machinery of the courts in motion.

Under our loyalty system, on the contrary, a man can be suspended and forced to defend himself at the whim of an official who may have only the flimsiest of evidence against him. We need the equivalent of a grand jury in our security system. Such an equivalent would be made up of men who owe no allegiance to any official who may make charges, and it should be rigorously supported and protected in its deliberations and findings.

It could be selected by lot from men in the civil service, as grand juries are selected from the general body of citizens, which would be a reasonable and democratic way of sharing the burden. No machinery of trial should move unless there are serious charges supported by adequate evidence in the opinion of such a group of men. If this had been a part of our system in recent years, a large number of cases that have caused real distress would never have got started.

The relation of a government to its employees is a different matter than its relations to citizens at large. It is, in some ways, comparable to its relation to men in uniform. There are a dependence and an agreement under which both the men and the government have obligations and responsibilities.

When a soldier is subjected to court-martial, the Government furnishes him with counsel. Under the present loyalty system, a man who is accused must defend himself at his own expense. When our system is revised this burden should be lifted. The accused should be furnished with vigorous and capable counsel and should have wide latitude in its selection. He can then add his own counsel if he sees fit.

Such a provision would accomplish a number of things. It would protect the man who is without resources and to whom his job may be highly important. It would put an end to the absurdity of preventing an accused man or his counsel from seeing some of the evidence because it is classified. This would be no more than merely decent and fair.

In addition to positive machinery for detecting and excluding disloyal persons in our midst, there should be equally positive means for insuring that the system is not used for improper purposes—for spite, for thought control, or for political advantage.

A grand jury can report to a court, and often does, if it believes prosecuting officers are violating the law. An equivalent of the grand jury should have a corresponding opportunity in connection with loyalty procedures. And it should report to the top in such instances—to the superiors of the offending official as many steps removed as the circumstances and the gravity of the offense warrant, in its opinion. The public would then have some assurance that the practice under the system is clean.

All that I have said has to do with the security system employed in the executive branch of government. What committees of Congress do is up to Congress and, in the last analysis, up to the public opinion which obtains. Courts, quite properly, refrain from entering into questions of how Congress conducts its business.

But if the executive branch has a really effective system in operation and has cleaned its house, there will be few specific cases to which Congress can usefully direct its attention. We may then arrive at a situation in which Congress examines only into the manner in which the executive branch is operating, instead of attempting, in an exceedingly cumbersome and defective manner, the examination of individual cases, which should be promptly and effectively handled by a system designed specifically for that purpose.

The tide has apparently turned. We are much more sane and less hysterical than a year ago. We are gradually becoming more reasonable in our approach to the problem of subversives. But there is a danger here. Public opinion in this country sometimes swings to extremes: witness the great prohibition experiment.

As the tide turns, we should be on the alert to see that it does not swing too far and leave us complacent. We still, no doubt, have some Communists in our midst; and we still need to be vigilant in finding and removing them from places of trust in government and industry.

It is time for a new system, one that strikes a proper balance, seeking out and removing enemy sympathizers who are doing us harm, but offering reasonable protection to the innocent as it does so; one that will be decent and just and that will not itself subvert those ancient rights of man which are the essence of his liberty.

The Presidential Campaign of 1956

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "A Democrat, if Lucky, Could Win," written by Carroll Kilpatrick, and

published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 22, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

A DEMOCRAT, IF LUCKY, COULD WIN (By Carroll Kilpatrick)

I would like to defy all the political experts and say that a Democrat, if his name is Stevenson, does have a chance of winning against President Eisenhower next year. do not say that the Democrat will win. But I do not believe that President Eisenhower is as certain of victory as a superficial reading of Dr. Gallup might lead us to think.

If the two parties were evenly matched, nothing could stop Mr. Elsenhower but a depression, or a preventable war. But he belongs to the minority party. From his point of view, there are just too many Democrats for comfort. The President's popularity is almost sensational, but he has not succeeded as F. D. R. did, in remaking his party into a dominant coalition. The President is popular; his party is not.

The most persuasive and compelling argument in 1952 was that it was time for a change. Many Democrats accepted that slogan and cast their votes for General Eisenhower. Will not a great many of them

next year return to the fold?

In 1952, also, the South-the stronghold of the Democratic Party-was badly It liked Mr. Eisenhower very much indeed, but it disliked Mr. Truman even more. Next year it will not be voting against Mr. Truman.

As far as the race issue is concerned the two parties are not far apart, and in the minds of southern voters it will make little difference which party controls the Government. In 1952, many voters, including Governor Byrnes, erroneously though it made an enormous difference.

No doubt President Eisenhower will go into the campaign with substantial southern support, but despite his popularity below the Potomac it will be more difficult next time than last to win southern electoral votes.

If you tick off the issues that were controlling in 1952 you find that many of them will have been forgotten by next year or at least will not carry the same wallop. The time for a change argument is one. The Communists-in-Government issue is another. The Korean war is a third. Senator Taft will not be present to rally the dissident right wing. Some farmers and many workers who voted Republican in 1952 may vote Democratic in 1956.

By next year, Governor Stevenson will be better known than in 1952. He will be a more experienced campaigner. He will have more political conditioning. Some of the magic will have worn off the Eisenhower The President may be handicapped

by an unpopular running mate.

A recent Gallup poll said that Democrats outnumber Republicans by some 20 million potential voters. If every American adult declared his party preference, the survey said, there would be 34.3 million Republicans, 54.3 million Democrats, and 9.4 million undecided. While these figures are subject to many qualifications, and are politically unrealistic, the final tabulations of the 1954 congressional election returns also suggest that Democrats do hold a wide lead. L year the GOP lost by 2.2 million votes.

In 1952, Mr. Eisenhower won by 6.4 million votes. To win next year, it would not be necessary for Democrats to make a net gain of 6.4 million votes but of slightly more than 3.2 million.

The shift between 1952 and 1954 from 6.4 million plus to 2.2 million minus was whopping reversal of fortune for any party in such a short period of time-at a time when its leader's popularity stayed extreme-

In 1952, General Eisenhower won 442 to 89 in the electoral college. In 1954, Democrats ran ahead in 28 States with a total of 342 electoral votes while Republicans ran ahead in 20 States with a total of 189 electoral votes.

Of course, there are intangible factors that weigh heavily in President Eisenhower's fa-The American people have seldom refused a President a second term. Mr. Eisenhower has become fixed in the minds of the people as a man of peace. No doubt he is planning to run on the Democratic slogan of 1916: He kept us out of war. No President in this century has been able to hover so high above partisan controversies as Mr. Eisenhower. Any Republican is fair game for Democratic criticism except the Presi-

So the odds are heavily in favor of the President's reelection next year. As of the moment, the only thing he has to fear is the fact that he heads the minority party. His tremendous personal popularity should pull him through. But those who remember that Mr. Truman did not have a chance in 1948 will not count out the Democrats until the votes are tabulated.

By Hindsight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ANTONIO M. FERNANDEZ

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. FERNANDEZ. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Washington Daily News of March 18. 1955, expressing a sane and sensible view respecting the premature disclosure of the Yalta documents.

The editorial reads as follows: BY HINDSIGHT

Now that the Yalta documents have been published-and we were among those who insisted they should be-it is clear that nothing beneficial is likely to come from their publication. No new official agreements were disclosed. Just some off-the-record side remarks of the principals involved-which do not read well 10 years later.

We hope nothing harmful will come from

their publication.

In charity, what was said by Messrs. Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin should be considered in the context of the time. There was bloodthirst and vengeance in the air at Yalta. and it was understandable, although deplorable. The Germans had ravaged Russia, laid waste England's cities, violated all rules of human decency in their concentration camps. So with the Japanese, in their attacks on China, the Philippines, and the United There had been nothing in the con-States. duct of our enemies to endear them to us. Our goal then was to impose unconditional surrender.

By hindsight we expect of our leaders that they should have shown more foresight. But they were riding the crest of the waves of hatred, and were so intent on a Carthaginian peace that they thought not enough of tomorrow. All, that is, except Joe Stalin, who got just the kind of peace he bargained for-his enemy to the west, Germany, and his enemy to the east, Japan, prostrate, and his former allies weakened, bickering, and distrustful.

What happened at Yalta can no more be undone than what happened at Appomattox. President Eisenhower may, if he wishes, repudiate the Yalta agreements, as Senator McCarrny urges. But it will have no more effect than if the Governor of Georgia suddenly should disclaim the terms of General Lee's surrender to General Grant. The Soviets already have ignored all their Yalta promises, just as the Northern reconstructionists ignored those fundamentals that General Grant tried to assure to General Lec.

Why compare Yalta to Appomattox? the latter, conqueror met the conquered; in the former, only conquerors gathered to plan

and plot.

To show the contrast, and to illustrate the truth of the old saying that men learn nothing from history except that they learn nothing from history, we quote from a recent article in the Saturday Review of Literature by that scholarly Richmond editor, Virginius Dabney. He reviews what happened at Ap-

pomattox:
"Lee * * * arrived before Grant. When the latter hurried in he was still in his mudspattered field uniform, for he did not wish

to keep Lee waiting.

"The men had met 17 years before when both were officers in the Mexican War. The conversation turned to those days, and Grant became so engrossed that Lee had to remind him that they had met to discuss the surrender. * * *

"Grant thereupon proposed that officers and men who gave their paroles not to take up arms against the United States be allowed

to return to their homes.

"This will have a very happy effect on my army,' said Lee, as he saw that his men would not be marched off to prison.

"Grant then inquired whether Lee had any suggestions and the latter asked if the Confederate cavalrymen and artillerists, all of whom owned the horses they used in the fighting, would be allowed to take their mounts home for the spring plowing. The Union commander readily agreed.

"Lee again expressed deep appreciation." That was 90 years ago. It had been the bloodiest war of all time, a fratricidal strife engendering bitterness almost beyond belief.

But the leaders of the men who fought held their heads above the mobs.

Mr. Churchill has written that the conflict of our North and South was "the last war fought between gentlemen."

The documents of Yalta do not dispute that thesis.

Adequate Increase for Postal Employees

SPEECH

HON. GORDON CANFIELD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to a suspension of the rules to permit consideration of H. R. 4644. I wish to record myself in favor of an adequate pay increase for postal employees. I am in favor of a bill reported under a rule permitting debates and amendments in accordance with the wishes of the Members of this House. It is apparent from all the discussion that has already taken place on the economic status of our almost 500,000 postal employees that failure to grant an increase that may justly be called adequate would inflict an injustice on our demonstrably deserving Government workers.

The raises granted to the postal workers, as statistical studies show, have always fallen more or less behind living costs, and have given on the whole scant consideration to the improved efficiency of the postal employees.

I hold it therefore time that the postal employee be given his due by an adequate salary increase. And I earnestly hope that the committee will report out a bill calling for adequate salary increases and that this bill will be reported under a rule permitting Members of the House to work their will thereon.

Losing Asia To Save Quemoy Would Be a Rotten Bargain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following editorial from the Courier-Journal of March 21, 1955:

LOSING ASIA TO SAVE QUEMOY WOULD BE A ROTTEN BARGAIN

What sort of a place is Quemoy, the obscure little dot on the map where World War III might begin? A reporter for the Times of London has described it, after making the 2-hour flight over from Formosa:

"Quemoy is a rocky island of 70 square miles (as against 52 in the city of Louisville). barring the entrance to Amoy, formerly the most important South China port, like a cork in a bottle neck. It is surrounded by gently sloping sandy beaches, easy to assault and separated from the mainland by a shallow arm of the sea which does not allow free passage for deep-draft shipping. Whereas the capture of the Tachen group would have required a full-scale amphibious operation, an assault against the Quemoys would be more like a large-scale river crossing, practicable at night with a landing force of small vessels '

Could anything be less promising from a defense standpoint? Yet this is one of the related positions to whose defense we are getting daily more deeply committed. Here is the blind alley into which we are so

rapidly moving.

1. Secretary Dulles has repeatedly stated that we would defend the offshore islands of Quemoy and the Matsus if a Red attack on them were clearly aimed at the conquest of Formosa. Peiping propaganda daily chants the formula that the offshore islands and Formosa itself must and will be taken. Reds obviously have no intention of leaving us room to back off from Quemoy when the assault occurs without appearing to run in the face of open Communist defiance.

2. Admiral Radford has often said that Formosa and the Pescadores can be successfully defended by American air and sea power. This at least commits us only to the sort of limited war which many Americans seem willing to accept on the theory, expressed by Elmer Davis, that "only foot soldiers have mothers." But it is painfully obvious that the fleet could not operate in the shallow waters off Quemoy, 6 miles from a Red shore bristling with big guns. Such an attempt would be plain suicide.

3. The alternative, then, is to defend Quemoy by the use of tactical atomic weapons. Both Mr. Dulles and the President have spoken of using such missiles against military targets on the mainland opposite Quemoy. It is argued that these weapons would pose no problem of radioactive fallout and would not extend to centers of civilian popu-

But here is a plan of military strategy that completely ignores the facts of politics and human psychology. Any type of nuclear weapon, no matter what its exact nature, is an engine of special terror to most of the people of the world. We have only to imagine what Americans would feel if any sort of atomic shell or bomb were headed in our direction.

Whenever American forces aim a nuclear weapon of any kind at the mainland of Asia, the most powerful propaganda bomb in the world will explode. Everybody in Asia has heard the story that America used its atom bombs in World War II against the Japanese because they are a yellow race, instead of against the white Germans. Even if the engagement near Quemoy could be limited to the exact area and the precise type of weapon we would choose, the simple fact that we were turning our atomic power once again on Asian people would lose all the rest of that vast continent to our cause.

The day may come when we will have to go to war with all the weapons we can command, and with a prayer that ours will prove more powerful than the weapons of our ene-But why risk the ultimate test of strength over such a position as Quemoy? Walter Lippmann has rightly called the offshore islands "a strategic and political lia-

A great many Americans subscribe to the idea that we must draw a line somewhere against aggressive communism, and put a sign on it saying: "Thus far and no farther." But why in the name all that is holy should we choose to draw such a line 6 miles off the China shore, to include a position of no genuine importance which can only be defended by the use of atomic weapons?

There is still time, though barely time, for President Eisenhower to bale us out of this perilous situation. It will be his personal decision whether or not to reply to a Red assault on Quemoy or the Matsus. But if he waits until the attack begins, he puts himself in the position of deserting an ally under fire if he decides against American intervention. That could easily be the straw that would break the camel's back of Chinese Nationalist resistance on Formosa.

All of our European allies are against a defense of the offshore islands. That is important to us, but not nearly so important as the fact that we cannot defend them except by use of the one type of weapon we should withhold for a final test with Communist aggression.

In trying to shield 43,000 peasants and some Nationalist troops holed up on Quemoy. we will risk losing the moral support of virtually every human being on the continent of Asia. That is a rotten bad bargain. President Eisenhower should pull out of it at once while there is still a blessed margin of time.

The Proposed Big Power Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "Maybe it Would Help," published in a recent issue of the Washington Evening Star. It deals with the very excellent idea advanced by the distinguished and able chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Senator from Georgia [Mr. George] on the possibility of holding a big power conference.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAYER IT WOULD HELP

As chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Walter George has spoken from an authoritative background and position in advocating that the major powers hold a top-level conference sometime this year. Of course, whether anything will come of the proposal, or whether it will just die aborning, remains to be seen, but the State Department's broad endorsement of the idea strongly suggests that both Secretary Dulles and President Elsenhower are willing to try it out in one form or another.

Mr. George, for his own part, has made clear that he regards such a conference as an undertaking needed to lessen international tension and head off the danger of another general war. Accordingly, he would have France, Britain and the United States meet in talks with the Soviet Union-on a heads-of-government level—as soon as practicable after full ratification of the Paris accords on West Germany. Further, although he seems to share Mr. Dulles' view that Peiping may now be impervious to counsels or restraint from either the Kremlin or any other quarter, he feels that a get-together of this kind could help to promote peace despite the bleak history of similar gatherings in the past. Thus, as he has put it, "I believe we have reached a point where there is real hope of making some final adjustments, of moving toward a more normal world."

Perhaps this is an excessively optimistic view. But if Mr. George-who is not disposed to be a wishful thinker and whose position in the Senate is a highly informed one-has substantial reason to feel that real hope actually exists in the present situation, then his call for a full-dress meeting of the blg powers certainly should receive the most serious attention. True, as he himself has conceded, the record of all postwar negotiations with the Communists serves as a warning that such a meeting would expose the West to a number of pitfalls. However, in his judgment, that is a risk that would be well worth taking because the proposed talks-at which our side would surely alert enough not to fall for the old Red tricks—could be genuinely helpful in de-creasing the threat of war. In any case, it may be assumed that the conference, if the Kremlin agreed to take part, would not be held without thorough advance preparation and some evidence of Soviet willingness to play a constructive role instead of merely propagandizing.

If conditions of this sort can be met satisfactorily, the State Department, as it has just indicated, would welcome favorable action on organizing some kind of meeting with Russia. And that is as it should be For although such a meeting would fall far short of ending all tension, and although it might bog down in futility, it could hardly worsen the present bad situation, and it might even result in agreements sufficiently encouraging to justify the real hope that Mr. GEORGE feels. In any event, the idea deserves careful consideration as one of the possible ways of making today's peace at least a little bit less precarious

than it is.

The Late Senator Burnet R. Maybank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, on September 1, 1954, I was on an official military inspection trip with my then chairman of the Armed Services Committee. DEWEY SHORT. Our duties carried us to the Headquarters of the United States Army in Europe located in Heidelberg. Germany. On the particular evening of this date we had just finished a dinner given in our honor by the High Commissioner of Germany, the Honorable James B. Conant, when a note was handed to me by the Department of the Army telling me of the untimely death of Senator Burnet R. Maybank. I was shocked and grieved at this tragic news and immediately dispatched my condolences to Mrs. Maybank.

I knew it was impossible for me to return in time for the funeral, accordingly I continued my trip and completed my responsibilities incident to the itin-

erary set by the chairman.

Upon arriving home in late September, I released to the press my feelings on the tragic loss which South Carolina suffered as a result of Senator Maybank's death.

No South Carolinian whom I can recall had more important assignments as a United States Senator than did Maybank at the time of his death. When the Democrats were in power, Maybank was the chairman of the very important Banking and Currency Committee. This committee has jurisdiction in the Senate over almost every phase of our economic life—the banking, the housing, the money market, the securities businessand those things which vitally touch the living mechanism of our breathing economy. Consequently, the working man and the financier alike were affected by the deliberations of this committee.

It was not unnatural that Maybank should head this committee. He distinguished himself early in life at my alma mater, the College of Charleston, as one peculiarly adept in mathematics and economics. He was awarded the mathematics prize at the College of Charles-

ton for excellence.

In the early 30's, Maybank gained national prominence when he solved the financial problems of the city of Charleston during the early days of the greatest depression ever to hit this Nation. For this unusual feat he was called upon to perform important tasks throughout South Carolina during this era when the New Deal was in its infancy. Maybank was loyal to the precepts of the New Deal throughout his political career. He was a liberal in the true sense of the word, but he was a constitutional liberal. However, he never let his enthusiasms for the new order dim or alter his basic philosophy of believing in states rights.

At the time of his death, Maybank was also a member of the important Ap-

propriations Committee of the Senate. He was a member of the Subcommittee on Military Appropriations. He was my greatest help on money for our military, when the Committee on Armed Services authorized projects for the Nation and South Carolina particularly. I recall, vividly, last year it was Maybank alone who assisted me in getting the Navy appropriation raised, thereby assuring the money for the important Navy construction program in South Carolina, notably the Beaufort Air Base.

Mr. Speaker, there has to be teamplay between the House and the Senate. Neither branch can operate effectively without the aid of the other. Each branch is a coequal of the other; unless the House acts, the Senate is helpless; and, conversely, without the Senate's aid

the House is powerless.

Mr. Speaker, despite the great work on the committee on which I hold membership, the obligations and authorizations for construction of the vast military enterprises in my State without the money to carry these on, they would never become realities. In the partnership necessary to effectuate these worthy objectives for our national security, I lost a comrade in Burnet Maybank, whose place it will take many years to fill.

Mr. Speaker, it is not an easy task to serve in the Congress today. The manifold duties and multiplying demands made on Members of Congress in and through all the vast ramifications of this complex and intricate modern day government increasingly draw upon our strength and endurance, adding yearly to the terrific toll of human genius and human life. Anyone who, like Burnet Maybank, survives a political campaign in which his life's history is reviewed in detail and during which he moves constantly and uninterruptedly under the pitiless searchlight of publicity, must of necessity possess some virtue. Maybank remained sweet when accused falsely. He was silent to the tongue of slander. He never once, despite the heat of the campaign, dignified his opponent by answering him according to his kind. He rose to distinction in the Senate because of his personal worth, his mental capacity, untiring industry, and absolute honesty. On such an ascent to the top. the path is steep and rugged. Thorns instead of roses, Maybank endured them all.

Out of this turbulent strife and clash of opinion, out of the heat of debates and conflicting interests, out of the atmosphere of uncertainty which we are all forced to breathe, there come the priceless compensation and the immeasurable joy of mutual confidence and respect, of lasting friendships. In no other body of men do I believe one could possibly find such a fine spirit of generous and wholesome friendships in such a splendid feeling of comradeship.

I suppose this is due to the fact that each of us realizes the baptism of fire which we all daily endure in the performance of our responsibilities in the public interest. When death comes, jealousies are forgotten, individual interests and purposes are buried with the

comrade whom we memorialize today. Beneath it all, personalities and eccentricities are subordinated to unity and interests of mankind.

Maybank died at his post of duty, as he would have it. In the words of the poet he would have said:

Let me live out my years in heat of blood Let me die drunken with the dreamer's wine

Let me not see this soul-house built of mud Go toppling to the dust—a vacant shrine. Let me go quickly like a candlelight

Snuffed out just at the heyday of its glow Give me high noon—let it then be night

Thus would I go.

And grant me, when I face the grisly thing.

One haughty cry to pierce the gap, perhaps

O let me be a tune-swept fiddle string That feels the master melody—and snaps.

He "felt the heat of blood" and went "quickly like a candlelight snuffed out just at the heyday of its glow." At last he has gained rest from his exacting labors and has gone to his reward for having served God and country well.

Mr. Speaker, to Burnet Maybank, in life's relentless journey to the sunset:

But such a tide as moving seemed asleep; Too full for sound and foam

When that which drew from out the boundless deep

Turned again home.

Prizewinners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, on the 8th of March we had a group of young people from Arkansas visit Washington on their way to the Columbia Scholastic Press Association meeting at Columbia University, New York City. Included in the group were Patty Bonds, Carolyn Clark, Carole Crockett, Jane Davidson, Jane Donovan, Bettye Fleming, Drew Flora, Richard Forster III, Shirley Gibbs, Margie Giblon, Carol Griffee, Richie Hobbs, Richard Jones, Jr., Mary Elizabeth Lewis, Lucy Ann McAlister, Bob McHenry, Virginia Moellers, James E. Newton, Kay Norman, Syble Owen, Larry Randolph, Vonda Robinson, Ralph Starr, Kathryn Stewart, Chrissy Trusler, Louise Turner, Rose Ann Valenti, Ann Voss, Jerry Voss, Jo Wilbourn, and Mary Youmans. Their sponsor was Miss Hazel Presson. Also accompanying them were Mrs. G. L. Presson and Mrs. Guy Dean.

The Grizzly, newspaper of the Fort Smith (Ark.) High School, won first prize in its class. During the meeting at Columbia University, Miss Carol Griffee, editor of the Grizzly, conducted a student roundtable on Making News Interesting. Drew Flora, who is president of the Arkansas High School Press Association, was chairman of one of the group sessions. Miss Presson spoke at a sectional meeting on Ways To Avoid a Gossip Column.

Carol Griffee and Drew Flora were invited to appear on Dave Garroway's television program. Along with Larry Randolph, they were invited to have lunch in the press bar at the United Nations.

Miss Presson was named a charter member of the National Council of Scholastic Press Associations. This organization is being formed to coordinate the work of scholastic press associations.

Washington was one of the points of interest on the group's trip. It was a pleasure to have them here. They are a credit to all America.

Era of Opportunity in South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Era of Opportunity in South Carolina Has Only Begun," written by Charles E. Daniel, formerly a Member of the Senate, and published on March 15 in the State, of Columbia, S. C.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ERA OF OPPORTUNITY IN SOUTH CAROLINA HAS ONLY BEGUN—STATE IS A SPEARHEAD IN INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH; MIGRATION OF MANUFACTURERS TO BE GREATER; UNHEARD-OF PROSPERITY IS PREDICTED.

(By Charles E. Daniel)

This country, according to all reports, has just seen its second biggest business year ever. Businessmen, bankers, and Government, working together, rode out a mild adjustment in the economy, recouped and went on to reach new heights of prosperity. The end is not foreseeable and in 1955 this will be topped.

The South was caught in the general upswing—actually we helped to propel it. For we here are riding the crest of an economic and technological tide that can be described only as an industrial revolution, 1954 was a booming banner year for the South.

BRIGHTER 1955 OUTLOOK

The region has been pulled up by its roots. Agriculture, so long the chief means of subsistence, is giving way to industry in many areas and therefore new concrete roots are being planted in the soil. Normal seasonal unemployment and a drop in agricultural income were recorded. Some of this was to be expected. However, the situation was aggravated, as farmers know all too well, by a drought that took its toll of key crops and pastures. However, agriculture has a brighter outlook for 1955. Increased foreign purchases will boost export demand in 1955 and the innumerable new textile plants will reflect greater prosperity for agriculture.

The construction boom offers an insight into the industrial expansion here. Builders have done their share to stimulate it. Public confidence in business has kept construction more than steady; in fact, it is on the increase. In the Southeast, as best we can tell, construction contracts in 1954—industry, residential, industrial, roads—exceeded 1953 by one-sixth. This should continue through 1955.

CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT

Business has confidence and that confidence comes from good government. We have good government now, both in Washington and in South Carolina.

Statistics show that the general increase in business is magnified in the South, which is catching up with some sections in per capita income and leaving many areas behind. The southern people, with larger incomes, now are their own best customers for their own products. Therefore, industries are building more and more plants in the South where they can be close to raw materials, markets, and capable, easily trained, loyal labor.

Looking at textiles, I see more cause for hope and optimism this year than ever before. Like the other phases of our economy, the textile industry, which is the South's most important industry, has experienced a year of adjustment. With the remarkable expansion of textiles in South Carolina to one of the top areas in this industry in the world, we are working hard to keep our newly won position. We outproduce and outsell any other State in this respect.

WOOLEN FIRMS ARRIVE

We became proud hosts last year to a multi-million dollar group of firms in the woolen industry, among the world's biggest and best:

The Wellman Combing Co., recently completed and now operating in Johnsonville.

Santee River Wool Combers, division of Amedee, Prouvost and Sons, Roubaix, France, under construction at Jamestown.

Runnymede Mills, a division of Kent Manufacturing Co., manufacturer of worsted goods, Pickens.

Dixiana Mills, division of Mohawk Carpet Co., Dillon.

Alexander Smith, Inc., carpet manufacturers, Liberty.

The Starr Mills, Starr, S. C., a new synthetic weaving plant.

In addition, there were extensions of consequence to many of our existing plants; all providing many new industrial jobs and additional opportunities for commercial development.

HIGH ECONOMIC HONORS

The list is distinguished and the companies will bring high economic honors to South Carolina—and the South.

The synthetic fiber industry is centered in the South because this region's vast textile industry provides the greatest single outlet for chemicals—about 20 percent of production. Again, last year we welcomed to South Carolina a leader in the field—Owens-Corning Fiberglass Corp., which erected a huge new plant in Anderson. Major additions to the Celanese plant in Rock Hill were finished. The Allied Chemical plants at Hopewell, Va., are now nearing completion.

There are many new industries, greatly diversified in their nature, seeking new sites for their manufacturing operations. I am predicting that the South, especially South Carolina, will get its share of these new plants and that the next 2 years will show a migration of manufacturers to the area greater than any preceding year with an unheard of period of prosperity to the region.

SO FAR THIS YEAR

So far in 1955 the following new industries of consequence have awarded contracts for the construction of multimillion dollar manufacturing plants in South Carolina:

Kendall Co., Bethune, complete finishing plant.

Dewey & Almy Chemical Co.

Division of W. R. Grace Co., Simpsonville plant for the complete manufacture of Cryovac plastic bags used in the processing of poultry, meats, cheese, vegetables, etc.

James Dunn Manufacturing Co., division of Asten-Hill Manufacturing Co., Walterboro, plant for the manufacture of asbestos covering used in the manufacture of paper. Many others are under consideration.

The area of opportunity has only begun.

A Comparison of Armed Forces and Merchant Marine Personnel's Benefits Accrued During World War II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, in the past, as well as during recent months, I received a number of inquiries about the compensation and benefits accrued to merchant marine personnel and to the personnel of our Armed Forces during World War II.

Information of this kind has not always been readily available in a summarized, convenient form. For that reason, I requested the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress to prepare a memorandum on this subject.

The following study has been prepared by Mr. Julius W. Hobson, of the Economics Division of the Legislative Reference Service. I was very favorably impressed with the results of Mr. Hobson's work, and I wish to commend his report to the attention of my colleagues. Being desirous of sharing this information with the membership of this body, I am inserting the study in the Record. It will undoubtedly prove a valuable reference when pertinent legislation will be considered.

I should like to note at this point that the study does not purport to be all-embracing, because there are many other factors which enter into consideration when one wishes to compare the status and the benefits of merchant-marine personnel with that of our armed-services personnel during the war.

The major factor is, of course, that merchant-marine men were civilians. In general, they were given the opportunity to become members of our Regular Armed Forces. Many of them did not choose to avail themselves of this opportunity. As merchant-marine men. they were not subject to the same degree of strict military discipline which governed all the actions of military personnel. They had more liberal shore-leave rights. They could choose their ships, and sign on a different ship upon the completion of a given voyage. They received higher pay and various bonuses which were not given to members of the Regular Armed Forces.

These and other considerations were pointed out in the course of various hearings held during the past decade before the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. These factors do not take anything away from the vital service performed by the merchant marine dur-

ing the war. They merely point out that, before comparing the compensation and benefits accrued during the war to merchant-marine personnel and to the Armed Forces personnel, it should be borne in mind that the two did not have the same status, any more than did the defense workers in our factories—who were essential to the war effort—have the same status as the servicemen.

With these reservations, I am pleased to commend the Library of Congress study to the consideration of the mem-

bership of this House:

COMPARATIVE STATEMENTS ON COMPENSATION AND BENEFITS ACCRUED TO MERCHANT MARINE PERSONNEL AND PERSONNEL OF THE UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES DURING WORLD WAR II

(By Julius W. Hobson, Economics Division)
INTRODUCTION

Compensation to the Armed Forces personnel and veterans' benefits are not new either in theory or in practice. Since the early days of organized warfare, governments have made special grants of one kind or another to men and women who have performed honorable military service—not as pay, but in token of their fellow-citizens appreciation.

The people of the United States have been generous in this respect. They have recognized throughout the Nation's history that although military service in the defense of the country is an obligation, it calls forth a return obligation especially when the service

has been rendered in time of war.

The men of the Mechant Marine have also earned the Nation's gratitude. In every war in the history of the country, merchant seamen have paid a heavy price. During World War II this Nation lost 1,554 merchant ships. Of the men who manned these and other ships, some 5,600 were listed as dead or missing, 500 were prisoners of war and an estimated 12,000 were injured at sea or wounded by enemy action.

Merchant marine personnel were paid on a civilian wage scale during World War II, while Armed Forces personnel received a much lower rate of pay for military service. However, benefits to veterans exceeded by far those extended to merchant seamen.

It is in the light of the comparable service rendered the country during World War II by the Armed Forces and the merchant marine that the controversy exists regarding the differences in compensations and benefits accrued that service.

The following is a comparison of these compensations and benefits:

PART I. MERCHANT MARINE PERSONNEL

1. Pensions to merchant personnel: No provision has been made by the Federal Government for the payment of pension benefits to merchant seamen with the exception of those men who suffered permanent total or permanent partial disability as the result of the risks of war or certain marine catastrophes involving their vessels. After exhaustion of the insurance benefits, which will be explained later, no provision existed for further payment, and in order to prevent these permanently disabled seamen from becoming public charges, the Congress enacted Public Law 449, 78th Congress, which amended Public Law 17, 78th Congress. The applicable provision of the former statute read as follows:

"The Administrator, War Shipping Administration, is also authorized to make payments, in accordance with rate schedules provided by the United States Employees' Compensation Act, to a master, officer, or member of the crew of, or any persons transported on, a vessel owned by or chartered to the Maritime Commission or the War Shipping Administration or operated by, or

for the account of, or at the direction or under the control of the Commission or the Administration, for permanent total or partial disability as long as such disability resulting from causes related to the war effort whether heretofore or hereafter arising exists; such payments to commence if and when insurance benefits provided by the War Shipping Administration for such person shall have been exhausted."

Between the dates of October 1, 1941, and March 24, 1943, seamen employed on vessels owned by or under bareboat charter to the War Shipping Administration and/or United States Maritime Commission were eligible for benefits under the Federal Employees' Compensation Act of 1916, as amended, on account of injury or illness incurred in line of duty, and in the event of death due thereto, their dependents were entitled to benefits under that statute. Public Law 17, Congress, which was approved on March 24, 1943, took these benefits away from the seaman and his dependents, and since that time no pension benefits have been payable to such dependents. The pertinent portion of this statute follows:

"That (a) officers and members of crews (hereinafter referred to as 'seamen') employed on United States or foreign-flag vessels as employees of the United States through the War Shipping Administration shall, with respect to (1) laws administered by the Public Health Service and the Social Security Act, as amended by subsection (b) (2) and (3) of this section; (2) death, injuries, illness, maintenance and cure, loss of effects, detention, or repatriation, or claims arising therefrom not covered by the foregoing clause (1); and (3) collection of wages and bonuses and making of allotments, have all of the rights, benefits, exemptions, privileges, and liabilities, under law applicable to citizens of the United States employed as scamen on privately owned and operated American vessels. Such seamen, because of the temporary wartime character of their employment by the War Shipping Administration, shall not be considered as officers or employees of the United States for the purposes of the United States Employees Compensation Act, as amended; the Civil Service Retirement Act, as amended; the act of Congress approved March 7, 1942 (Public Law 490, 77th Cong.); or the act entitled 'An act to provide benefits for the injury, disability, death, or detention of employees of contractors with the United States and certain other persons or reimbursement therefor,' approved December 2, 1942 (Public Law 784, 77th Cong.). Claims arising under clause (1) hereof shall be enforced in the same manner as such claims would be enforced if the seaman were employed on a privately owned and operated American vessel. Any claim referred to in clause (2) or (3) hereof shall, if administratively disallowed in whole or in part, be enforced pursuant to the provisions of the Suits in Admiralty Act, notwithstanding the vessel on which the seaman is employed is not a merchant vessel within the meaning of such act. Any claim, right, or cause of action of or in respect of any such seaman accruing on or after October 1, 1941, and prior to the date of enactment of this section may be enforced and upon the election of the seaman or his surviving dependent or beneficiary or his legal representative to do so shall be governed, as if this section had been in effect when such claim, right, or cause of action accrued, such election to be made in accordance with rules and regulations prescribed by the Administrator, War Shipping Administration."

War risk insurance was provided for merchant seamen and this matter will be covered under that caption. In addition to that insurance, seamen and their dependents have the right to bring suit for damages under the Jones Act (title 46, U. S. C., Ecc. 698).

However, unless the negligence of the vessel can be established, no liability exists and accordingly no recovery can be had.

Education benefits: No provision has been made by the Federal Government for the granting of education benefits to former merchant seamen.

3. Any comparable housing benefits: No provision has been made by the Federal Government for housing benefits for merchant seamen.

4. Insurance benefits: In December 1941 meetings were held in Washington between representatives of the maritime industry, labor organizations, and the War Shipping Administration, and as a result of such meetings the President established the Maritime War Emergency Board. This Board promulgated the insurance coverage and forms of policy hereinafter described.

As a result of decisions of the Maritime War Emergency Board, and effective as of December 7, 1941, all seamen employed on vessels operated by or for account of the War Shipping Administration and/or United States Maritime Commission were protected in accordance with the provisions of the crew life and injury policy against the risks of war involving their vessels by insurance in the amount of \$5,000. This insurance, which was furnished without cost to the seaman, covered loss of life, injury, and disability. The amounts payable for injury and disability are as follows:

"Schedule 2

"Injury: The assurer will pay, in case of loss, an amount to be determined by applying the percentage shown below to the principal sum for which the master, officer, or member of the crew is covered for loss of life under schedule 1.

DOMOGRACIO A.	
Perc	ent
"Life	100
Both hands	100
Both arms	100
Both feet	100
Both legs	100
Both eyes	100
Hand	50
Arm	65
Foot	
Leg	
Eye	45
Total destruction of hearing	50

"The indemnities referred to above are payable, provided loss results directly and exclusively from bodily injuries, within 80 days from the date of accident. Loss shall mean, with regard to hands and feet, arms, and legs dismemberment by severance at or above wrist or ankle, knee, or elbow joints, or the complete and irrecoverable loss of function, with regard to eyes, complete and irrecoverable loss of sight. With regard to hearing, total and irrecoverable loss of hearing in both ears.

"Schedule 3

"Disability: For accidental bodily injury not described in schedule 2 which, within 90 days from date of accident from a cause hereinbefore set forth, results in total disability and which necessarily and continuously prevents the person injured from performing any and every kind of duty pertaining to such person's occupation, the assurer will pay compensation in monthly installments at the rate of 2 percent of the principal sum, beginning with the date of return to a port within the continental United States, during such time thereafter as the total disability persists or until such time as the total of compensation, so paid, shall amount to the principal sum provided for the injured person in schedule 1. This insurance, however, does not cover illness or disease of any kind (except pyogenic infections which shall occur through an accidental cut or wound), nor any disability due to or arising from mental and/or nervous disorders. Nothing herein shall be construed to cover

claims by any member of the vessel's personnel arising from his own willful misconduct.

"This policy is made and accepted subject to the foregoing stipulations and conditions and to the printed conditions on the following pages, which are hereby specially referred to and made a part of this policy, it being understood and agreed in the case of any conflict or inconsistency the foregoing shall prevail over those which follow.

"In witness whereof the War Shipping Administration has caused this policy to be signed by the Administrator, but it shall not be valid unless countersigned by or on behalf of the Director of Wartime Insurance.'

Since this policy was limited to loss of life, injury, and disability, it was necessary to issue additional policies covering other obligations to the seamen, such as loss of personal effects, wages, and bonuses, after casualty and until repatriation to the United States, and the furnishing of emergency clothing, medical and hospital expenses, housing and subsistence, and other incidental expenses incurred while awaiting repatriation. To provide the means of covering these obligations, the crew effects policy. wages, and bonus war risk policy, and the war risk protection and indemnity policy were issued.

It was found desirable to make certain changes in the insurance protection, and the above-mentioned policies were superseded by the second seamen's war risk policy, effective as of March 15, 1943, which was a part of decision 1A of the Maritime War

Emergency Board.

This policy as originally written was limited to war risks, and effective as of April 24, 1943, it was amended to cover certain marine catastrophes; also to include any waterborne conveyance used to transport the seaman to and from the vessel on which he was employed, and any airborne conveyance used to transport him pursuant to instruc-tions or permission of the War Shipping Administration or its agents.

The second seamen's war risk policy also included coverage of personal effects and the wages and bonuses due after the casualty.

One of the more important changes in this policy, as compared with the crew life and injury policy, was the provision in article 12 allowing an additional \$2,500 in monthly payments in those cases where a seaman was disabled through an insured risk to the extent that he was incapable of performing, for remuneration or profit, any work or engaging in any business or occupation.1

During the period April 1943 to December 31, 1946, additional insurance covering loss of life only due to the risks and perils described in the second seamen's war risk pollcy, as amended, could be purchased for a nominal premium by the seamen protected by that policy. This additional insurance could be purchased in units of \$1,000 up to \$15,000.

At the present time, the collective bargaining agreements under which American-flag vessels are manned require that the crews of such vessels shall be protected by insurance in the form of the second seamen's war risk policy, as amended. While the face value of the policy is \$5,000 the amount payable for loss of life and loss of personal effects in certain areas can be increased through collective bargaining.

5. Medical benefits: The following classes of seamen are entitled to the benefits and facilities of the United States Public Health Service without charge, provided they have had 60 days' employment abroad ship and apply for such benefits within 90 days after leaving their last vessel:

(a) Scamen employed on United States registered, enrolled, and licensed vessels, other than canal boats engaged in coasting

(b) Seamen on State school ships or on vessels of the United States Government of more than 5 tons' burden.

(c) Cadets at State maritime academies or on State training ships.

(d) Seamen on vessels of the Mississippi River Commission, and upon application of their commanding officers, officers and crews of vessels of the Fish and Wildlife Service.

(e) Enrollees in the United States Maritime Service on active duty and members of the Merchant Marine Cadet Corps.

The seamen who were disabled during World War II are, therefore, precluded from the benefits of the Public Health Service. However, the Public Health Service will admit to their facilities, on a reimbursable basis, those seamen who are receiving disability benefits under the Maritime Administration's war-risk insurance program and Public Law 449, 78th Congress, upon presentation by them of a letter from this Division asking for the seamen's hospitalization and medical treatment and stating that the Maritime Administration will pay for such service. Other seamen who may have suffered an injury or disability during wartime employment but which is not compensable under the Maritime Administration's war-risk insurance program must bear their own medical expenses at private institutions.

Dependents of merchant seamen are not entitled to the benefits of the Public Health Service.

There are no institutions operated by the Federal Government to provide domiciliary care for disabled and aged merchant seamen.

 Compensation during World War II:
 There were many factors determining the amount of compensation to merchant seamen during World War II. The following table is representative of the average monthly earnings of a crew of a commercially operated Liberty cargo vessel, Southwest Pacific area. These figures are also very close to the amounts received by merchant personnel serving in the Atlantic area.

Average monthly carnings of crew of commercially operated Liberty cargo vessel, southwest Pacific area (rounded to nearest dollar)

Department and rating	Num- ber in rating	Wages	Bonus					Total	
			Total	Voyage	Area	Attack	Over- time	Each man	Each rating
Deck department;	1				HEEN	200	1000		1502
Master	14.	\$398	\$496	\$357	0.10	1994	-	\$804	\$804
First officer					\$43	\$6	2110		
Constant alliant	-	231	252	203	43	6	\$113	506	596
Second officer		202	224	175	43	6	95	521	521
Third officer.	1	184	209	160	43	6	83	476	476
1st radio operator	1	175	201	152	43	6	14	390	390
2d radio operator	10	165	193	144	43	6	10	368	368
Purser-pharmacist mate	1	152	181	132	43	6		333	333
Boatswaln	1	113	147	98	43	6	59	319	319
Carpenter	1	113	147	98	43	6	53	313	313
Able seaman	6	100	137	88	43	6	51	288	1, 728
Ordinary scaman	3	82	137	88	43	-6	52	271	813
Cadet	1	82	137	88	43	6		219	219
Engine department:		11 13 30		224	0.65	1	STATE STATE	1 2 2 2 2 1	727
Chief engineer	1	363	363	314	43	6		726	728
1st assistant engineer	1	231	252	203	43	6	85	568	508
2d assistant engineer		202	224	175	43	6	360	506	500
3d assistant engineer	1	184	209	100	43	6	76	468	408
Deck engineer	1	120	151	102	4.3	6	25	296	296
Oller	3	110	145	96	43	6	46	301	903
Fireman-watertender	3	110	145	96	43	6	44	200	897
	0.	88	137	88	43	6	12	237	474
Wiper	- 4						12		219
Carlet	14	82	137	88	43	- 6		219	211
Stewards department:	49	460	200	200	244	-	-	100	400
Chief steward	1	155	181	135	43	6	63	402	402
Chief cook	1	138	167	118	43	6	42	347	347
2d cook and baker	1	122	156	107	43.	6	42	330	32
Night cook (3d cook)	1	138	167	118	43	6	20	325	325
Messman	4	88	137	88	43	6	33	258	1, 032
Utilityman	2	-88	137	88	43	6	30	255	510
Total	43								14, 873
Weighted average each man		134							

Source: U. S. Congress. House. Hearings before the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries. U. S. House of Representatives, 79th Cong., 1st sess. Benefits to Merchant Seamen, Oct. 18-19, 1945, p. 262.

PART II, UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES PERSONNEL

The following is a brief comparable outline of the major benefits and compensations administered by the Veterans' Administra-tion for World War II veterans, their dependents and beneficiaries in the United States, its possessions and Territories, and in foreign countries.

1. Pension to United States Armed Forces personnel

(a) Pension for service-connected disability—World War II veterans.

Basis of eligibility: Disability must result from disease or injury incurred in or aggravated by active military or naval service in line of duty, and discharge must be under other than dishonorable conditions. Nature of benefit: Rates range, according

to degree of disability from \$17 for 10-per-cent disability to \$181 per month for total disability. Additional amounts payable for specific conditions, such as \$47 for the loss of foot, hand, eye or creative organ. Minimum rate for arrested tuberculosis \$67 per month. Helplessness, blindness, multiple amputations, etc., carry rates from \$279 to \$420 per month. Additional amounts payable to veterans 50 percent or more disabled for wife, children, or dependent parents. Peacetime: All rates are 80 percent of the wartime rates for the same conditions.

(b) Pensions for non-service-connected disability-World War II veterans.

Basis of eligibility: Veteran must be permanently and totally disabled, credited with 90 days or more service, unless discharged sooner for line of duty disability, and discharge must be under other than dishonorable conditions.

Nature of benefit: The rate is \$66.15 per month, increased \$78.75 on attainment of 65 years, or after continuous receipt for 10 years; regular aid and attendance, \$135.45. Annual income over \$1,400 is bar if veteran has no wife or minor children, otherwise \$2,700 limitation.

2. Education benefits

(a) Education and training-World War II veterans (Public Law 348, 78th Cong., as amended).

Footnote at end of speech.

Basis of eligibility: Ninety days' active service, some part of which must have taken place between September 16, 1940, and July 25, 1947. Less than 90 days if discharged for actual service-incurred disability. Discharge must be under conditions other than dishonorable. (The right to initiate a course of education or training under Public Law 346 lapsed for most persons on July 25, 1951.) Persons discharged from World War II service until 4 years after such discharge to commence a course. No training may be afforded beyond July 25, 1956.

Nature of benefit: One year of education or training plus the time the veteran was in the service between September 16, 1940, and July 25, 1947, up to 4 years maximum. All expenses of tuition, books, etc., paid at rate of \$500 per year. Monthly subsistence allowances of \$65 for the veteran without dependents or \$90 for the veteran with dependents. For full-time institutional training-\$75 if no dependents; \$105 for 1 dependent, and \$120 for more than 1 dependent. Lesser amounts for part-time training. Limitation on wages and subsistence under which the combined amounts cannot exceed \$210 for the veteran without dependents, \$270 for the veteran with 1 dependent, and \$290 for the veteran with 2 or more dependents. In event these amounts are exceeded, a proportionate decrease in subsistence is

3. Housing benefits

a. Preference in housing purchase or rental—F. H. A.

Basis of Eligibility: (1) Public Low Rent Housing: Service in World War I or World War II or on or after June 27, 1950, and prior to date determined by President, with discharge or release under conditions other than dishonorable. (2) War and Veterans Housing (Lanham Act): Service in World War II or on or after June 27, 1950, and prior to date determined by President. (3) FHA-Alded Cooperative Housing: Service in World War II or on or after June 27, 1950, and prior to date determined by President.

Nature of Benefit: (1) Preference in occupancy of public low rent housing projects to families of veterans. (2) Preference in rental of certain housing transferred to non-Federal agencies and of rental or purchase of certain temporary housing available for long-term use. (3) Special mortgage insurance benefits for cooperatives having 65 percent veteran membership.

b. Special Housing-Veterans Administra-

Basis of Eligibility: Service-connected disability due to war or peacetime service entitling veteran to compensation for permanent and total disability due to loss, or loss of use, by reason of amputation, ankylosis, progressive muscular dystrophies, or paralysis, of both lower extremities, such as to preclude locomotion without the aid of braces, crutches, canes, or a wheelchair.

Nature of benefit: Grant up to 50 percent of a suitably equipped housing unit and necessary land therefor. Grant may not exceed \$10,000.

c. Loans guaranteed, insured, or made by Veterans' Administration.

Basis of eligibility: (1) World War II: 90 days' active service, some part of which must have taken place between September 16, 1940, and July 25, 1947. Less than 90 days if discharged for service-incurred disability. Guaranty available on loans made by July 25, 1957. Unremarried widow of eligible veteran who died of service-connected causes also eligible.

Nature of benefit: VA guarantees payment of loan made to eligible borrower by lender of own choice. Loans guaranteed if made for purchase or construction of homes, farms, or business property or farm or business equipment. VA will guarantee 60 percent of residential property loan (maximum guaranty \$7,500); or 50 percent of other

real-estate loans (maximum guaranty \$4,000); or 50 percent of non-real-estate loans (maximum guaranty \$2,000). Direct home or farmhouse loans not exceeding \$10,000 by VA authorized until July 1, 1955, under certain conditions in areas where private capital unavailable.

4. Insurance benefits

a. National service life insurance.

Basis of eligibility: Insurance was granted to persons in active service after October 7. 1940, and prior to April 25, 1951. Also, prior to April 25, 1951, insurance was available to a person after separation from service if he had active service between October 8, 1940, and September 2, 1945, both dates inclusive. Lapsed insurance may be reinstated at any time upon payment of required premiums and submission of evidence of insurability. A term policy in force at the expiration of the term is automatically renewed for a successive 5-year period at the premium rate for the attained age. No new insurance issued after April 25, 1951, except to (1) persons who are thereafter released from active service, have a service-connected disability, do not have a non-service-connected disability that would render them uninsurable, and who apply within 1 year from VA finding of service connection; (2) persons ordered into active service for 31 days or more with service since June 27, 1950, who apply within 120 days after separation from such service; (3) persons who surrendered permanent plans of NSLI or USGLI while in active service after April 25, 1951, and who may reinstate or secure new insurance, under certain limitations, upon application within 120 days after separation from such service; and (4) persons whose NSLI or USGLI term policies expire while they are in active service after April 25, 1951, and who may apply within 120 days after separation from active service for term insurance in the same amount at a premium rate for the then attained age. Insurance under (1) and (2) is nonparticipating and involves new premium and annuity tables; insurance under (2) is renewable 5-year level premium term insurance.

Nature of benefit: Death benefits payable in 1 sum (policies maturing on or after August 1, 1946), or under monthly installment plans, as selected. Waiver of premiums during continuous total disability (commencing before insured's sixtieth birthday) which continues 6 or more consecutive months. For an additional premium, total disability income of \$5 per month per \$1,000 of insurance under certain conditions (not applicable to insurance referred to under (1) and (2) of "Basis of Eligibility" column).

5. Medical benefits

a. Types of medical benefits.

Hospitalization: World War II veterans, if discharged or separated under conditions other than dishonorable may be entitled to VA hospitalization under the following priority system:

First. Those needing hospitalization because of injuries or diseases incurred or aggravated in line of duty.

Second. Those with nonservice-connected disabilities who state under oath that they are financially unable to pay hospital charges elsewhere. These veterans must wait until a bed becomes available.

For purposes of hospitalization, World War II veterans who develop an active psychosis (mental illness) within 2 years from the date of their separation from active service are deemed to have incurred the disability in active service and fall under the first priority group above.

Patients requiring emergency medical treatment may be taken directly to the nearest VA hospital but, if possible, the veteran, or someone acting for the veteran, should communicate with VA by telephone or telegraph beforehand.

In all other cases, the veteran, his nearest relative or his guardian or representative should fill in the proper form for hospital care. These forms are available at any VA office.

If admission to a hospital has been approved for treatment of a service-connected disability, Government transportation may be provided to the hospital and, upon completion of treatment, to his or her home. This service may be provided for treatment of a nonservice-connected disability if applicants state under oath they are financially unable to pay for the transportation.

Domiciliary care: Domiciliary care is designed to provide a "home" for those veterans who have disabilities which incapacitate them from earning a living and who require minimal attention.

Eligibility requirements for admission to a home are essentially the same as for hospital treatment. Transportation at Government expense, as a rule, is provided only for the initial admission.

The veteran or his nearest relative, guardian or representative should obtain pre-admission approval from the nearest VA installation having facilities for domiciliary

Outpatient medical treatment: Outpatient medical care is available for veterans in need of treatment for service-connected disabilities.

Under this benefit, eligible veterans may receive treatment at VA outpatient clinics or from authorized private physicians. Each veteran's eligibility must be determined by VA before treatment of this type can be authorized.

Necessary drugs prescribed by the physician authorized to give outpatient treatment to the veteran may be obtained from "home town" druggists at Government expense.

Outpatient dental treatment: Outpatient dental care for veterans may be authorized by VA for three types of cases providing the application for dental treatment is filed within 1 year subsequent to enactment of Public Law 149, 83d Congress, approved July 27, 1953.

The three types of cases are:

- 1. Those having service-connected compensable dental conditions or disabilities.
- Those having service-connected noncompensable dental conditions or disabilities where the dental condition or disability is shown to have existed at time of discharge; and,
- Those having a dental condition whether or not service-connected by medically determined to be aggravating a service-connected physical disability or injury.

The authorization for treatment may be rendered either by a fee basis "home town" participating dentist or in a VA dental clinic.

Outpatient treatment for presumed service-connected disabilities. Several laws provide for outpatient treatment of certain disabilities that are deemed or may be presumed to be service-connected if they existed within a specified time after the veterans' discharge or separation from World War II service. These veterans must have been discharged or separated from such service under conditions other than dishonorable.

For active psychosis, the disability is deemed to be service connected if it existed within 2 years of the veteran's discharge.

For active tuberculosis, the disability may be presumed to be service connected within 3 years of the veteran's discharge, providing he had 90 days of active service.

For multiple sclerosis, the disability may be presumed to be service connected within 2 years of the veteran's discharge, providing he had 90 days of service.

For all other disabilities resulting from chronic diseases, the disabilities may be presumed to be service connected within 1 year from the veteran's discharge or separation.

Those retired from the Armed Forces for disability and receiving disability-retirement pay from the Armed Forces must first elect to take compensation from VA before they become entitled to outpatient treatment.

Prosthetic service: A veteran's eligibility for prosthetic appliances may be established if (1) he has a service-connected or service-aggravated disability requiring an appliance, or (2) if an appliance is determined necessary as a part of hospital treatment or domiciliary care.

Complete information and necessary forms for procuring needed appliances, equipment and repairs are available at any VA office.

Examination: Freed medical examination, if required, will be given to veterans filing claims for compensation or pension.

Veterans needing a physical examination for Government life insurance purposes may receive a physical examination free of charge at any VA medical office.

Free medical examinations also are given at any VA clinic or hospital to veterans filing application for hospital treatment or domicillary care.

6. Compensation of Armed Forces personnel during World War II

Since we dealt with the seagoing merchant marine personnel in the pay schedule of merchant seamen above, a comparable pay schedule for the same type of vessel operated by United States Navy personnel is presented below. This pay schedule can also be compared with the United States Army and United States Marine pay schedules. Personnel of the same rank in the armed services during World War II received approximately the same base pay as Navy personnel,

Monthly pay and average allotment of complement of Navy-operated Liberty cargo vessel

Branch and rating			Base pay	Base pay plus sea duty pay	Average allotment	Total		
	Duties	Number in rating				Each man	Each rating	
icers: Commander Lieutenant commander Lieutenant Do Do Lieutenant (ig.) Do Do Lieutenant (ig.) Do Do Do Do Machinist Pay cierk	Executive officer Ist lieutenant Navigator Engineer officer Gunnery officer Communications officer Watch and division officer Medical officer Supply officer Assistant 1st lieutenant Assistant to engineer officer	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	\$292 \$321 \$200 \$275 \$200 \$220 \$200 \$220 \$200 \$220 \$200 \$20		\$321 275 220 220 220 183 183 183 220 220 221 221 221	\$32 22 22 11 11 12 22 22 22 22 22		
Seaman branch: Chief boatswain's mate Boatswain's mate, 1st class Boatswain's mate, 2d class Cooswain Gunner's mate, 2d class Gunner's mate, 2d class Gunner's mate, 3d class Gunner's mate, 3d class Sunatermaster, 1st class Signalman, 2d class Signalman, 2d class Seaman, 1st class Seaman, 1st class Seaman, 1st class		1 2 7 7 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	138 114 96 78 114 96 78 114 78 96 78 66 66	166 137 115 94 137 115 94 137 94 115 94	51 51 51 51 51 51 51 51 51 51	217 188 166 145 188 166 145 188 145 166 145 130 145	1, 0 1, 0 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	
Radioman, 2d class. Radio technician, 1st class Radarman, 2d class Radarman, 2d class Radarman, 3d class Carpenter's mate, 1st class Ship fitter, 2d class Ship fitter, 2d class		7	114 96 78 114 96 78 114 96 78	137 115 94 137 115 94 137 115 94	51 51 51 51 51 51 51	188 166 145 188 166 145 188 166 145		
Chief machinist mate. Machinist mate, 1st class. Machinist mate, 2d class. Machinist mate, 2d class. Machinist mate, 3d class. Motor machinist's mate, 1st class. Motor machinist's mate, 2d class. Electrician's mate, 2d class. Electrician's mate, 3d class. Electrician's mate, 3d class. Chief water tender. Water tender, 1st class. Water tender, 2d class. Water tender, 3d class. Fireman, 1st class. Fireman, 2d class.		3 3 3 4 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 2 2 2 7 7	138 114 96 78 114 96 1,114 96 78 138 114 96 78 78	166 137 115 94 137 115 137 115 14 166 137 115 94 166 137 115	51 51 51 51 51 51 51 51 51 51 51	217 183 166 145 188 166 145 217 188 166 145 217 188 166 145	1.1,	
Special branch: Yeoman, 1st class Yeoman, 2d class. Yeoman, 3d class. Chief storekeeper. Storekeeper, 1st class Storekeeper, 2d class Chief pharmacist's mate Pharmacist's mate, 2d class		1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	114 96 78 138 114 96 78 138 96	137 115 94 166 137 115 94 166 115	51 51 51 51 51 51 51 51	188 166 145 217 188 166 145 217		
Commissary: Chief commissary steward Ship's cook, 1st class Ship's cook, 2d class Ship's cook, 3d class Baker, 2d class		1 1	138 114 96 78 96	166 137 115 94 115	51 51 51	188 166 145		
Steward, 1st class. Steward, 2d class. Cook, 1st class. Cook, 2d class. Steward's mate, 1st class.		1 1 1 1 1 2	114 96 114 96 78 66	137 115 137 115 94 79	51 51 51	166 188 166 145		
bleward's mate, 2d class			- 00	105		1.00	23	

Source: U. S. Congress. House. Hearings before the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries. U. S. House of Representatives, 79th Cong., 1st sess. Benefits to Merchant Scamen. Oct. 18-19, 1945, pp. 260-261.

SOURCES

1. United States Department of Commerce. Maritime Administration, Division of Insurance. 2. Veterans' Administration, Office of Leg-

 Veterans' Administration, Office of Legislation. World War II Fact Sheet, October 1, 1953.

 Veterans' Administration, Office of Legislation. Federal Benefits Available to Veterans and Their Dependents as of November 1, 1954.

4. United States Congress. Hearings before the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. House of Representatives, 79th Congress, 1st session. Benefits to Merchant Seamen, October 18-19, 1945, part 1, pages 260-264.

5. United States Statutes, volume 56, page

359. Public Law 607.

6. United States Statutes, volume 58, page 648. Public Law 392.

³ Art. 12. Disability and dismemberment: A. Disability: "Disability" as that term is used in this policy means incapacity because of injury proximately caused by the risks insured against herein which necessarily and continuously prevents the insured from performing any and every kind of duty pertaining to his occupation at the time of injury.

In the event the insured elects after such determination to accept payments for such disability under subdivision (2) (a) hereof and if when the total of \$5,000 has been paid him as therein provided, the insured claims in writing, and establishes to the satisfaction of the Administrator, that because of the same injury he is incapable of performing, for remuneration or profit, any work or engaging in any business or occupation, then he shall be paid further benefits at the rate of \$100 a month until the Administrator determines such incapacity has ceased or until a total of \$2,500 is paid, whichever first occurs.

Economic Conditions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an excerpt from a broadcast by Mr. Edward R. Murrow, over the CBS radio network on March 15, 1955, dealing with the President's report on economic conditions and the report of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS-CBS RADIO NETWORK, TUESDAY, MARCH 15, 1955

One of the standard procedures of government in this country is for the President each year to make a report to Congress on economic conditions. Then subsequently a joint congressional committee makes a report on this report. The unanimous report of such a joint committee of 14 was published yesterday. Because it was about economics, and not particularly dramatic reading, it did not attract a lot of attention, but it deserves more than it got.

For one thing, it included a bipartisan diagnosis of the Nation's economic health, which in days when stock-market prices have been taking a beating, is timely. All 14 Con-

gressmen agreed that we had a recession last year. They called it that, but they agreed that conditions have improved since late 1954. They found that employment and production has regained about half the ground lost, and unemployment had gone down about one-third. The present recovery, they stated, is sparked by automobile and steel production, home building, and inventory reversal. But they called the advance uneven and stated that certain regions continue to be in very serious economic strains. That is frank language. So is the description of farm income. The 14 agree that the decline in it is expected to continue, though more slowly.

Whether this situation justified the boom in the stock market late last year, or justifies the recent slump in prices, is not for this reporter to say. But the joint committee, after noting that we have not recovered all the lost ground, agreed that more must be done than recover lost ground. "Because of our growing population and technological development, it is not enough," the report said, "just to maintain present levels of employment and production." The 7 Democrats on the committee issued a separate statement in which they criticized the President's report for creating a more highly favorable impression of conditions than facts justify. They also cautioned that the major fields—automobile and home construction—on which the President based confident expectations, may not be sustained during the year. But they emphasized that they were not forecasting a depression or recession.

This separate democratic comment also played up differences over tax and farm policies with the Republicans. And that seems to give the report a formal partisan look. At first glance, this is politics as usual. But it is not. In foreign policy we have something like bipartisanship, and its achievement has been one of the milestones in the history of Congress.

Here is something that goes far toward being bipartisanship in economic principles. There are disagreements, but they are chiefly over details, like methods and timing. Anyone with a recollection of the bitter cleavage between New Dealers and anti-New Dealers in the early Roosevelt days, or remembering the story of the McKinley and Wilson eras, will know that basic economic differences provided the driving power of party rivalry, as, indeed, they have throughout much of our history.

But now the two parties agree that the Nation is growing, and that if it is to be healthy has to go on expanding, and they agree on what in the past had divided them most bitterly, on the desirability of a publicworks program, not one to stave off disaster, but to assure expansion. They want a public-works program already in existence, that can be accelerated when private employment requires. They say that the needs of the Nation have not been met because of war restrictions, and there should be construction now of schools, highways, hospitals, and other community facilities, including slum clearance and public housing. And these, the report says, should go forward more rapidly during the years ahead. In addition, the committee notes that distressed conditions persist in certain industries and regions, even while the economy is expanding, and that much can be done to assist these communities through public works, and that this action is required now.

The report does express the failure to agree about tax adjustments at this time. But it is unanimous on basic tax policy. The object, it says, should be to balance at least the cash budget at maximum employment and production levels. It recommends postponement in the reduction of corporate and excise tax rates. And as to the distribution of the tax burden, it says that "we should continuously strive to improve the distribution

of the tax burden in the interest of economic stability and rising living standards." In other words, the differences over the present tax adjustments are only as to when and how.

Of course it is no discovery of today that many Republicans and Democrats think alike on basic economic questions. This is so, despite the vocal high-tariff enthusiasts, the advocates of balancing the budget at any cost, and those for whom all public spending is anathema. But I suggest that there are about as many such individualists in the realm of foreign policy too. Bipartisanship does not mean unanimity. But with bipartisanship in both foreign and economic policy, the biggest guns of party rivalry are stilenced. No doubt it is a good thing, but will make a big difference to party politics.

Cry of Freedom

SPEECH

HON, J. VAUGHAN GARY

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, fourscore and 100 years ago today a great Virginian stood in a pew in a small church in my native city of Richmond, Va., and made a speech which will never be forgotten as long as freedom is secure in the world. In St. John's Church, which still stands, Patrick Henry proclaimed:

I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death.

That proclamation became the foreword of our early Republic and is today an accepted tenet of our political faith.

The premier performance of the play Cry of Freedom, based on the remarkable career of this great American, will be given next Monday evening at the Lisner Auditorium, here in Washington, under the sponsorship of the District of Columbia Department of the American Legion.

Today, in commemoration of the 180th anniversary of Patrick Henry's famous speech, Mr. Benjamin E. Hinden, coauthor of the play, will deliver an address over radio station WOL.

I take pleasure in inserting Mr. Hinden's speech at this point in the Record:

CRY OF FREEDOM

For many years millions of patriotic Americans have been greatly disturbed about the international Communist threat to freedom and the future of our country. Robert Clark and I decided that something must be done to counteract the poisonous lies being spread by brutal dictatorship and godless tyranny. We are convinced that we have undertaken a project which will prove highly beneficial to all who share America's cause in the battle for the minds of men, a battle we are forced to fight.

As writers, we turned to authentic sources for research and information about these United States—the history book, the National Archives, and the Library of Congress. We searched for an answer to this question: What started our country on the road to freedom? As we progressed, we confided to each other a slight feeling of shame at reaching this stage of our lives, living here in our Nation's Capital, among the very symbols of America's struggle for freedom, and understanding so little of the dramatic story behind these United States.

We soon became conscious that our Founding Fathers furnished a light to guide us. That light was sparked through the efforts of a man determined to be free—a man who inspired his countrymen to rise above subjugation, to assure Americans, then and now, the God-given rights of freeborn people. How many people realize that it was the pioneering work of this man, almost alone, who started the movement for freedom that brought about these United States? That man was Patrick Henry, of Virginia.

Patrick Henry had to battle his own friends in the House of Burgesses, against his contemporaries whom he admired and respected. They agreed the tyrannical rule of King George III must cease, but they disagreed violently in debate as to what course to pursue. During his first term in the Virginia House of Burgesses, Patrick Henry astounded the colonial leaders of his day with resolutions to the King, demanding termination of the infringements of the rights of freeborn British subjects in the Virginia colony. For 10 long years he led his fight calling for action against ever-increasing violations by the British of their own constitution, designed to protect the libertles of British subjects. His popularity spread like wild-fire, not only through the colony of Virginia, but throughout the other 12 colonies as well. He was their champion, their spokesman for what was just and right, a man of action, a true leader.

We set out to tell this story in a way that would be most noticed, because this is a story of supreme importance to all Americans, and to all freedom-loving people. All who are truly interested in the fundamental principles of our Government and its dramatic origin, sooner or later, visit the Nation's Capital. The play, therefore, will be staged in Washington, D. C., not only because it ties in directly with the historic sites of this area, but because it also vividly demonstrates the reasons behind the marble and bronze statues that mark the landscape of the Nation's Capital.

For more than 2 years we continued our effort—research, writing, more research, more writing, inserting, cutting the script. We knew we had to have the best play possible for the American public. If it were less than the best, we would be letting down the public, as well as the very people whose lives we were endeavoring to portray in dramatic fashion. At last we had the script. It was warm and human; it was strong with the fierce conflict of debate, enriched with humor—with the tenderest love story ever told. And Patrick Henry is given his due credit at long last.

This play Cry of Freedom will move audiences. Its strong emotional appeal, its deep conflicts, and, most of all, its patriotic inspiration for each of us today will be long remembered.

The script was finished and we searched for a competent director. Many applicants were considered. The best was selected—a man who has directed outstanding stage plays, as well as acted in them, and who realized the challenge presented by the dynamic theme of Cry of Freedom. He is John X. Ward, creator of the role of Patrick Henry in the production presented in Washington a Iew years ago-Faith of Our Fathers. have an excellent cast of actors and actresses with professional experience, including such Players as James Ward and Theodore Zarpas, Who are TV directors; Edgar Ford, radio and television; and Mary Ford, performer on the Olney Theater stage; and an excellent choir under the direction of Eleanor Starr. Miss Starr has written an original composition called The Ballad of Patrick Henry, especially for this production, and previews of the song indicate that it may catch on as the Ballad of Davy Crockett has captured the American public.

The opening night performance is sponsored by the District of Columbia Department of the American Legion who will receive the entire net proceeds of this performance. Our cast, the director, the stage manager, the authors, the sponsors, are all confident that we are working on a project of importance as a means of entertainment and that it is a device for carrying the patriotic message.

Cry of Freedom was the cry of Patrick Henry and the colonists against tyranny. It will be shown at Lisner Auditorium, opening on Monday, March 28. This patriotic theme based upon the American precedent becomes more and more important and timely. The Communist conspiracy with which we are now forced to grapple desires to humble us in a cold war. This play will fortify the minds that are politically immature to clearly understand the true meaning of our heritage and inspire greater devotion to the fundamental principles of our Government.

The Fallacy of Rigid Agricultural Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, it occurs to me that as we prepare to again explore the fallacy of 90-percent parity as a gadget for maintaining the income of our farmers we should never lose sight of the documented fact that farm prices have fallen some 22 points, while rigid supports were in full force and effect. I want to promote high farm income and agricultural stability, but I shall never accept a program that hides behind high prices engendered by war as a justification for its continuance.

I cannot help but note with some amusement the proposed nuptials between the 90-percent supporters in the farm group and the \$1.25 minimum-wage proponents in the ranks of labor. When Mr. Walter Reuther was before the House Committee on Agriculture he received what amounted to a standing ovation from those who favor the Cooley bill, H. R. 12, and I could only conjecture as to what his reception has been and will continue to be when he invades the districts of those applauding Congressmen for the purpose of organizing his labor groups.

The unnatural alliance between organized labor and the farm organizations supporting H. R. 12 is explored in the news item which appeared in the issue of the Philadelphia Inquirer for March 20, and is included in these remarks as a prognostication of what we may expect in the House when the pending bill is brought up for legislative action:

CITY DEMOCRATS SEEN KEY TO PROP PRICE

(By Paul J. McGahan)

Washington, March 19.—"Will they stand hitched?" That is the \$64 question to be answered by the House late next week when it is expected to vote on the Democratic farm

bloc move to repeal flexible price-support farm legislation.

The Eisenhower-Benson forces won a substantial victory last year in the change from rigid price supports for five basic agricultural commodities to a flexible basis which becomes effective this year.

Secretary of Agriculture Ezra T. Benson, fully backed by President Eisenhower, waged a vigorous fight to put the flexible price-support plan through the House last year by a vote of 228 to 170, a margin of 58.

This year, the Democratic majority of the House Agriculture Committee headed by Representative Harold D. Cooley, Democrat, of North Carolina, with the outspoken support of Speaker Sam Rayburn, Democrat, of Texas, is out to jam the repealer proposal through the House next Wednesday and Thursday. They assert they will win by 40 votes.

Encouraged by seeming support from both Republicans and Democrats which would assure another split vote, some of the leaders assert that the Senate, where action on farm legislation has not been expected until the next session of Congress next year, will take up and pass the repealer before adjourning.

Both sides admit that city Democrats who voted with the administration last year, may desert next week under the pressure of the Democratic leadership.

That is why the question "will they stand hitched?" holds such current interest.

Organized labor has swung into the new picture with unusual vigor. The heads of the two major organizations, Walter P. Reuther, president of the CIO, and George Meany, the AFL president, both gave testimony favoring a return to fixed price supports at 90 percent of parity.

Reuther charged the administration with an unprecedented effort to divide the city

worker and the farmers.

Leaders on both sides in Congress have become aware that organized labor leaders are actively seeking to change the votes this week, particularly those of the city Democrats who joined with Eisenhower-Benson forces last year.

Labor leaders want to get the Nation's farmers more actively identified with their organizational activities. But more especially they want to gain the support of farm bloc legislators for the increased minimum hourly wage of \$1.25. Labor also is concerned about falling employment in industries dependent on the farmer's buying power.

The National Farmers Union recently declared: "Less support for 90 percent is probable from the Republicans this year than last, when only 23 voted against the sliding scale. The outcome apparently will depend on the city Democrats.

"Last year over half of the city Democrats backed 90 percent, with 34 against. About 35 to 40 city Democratic votes for 90 percent are needed from the 34 who voted against it last year and 25 others who are new to Congress or were absent during the 1954 vote.

"Both AFL and CIO are buttonholing city Congressmen to urge votes for 90 percent of parity supports."

Delaware Valley, U. S. A., Congressmen, and others in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware are under heavy pressure. Last year the Republican Members from the three States supported the flexible program. They totaled 19 in Pennsylvania, 8 in New Jersey, and 1 in Delaware. Five Pennsylvania Democrats voted against flexible price supports.

Last year six Pennsylvania Democrats supported the Eisenhower-Benson program. These were Representatives Barrett, Byrne, Granahan, and Green, of Philadelphia, Rhodes, of Reading, and Walter, of Easton. In New Jersey, of the 6 Democrats, 5 voted with the Republicans, excepting Hart, who

was paired and is no longer in Congress. The other five were Representatives Addonizio, Howell, who is no longer in Congress, Rodino, Sieminski, and Williams, Jr.

Philadelphia has five Democratic Members of the House. Representative Chunorf last year voted against the administration measure, which had the support of his four Democratic colleagues.

These four, together with Representatives RHODES and WALTER, are obvious targets for the farm bloc-labor drive for the return to

rigid price supports.

The position of Representatives Thompson, Democrat, of New Jersey, and Tumulty, Democrat, of New Jersey, new Members this year, is not known. Last year the Congressman-at-large from Delaware was a Republican who supported the administration. This Congress has Delaware represented by Harris B. McDowell, Jr., a Democrat.

Three Pennsylvania Republicans who voted last year are no longer in Congress. They were Representatives Graham, Bonin, and Stauffer. Their successors, all Democrats, Representatives CLARK, FLOOD, and QUIGLEY, are included in the farm-bloc list of potential supporters of the Rayburn-Cooley repealer.

Thus the advocates of rigid price supports in the farm bloc and labor Democratic groups are working hard to persuade this tri-State group of a dozen or more Members to vote with the forces seeking to repeal flexible prices.

Two Delaware Valley, U. S. A., congressional Representatives, both Members of the House Committee on Agriculture, are standing firm with the administration. They are Representatives Paul B. Dague, Republican, of Pennsylvania, and Karl C. King, Republican, of Pennsylvania. Each signed the minority views filed against the majority report submitted by Chairman Cooley. And each will participate in the floor debate next week for 2 days before the showdown vote.

Address by Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler, American Federation of Labor, to Labor's League for Political Education, Philadelphia, Pa., February 26, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following address:

I want to state at the outset that I am here to receive, rather than to give, inspiration and instruction on matters political. Success is the best advocate, and the success of your campaign to bring better governent and a better Governor, to the State of Pennsylvania speaks very highly, indeed, of the performance of your league.

You have helped to deliver your State, at least in part, from the grip of one of the most deeply entrenched, as well as one of the most backward political machines, in the Nation. If we had done half so well in those States where our friends were defeated by the narrowest of margins our gains would have been sufficient to guarantee a great stride forward toward a better life for every American, rather than the prospect of 2 more years of

minimum action and virtual statemate at the national level.

Whatever I may have to offer in the way of advice or admonition, therefore, is directed, not at any particular situation of your own, but at the larger scene. However, I did just happen to note an interesting item in the New York Times about an event that occurred here last week, which seems to contain a small lesson for all of us—a lesson as to one of the reasons why we must concern ourselves with political affairs in the first place. This news item, under a February 22 dateline, states as follows:

"President Eisenhower was boomed for a second term today by speakers at the 46th annal meeting of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association.

"One of the speakers was G. Mason Owlett, Republican national committeeman from Pennsylvania. * *

"Mr. Owlett, president of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association, predicted that 'Pennsylvania will join a national vote of confidence for President Eisenhower in 1956."

"'Dwight D. Eisenhower is no mere party leader; he is one of the great spiritual lead-

ers of our times,' he said."

I do not know Mr. Owlett, his qualities, or his record as a corporation official, or as a political boss. I do not know whether he is as competent a judge of spiritual values or of spiritual leadership as he is of company balance sheets and precinct returns, but I have my doubts. I may be wrong, but I am inclined to suspect that most people would prefer to seek spiritual guidance from some other source than upon the advice of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association.

I do not know whether the sovereign people of Pennsylvania have grown so docile, dependent, and predictable that they can be safely pledged to any camp nearly 2 years in advance, or delievered wholesale like, so many cattle, to the particular political market that the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association prefers. But here again, I have my doubts. In the elections of last November they demonstrated their independence of reactionary bossism and PMA politics, and I cannot believe that, having had the experience of good government, they will so soon revert to the old.

But I do give Mr. Owlett and his PMA cohorts credit for this: That they know their own kind and are willing to fight for their own. Therein lies the lesson for us. Unless we are able to demonstrate at least an equal degree of active interest and concern in the character of our Government, we can expect nothing from it. When the people neglect the basic responsibilities of citizenship, the Pews, the Grundys, and the Owletts are always there, ready and eager to assume those responsibilities. It is clearly up to us, as individuals and as trade unionists, to work and to fight for the kind of government that we prefer, for if we do not, no one else is going to do that work for us. Yet, there are those who can hear and read about such exhortations as that which Mr. Owlett addresses to his fellow corporation bosses with great approbation, but who will then turn about and challenge or deny the right of unions of working men to participate effectively in the political life of this democracy.

If we require other reasons to justify our program of political education and action, we need only consider some of the things that happen when the large employing interests of the country gain a stranglehold upon the instruments of government, as demonstrated in the record of this and other big business administrations.

Such administrations never take over on their own merits, frankly presented. The deliverance of Government to the captains of industry and finance is always accomplished under some such guise as the pre-tense of "bringing the best brains to Washington" or getting the Government out of private business, or introducing business management methods, or in that most recent version, "partnership." Yet, somehow, the best brains always seem to come from the board room, the countinghouse, and the realm of the money changer. Getting the Government out of business always seem to involve a giveaway of priceless natural resources to an affluent few, while the people get the business only in the sense of the slang expression. The introduction of business management methods leads us to an NLRB packed with company lawyers and a rich man's tax bill granting billions in tax relief to stockholders and corporations at a time when the budget deficit requires a new increase in the debt ceiling. And "partnership" becomes a deal somewhat like the joint ownership of a cow, in which the public has to buy all of the feed while private interests get all of the milk.

When the people went to the polls in 1952, I am sure that they were under the impression that they were voting for a responsible Government administration. Had they known that they were in fact going to elect, not an administration, but a national brokerage agency, I believe that their decision might well have been different. Yet that is the role that our Government is performing today—not accepting and acting upon, but shifting the burden of its consti-

tutional responsibilities.

When power needs arise in the Tennessee Valley traditionally served by public power, the Government no longer permits the TVA to fill those needs, but acts instead as a broker for the privileged firm of Dixon and Yates. In the face of a grave national emergency arising out of the shortage of educational facilities and resources, the administration today holds out no real hope or promise of timely aid for the school children of America, but serves instead as the agent through which our urgent needs for a vital public service are to be converted into profitable grist for the financial mills of investment bankers.

This is indeed a new philosophy of government, this moderate progressivism or dynamic conservatism, or whatever the expression in current White House vogue happens to be-when bankers and stock-market sharpers, rather than educators, are brought in to testify in support of the administration's so-called school-construction program before a Senate committee. If this philosophy is to prevail much longer, perhaps the teaching methods now practiced in the public schools will have to be revised. Instead of teaching our children about the birds and the bees, perhaps they should be taught about the "bulls" and the "bears." If the administration plan prevails, then maybe the primary curriculum should also be changed from "reading, writing, and arithmetic" to "hedging, margin, and arbitrage" so that our children may be appropriately equipped for a life of dynamic conservatism.

I may be wrong, but I cannot believe that this is what the people voted for in 1952. The current administration practice of advancing unworthy causes under gaudy, liberal-type labels, as well as the present division of control between the executive and the legislative branch in Washington, serve to illustrate the paradoxical nature of the political situation we face today.

The voters of America have shown, time and again and most recently in 1954, a preference for liberal, humane and responsible government. Where a clear choice has been presented to them, unobscured by false or diversionary issues, they have in the great majority of cases chosen the course of

progress as opposed to reaction. Even the most hidebound of politicians acknowledge this preference of the public for they never dare to present a retrogressive, special-interest program under its true colors. They recognize that in order to succeed they must adopt a camouflage of pious pretenses, high-flown slogans and glowing promises—a tactic that reached its fullest development in the 1952 campaign.

There is, I believe, another tendency of the public which, unfortunately, serves often to nullify this preference and to play into the hands of the political promoter and manipulator. That is the tendency to believe what one would like to be true, to follow the minstrel with the siren song and the golden promise, to take appearances at face value and to accept the popular myth without critical examination.

These, I believe, are the conflicting forces that have led us into this paradox, and a condition of political stalemate. In the 1952 Presidential campaign, the people were sold on a popular personality, universally known and admired for his record as a military figure, possessed of an engaging manner and no visible enemies, and advertised as possessing the magic cure for all of our troubles and fears. Taken at face value, such a proposition was hard to resist, and the people were not made aware of the fact that

It had to be a package deal.

They have found out the hard way that the package they won when they went for Ike was not quite what they had been led to expect—that it contained a lot of things they had not bargained for. All wrapped up in the same bundle were Dixon and Yates, Beeson and Benson, McLeod and McCarthy, Jenner and Bricker, Weeks and Reece, layoffs and bird-dogs, giveaways and the "numbers game"—yes, even Natvig and Matusow, and who knows what to come.

There may still be those who think it is possible to take their Ike straight, as advertised, and who prefer to believe that these less attractive aspects of his administration can be safely overlooked, as misfortunes for which he should not be held responsible. The outcome of the last elections would seem to indicate that many of those who voted for Eisenhower in 1952 cannot quite stomach the team he has assembled or the political shysters who cluster about his coattails. There are even those who keep looking for and expecting the "new Ike, the real Ike" to emerge one of these days, to dump the old guard off his back, and to lead a rejoicing people into the promised land. In the light of the record, the persistence of such a dream represents a triumph of hope over experience, of ballyhoo over reality. The great crusade is over— it never got past the feed trough.

But today, almost 2 years before the next elections, the old guard politicos are busy getting the saddle, the bridle and the dopegun ready for another ride to victory on the back of their favorite. The owletts and company have taken full charge of the same man whose advocates at the 1952 Republican Convention accused their old leader, Sanator Taft, of theft and of violating the commandment "Thou shalt not steal", and are halling him now as their "spiritual leader". This much at least can be said of the old guard politician—he is always ready to rise above principle in order to maintain his place at the public trough.

This, together with the type of campaign waged against liberal candidates in many States in 1954, provides ample evidence of the complete bankruptcy of old-guard conservatism as a political philosophy. The members of that school no longer possess the courage to face the public squarely on the merits of the issues. To gain and maintain their positions of power, they now en-

gage in the promotion of a blind idolatry or, through an assortment of fronts, in the exploitation of unthinking passions and hatreds.

The necessity of combating the techniques of the huckster, the political medicine man, and the smear artist so prevalent today present our league for political education with a tremendous task, and a great responsibility. There is always the temptation to reply in kind—to exchange low blow for low blow—but we must resist that temptation. We are not in the smear market. Leave that to the professional poison mongers. In our choice of methods and approaches, let it always be said that we played this political game hard, but we played it straight. If we cannot honestly feel that we have, through our educational efforts, helped to improve the character of American political life, then we have no business in it.

Besides, over the long run at least, the approach that we have adopted is not only better, in the ethical sense, than the technique of smear and vilification. It is, I am convinced, also smarter in the political sense. The progress that is achieved through education, slow and tedious though it may be, endures. That which is achieved by playing upon unreasoning passions and emotions will surely evaporate in the course of time. To believe otherwise is to lose all faith in the democratic processes.

Looking ahead to 1956, I believe that the final decision will depend upon the ability of the public to make the important dis tinction between the attributes of personal popularity and those attributes which are necessary to the highest performance of the arduous requirements of the most respon-sible public office in the world. We have absolutely no desire or intent to injure, to degrade, or to detract in any way from the personal popularity or repute of one who has earned—and who has, indeed, received—so much from his countrymen as has the present occupant in the White House. We are concerned, and vitally concerned, with the content of the policies and programs that issue from the White House, and we intend to speak our minds fully and freely on that

I have no interest in the personal life or habits of anyone in public office. A President who stands up and fights for the rights and interests of the people when the occasion demands it would draw nothing but praise from me, though he played golf, tennis or poker from sun to sun. I am interested in where his heart and mind are, and not his person. And when he speaks the language of liberalism, I want to see him put his budget where his mouth is before reaching any final judgment.

But, regardless of what the Gallup polls, or any index of personal popularity may show, when a person in public office, regardless of rank or party, becomes involved or associated with a position on public issues which we consider to be detrimental to the best interests of the Nation at large, we intend to pull no punches. We shall exercise our right to place responsibility at the door where it properly belongs. In a healthy democratic order, no responsible elected official is entitled to immunity from public criticism, or to the privilege of blind support. We, at least, shall never extend that privilege or that immunity.

We can draw a great deal of encouragement, though we can afford no complacency, from the results of the 1954 elections. Against great obstacles, including a late all-out rescue campaign—with the President taking the high road and Nixon the low road—we made important, though not decisive, gains in both the House and the Senate.

But by far the most significant were the successes that we achiebed at the State and local levels, in the gubernatorial races and in the election of State representatives. These gains are significant because these are the areas where we have been weakest in the past, where the obstacles arising out of undemocratic systems of apportionment are the greatest, and where the most work needs to be done.

We cannot hope to achieve success by working from the national level down; we must work from the local level up. National politics grows out of State and community politics, and its character is largely a reflection of the character and make-up of the centers of political power in the State houses and city halls of America. The trade union movement and its membership can never hope to grow as a factor to be reckoned with in the political life of the Nation until we develop and use the tools and techniques of effective action in the arena of State and local politics.

Furthermore, the "right-to-work" campaign that is now being waged against labor has made it clear that employers have shifted the battleground from Congress to the State legislatures, having prepared that battleground in advance through section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. So long as we must live and defend ourselves under an administration which holds a fictitious set of "States rights' in higher regard than basic human rights, we have no alternative but to endeavor to secure adequate representation in the State legislatures of the Nation.

I believe that we are better equipped today to function effectively under this set of circumstances than we have been in the past. The principle of decentralization has been introduced into the structure of Labor's League for Political Education, with the appointment of area directors to work more closely with State and city branches of the league. This should help to make possible a much greater degree of collaboration and cooperation between the various functional parts of our league, as well as to enable us to adapt more realistically to the varying conditions and circumstances that exist in different patrs of the country. 1954 results were, I believe, to some extent, at least a vindication of the soundness of this approach.

I doubt that we can expect soon to balance the degree of influence that the great corporations now exert upon the economic and political life of the various States, but we are certainly justified in working to that end. We cannot hope to compete with their fat purses and open moneybags, but I believe that we have a much broader appealone that merits the support of the rank-andfile citizen and of other public-spirited groups. As one sample of the big business approach, I understand that one of the officials of the United States Steel Co. serves simultaneously as chairman of important committees of the chamber of commerce of at least three different States-at each of which, of course, he expresses his deep devotion to the principle of "States' rights" and local self-government. We do not engage in that type of hypocritical multilateral carpetbagging. The affairs of our local organizations are conducted by local citizens.

I am highly optimistic about the future of our trade union movement. I am encouraged by the positive, vigorous, and healthy manner in which we have responded to the challenge presented by a hostile political environment and by vicious, punitive legislative enactments. I have traveled extensively about the country during the months since I assumed my present post. I have visited many international and State federation conventions, and have talked with hundreds

of those who bear the responsibility of local, State, and international union office. Nearly everything that I have seen and heard has served to reenofrce that sense of optimism and that feeling of encouragement.

I have observed a new spirit and a growing enthusiasm at all levels within the American Federation of Labor. Everywhere there has been a drawing-together, a closing of ranks, and a gathering of strength and vigor. Many factors have contributed to this new spirit. Despite all the obstacles thrown in our way by our adversaries in public and private life, our membership has risen to a record level. Our affiliated unions are sound and stable with larger resources than they have ever had before. The consummation of a no-raiding agreement has served to release energies, resources and organizers hitherto tied down to the unproductive task of defending past gains. International unions are revamping their organizing departments and appointing directors whose sole function it is to organize the unorganized, without the wasted time and talent involved in a host of unrelated tasks.

Union officials and members throughout the country are attending educational, social security, collective bargaining and legislative conferences more frequently, in greater numbers and with more interest than ever before. More local unions, who had previously remained outside the fold, have become properly affiliated with State federations and city central bodies. Our international and State conventions are drawing delegates in increasing numbers. The feeling is becoming general that at last we are on the move again.

At this high point of interest and enthusiasm, the logical climax has now been achieved—the successful negotiation of a merger agreement with the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The agreement was reached at a time when most of the writers, reporters, and outside observers were busy explaining all of the reasons why it could never happen. Now these same gentlemen, faced with the task of putting their dope stories together, are having trouble in conceiving and predicting what a united labor movement will mean to the working people and the citizens of America.

But we know what it means. We have for years experienced the whipsaw tactics whereby one side has been played off against another to the disadvantage of both by opportunistic employers and politicians. We have seen the waste and duplication of effort, time, and resources, and the lost opportunities occasioned by disunity. We know that disunity drains the energies of labor, for unity is the lifeblood and the heart of the trade-union movement. Unity means the difference between a future bright with hope and promise, and one of perpetual internal conflict, division and weakness.

Labor's league for political education has a vital, central role to play in a united labor movement, if we are to make the most of our opportunities. This role will demand much of you who are most directly responsible for the league's success where that success has first of all to be achieved, locally in the precincts and polling places of the Nation. Yours is a task which requires a higher degree of unselfish dedication and understanding than any other trade-union function-for it may involve no personal advancement, or direct and immediate breadand-butter gain. It will involve many dis-appointments. The only reward we can or should expect is the reward that all citizens will share, regardless of their contribution to the effort-the reward of enlightened, liberal, and humanitarian government, dedicated to the welfare of all of the people.

The State of the Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an excellent editorial entitled "State of the Economy," published in the Washington Post of Sunday, March 20, 1955. It is a very fine exposition of the President's economic report and the report of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF THE ECONOMY

The Joint Committee on the Economic Report is justified in its complaint that the President's economic report failed to include a sufficiently clear statement on the goals needed to assure maximum economic opportunities in 1955. The excellent qualities of the President's report, prepared for him by the Council of Economic Advisers, were clouded by this failure to be sufficiently selfcritical and to face up to the inadequacies of the present situation. The joint committee agrees with him that there has been a substantial recovery since the low point of a year ago and that most indices are up. Employment and production have regained about one-half of the ground lost and unemployment has receded about one-third. But the committee is concerned about the prospects for the second half of the year. It properly argues that if the President's report had examined the danger signals more carefully the country would be better prepared for any eventuality.

Perhaps the most significant thing about the report is that Republican and Democratic members are in agreement on so many things. The Democratic majority wrote a supplemental statement emphasizing its views, and three Republicans had a statement of their own. But the full membership agreed on the essentials—a signal tribute to the educational value of service on the committee.

Instead of boasting about what has happened, the joint committee concentrated its attention on the reasons why recovery has not been more substantial. It agreed that more attention must be given the problem of distressed industrial areas and the unfavorable trends in agriculture. Democratic Members made a telling argument against those who have been fighting an inflation straw man at the expense of what should be the primary objectives of economic policy—maximum employment and purchasing power. With more than 3 million persons idle in a Nation with the productive capacity of this one, the primary problem at present is not inflation.

In this connection, the report expresses concern over prospects for the second half of the year when automobile production will be at a much lower level than present. It says the administration and Congress should be ready with a public-works program in support of schools, roads, and hospitals and be prepared to adopt a more flexible tax policy. It is significant that all members of the committee support the President's request for a 1-year extension of the corporate and excise taxes in the interest of a balanced cash budget. Unlike the Ways

and Means and Finance Committees, this committee also unanimously supports the President's request for an increase in the Federal debt limit.

With these criticisms at hand and with the benefit of the joint committee's extensive hearings—and because there are widespread doubts about the economic prospects for the second half of the year—the Council of Economic Advisers should resume the practice of its predecessors and issue a midyear report. Such a report could be of substantial value in promoting an expanding economy throughout 1955.

A New Era in South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "A New Era"—referring to the State of South Carolina. The editorial was published on March 15, 1955, in the State, of Columbia, S. C.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A NEW ERA

South Carolina truly is enjoying a new era.

Our industrial growth stands out because it so readily can be seen and because it can be reduced to revealing figures, but it is only one phase of the remarkable development that has taken place in our State in the last decade. Our strides forward in education and agriculture, in transportation, in good government, in better living, in religious life, in providing better housing, etc., have kept pace with the marvelous manufacturing expansion that has taken place.

We have often quoted statistics showing that at the end of World War II we had industrial investments of \$500 million whereas now the total is 6 times that amount or, in round numbers, \$3 billion. This total, of course, includes the H-bomb plant, which it should, since it is equipped for peacetime as well as wartime production and has created jcbs—well paying positions—just the same as any privately developed project.

With growth comes problems.

With more people comes the need for more housing facilities, more schools, more to eat—in fact more of everything. That South Carolina has been able to absorb this increase is a tribute to our people.

Our great school revolution has set a standard that other States might well emulate. As the Governor said the other day, we are 4 years ahead of the President's plan for relieving school shortages—so far ahead, and the building program so soundly financed that, small as we are, and poor as we are, comparatively speaking, we would not be eligible under the proposed Federal aid bill for assistance.

Frankly the segregation issue speeded up action on making South Carolina's school facilities second to none in the Nation. But regardless of the reason why, the fact remains that a revolution has taken place, and without endangering one whit the enviable double-a rating of our bonds.

In higher education, too, this State has gone forward. More and more our young people are going to college. More and more they are able to find in the institutions of our State the courses which they need. More and more, thank goodness, they are realizing that while the distant hills look green they have no greater opportunity than right here at home.

In agriculture steady advancement has been recorded. New and improved methods have been introduced and other steps taken to meet the increased demands. We are behind in irrigation, which proved its worth in last summer's drought to those who have it, and the proposed water control law is badly needed, but we have every reason to be proud of our agricultural accomplishments for the past 10 years.

From time immemorial the day has been anticipated when South Carolina, still an agricultural State, would not be dependent upon the success or failure of her crops. The year 1954 proved that this happy day has been reached since the heavy financial loss suffered by many engaged in agriculture did not upset our general economy. Time was when we could have stood last year's farming losses

It is good also that, while cotton is still king, it is no longer an absolute monarch. We now have diversification. Many acres formerly in the fleecy staple have been made available to other use because of improved seed, improved methods of culture. On a normal year we can grow as much cotton now as we did previously on twice the acreage. We have developed new cash crops, the peach being an excellent example. Thirty years ago (or later) we didn't grow a sufficient number of peaches for them to be listed as a commercial crop. Now we are the greatest peach-shipping State in the Union. And so on.

It is important that we absorb our growth instead of letting the growth absorb us.

South Carolina has individuality that must not be sacrificed, has standards that must not be lowered, has qualities that must be retained. In this, so far, so good, but we must ever be on guard lest we lose otherwise while winning commercially. Those assets which we would preserve are the very assets that make us attractive to industry. If we lose those assets, we may lose our appeal.

Right after the last World War was the time of most rapid industrial expansion. This is explainable because of a backlog that had been built up while the conflict was raging. In addition, there was a new appreciation of our advantages. Since then the influx while continuing has tapered off. This year, however, from the way it has started, looks as if it might set some kind of a record. In the first 2 months of 1955 there was more than half the plant construction underway as built during the full 12-month period of 1954.

We now have a double argument. In addition to our natural advantages as a desirable place for manufacturing, there has been developed in this area a sizable market that manufacturers should like to be near. Ten years ago that market did not exist in sufficient volume to be a factor.

For years the economy of the South, and particularly that of South Carolina, was plagued because we had to send our raw materials north and buy them back as finished products. This difinitely upset the trade balance. Now it is different. We are finishing the raw materials right now at home and selling the finished product.

This is not a development that has taken place in the last decade. The change has been taking place over the years, but the influx of industry since 1945 has definitely established, securely, the balance which we so long have needed.

Another progression which is of importance is the change that has come about in financing. There was a time when we were absolutely dependent on banking centers outside the South for capital. Now this is no longer true. Here in South Carolina we have financial institutions capable of providing funds for worthwhile concerns to be established or expanded. Nothing has bolstered our economic independence any more than this.

By any measure, South Carolina has a good State government with a fair attitude toward business, which is all that the high-class industrialist asks. He is not seeking favors, but he does want reasonable protection for his investments. That its situation is healthy is best evidenced by the fact that so many companies that have cast their lot with us have seen fit later to increase their holdings.

We appreciate big corporations, and we hope more of them will locate with us, but frankly nothing beats small concerns locally financed using local products and employing local people. We have many such plants in this State and we hope the number will increase.

There is no place here for the fly-by-night promoters who wish to impose upon a community and conduct business affairs in a shoddy manner. Every now and then such a person wants to locate in this State, but we have kept remarkably free from such intrusions.

We could go on citing developments such as those in forestry, which are well worth writing about or in conservation, but we shan't in this article attempt to deal with everything. Suffice it to say that our progress has been on an even keel and South Carolina is still South Carolina despite the many changes that have taken place.

changes that have taken place.

This newspaper hopes that it has done its share in bringing about the new era and that it may be privileged for many years to come to exert its influence for a South Carolina that is a good place in which to live and in which to make a living.

Echo Park Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following statement: CIO Voices Support for Construction of Echo Park Dam in Colorado

CIO support for the construction of the Echo Park Dam in Echo Park, Colo., as part of the upper Colorado River storage project, has been voted by the CIO committee on power, atomic energy, and resources development, it was announced today by Chairman O. A. Knight.

Mr. Knight, who heads the CIO Oil, Chem-

Mr. Knight, who heads the CIO Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union, said the decision followed an extensive meeting of the committee in Denver late last month.

In reversing its previous stand of opposition to the dam, Mr. Knight said the committee now supports the dam project as a means of securing maximum benefits of water for irrigation and municipal purposes, as well as the development of electric power for expansion of the upper Colorado Basin area.

Mr. Knight's statement:

"From a careful study of the facts which have been presented to me and my com-mittee, I am persuaded that the maximum benefit to mankind will result from the earliest possible completion of the upper Colorado storage project, including Echo Park Dam. The engineering prospects provide facilities for recreation for those now interested in the scenery and wildlife aspects of this area, as well as substantial regulation of the water flow in the river and a head of water for the production of electric power. This power is needed for the expanding population and industrial growth in the Mountain States. Salt Lake City. Utah, and Denver, Colo., and the total area between these two growing cities will greatly benefit from the earliest possible develop-ment of the total upper Colorado storage project."

John R. Mott

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES I. DOLLIVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. Speaker, John R. Mott, a native son of Iowa, was a great Christian statesman of our time, As part of my remarks, I include an address by Dr. Ralph Dockman, of New York, delivered at the John R. Mott memorial service on February 25, 1955;

JOHN R. MOTT, APOSTLE OF JESUS CHRIST

In front of Trinity Church, Boston, is a statue of Phillips Brooks, the rector who made that parish the preaching peak of his generation. The sculptor depicts the commanding figure of Brooks with another form standing behind and overshadowing him. The other figure is that of Jesus Christ. Phillips Brooks, towering above the pulpit masters of his time, humbly felt himself the servant of his Lord.

John R. Mott has been, and will be, memoralized in many places. His portraits hang on uncounted walls and will be hung on countless more. His life has been incorporated in many books and will be immortalized in many more. But if the portrayals are true to the primary purpose of his life, the figure of the Christ will always be standing over him. He was an apostle of Jesus Christ.

John Mott was prepared for his apostleship by pioneer parents. He was the scion of sturdy stock who left the more settled and sheltered valleys of New York for the more open and isolated plains of Iowa. His alert mind was sensitive to the lengthened horizons of the West. He once said: "I have long thought that is was life on these boundless plains which profoundly kindled my imagination and was a great factor in making me responsive in later years to worldwide visions and plans."

Typical of so many American youth, his mind was awakened by the touch of a local minister who inspired him to read and later influenced him to go to college. His family had become Christian under the influence of a Quaker evangelist, J. W. Dean, State secretary of the Iowa Young Men's Christian Association. Thus was formed the first link in Dr. Mott's life-long connection with the great organization which was eventually to honor him with its highest offices and which he was to lead to worldwide achievements.

The first college to which John Mott went was Upper Iowa University in Fayette. While he was a student there, a Young Men's Christian Association was formed and he became a charter member. Though active in religi-ous work, he looked toward law as a preparation for a political career. One is tempted to let his imagination picture what positions he might have filled had he turned his amaz-

ing talents toward public office.

But at Cornell University, in which he next enrolled, the direction of his life was changed. To that campus came J. E. K. Studd, famous English cricketer and a member of the Cambridge Seven formed under the influence of Dwight L. Moody. Young Mott went to hear Studd. Let Dr. Mott describe the experience: "The first 3 sentences I heard him speak revolutionized my life." Hear them: "Seekest thou great things for thyself? Seek them not. Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness." Later a member of his staff was to say: "What I have seen of Mott's leadership in 50 years is convincing evidence that he always lived by the text that changed his life."

Having gotten a new sense of direction, John Mott's dynamic and creative mind would not let him stand still. He set to work. He joined a Bible class in an Ithaca church. He initiated work among prisoners in the town jail. He was elected vice president of the Student Christian Association. Later he became president. And in his senior year was largely responsible for raising the funds to house the student Christian work in Barnes Hall on the Cornell campus.

The stream of John Mott's life, which had risen in the uplands of high personal spiritual experience, was now headed toward the wide sea of God's service. Then a mighty tributary came in to swell the stream. John R. Mott met Dwight L. Moody. How priceless would be the photograph of their first meeting! The bearded Elijah of Northfield must have realized that he was laying his mantle on a young and powerful Elisha whose prophetic work would carry the eternal gospel to the ends of the earth.

John Mott, the enlisted follower of Jesus Christ, was now to begin his work as the ambassador of Christ. The Creator had seemingly put the stamp of leadership on his commanding figure and regal bearing. At his graduation from Cornell in 1888, he became student secretary of the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, but only after prolonged soul searching, for other opportunities beckoned him. In this office he traveled over America, becoming a familiar and electrifying figure

on our Nation's campuses.

In 1891 John R. Mott made his first visit to Europe as a delegate to the World Conference of YMCA's at Amsterdam. Fiftyseven years later I had the privilege of seeing and hearing him in that same city of Amsterdam as he led in forming the World Council of Churches. As I recall him standing majestically in his red academic robes looking out over the assembled throng in 1948. I wonder what memories filled his mind as he thought of the movements in which he had served since his first visit to Amsterdam over a half century earlier. Every great religious cause and every significant ecu-menical conference during those 5 decades had felt his leadership.

His first visit to Europe kindled his enthusiasm for foreign nations. He often admonished young men, "Keep your eyes on the ends of the earth." The lad who lifted his gaze to the broad fields of Iowa was on his way to becoming a world citizen. Personally I have to confess that whenever I looked into the eyes of Dr. Mott, they somehow suggested to me the gaze of an eagle. An eagle seems to look through you and beyond you. So did Dr. Mott. His piercing eyes looked straight at you and yet seemed to see long vistas beyond you. His vision became adjusted to vast distances.

He repeatedly circled the globe traveling over two million miles visiting the leading universities of all lands. I have heard him say humorously that he often felt like asking his traveling companions to place a board at the foot of his bed each morning bearing the name of the country in which he was waking up.

Dr. Mott is credited with having influenced more young men than any other man of his time. May I testify for myself. I saw him first at the student volunteer convention held in Rochester in 1910. Mott at 45 years was a figure a student never forgot. He looked like a statesman. He spoke like a statesman. He was a statesman. If a man like Mott felt that Christian service and foreign missions were big business, they were big business. He captured my imagination. He was no small factor in shaping my choice of work.

John R. Mott was an ambassador of the young King of Calvary to the youth of America and to the students of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. For over half a century he riveted the attention of the Christian world on youth and helped to rivet the mind of youth on the making of a Christian world. As Prof. Kenneth Latourette has said, "There have been many great missionaries, but no one else has been means of bringing together in cooperation in the spread of our faith so many diverse ecclesiastical groups or on so extensive a geographic scale."

John Mott was an ambassador of Christ to kings as well as to campuses. He visited with the statesmen of the world. He was welcomed in the councils of governments. In 1916 and 1917 at the request of President Wilson he was a member of the Mexican-American Joint Committee and a member of the Commission sent by the President to Russia. His cooperation was sought by governments not only because he was head of the vast and potent Young Men's Christian Association but also because he was John R. Mott.

And we must remember, too, that Dr. Mott was a global worker before we had global wars. And if the churches and peoples of the world had adequately responded to his missionary appeals, the chances are that the last World War would not have occurred. Dr. Mott saw the needs of Japan and if we had heeded his call to Christianize that land, there would have been no Pearl Harbor. If we had shared his ecumenical spirit, there would be no Iron Curtain between Orient and Occident today.

But for us to look back pensively and picture what might have been is hardly in keeping with Dr. Mott's character. I do not know of his ever speaking in the recriminatory vein of "I told you so." heard him bemoan the passing of "the good old days." He was always looking forward to the golden age ahead. Like "Rabbi Ben Ezra" his invitation was always out:

"Grow old along with me. The best is yet to be,

The last of life for which the first was made. Trust God, see all, nor be afraid."

He never complained, saying, "What's the world coming to." He was ever proclaiming what had come to the world in Christ. He was an ambassador of Jesus Christ.

And not only did John R. Mott follow Christ as a humble servant and represent him as an ambassador. He was a creator with Christ. Some persons write books which serve to prolong their memory. Others erect buildings which continue their work. But Dr. Mott is memorialized in living move-If institutions are but the lengthened shadows of men, then his shadow is immeasurable because it is ever growing. Ponder the organizations and movements listed in this program: the Student Volunteer Movement, the World Student Christian Federation, the International Missionary Council, the World Alliance of YMCA's, the World Council of Churches, the National

Council of Churches, the Inter-Seminary Movement, the United Student Christian Council—all these and many others were blessed by his leadership and many more born of his brain. The Young Men's Christian Association was his first love because it was his spiritual parent, but with that as a fulcrum and Christ-like love as a lever he helped to lift the world. The Methodist Church was his ecclesiastical home, but he belonged to the Church Universal, the Body

The inclusiveness of his spirit and the immortality of his influence cannot be better expressed than by the citation given to John R. Mott at the Centennial International Convention of YMCA's in 1951:

Devoted servant of the cause of Christ, pioneer of worldwide Christian movements. brother of men of all races, ceaseless worker in behalf of world peace, welcome guest on all continents, renowned long-time leader and honored statesman of the Young Men's Christian Associations of all countries, friend of youth of all lands."

How could one man's magnetism be felt in so many directions and to such vast distances? There can be only one answer to the secret. He was so superbly a master of men because he was so truly a servant of

Dr. Mott demonstrated the double principle of divine trusteeship. He was so successful in handling the talents committed to him that he was made trustee of ever larger interests. But he also illustrated that other principle which Christ expressed when he said, "If you have not been faithful in that which is another's, who will give you that which is your own?" By his fidelity in guarding the interests of others, he received the rich blessings which belonged to him. A score or more of universities honored him. He was given the Distinguished Service Medal by his own beloved country and was decorated by 15 other governments. He richly deserved the Nobel Peace Prize awarded him in 1946 because he had worked for unity within the churches as well as between governments. He recognized that a divided church could not honestly call for a united world. And he realized that religion offers the greatest channel of hope for world peace because it reminds men of their common membership in God's family.

Some years ago Henry Van Dyke, speaking at the Hall of Fame, gave this definition: "Fame is durable good renown, won by service, approved by the wise, applauded by the common voice." When we look at John Mott we see the embodiment of what the thoughtful American mind calls fame. We see beyond Mott, the man, the mighty movements which he served. We see towering above him the figure of Christ whose apostle he was. We catch a vision of the better world he dreamed. And the world which can produce a John R. Mott must be God's world.

Silly, Isn't It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PAUL C. JONES

OF MISSOURT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, because I think the following letter from my good friend Art Wallhausen, editor, owner, and publisher of the Enterprise-Courier, a newspaper printed and published at Charleston, Mo., sets forth very clearly the desirability, if not the necessity for a change in our postal law, I am inserting it in the Appendix of the Congressional Record. We all remember that some time ago, many of us supported legislation which we thought was in the general public interest, and which especially would help employees of the Railway Express Co. to maintain their jobs, only to find that the express company immediately knocked out any advantage that they might have had from this legislation by immediately increasing rates to drive this business away.

Experience has taught us that the legislation which was passed and which became Public Law 199 was not in the interest of the general public, and that it should be repealed as quickly as possible. Mr. Wallhausen's letter calls attention to the silly procedures which are being followed now, and I hope the members of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, as well as those officials in the Post Office Department, who make recommendations for changes, will read this letter.

I have been disappointed to learn that no hearings have been scheduled on bills which would restore some sanity and commonsense to the operation of the Post Office Department, but still have hopes that the chairman and other leaders will soon realize that it is time that Congress acknowledge the mistake it made during the 82d Congress. What seemed to make sense at that time has certainly proved to be asinine.

The above-mentioned letter follows:

THE ENTERPRISE-COURIER,
Charleston, Mo., March 14, 1955.
Representative Paul C. Jones,
House Office Building.

Washington, D. C.

DEAR PAUL: Now that you folks have managed to raise your salaries sufficiently to make your work worth your time expended, you might settle down and unpass a bit of legislation which has caused no end of trouble and confusion in business circles.

I have reference to Public Law 199.

This law, passed specifically for the Railway Express boys, places an arbitrary and silly limitation on weight and size of parcelpost packages mailed between post offices of the first class.

So what happens?

Yesterday one of my customers, for instance, hauled his printed matter from Charleston to East Prairie in order to mail the stuff. His postage bill was \$115.

Then what happened?

A star-route truck picked up the packages (which had originated in Charleston) in East Prairie, hauled them back over the same route, deposited them on the back porch of the Charleston post office, from which place they were dispatched to Chicago, New York, and elsewhere.

Same silly routine is repeated over and over again. We carry our oversize packages to Wyatt or Bertrand or to East Prairie. Then the Government hauls it back to Charleston and redispatches the items. Same holds true of incoming mail.

Not long ago a customer of mine from Wyatt came storming into my office carrying a large parcel. It was a banjo or mandolin which he had ordered from a Chicago mailorder house. It was large and bulky. He had received it via parcel post. (Chicago can mail anything, any size, to Wyatt, which is a third-class post office.

is a third-class post office.

He did not like the instrument, and had driven to Charleston where the said instru-

ment was wrapped and packaged for him. He took it to the Charleston post office, where he was blandly informed that the package was too bulky to be mailed.

Naturally the man was mad and confused. I don't blame him.

After an hour or so of trying to explain this goofed Public Law 199 to this gentleman, he calmed down, hauled it back home and mailed it from Wyatt.

A few hours later a star-route carrier picked up the Wyatt mail, carted it into Charleston, and the same banjo was dispatched from Charleston, which happens to be a central distribution point.

It just doesn't make sense.

It does mean that the Postoffice Department is being deprived of much business it is geared up to handle, and under the present system it means double handling, and useless handling of many items. It would be a great convenience, which almost amounts to necessity, for most businesses to restore regulations in force prior to the enactment of Public Law 199.

If you, my good friend, would concern yourself with this down-to-earth problem, and would get the job done, it would amount to a damn sight more good than a lot of the social "do-gooder" legislation with which Congress is constantly meddling.

Yours very truly.

ART L. WALLHAUSEN.

Cost of Mail Delivery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I am inserting an editorial from the Thayer News, of Thayer, Mo. Mr. R. H. Williams, editor, has some timely observations regard our postal service:

COST OF MAIL DELIVERY

There has been much talk in recent years that the Post Office Department should be put on a paying basis. It is true that the post office annually builds up quite a deficit and that it is an annual cost to the Federal Government of considerable proportions.

It is also true that Congress has made it possible for newspapers to be delivered at a very low postage cost, has provided for very cheap mailing cost for books, and has provided other services which will never pay for themselves.

Another service which will never pay for itself is rural mail delivery. The post office will probably never be put on a break-even basis as long as free rural mail delivery is given to the rural citizens of this country. We are completely in favor of such delivery, but note that it cost \$192,430,434 in 1953—the last year on which figures are available.

The same can probably be said about second-class newspaper delivery. The newspaper—which is the greatest buy available in the United States today—is almost a necessity and the fact that Americans can enjoy low-cost mail delivery of newspapers is one of the praiseworthy features of our society today.

No doubt some postal rates will need to be increased ever so often by the Post Office Department. However, we would like to see increases in second-class mail come very slowly, are in favor of continuing free rural mail delivery even though the Post Office Department loses money on such operation, and are in favor of low-cost mailing privileges for books and other such material.

Considering the money the Government spends for various less needed programs, we believe a reasonable deficit in the Post Office Department can be tolerated and should be, as it has been for many years.

Greek Independence Day, March 25

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the celebration of Greek Independence Day is of especial significance for a number of reasons. In the first place, the ancient Greeks, who are renowned for the very high premium they placed on freedom and independence, were, in a sense, the first citizens of the West. They showed the world that they preferred to fight for the preservation of their independence rather than willingly submit to conquering oppressors. In the second place, when eventually they were forced to submit to alien tyrants, the Greeks proudly maintained their spiritual independence for many centuries. Finally, in 1821, when they saw a chance of regaining their national independence, they staged a revolt, which in the course of several years of warfare led to the birth of modern Greece.

In that year, when Archbishop Germanos raised the standard of the cross in his monastery at Patras, few people outside Greece realized that the insurrection started by this intrepid church leader was to bring about complete political independence. But as Greeks of all classes closed their ranks and rallied to the cause of their freedom the world began to see the dawning of a new day in Greece, that cradle of western civilization

At times the course of the struggle seemed uncertain. Even with considerable outside aid the cause of Greece suffered some setbacks. But as these brave Greeks braced themselves in a door-die fight, and as the amount of outside aid was increased, doubts as to the outcome vanished. In October of 1827 when the enemy's fleet was destroyed at the naval battle of Navarino, Greece's independence was assured.

It is simple enough for us to relate in a few sentences what the Greek warriors accomplished in the course of a strenuous and bloody decade. It is easy for us to view those events from a distance and marvel at the brave deeds of those Greeks against their oppressors. But the few words we say here cannot do them adequate justice. Neither time nor distance can dim the admiration with which we regard everything the Greeks did for the realization of their national dream, for the attainment of their national political independence.

In recent years Greek independence has been seriously endangered by aggressors or other evil forces. The memories of World War II and postwar events are still fresh in our minds. If we have learned a lesson from those tragic events, it is that national independence demands constant national vigilance, and it entails supreme sacrifices from all. The Greeks of 134 years ago, as well as those of our own day have proved equal to the task at hand. They have made a remarkable record for themselves by the courageous defense of their national independence. They will deserve the overflowing benefits which hard-won freedom bestows.

I am glad that we in the United States have been in a position to help the Greeks in their ceaseless fight against forces of tyranny and oppression. We are now closely linked to the Greek people in a common defense system, and they can be sure that we will do our utmost to support and protect their freedom. In this fraternal spirit we salute our allies and happily join in the celebration of Greek Independence Day.

The Outlook for Consumers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Akron Beacon-Journal of March 9, 1955:

THE OUTLOOK FOR CONSUMERS

There was a hint of bad news for the Nation's consumers of natural gas in a dispatch out of Washington reporting the recommendations of a Cabinet level committee named by President Eisenhower.

What seemed to be the most important recommendation was one calling for a voluntary limiting of oil imports to 1954 levels. The committee tied this to national defense on the ground that larger imports of oil would force more coal mines to close down, with possible serious consequences to the defense effort in the event of war.

Almost incidentally, it seemed, the committee added that as far as natural gas is concerned, "sound conservation practices" should prevail, but that Federal regulation should apply only after the gas has entered "an interstate transmission line."

That is what the gas producers have been

saying for years.

This is also what the present Federal Power Commission said—until the United States Supreme Court ruled that the Natural Gas Act compelled the FPC to regulate field prices. The FPC had tried to discard this power, but a suit filed in behalf of gas consumers finally forced the Commission to start regulating again.

From the point of view of gas consumers,

From the point of view of gas consumers, the recommendation of Mr. Eisenhower's Committee is a discouraging sign. It suggests that, since the President is taking advice from men who subscribe to the gas producers' unlimited-free-enterprise philosophy, he might not veto—as former President Truman did—a bill to exempt field gas rates from Federal control.

The Congress as now constituted is one which seems likely to be more responsive to pressures from the gas-producing Southwest

than to pressure from the gas-consuming North and East. The odds are, therefore, that the present Congress will pass a bill directing the FPC to stop regulating field gas prices. One House or the other has approved such bills before, and once both Houses gave approval. That time, President Truman's veto saved consumers from the rate increase which would have been the inevitable result of decontrol of the all-important field price.

President Eisenhower has never said, so far as we know, that he is in favor of leaving public utility consumers entirely to the tender mercies of the producers. But he appointed the Committee which made that recommendation. The Committee was of Cabinet level, which means that the President will give serious and perhaps sympathetic consideration to its recommendations.

The outlook for consumers is not good.

Let's Send MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the New York Journal-American of Sunday,

LET'S SEND MACARTHUR

March 19, 1955:

On his return from the Far Eastern conferences Secretary of State Dulles pungently described the propaganda strategy of the Chinese Communists.

The strategy is to persuade the Asian peoples that the United States lacks the fortitude to risk another war, no matter what the provocation or aggression may be, and also lacks the fighting strength to win such a war.

"They," Mr. Dulles said, "are persistently trying to belittle our power and throw doubt on our resolution.

"Chinese Communist propaganda portrays the United States as being merely a paper

Mr. Dulles emphasized the sheer necessity of our convincing the east Asians, and the Chinese Communists in particular, that we are not bluffing in the Orient, that we will not capitulate to any aggressive postures, and that war can bring only disaster to our enemies.

Obviously, our weakness in the Far East is not a weakness of spirit nor of military ability.

What we lack over there is unified leadership at the scene of danger. We need the essential symbol of armed strength and moral courage. We need a commanding figure at the scene who can speak wisely in councils and lead effectively in the circumstances of war.

That kind of man is available.

It would be a master stroke were our Government to appoint Gen. Douglas MacArthur as American High Commissioner to Nationalist China. He has the military ability required. The Japanese respect him, the Filipinos venerate him, the Southeast Asians admire him—and the Communists fear him.

Perhaps General MacArthur could not accept the mission, though we know not why. Perhaps the administration would not ask him to serve, though we wonder why.

But questions aside, with General Mac-Arthur on duty, America would have a dominating American voice in the critical area,

and the Communists would know beyond any doubt that America means business.

For Communists understand just one kind of language, and Douglas MacArthur personifies the kind of language they understand.

The Inquiry Into the Stock Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

in the senate of the united states Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Economics, Politics Meet in Probe," written by Mr. J. A. Livingston, and published in his column Business Outlook in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 20, 1955.

The article has reference to the very able study that is being carried on by the Committee on Banking and Currency under the direction of our distinguished colleague, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright], the chairman of the committee. It is a very fine article, and it commends itself to the attention and careful reading of every Senator.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

Business Outlook—Economics, Politics
MEET IN PROBE

(By J. A. Livingston)

In Washington, economics is politics. From that, there's no escaping. Consider these stock-market hearings by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey declares that the testimony might precipitate a wave of misconfidence. It might endanger business, cause unemployment.

Fresident Eisenhower seconds the motion. Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, chairman of the committee, protests. The hearings are having no such deleterious consequences.

And Wall Street—the hero or the victim in the case—can't make up its collective mind.

At one time this year, Wall Streeters went wild about General Motors even as oldtime singers went about Harry. They paid \$107 a share. Yet, on Monday, they were willing to pay only about \$90—a change in their wildness—their esteem—of \$17 a share, or about 15 percent.

A. T. & T. AND U. S. STEEL TOO

Part of this diminution in esteem is real—a result of the issuance by General Motors of new stock. Earnings per share would be elightly diluted. But it was primarily a measure of Wall Street's changeability—its capacity to swing from extremes of hopeful anticipation to pessimism.

Yet, Wall Street can swing back. General Motors sells at about 94. It's come back a sound part of the way. American Telephone & Telegraph, a comparatively stable widows' and orphans' stock—a security which brokers solemnly proclaim to possess superlative investment merit—has swung since the hearings began from 186 to 176 and back to 180. United States Steel has dropped from above 80 to 74 and then climed to 77.

Senator Polission didn't alter the state or condition of United States Steel in any way.

Its magnificent new works at Morrisville, Pa., still blast away rolling out steel; the Irvin works near Pittsburgh manages to feed midwestern automobile, machinery, and farm equipment plants. Production schedules didn't suddenly melt away because witnesses were being questioned.

FUNSTON TO GALBRAITH TO MARTIN

No. indeed. U.S. Steel was the same U.S. Steel on March 3 when Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange, testifled that he had been buying stocks; on Tuesday, March 8, when Prof. John K. Galbraith, of Harvard (who subsequently broke his ankle), warned that the effervescence in Wall Street and the enthusiasm about the growth of the country could not be dissociated entirely from the spirit of 1929; and on Monday, March 14, when Wall Street seemed to be giving up. Chairman William McChesney Martin, Jr., of the Federal Reserve Board, was that day's witness.

On Funston's testimony, stocks rose. The Dow-Jones industrial average climbed to its all-time high of 419.68. After Galbraith the market faded fast-falling to 409 and subsequently to 391.36. Sounds horrendous—28 points. Actually it's only 7 percent. Martin, a pillar of fiscal and financial respectability, did not stop the downward swish of sentiment. He was on the stand when the

market broke nearly 10 points. In perspective such swings in sentiment are not extreme. The number of points--seems violent. When newspapers proclaimed that on March 8 stocks plummeted 7.7 points and on March 14, 9.7 points, the end of Wall Street's little world seemed at hand. Nineteen twenty-nine came close.

Don't be fooled.

The Dow-Jones industrial average is around 400. A 7-point drop is less than 2 percent. That's no different from a 4-point decline when the average was around 220. The magnitudes are not revealing. The percentages are.

A READYMADE SCAPEGOAT

But this doesn't help Senator FULBRIGHT. He is pictured as a destroyer of confidence. If automobiles don't sell, if manufacturers, who have been expanding commitments for new plant and machinery, decide to curtail, if building contractors suddenly determine that they've overbuilt and had better slow down—if that sequence of events develops, Mr. FULBRIGHT is the culprit. He held hearings which upset Wall Street's equanimity. He gave senatorial prestige to the statements of witnesses-some bearish.

To my mind, the hearings are salutary. As I said in last week's column, they caused a reappraisal-made people wonder: Have we gone too far? Has the increase in security loans (see chart) proceeded too rapidly?

EISENHOWER OWES THANKS

So far as President Eisenhower, Secretary Rumphrey and the administration go, this is all to the good. Early in January, the Federal Reserve Board jacked up margin requirements. For a few days, it affected the market. It was a psychological warning—if speculation gets out of hand, the Government will act.

The Fulbright hearings have underlined

this warning.

The administration ought to be doubly grateful to Senator FULBRIGHT. First, because he has contributed to the cautionto the appraisal-the administration wanted. Second, because if business is hollow underneath, if unemployment should result In the latter part of the year—Republican politicians can say, "See, FULBRIGHT—the Democrats—did it."

The hearings have slowed down the boom temporarily. They've prevented a rise to a higher level and then a fall from that level. Better a recession in March 1955 than a recession-and from a higher level-in March 1956.

Not only does Eisenhower now have a self-appointed scapegoat, Fulbriont, but also, if a drop comes, he will have more time to bring about recovery before November

Economics is economics and politics is politics. And in Washington, always the twain shall meet.

Tabulation of Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, early in January of this year, I mailed out a questionnaire to approximately 100,000 of my constituents seeking their views on major national issues. Approximately 9,000 questionnaires have been returned. These have been tabu-lated for me by the International Business Machines Corp. Under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the complete questionnaire and the tabulated returns:

TABULATION OF REPRESENTATIVE FRELING-HUYSEN'S QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Do you favor granting Federal financial assistance to the States for school construc-

Yes, 72.7 percent; no, 22.9 percent; no

opinion, 4.4 percent.

II. A citizen's Commission has recommended major salary increases for Congressmen, Supreme Court Justices, other Federal judges, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Vice President. Would you vote for legislation favoring such increases?

Yes, 57.0 percent; no, 33.2 percent, no opinion, 9.8 percent.

III. The administration has announced support of a pay increase for Federal employees, including military personnel. Do you think this is a good idea?

Yes, 72.0 percent; no, 18.7 percent; no opinion, 9.3 percent.

IV. Do you favor continuing the selectiveservice program as long as there are not enough volunteers to meet quotas of the armed services?

Yes, 87.1 percent; no, 8.9 percent; no

opinion, 4.0 percent.

V. Do you favor universal military training (UMT) for all American boys?

Yes, 76.3 percent; no, 18.8 percent; no

opinion, 4.9 percent.

VI. The following have been cited by various persons as threats to the security of the United States. Please check the answer which best describes your opinion of each:

Armed attack by an enemy: Extreme threat, 35 percent; unlikely threat, 53.4 per-cent; no opinion, 11.6 percent.

Internal subversion and sabotage: Extreme threat, 60.2 percent; unlikely threat, 30.5 percent; no opinion, 9.3 percent.

Curtailment of civil liberties through efforts to prevent subversion: Extreme threat, 31.4 percent; unlikely threat, 53.0 percent; no opinion, 15.6 percent.

Regimentation of the United States economy by excessive expansion of the Federal Government: Extreme threat, 35.6 percent; unlikely threat, 48.0 percent; no opinion, 16.4

Economic depression: Extreme threat, 15.8 percent; unlikely threat, 72.3 percent; no opinion, 11.9 percent.

Inflation resulting from an unbalanced budget: Extreme threat, 35 percent; unlikely threat, 51.2 percent; no opinion, 13.8 percent.

VII. Which of the following best expresses your view as to what United States trade policy should be? Please check one:

We should lower our tariffs and trade barriers in order to increase world trade and strengthen the economies of our friends abroad. Trade, not aid, is a good policy, 70.6 percent.

We should raise our trade barriers in order to protect our industries from foreign competition, 18.6 percent.

No opinion, 10.8 percent.

VIII. Which of the following viewpoints best expresses your views on immigration policy? Please check one:

Congress should modify the McCarran-Walter immigration law along the lines suggested by President Eisenhower during the 1952 campaign, and increase the number of people who can settle in the United States, 35.8 percent.

Congress should make our immigration laws more strict and reduce the number of immigrants allowed to enter this country, 30.5 percent.

Congress should leave our immigration laws pretty much as they are, 27.7 percent.

No opinion, 6 percent.

IX. Which of the following viewpoints expresses your views regarding the Taft-Hartley law? Please check one:

The Taft-Hartley law is a slave-labor law which is unfair to unions and the average workingman. Congress should repeal it or completely amend it, 9.5 percent.

The Taft-Hartley law is not strict enough in prohibiting monopolistic, unjust, and dangerous practices by unions. Its provisions regulating union practices should be made even tougher, 19.7 percent.

Experience has shown the Taft-Hartley law to be fair and just. It has contributed to the improvement of labor-management relations. The law may need some amendments, but from an overall standpoint, it is

a good law, 62.6 percent.

No opinion, 8.2 percent.

X. (a) Do you favor further tax reductions?

Yes, 52.2 percent; no, 37 percent; no opinion, 10.8 percent.

(b) If your answer to (a) is "yes," how far would you go to reduce taxes?

Would you cut the military budget? Yes, 22.9 percent; no, 58.4 percent; no opinion, 18.7 percent.

Would you oppose increasing dollar aid to Asia? Yes, 72.7 percent; no, 16.6 percent; no opinion, 10.7 percent.

Would you continue a deficit in the Federal budget? Yes, 22.1 percent; no, 54.1 percent; no opinion, 23.8 percent.

Number of questionnaires mailed, 100,000. Number of questionnaires returned, 8,959.

Irish Cultural Olympics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of March 7, 1955:

IRISH CULTURAL OLYMPICS

Formal opening yesterday in the new library of Villanova University of the first Irish Cultural Olympics ever to be presented in the United States starts something of immediate and powerful appeal to the hundreds of thousands of Americans of Irish extraction living in Delaware Valley, United States of America.

But the series of nightly events scheduled from tonight through April 1, except on Saturdays and Sundays and March 16 and 17, includes features that cannot fall to interest many without antecedents in the

The event tonight is devoted to the "Irish Contribution to the American Way of Life," an intriguing subject. Those to follow range through aspects of Ireland past and present; its vivid history, its religious character, its philosophy, drama, music, dances, sports,

literature, and industries.

Back of all this, as we know, is a culture that has grown great through long ages. Occurrence of the olympics in St. Patrick's month is occasion for deep satisfaction here where one of the oldest organizations of its kind, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, has flourished since colonial times, a sign of the strong impress of Irish-Americans on the life of this community. The olympics will be a welcome reminder of the Ireland whose culture they celebrate.

Retreat From Farm Sanity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, because in the immediate future H. R. 12 will be under consideration by the House, I would like to call to my colleagues' attention an editorial published by the Salt Lake Deseret News and Telegram. The editorial calls attention to the fact that the vote in the House Committee on Agriculture was 23 for rigid supports as against 11 in opposition. I agree with the News that H. R. 12 is a retreat from sanity and that the least we can do is to give the flexible supports a chance to operate, which this bill does not do. The editorial follows:

RETREAT FROM FARM SANITY

By any sort of unbiased standard, the recent vote of the House Agriculture Committee to return to high rigid farm price supports is a step away from sanity in government.

The committee action shouldn't be given undue importance, of course. The vote was 23 to 11. But it should be remembered that by its very nature, the Agriculture Committee is made up of Representatives mainly from farm States who are subject to farmbloc pressure. Of its 33 members, 24 are from Midwest or Southern States where opposition to flexible supports has been most bitter.

Nevertheless, it is a straw in the wind and a particularly unfortunate one at a time when what is sorely needed is not less flexibility but more.

What does a vote to return to high rigid

supports mean?

It means, first of all, a vote to scrap something that hasn't even been tried yet. The 82½ to 90 percent of parity plan voted by Congress last year only goes into effect with

the marketing of this year's crops. Therefore, it cannot be claimed that the flexible program is being abandoned because of any degree of failure.

It means, secondly, a vote to return to a program that was a ruinous failure by every measure. Consider the elements of that failure:

1. High fixed price supports did not keep the incomes of farmers high. The net income of farm operators (including supports) fell 25 percent between 1947 and 1954.

2. High fixed price supports created tremendously wasteful and unmanageable surpluses. It is an unchangeable law of nature that an artificially high price is going to increase production and decrease consumption. It is also going to discourage exports, because the only way to export successfully is to underprice foreign competition. All that means surplus. In this country today, despite the most strenuous efforts to cut it down, the crop surplus on hand still runs close to seven billion dollars. In the past 9 months the Government has managed to give, sell, or barter away 800 million dollars' worth of surplus products-at a tremendous loss to the taxpayer. But in the same period new surpluses have piled up more than twice as fast as we could get rid of the old.

3. High fixed price supports have compelled production controls that hamper the freedom of the farmer. These controls, in turn, have invariably diverted acreage to other crops, which in turn have resulted in other surpluses and other demands for supports.

4. High fixed price supports have brought thousands of acres under the plow that should never have been touched. A new Dust Bowl is building on the Great Plains as a result. The Soil Conservation Service right now is getting reports from States and counties on damage to be expected from the March winds now beginning to blow. We will analyze these reports as they are released in a day or two.

All this represents Incontrovertible evidence that the only solution to our farm problem is to go forward with an increasingly flexible support program. It would be the height of folly for the House to follow the lead of its Agriculture Committee.

Inaccurate Story of Hiss Yalta Probe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following open letter from Mr. Hearst to Mr. Sulzberger, which appeared in last Sunday's Journal American, brings out once more the caution with which we should read our morning newspapers, and others.

Slanted news is the order of the day and even newspapers who claim to be on the highest plane now indulge in it.

We now no longer get "all the news that's fit to print" but we get "all the news we think you should read, as we see fit to print it."

INACCURATE STORY OF HISS' YALTA ROLE Mr. ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER.

President and Publisher, The New York

DEAR ARTHUR: I want to add my congratulations to the many others you have un-

doubtedly received on the great job members of your staff and you yourself did in publishing a true copy of the Yalta document.

It has at long last forced the obvious reluctant State Department to make them available to the American public, whose right to know about them after our immediate security was no longer involved should never have been questioned.

The Times coverage of this story was magnificient, in general, and in many particulars, but as one newspaperman to another, I must say that in one instance the coverage was less than magnificient. In fact, it was far below the standards and editing and objectivity the American people have the right to expect from all responsible American newspapers.

To my mind and in my copy of your paper it was an example of slanted headline writing and slanted news writing.

Now, if this were one isolated instance I would not bring it up because I know how feverish things must have been in the Times building that night.

But the reason I am writing this letter to you is to point out that it is not an isolated instance.

Examples of slanted heads written by the copy desks and slanted news stories written by Times reporters and slanted book reviews by people hired by Times editors have been all too frequently pointed out by at least two writers I can mention—Westbrook Pegler for one, and John T. Flynn for another.

Granted similar distortions have crept into other newspapers; they are one of the journalistic pitfalls of our era. I call the New York Times ones to your attention principally because of the high esteem in which many people regard almost everything that you print.

By the same token your responsibility to see that everything that you do print is accurate and as your masthead puts it "Fit to Print" is that much greater.

Now, I want to be completely fair about this. I received my copy of the Thursday Times in Hot Springs, Va. My copy was an early edition. The Hiss story was on page 27. The main headline says, "Hiss Parley Role was Minor One."

The story carries a Washington dateline and no reporter's byline, although there are the bylines of three other Times men in Washington on the same page. The Hiss story is simply "Special to the New York Times."

It tells how Hiss nearly didn't get to Yalta because President Roosevelt originally opposed taking along any advisers. It explains how the then Secretary of State, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., asked Harry Hopkins, then Mr. Roosevelt's chief assistant and, one might almost say, alter ego, to intercede with the President, with the result that Hiss went along.

By the way, Arthur, a news clipping dated June 25, 1953, has been called to my attention. It relates how a former State Department official, J. Anthony Panuch, wrote a memorandum in 1946 warning that Hiss "exercises Svengali-like influence over the mental processes of Junior Stettinius." I mention this parenthetically for your perusal.

Seven paragraphs down in the Hiss story this appears: "Nowhere do the documents indicate that Hiss was a policymaker at Yalta. On the contrary, the records show him as a technician, usually representing the United States Government at a working level with Sir Gladwyn Jebb, now British ambassador to France, and Andrei A. Gromyko, now a deputy Soviet foreign minister."

But the chief point I want to make is that the headline and the story, particularly that clause saying Hiss was only a technician (whatever that means) carry the implication to the reader that he had no influence, that he was sort of a spear carrier in the Yalta opera. In my opinion, Arthur, that is inaccurate and I cannot help but think that it was a deliberate distortion on somebody's part.

HISS' ACTIVITIES

My reason for saying that is this: Earlier in the same story the statement is made that President Roosevelt had banned all advisers from making the trip. Stettinius reopened the question and specifically succeeded in getting President Roosevelt to permit Hiss to go along as "an adviser to the Secretary of State."

The incomplete text of the Yalta papers which was in my edition cites the following appearances and activities of Hiss:

1. Hiss is listed as present (with President Roosevelt-Stettinius and company, the top echelon of the United States mission) at the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh formal meetings of the Yalta Conference, which were, I gather, the kickoff for the big

2. Hiss is listed as attending three topsecret meetings of Foreign Ministers at Yalta, where the groundwork was laid for discussions and decisions at the plenary meetings. The meetings he attended considered such things as dismemberment of Germany, reparations, the Dumbarton Oaks Conference integration of France into German control machinery, world security organization, Yugoslavian frontiers, control commission in Bulgaria and Hungary.

3. Hiss is listed as attending the third,

fourth, and fifth plenary meetings where the really big stuff went on. These took up the Polish question, dismemberment of Germany, Zone of Occupation in Germany for France, membership of the United Nations and what states should be admitted.

I am informed that in the complete Yalta text in your late city edition, Hiss is listed as having attended 5 formal meetings, 5 meetings of Foreign Ministers, and 6 plenary sessions-16 in all.

I claim this is pretty good going for a man your side story identifies as a mere "technician." I would also say it disproves the headline "Hiss Parley Role Was Minor One."

If this were merely a passing mistake, I could shrug if off. But I submit, Arthur, that it is more than that.

Four years after Yalta, this man Hiss was convicted of perjury and sent to prison. He was convicted for denying he passed secret documents to Whittaker Chambers, confessed member of the Soviet spy apparatus. So, although Hiss technically was convicted of perjury, really he was guilty of trading with the enemy. Isn't that so?

LINGERING SYMPATHY

Continuing along this line of thought, when the Hiss-Chambers controversy was hot, quite a few members of the Washington press corps, and newspapermen elsewhere, I am sure, were on the side of Hiss. I am not speaking now of the Times, but generally. And I think some of this sympathy for Hiss remained during and after his trial and remains to this day.

What I am suggesting is that at least some of the slanted news stories about Hiss cannot be attributed to a temporary absence of news competence. I am suggesting that some of them, at least, are deliberate and that responsible newspapers are taken in by

them from time to time.

To write that Hiss played a minor part at Yalta is a misstatement of the facts.

In fact, I am informed that in the late city edition of Thursday you subordinated the Washington story, although retaining the paragraph about Hiss being a simple technician, and carried a local story in which Hiss himself acknowledged he did play a considerable part at Yalta as concerns the formation of the U. N. as well as at San Francisco, as we know. He is quoted by you as saying "My position at all times was pro-American."

You will excuse me if I swallow hard at that.

The side story on Hiss, I submit, is an example of slanted news against which all papers should be perpetually on guard and which has been creeping into the columns of the Times disturbingly too often of late. Sincerely,

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST, Jr.

Salty Water Made Drinkable at Buckeye Experimental Plant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speak-er, under leave previously granted, I would like to include the following article from the Phoenix (Ariz.) Gazette of Friday, March 11, 1955, in the RECORD. The article, is entitled "Salty Water Is Made Drinkable at Buckeye Experimental Plant," follows:

SALTY WATER IS MADE DRINKABLE AT BUCKEYE EXPERIMENTAL PLANT

(By C. M. McMillen)

They're making good fresh drinking water out of the salty kind down Buckeye way.

Most crops, too, will do better under irrigation with this demineralized water, if it ever becomes commercially feasible. At present it's an expensive process.

The fresh-water-making plant is being operated about 20 miles west of Phoenix for the United States Department of the Interior under contract by Ionics, Inc., Cambridge, Mass.

Site of the portable plant is next to a well of the Buckeye Irrigation Co. along Buckeye Canal.

E. H. Sieveka, representing the Department of the Interior, and John H. Powell, project engineer of Ionics, gave a chance to see the inside workings of the experimental plant and told how it operates.

The salty water is taken from the regular supply pumped by the irrigation well by a suction line and starts it tour through a maze of pipes. This water, however, is not as salty as sea water. Hopes have been ex-pressed that a process to utilize sea water may be developed.

Sieveka and Powell removed the complications from the process—like it takes the excessive mineral from the water.

Picture sheets of a plastic membrane, one atop another, but separated to make a flat cell or box.

The engineers are going to shuffle the dissolved salt particles around in that cell electrically.

In the Buckeye testing they are putting water into the plant that has around 4,000 parts per million of dissolved salts. In the fresh water output the salts have been reduced to 350 to 500 parts or more per million, depending upon how the flexible unit is being operated.

Many municipalities are serving up water with 350 to 500 parts of dissolved salts per million, and it is good to taste, good for household and industrial use, say the engineers.

Costs in the experimental stages of the pilot plants of various processes are high, but Douglas McKay, Secretary of Interior, has announced in Washington that the goal set on costs is in sight.

At the start the Government program began its work of conversion of saline waters to useful water on both sea water and inland waters that are termed salty, brackish, or alkali in various parts of the country.

Costs of converting sea water at the start were about \$400 to \$500 an acre-foot.

Goals in treating either the sea water or inland salty waters to accepted standards were \$125 an acre-foot for municipal use, \$40 for irrigation.

McKay reports:

"The work accomplished so far indicates that attainment of the first goal of winning fresh water from sea water at a price which municipal users and some industries might pay, and the conversion of brackish waters to irrigation uses, seems to be in sight although much work will be necessary before either can be brought to realization.

"The task of converting sea water for irrigation is more difficult, but the researches continually produce new ideas and one of these may well point a way to its attain-

Release of Yalta Papers "Debunk" Republican Charges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF TLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I include herewith an article by Drew Pearson, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald this morning, March 23, 1955:

YALTA ANGERS FRENCH AT BAD TIME (By Drew Pearson)

The fallout from the Yalta explosion is like the hydrogen. Its devastating diplomatic effect continues long after the original blast. Today the French Senate debates ratification of the German arms agreement, which Dulles for two years has made the cornerstone of his European policy. He took 4 trips to Europe to urge, threaten, cajole French participation, yet just 6 days prior to Prench Senate debate on ratification, he released a document quoting Winston Churchill as saying: "No solution has been found for controlling the French while they are controlling the Germans. If the French wish to be tiresome they could produce trouble in their zone which would cause trouble in the other zones. If we decide to be strict they could be lenient. If we decide to be lenient they could be strict." French diplomats working for ratification of the German arms agreement were dumfounded, the French press furious. Before the State Department released the Yalta explosion stenographers hastily crossed out certain passages with pencils. However, French news-men could see right through the penciled censorship, including the Churchill quote: "I do feel that if the French are given this little sop it will keep them quiet, for I feel strongly that they should not be at this table. This is an exclusive group (smiling) and the entrance subscription is at least million soldiers." Naturally this was headlined in Paris.

What finbbergasted the British was that the Secretary of State himself should leak the documents. They knew, as the entire press and Diplomatic Corps now knows, that it was none other than John Foster Dulles who authorized that two huge volumes be planted with the New York Times, a technique calculated to satisfy right-wing Republicans yet let Dulles tell the British he was against publication. "If that happened in England," remarked one British diplomat, "Eden would face questions in Commons next morning and might have to resign." One Yalta line that especially irked the British was the Churchill quote: "It would be a pity to stuff the Polish goose so full of German food that it would have indigestion."

YALTA WISECRACKS

With the weight of the war on their shoulders, the old gentlemen at Yalta were full of wisecracks, which is one reason Senator KNOWLAND demanded publication. However, Churchill and Roosevelt always wisecracked, war or no war. Here are some Yalta cracks: Churchill: "We are pursuing the Atlantic Charter. I sent a copy of this interpretation to Wendell Willkie." Roose-velt: "Is that what killed him?" Roosevelt "recalled there had been an organization called the Ku Klux Klan that had hated the Catholics and Jews, and when he had been on a visit to a small town in the South he had been the guest of the president of the local chamber of commerce. He had sat next to an Italian on one side and a Jew on the other and had asked the president of the chamber of commerce whether they were members of the Ku Klux Klan, to which the president replied that they were, but that they were considered all right since everyone in the community knew them. The President remarked that it was a good illustration of how difficult it was to have any prejudiceracial, religious, or otherwise—if you really knew people." Roosevelt told this in supporting a Churchill toast for peaceful cooperation with Russia "that the common danger of war had removed the impediments to understanding and the fires of war had wiped out old animosities."

DEMOCRATIC MISS

The Democratic National Committee was either too dumb or too busy playing bridge or unable to read. For the Yalta papers contained good political ammunition. GOP mouthpieces, including David Lawrence's News, also Newsweek, had leaked the story that Joe Lash, one-time friend of Mrs. Roosevelt, and former member of a Communist-front youth group, was to be United States delegate to the United Nations. It now develops that Ed Stettinius, then Secretary of State, didn't know how to spell "Lausche," the name of the Governor of Ohio, and anything but a Communist. Stettinius also listed Harold Stassen to be a delegate. The Yalta papers also show that the chief sponsor for Alger Hiss was Stettinius, former head of United States Steel and former vice president of General Motors, a company not without influence in the Eisenhower Cabinet. Stettinius was brought into the Roosevelt administration as a wartime gesture of cooperation with big busi-Though Senator Knowland cited the Yalta papers as evidence, F. D. R. wanted Alger Hiss to go to Yalta, careful reading shows just the opposite. Here is a memo from Stettinius' diary, written when the Yalta Conference was being organized: "The Secretary [Stettinius] told Mr. Harry Hopkins that the purpose of his 12:30 appointment with the President was to 'bring with him people who will be involved in the forthcoming conference.' The President, Mr. Stettinius explained, did not want anyone to accompany him in an advisory capacity, but he (Stettinius) felt Messrs. Bowman and Alger Hiss ought to go. Hopkins promised to discuss the matter with the President that afternoon."

One document in the Yalta record which neither McCariff nor Nixon is likely to quote is a memo the State Department attributed to Hiss showing he opposed giving two extra votes to Russia in the United Nations. When Stalin wanted the Ukraine and White Russia to get extra votes Hiss wrote this argument to help his superiors; "On

further thought we have become impressed with the Soviet view that the initial members of the United Nations organization should be the signatories of the United Nations declaration. As none of the Soviet republics are signatories of that declaration, Mr. Molotov's proposal that two or three of these republics be admitted to additional membership would be contrary to that principle."

Conserving and Developing Specialized Technical Skills in American Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include therein a very discerning and able statement before the House Ways and Means Committee by my friend and constituent, Mr. Henry Woodbridge, of the American Optical Co., Southbridge, Mass.

Mr. Woodbridge's views are particularly pertinent at this time because they relate to the very vital question of conserving and developing specialized technical skills in American industry. His well-documented statement is a distinguished contribution to the discussion of this important subject:

STATEMENT OF HENRY S. WOODBRIDGE, VICE PRESIDENT, THE AMERICAN OPTICAL CO., SOUTHBRIDGE, MASS., BEFORE THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 3, 1953

The American Optical Co., of which I am a vice president, is the largest optical company in America and also the oldest, having been in business since 1833.

As matters of national defense will be the most important subject that I will discuss, I ought to mention that from 1942 to 1954 I have been concerned with military-procurement matters and Government relations on behalf of the company.

This experience has convinced me that there is no single responsible authority to make effective the preservation of skills that are essential to our national security. This is the Achilles' heel of our defense program.

Failure to make provisions for the preservation of vital skills is nothing short of disarmament. In the final analysis scrapping of skills is far more serious than scrapping guns or planes. Unlike ships, these skills cannot be mothballed. Without certain vital skills our country could find itself at a serious military disadvantage in a time of emergency.

There is no responsible person who does not believe that our security requires the preservation of certain vital skills. Statements and evidence to this effect can be obtained from those Government departments and agencies which are concerned with our defense. But, as a practical matter, there is no single place in Government, save in Congress itself, where such a determination can be made effective.

Among these vital skills are those optical hand skills without which the optics for bombsights, rangefinders, periscopes, fire control, and other military optical instruments cannot be made. These are skills: (1) Which require years to acquire; (2) which are lost if not used; and (3) which are found only in the optical industry.

If it were not for defense orders it would be impossible at this very moment to maintain these skills in the face of foreign competition, particularly in the field of microscopes which is the main source of these vital skills.

At this point I would like to emphasize that I am speaking only for my own company. Nevertheless, I think I can say with confidence that what I have to say is probably representative of the thinking of the companies comprising the optical and ophthalmic, glass, lens, and instrument industry. It ought to be made clear that there is a direct and binding relationship between the various divisions of the industry. In the final analysis this small, vital industry must be considered as a whole and not in part. The manufacture of optical glass and the manufacture of optical products are so interdependent that they must be treated together.

I emphasize this as we are entering a

I emphasize this as we are entering a critical phase in the industry. The question we are now facing is: How much longer will we be able to manufacture microscopes and other precision optical instruments in this country? Commercial binoculars are no longer made in any quantity in this country, and if microscopes follow the same route the backbone of the precision optical industry in this country will have been broken. And when that occurs, skills vital to the defense of this Nation will be lost.

Foreign competition is growing more acute. The question will naturally come to your minds as to whether or not this competition is a greater factor than it was 7 or 8 years ago, or even before the war. The figures I am furnishing the committee give the data since the war, and based on these statistics the foreign share of the American market during those years has grown tremendously.

I am unable to give you the competitive figures before 1942, as there are no records available. I cannot personally testify as to the foreign proportion of the microscope market before the war as I was then not working in this industry. I am told by those who were that it was generally considered that foreign microscopes comprised between 10 to 15 percent of the American market. At that time, for all practical purposes, the only foreign microscopes that were imported were those from Germany. Since the war in addition to German microscopes, there have been large importations from Italy and Japan, which countries are new additions to the export field since the war.

The German optical industry, which has been completely revived in West Germany is now, from all the evidences we have, as large if not larger than it was for all of Germany prior to the war. The optical industry behind the Iron Curtain in East Germany, we are informed, is today as large or larger than it was before the war. The total German optical output is conservatively estimated as being twice what it was prior to the Second World War. East Germany's products play no part in the American market directly. Obviously they have an in-direct effect because of their taking a share of the world market outside the United States, which, in turn, makes the United States' market of more significance and importance to the West Germany optical companies. The added competition of Italian and Japanese exports into the American market, which obviously is growing more attractive as the world market becomes more competitive, only increases the difficulties with which we are faced ..

I would like, if I may, to comment on the fact that Japan and Italy followed Germany's lead by developing optical industries between World War I and World War II because of obvious military necessities. The English, which prior to World War I had been dependent on Germany for most of its optical

goods, learned from experience that it was necessary to have an optical industry.

There can be no question that the optical industry is essential to any nation which has to prepare itself to meet a military emergency. Russia, we have been informed by sources in our industry which operate behind the Iron Curtain, has developed an optical industry and a machine-tool industry that in the judgment of competent observers is considered to be the equal of those same industries in the free world.

Those nations which are friendly to us and with whom we want to and with whom we must increase our trade look to us as their main source of defense should another world war develop. It is impossible to conceive that any of these friendly nations would object in the slightest to our maintaining in this country those special hand skills that are vital to meet a military emergency. If we permit ourselves to scrap these skills, which, as I have said before, is a form of disarmament, they will not thank us should we fall them in a military emergency. It seems to us that the best interests of the free nations of the world will be served by stating frankly that for military purposes that affect not only our safety but their safety it is necessary for this country to maintain skills vital for military purposes. We do not believe that there could possibly develop any misunderstanding as to our country's intent as to the development of trade by meeting this problem openly and frankly. It is our conviction that we will be respected for taking this position that is for the benefit not only of ourselves but of the very nations with whom we are anxious to increase trade. * *

We have been told by many Government officials in many different departments of the Government that there is no question but that certain vital skills must be preserved, but that it is a difficult thing to do without creating an umbrella that will result in the inclusion in the list of so many skills that the increased trade that is essential will be defeated. These skills: (1) Must take a long time to learn; (2) will be lost if not used; and (3) should not be found in any other industry except its own.

We are more than willing to present complete data and information to whatever board, agency, commission, or individual that Congress may establish to make determinations in this matter and accept whatever finding is made. We say this because it would be very difficult for you to decide between conflicting testimony that has been given before in this committee without investigation, which is certainly not a matter in which Congress would wish to become involved. I mention this question of conflicting testimony because there appeared before you a representative from the photographic industry who advised you that opti-cal workers had been developed by his company in 6 months during the last war and that his company in case of another war could make optical workers in 3 months. I am sure that his testimony was sincere and given by him in the hope that his testimony would help you to better understand this problem of skills. We are thoroughly familiar with what was done in breaking down many of the optical skills into com ponent parts thereby reducing the training period needed for learning. In fact, we are proud of the job our company did in this very field. Unfortunately, his testimony is not the complete story. There are, to be sure, certain jobs in the optical industry that can be learned in comparatively short times as compared with other optical jobs. On the other hand, there are optical skills that can be learned only over a period of years, and it is these skills that provide the nucleus from which men and women can be Picked to teach the lesser skills so that an emergency can be met. In peacetime it is

not possible to break down optical jobs into separate parts because the volume of business will not permit it, and, furthermore, it is a costly procedure that cannot be afforded in peacetime.

To return for a moment, if I may, to the gentleman from the photographic industry. He said in his testimony before you, and I quote, "I am willing to believe that in special instances there are industries so vital and strategic to our national defense program, that they must be kept alive . We heartily endorse this statement and appeal to you to pass an amendment such as we propose so that the preservation of the skills of these industries may be made effective. This same gentleman from the photographic industry went on to say that he believed such industries should be subsidized. Our purpose in appearing here before you is not to advise you what to do, but rather to bring to you facts and information that may be helpful to you in reaching the decisions you will have to make. I can only speak for our own company although I do add that I think what I have to say may well represent the feeling of the precision optical industry. Beyond that I do not feel qualified to report to you. I do not, therefore, feel it is proper for me to discuss the general economics and philosophy of industrial subsidies. I hope you will forgive me, however, if I make a few comments on the subject of subsidies. I can testify to you that so far as we know subsidies will not work in our industry. In the first place, subsidies cannot be guaranteed over a period of years and are subject to change and, therefore, it is almost impossible to plan ahead if you are dependent on subsidies that are subject to change. Second, subsidies require the choosing of individual companies, as you could not afford to subsidize the whole industry. I imagine that our comsidization program. As a result some other company would not get the subsidy and would thereby be forced out of business. This, in turn, will reduce or, in fact, eliminate competition with all its incentives. Subsidies are a good deal like playing poker for fun instead of for money—the incentives are limited and there are no penalties, which result in sloppiness. Frankly, it is our genuine belief that subsidies will weaken the industry and that the right way to handle the situation is in a competitive climate. This has always provided the incentives which have resulted in the extraordinary achievements of Ameircan industries.

In conclusion, may I say that we are reaching a critical point in our industry which, in turn, means that the situation is growing critical as regards the preservation of vital optical hand skills. To some extent these skills are being protected by Government business. Government business, however, is uncertain and cannot be counted on on a continuous basis over a period of years. The only true way in which to preserve these skills is to have a domestic market which will permit their employment. Even assuming that some of these skills can be broken down, we will still need these highly skilled people, not only for certain highly specialized production work but also for training others in the event this industry is again called upon to expand to the extent it has in past emergencies. And if another crisis should arise, we know we will not have 2 years' warning.

May I say, and I hope you will understand that this is said without any intention of being rude, that our company is not appearing here before you begging for help for financial reasons. If we are forced out of the domestic market in the precision optical field, we will not go out of business. We are fully capable of manufacturing in foreign countries or importing products from outside the United States and using our large and

effective distribution organization, and we are in an excellent position to profit by so doing. Our plea to you is to take steps to preserve domestic markets for precision optical products so that we and other companies in our industry can employ the vital hand skills that are essential to the defense of this Nation. It is right that we should make this plea. In our American democracy this is as it should be. There is no possibility for our Government to know all the details and all the facts about all the industries in this country, and, therefore, it is our duty and obligation to do what we can to bring to the attenion of the Government facts and data that we are genuinely convinced will help the Government in making the decisions it has to make to prepare for any national emergency. It is in that spirit that our company has appeared before you, and we are confident that you who represent the people of this Nation are fully capable of making the right decisions if you have all the facts. And may I say that if there is any further information or detailed data that you would like, our company to the fullest extent of its ability will be glad to furnish them to you.

The Inquiry Into the Stock Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Demand To Call Off Market Investigation Proves It Was Due," written by Sylvia Porter, a very fine writer on economic subjects, and published in the Birmingham News of March 18, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH—DEMAND TO CALL OFF MARKET INVESTIGATION PROVES IT WAS DUE (By Sylvia Porter)

The very demand of Republican Senator CAPEHART that the Senate Banking Committee call off its investigation into the stock market—because it is "frightening" the public and it "caused" the recent violent sell-off in stock prices—proves conclusively how much this investigation was needed.

Senator FULBRICHT'S committee actually may now bid for a place in history as helping to avert a future collapse in Wall Street, a repetition of the dread "1929"—just because it has flashed the warning signals to gamblers and get-rich speculators now.

For these are the facts about the multibillion-dollar slump in stock prices of the past fortnight:

 The crack-up—which wiped out billions in paper profits in stocks before a recovery—never would have happened had the market not been unhealthily loaded with inand-out speculators.

The "big boys," the institutional investors who own vast amounts of stocks, don't dump stocks on moves of this kind. The jittery gamblers do. And the get-rich-quick boys have no place in a sound stock market to start with.

2. After an almost perpendicular, recordbreaking upsurge for 16 months, a decline in prices—what the professionals call a "correction"—was long overdue. The investigation didn't cause the crack. It simply was seized upon as an excuse for the crack.

The probe hasn't brought out one weakness in the economy or the market of which informed people haven't been fully aware.

It has, though, underlined the fact that we are not into a "new era" in which everything is wonderful, prices go constantly up and any buyer of stocks automatically can make money overnight. It was about time this was underlined.

4. The suggestion by CAPEHART and other critics that the testimony caused investors to sell because they are afraid of new con-

trols is downright nonsense.

The Federal Reserve Board has made it unmistakably clear all along that it would not hesitate to clamp down harder on borrowing-to-buy stock if speculation persisted at the frantic rate of November-December 1954. In fact, the statements of Reserve Board Chairman Martin and Treasury Secretary Humphrey—who are the men who count—were reassuring because both policymakers indicated they thought controls right now were quite sufficient. This is good news, not bad.

Since the market slump and the growing condemnation of the investigation, I have gone all over Wall Street asking professionals and objective observers for comments. Here

are revealing quotes:

"I'm relieved that the decline has happened. Now that prices are getting back to more normal levels, I feel more comfortable and can start watching for a place to huv."

"The testimony never would have had the slightest effect if the market hadn't been too high and vulnerable. The weak holders were looking for an excuse to get out and they

got it."

"The real factors behind the decline were: Prices had gone too high too fast; the talk of repealing some of the 1954 tax cuts has been very unsettling; holders of stocks in companies getting blg defense orders naturally were worried when the Senators asked for a list of these orders; war talk is always a force. The investigation? In my office, we have hardly paid attention to it."

"It's a good thing the rise was halted. If it had continued at that rate, I would have

run for cover."

All these are quotes from Wall Streeters—hardly men to grind any political or financial ax for FULBRIGHT, the Democratic Senator from Arkansas, who heads this inquiry.

Of course, if the price slump were to resume and intensify, it would be a threat. For them, as Humphrey emphasized, it could make confidence—a most delicate thing. Then it might scare people who plan to buy cars or houses into holding off on their purchases because they might fear something was really wrong in our land.

But I've found no responsible observer who expects this sort of collapse. Rather, they are now revising upward their forecasts for 1955, beginning to hint 1955 may be the best economic year of all time. Hardly a background for a stock market bust.

If anybody is hurt by this investigation, it will be the Senators themselves—and the more that politics intrudes itself into these hearings, the more open to attack will be the Senators playing political tag on the dangerous battleground of Wall Street.

As for the public-you and me-we are not being hurt.

The market has had a shakeout which was long overdue. Investors who own stocks have lost nothing but paper profits.

The speculating fringe has properly warned against reckless gambling, reminded Wall Street is no playground or one-way street.

Confidence has not been undermined.

The violent uprush of prices—which if it had continued at the late 1954 speed

could only have led to disaster—has been halted.

All this is healthy. All this is sound for our futures.

Panama Canal: The Crack on Contractors Hill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in a significant statement in the Congressional Record of April 12, 1949—volume 95, page A2228— the late distinguished chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Hon. Schuyler Otis Bland, of Virginia, commented at some length on Slide Problems of the Panama Canal and quoted a technical discussion by Dr. A. Casagrande. Judge Bland stressed the most treacherous formation in Isthmian terrain as of "sinister fame"—Cucaracha.

At that time, however, neither the Congress nor the American public knew of the existence of a crack in Contractors Hill that had been discovered in 1938. Nor had this crack been mentioned in any of the published sections of the annual reports of the Governor of the Canal Zone.

The dramatic disclosure early in 1954 of this crack as indicating a grave hazard to the security of transit produced a national sensation and, for a time, attracted world attention. Panama Canal administrators thereupon took action to meet the threat of closure. Notwithstanding these measures, the fact remains that remedial action was not initiated until the situation had reached critical proportions.

The entire record of the crack in Contractors Hill further emphasized the point stressed by Judge Bland, and other congressional leaders, of the importance of thorough, up-to-date, and objective study and review of all aspects of the canal question before making final decisions on Isthmian policy. The recommendations for constructing a new Panama Canal of sea-level design contained in the 1947 report under Public Law 280. 79th Congress, which was prepared under the direction of routine administrative officials with what appear to have been predetermined objectives, clearly calls for a reassessment in the light of subsequent developments including the H-bomb. The previous failure of the 1931 and 1939 studies on the Panama Canal, which also were prepared under the direction of routine administrators. is conclusive evidence of the necessity for an independent investigation under congressional authorization.

Such an inquiry, it is submitted, can be accomplished only by a broadly based and independent Interoceanic Canals Commission, composed of men of the highest qualifications and character who may not be dominated by administrative controls and who can view all the aspects involved in a purely objective manner. That type of organization does not now exist. To provide one, Hon. Thomas E. Martin and I, early in the present session, introduced identical measures, S. 766 and H. R. 3335, 84th Congress, It is a matter of grave regret that such a body had not been created and in operation before the recent treaty negotiation with Panama was concluded. Had such been the case, the Congress and the executive branch of our Government might have had a wealth of information for use in and about the formulation and approval of the new treaty.

A summary of the present status of the Contractors Hill situation by Charles McG. Brandl was published in the March-April issue of the Military Engineer, volume XLVII, page 93. The issue contains the following sketch of its au-

thor's engineering experience:

Charles McG. Brandl, the assistant project engineer for the Contractors Hill project, is superintendent of Maintenance and Construction for the Southern District of the Maintenance Division of the Panama Canal Company. He has had wide engineering experience in Panama and is a frequent contributor to the Military Engineer. He is a native of North Carolina and a registered engineer in that State.

To make Mr. Brandl's article available to the Congress and other agencies of the Federal Government, under leave accorded, I include its text:

THE CRACK ON CONTRACTORS HILL (By Charles McG. Brandl)

When DeLesseps and the French began their attempt at building the Panama Canal, they chose the low point in the Continental Divide as the place to dig through. location, while a natural one which was later used successfully by the Americans, was chosen apparently without very extensive knowledge of the geology of the area. The low point, which is a saddle between the hills now known as Gold (elevation 650 feet) on the east and Contractors (elevation 410 feet) on the west, is in, and is a part of, an unstable soil area. It is surrounded by the treacherous cucaracha formation, a material so unstable that it has many times closed the Canal channel. This mixture, of weak clay shales, sandstone agglomerate, conglomerate, welded tuff ash flow, and other volcanic ejections, is interspersed with an appreciable percentage of bentonitic matter which, when wet and exposed to air, swells and flows freely on slopes steeper than 3 to 1. Embedded in and supported by this cucaracha are the rock masses of the two hills. Although basically both are apparently stable ,a part of Contractors Hill recently endangered the Canal.

In 1938 a survey party discovered in the tall grass covering the top of the hill a slight crack or fissure. It was noted, and monuments for checking future movement were set astride the crack. In 1939 they showed a total movement toward the Canal of 0.06 foot. This was considered unimportant and no further measurements were made until 1949. Through the years the crack had grown and widened, so in 1949 a schedule of monthly readings was established. These were continued and in the early part of 1953 it was observed that the crack was extending in both directions and additional monuments were established. By check early 1954 the action and development of the crack had progressed to such a stage that the stability of the hill was questionable and the future safety of the Canal became

of grave concern.

Earlier survey work establishing points in the canal's triangulation system had, fortunately, located two control points on Contractors Hill. By using these and other check measurements, it was readily determined that the hill had an irregular crack or split over 8 inches wide along its face. Soundings indicated that the crack was nearly 600 feet deep. It was definitely proven that the mass breaking away was the smaller part of the hill to the east of the crack, moving toward the waters of the canal. (The mass was estimated to be about 4 million tons.) This was found out at about the start of the rainy season. With the coming of the rains a curious action of this free mass was noticed. When water partially filled the crack there was an immediate further movement toward the canal, roughly proportionate to the depth of water. When the rain ceased the water drained away and the free mass moved back toward the main hill. But always the return movement was less than the original outward one so that the cumulative effect of the rains was to push the free mass farther toward the canal. Meanwhile, the canal authorities had begun core drilling to ascertain the exact size and nature of the hill itself. Experts in the fields of geology and soil mechanics were assembled by Gov. John S. Seybold to study the conditions and make recommendations. the watchers above probed and studied, the commerce-laden vessels of the world's maritime nations passed serenely below them in the calm waters of the canal, unconcerned about the looming rock mass above.

Yet, if this mass were suddenly to slide or fall into the narrow Gaillard (Culebra) Cut, it would so dam the canal that months of marine drilling, blasting, and dredging would be required to clear it. And there would be no short cut for ships—only the long voyage around the Horn, costly in time and money. The serious effects of a forced closing of the canal from the military standpoint are obvious.

From the reports of the experts, the engineers developed a plan for removing as much of the rock mass of the hill as was deemed threatening. This plan was sketchy in detail as it had to be, considering the relatively limited data available at that time. Final plans called for the removal of the rock in a series of steps or benches 40 feet high rising up from the 150-foot elevation (the water of the canal is approximately 86 feet) to the crest of the hill which would be cut off to elevation 390 feet on the north end, and to 350 feet on the south end. To be included would be the removal of a certain amount of the shale or cucaracha formation at the north and south ends of the hill.

Since the time element was vital, the canal authorities resorted to limited bidding rather than the usual contractural procedures. Accordingly, some of the outstanding construction firms in the United States and Panama were invited to send representatives to inspect the site and to submit proposals for the removal of the requisite amounts of rock and cucaracha. These proposals were to indicate a bid price for the items based on different quantities which it would be the option of the Government to stipulate: were to include a mobilization schedule for placing men and equipment at work on the site; and were to indicate a method of removal. The Government reserved the right to accept the proposal which it deemed best suited for the successful completion of the project. The initial contract called for the removal of 2 million cubic yards of rock and 350,000 cubic yards of shale. These figures were later amended and, as of February 1, 1955, call for the removal of 1,700,000 cubic yards of rock and 350,000 cubic yards of cucaracha. The contract was awarded in the latter part of May 1954 and by the middle of July equipment was on the Prior to the arrival of the equipment, two items were added to the contract by supplemental agreement; the construction of a crack inspection and drainage tunnel and the removal of a commemorative memorial plaque. The tunnel, a 5-foot by 7-foot arched roof section, approximately 120 feet long, started on elevation 92 feet at the face of the cliff near the canal prism line and ran approximately perpendicular to the canal axis and cliff face of the hill until it intersected the crack. Here an inspection gallery and pumproom were to be built and check points located for measuring any movement in the hill mass after the excavation on top had destroyed the original check points.

The commemorative plaque is the 9-foot by 11-foot has relief bronze sculpture, weighing 1 ton, which was installed in the face of the cliff about 103 feet above the canal waters at the time Culebra cut was renamed in memory of Lt. Col. David D. Gaillard, the engineer in charge of the excavation there from 1907 to 1913. The plaque will probably be reinstalled on the regraded face of Contractors Hill.

Work on the supplemental items proceeded at once and was satisfactorily completed well ahead of schedule. The effectiveness of the tunnel as a drainage facility was such that no pumping or other disposal of the water in the pit floor was required throughout the rainy season. The water seeped through the crack into the tunnel and out into the canal. The removal of the hydrostatic pressure eliminated this force from further adverse pressure against the broken rock.

The actual work of rock removal started ahead of schedule and has proceeded without major interruption following a fixed routine of drilling, loading, firing, and excavating 20 hours a day 6 days a week. The 4-hour interval between the two 10-hour shifts daily is used to check and service equipment as is all the daylight shift on Sunday. As of the 1st of February, the contractor was nearly 2 months ahead of schedule, and barring unforeseen events, should have the 1,700,000 cubic vards of rock and 350,000 cubic vards of cucaracha removed by August 1955. However, the routine nature of the operation was not achieved without careful planning and constant vigilance.

The nature of the rock and its proximity to the narrow cut precluded the taking of any chances. Each blast had to be planned; each element had to be coordinated with the special and peculiar conditions of the exact area or pattern. Each fracture in the rock either natural (the whole hill mass is proving to be a heterogeneous crazy quilt of seams and fissures, or those caused or enlarged by blasting, must be studied and evaluated in to the diameter of the hole, its relation depth, the kind and amount of dynamite in it, the detonator sequence (milisecond delays are used almost exclusively) and these data considered for each of the 20 to 150 charges which may constitute a pattern. blasting astride the crack or between the crack and the cliff face, additional elements of safety must be considered. For example, nothing is allowed to delay or cause alarm to the ships that pass below. No rock must fly when a ship is close nor can any blast, no matter how carefully planned, be fired until any approaching ship has cleared the cut. There must be no possibility of an accidental dislodgment of rock falling into this narrow passage ahead of an oncoming ship. factors place the operation in a unique and special field of interest and concern. There cannot be, and there have not been, any attempts to make short cuts in the elemental safety of the procedures. The contractors' forces have been as careful in this respect as have the Government personnel. Together they are bringing to a successful conclusion an enterprise which will be a credit to American construction skill and a fitting supplement to the similar work done long ago in the same location by the original Canal builders. The material now removed, more than 900,000 cubic yards, has so lessened the upper burden of the rock mass as practically to insure the overall stability of the mass until the job is completed.

To make the texts of the bills, which are identical, readily available to the Congress in connection with the study of Isthmian Canal Policy by its various committees, I quote H. R. 3335:

Be it enacted, etc., That this act may be cited as the "Interoceanic Canals Commission Act of 1955."

SEC. 2. (a) A commission is hereby created, to be known as the "Interoceanic Canals Commission" (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission"), and to be composed of 11 members to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, as follows: One member shall be a commissioned officer of the line (active or retired) of the United States Army: 1 member shall be a commissioned officer of the line (active or retired) of the United States Navy; 1 member shall be a commissioned officer of the line (active or retired) of the United States Air Force; and 8 members from civil life, 4 of whom shall be persons learned and skilled in the science of engineering. The President shall designate 1 of the members from civil life as chairman, and shall fill all vacancies on the Commission in the same manner as are made the original ap-pointments. The Commission shall cease to exist upon the completion of its work hereunder.

(b) The Chairman of the Commission shall receive compensation at the rate of \$20,000 per annum, and the other members shall receive compensation at the rate of \$18,000 per annum, each; but the members appointed from the Army, Navy, and Air Force shall receive only such compensation, in addition to their pay and allowances, as will make their total compensation from the United States \$18,000 each.

SEC. 3. The Commission is authorized and directed to make and conduct a comprehensive investigation and study of all problems involved or arising in connection with plans or proposals for—

(a) an increase in the capacity and operational efficiency of the present Panama Canal through the adaption of the Third Locks Project (53 Stat. 1409) to provide a summit-level terminal lake anchorage in the Pacific end of the canal to correspond with that in the Atlantic end, or by other modification or design of the existing facilities;

(b) the construction of a new Pansma Canal of sea-level design, or any modification thereof:

(c) the construction and ownership, by the United States, of another canal or canals connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans;

(d) the operation, maintenance, and protection of the Panama Canal, and of any other canal or canals which may be recommended by the Commission;

(e) treaty and territorial rights which may be deemed essential hereunder; and

(f) estimates of the respective costs of the undertakings herein enumerated.

SEC. 4. For the purpose of conducting all inquiries and investigations deemed necessary by the Commission in carrying out the provisions of this act, the Commission is authorized to utilize any official reports, documents, data, and papers in the possession the United States Government and its officials; and the Commission is given power to designate and authorize any member, or other officer, of the Commission, to administer oaths and affirmations, subpens witnesses, take evidence, procure information and data, and require the production of any books, papers, or other documents and records which the Commission may deem relevant or material for the purposes herein named. Such attendance of witnesses, and the production of documentary evidence, may be required from any place in the United States, or any Territory, or any other area under the control or jurisdiction of the United States, including the Canal Zone.

Sec. 5. The Commission shall submit to the President and the Congress, not later than 2 years after the date of the enactment hereof, a final report containing the results and conclusions of its investigations and studies hereunder, with recommendations; and may, in its discretion, submit interim reports to the President and the Congress concerning the progress of its work. Such final report shall contain—

(a) the recommendations of the Commission with respect to the Panama Canal, and to any new interoceanic canal or canals which the Commission may consider feasible or desirable for the United States to construct, own, maintain, and operate;

(b) the estimates of the Commission as regards the approximate cost of carrying out its recommendations; and like estimates of cost as to the respective proposals and plans considered by the Commission and embraced in its final report; and

(c) such information as the Commission may have been able to obtain with respect to the necessity for the acquisition, by the United States, of new, or additional, rights, privileges, and concessions, by means of treatles or agreements with foreign nations, before there may be made the execution of any plans or projects recommended by the Commission.

SEC. 6. The Commission shall appoint a secretary, who shall receive compensation fixed in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, and shall serve at the pleasure of the Commission.

Sec. 7. The Commission is hereby authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of such engineers, surveyors, experts, or advisers deemed by the Commission necessary hereunder, as limited by the provisions in United States Code, section 55a (1946 edition); and may make such expenditures-including those for actual travel and subsistence of members of the Commission and its employees-not exceeding \$13 for subsistence expense for any one person for any calendar day: for rent of quarters at the seat of government, or elsewhere; for personal services at the seat of government, or elsewhere; and for printing and binding necessary for the efficient and adequate functions of the Commission hereunder. All expenses of the Commission shall be allowed and paid upon the presentation of itemized vouchers therefor approved by the Chairman of the Commission, or such other official of the Commission as the Commission may designate.

SEC. 8. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions and purposes of this act.

The Horizons Beyond in Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HENRY ALDOUS DIXON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech by the Honorable Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, entitled, "Horizons Beyond in Agriculture" before the Pacific Dairy and Poultry Association, Salt Lake City, Utah, on March 19, 1955:

THE HORIZONS BEYOND IN AGRICULTURE

I deeply appreciate this opportunity to appear before this 31st annual convention of the Pacific Dairy and Poultry Association. It is always a real pleasure for me to come home to Utah. This visit is doubly enjoyable because so many of my friends in the dairy and poultry industries are here for these sessions.

It seems to me most appropriate that you have selected as the theme for this year's convention "Horizons Beyond." Truly agriculture's horizons of today hold great promise for our farm people and, indeed, for everyone. The forward strides we have made in the broad fields of agricultural research, education, marketing, and technology are unmatched in any other nation. Output per man-hour on our farms nearly doubled in the last two decades as agriculture adopted new and vastly more efficient production methods.

Yet in some new developments, such as the application of nuclear science to farming, we have barely scratched the surface. As we add to our fast-growing fund of agricultural knowledge we become even more acutely aware of the fact that there is still so much that is not known.

It is this constant challenge of the unknown which spurs man ever onward toward these horizons beyond. And however far he travels he finds that there are still new horizons.

The future of American agriculture is closely linked to the future of the Nation itself. I find it impossible to believe that future can be anything but bright.

As all of you know, both the dairy and poultry industries have been going through a rather painful period of readjustment. In both instances, major troubles developed when production outran effective consumer demands. There is another and happier parallel. The dairy and poultry situations both have shown sharp improvement recently. Not all of our problems are behind us yet, but we are headed in the right direction—toward better balance between production and demand and toward the greater price stability which such a balance insures.

It is encouraging to note that the dairy and poultry industries have shouldered the responsibility for making the necessary production adjustments. At the same time they have done an outstanding job of expanding consumption through better merchandising and vigorous promotional campaigns. The evidence of this lies in the fact that consumption of poultry and eggs has been running at record levels while there has also been a marked upturn in the use of most dairy products.

All of this has been accomplished without Government production controls of any kind. In the case of the poultry industry, it has been done without resort to price supports. In fact, the poultry industry rejected Government assistance programs last fall even when prices were at their lowest levels. The wisdom of this decision is confirmed, I believe, by the rapid improvement in the overall situation.

The dairy picture is immeasurably better today than it was a year ago. Here again I believe this improvement has largely come about because both the industry and the Government chose to face the facts. An unrealistic level of price support was adjusted almost 1 year ago. Despite some direpredictions that this move would bankrupt dairymen, there is enough evidence now at hand to prove that the action was fundamentally sound and in the real long-term interests of the industry.

Sometimes we have to look back to see how far we have come. A year ago the Government was getting into the dairy business at an unprecedented rate. Milk production was booming to new seasonal highs month after month. Consumption, particularly of butter, was moving lower, while huge surpluses

of dairy products continued to pile up in Government hands.

All of this was happening under a program of price supports at 90 percent of parity. Obviously the continuation of the very program which had helped to get us into this situation would never get us out of it. Supports at 75 percent of parity for the new marketing year which began last April 1 were set in accordance with the law which directs the Secretary of Agriculture to fix supports at a level that will assure an adequate supply of dairy products. This adjustment was designed to help to close the gap between production and consumption of dairy products.

Now, nearly 1 year later, we are in position to evaluate the results. To me the most significant thing is that dairy production has leveled off, while consumption has been steadily increasing. Government purchase of dairy products are down sharply and, at the same time, we have been able to move large quantities of previously acquired surpluses into channels of consumption.

Milk production in January and again in February of 1955 was slightly below that for the same 2 months of 1954. This was the first time since 1952 that January and February milk production had failed to show an increase over the previous year. Milk production in December of 1954 was also below the corresponding month for a year earlier. This leveling off indicates that milk production during the current year will be about the same as in 1954—around 123.5 billion pounds.

This conclusion gains further support from the fact that the number of milk cows 2 years old and over on January 1, 1955, was 1 percent less than for a year earlier. Numbers of young stock, however, remain large in relation to numbers of mature cows, with heifer calves showing a 1 percent increase over the preceding year on January 1, 1955. More milk cows were culled from the Nation's dairy herds during 1954 than in any year since 1948-both in actual numbers and in relation to the number of cows on farms. This is concrete evidence that the intensive culling program sponsored by the industry, with the cooperation of the Department of Agriculture, has strongly taken hold.

Now that we are on the right road, I sincerely hope that dairymen will not relax in this campaign to rid their herds of poor producing cows—the "boarders" which do not pay their keep. Even though average milk production per cow reached an all-time record of 5,512 pounds per year in 1954, this figure falls far short of the output achieved on our better dairy farms. We still have far to many 3,000-, 4,000-, and even 5,000-pound producers which place a heavy drain upon the farmer's resources and time and which contribute nothing to his profits. This same uneconomic production, however, is a major cause of our surplus-milk problem.

In the last two decades, average milk pro-

In the last two decades, average milk production per cow has increased by about 1,500 pounds—more than one-third. The increase has been substantially greater for cows under test in dairy herd improvement associations. With present known breeding, feeding, and handling techniques, the average milk output per cow could conceivably be doubled over a period of time. Right now California dairy cows are producing well over 50 percent more milk, on an average, than those for the Nation as a whole.

No one can say just what the new developments of tomorrow will add to efficiency in dairying. But certainly there are "horizons beyond." I am convinced that the great gains in the dairy industry tomorrow will come, as they have in the past, through research and education and improved production and marketing methods.

Although milk production today has leveled off at a high point, we are closing the gap between output and consumption. And I know that all of you in this great industry would infinitely prefer to see a balance at-

tained in this way, rather than through a distasteful system of production controls which would have been inevitable had price Eupports been continued at unrealistic levels.

Per capita consumption of fluid milk during 1954 increased by 2 pounds over the preceding year. We anticipate a further upturn in 1955. Coupled with this is the fact that the population of the United States is increasing by about 2.7 million persons each year. This annual growth alone supplies a new market for nearly 2 billion pounds of milk every year.

The special school lunch program, now operating in all of the 48 States and the District of Columbia, has been especially helpful in expanding milk consumption where it is most needed—among our younger people. By mid-February nearly 46,000 of the 160,000 schools in the Nation had been approved for Participation in this project and this total will increase further. Preliminary reports show that schools operating under the program had increased milk use by about 58 percent over normal monthly consumption. In some States the increase was more than 100 percent-indicating what I have long believed: that if milk is made easily available, people will drink it in much larger quan-

We have yet to see the full effects of the vigorous promotional campaign which the dairly industry launched last year in an allout effort to spur increased consumption of the healthful dairy products. Through every advertising medium the public is being told the story of milk—that it not only tastes good but that it is good. Here we have had the finest beverage in the world, but until recently we haven't been trying to sell it. Instead we have been depending upon the consumer to acquaint himself with its merits. In this competitive age, the market goes to the man who creates a demand for his product and then aggressively merchandises it. I am happy to see the dairy industry adopting some of the techniques of its competitors.

Until a few months ago, except at certain hours in the cafeterias, it was impossible to buy a drink of milk in the Department of Agriculture buildings in Washington. Vending machines there are now doing a thriving business. And virtually all of these sales represent additional consumption.

Only a few days ago I observed with con-Eiderable interest that milk vending machines had been installed in the cloakrooms of the House of Representatives in Washington. In those very rooms through the years the problems of the dairy industry must have been discussed upon thousands of occasions. Now Congressmen have the means of attacking the dairy surplus problem through consumption as well as legislation.

I am told that there were approximately 16,000 milk vending machines operated in the United States last year. That represents only 1 machine for every 10,000 people. In contrast there were 210,000 chewing gum mathines and 695,000 soft drink vending

machines in this country last year. Saleswise, vending machines handled \$65 million worth of coffee, \$210 million worth of candy, \$393 million worth of soft drinks, and \$690 million worth of cigarettes andget this—only a little more than \$22 million Worth of milk. Now I do not contend that milk vending machines alone are the answer to all of the dairyman's problems. But the figures I have just cited do illustrate the possibilities of market expansion in a field Which has barely been tapped by the dairy industry. Personally, I am not going to be satisfied until I read that sales of milk through mechanical vendors are approaching the totals recorded for competing beverages. We can reach this goal if we have the will to do it.

I believe most of us agree that increased consumption of fluid milk offers the best hope for a thriving, prosperous dairy indus-

We must not leave unexplored any avenue which will lead to this objective. need to know more about what can be done to increase sales through use of larger milk containers and through additional price incentives to the consumer who takes an extra quart or two at the doorstep or at the store. Perhaps we need to reexamine some of the restrictive marketing practices which bar outside milk from certain areas under arbitrary health regulations. Certainly we must constantly strive for the increased efficiency which stimulates increased milk consumption through the factor of price.

Meanwhile, per capita consumption of some other dairy products has been trending higher during the last year. Reversing the long-time downward move, butter sales during 1954 were some 5 to 6 percent higher than for the preceding year. The average American also consumed a little more cheese and nonfat dry milk last year than he did in 1953. On the other hand, consumption condensed, evaporated and dry whole milk declined to the lowest per capita rate during the postwar period. Ice cream consumption was slightly lower, too.

Nevertheless, the constantly improving balance between milk supply and demand is indicated by the fact that recent Commodity Credit Corporation purchases of dairy products have been far below those of a year ago-after being much higher in the first months of the new marketing year. During the first 11 months of the current marketing year, we bought only about half as much butter as we did during the full 1953-54 marketing year. We bought only one-third as much cheese and about threefourths as much dry milk in those 11 months as in the preceding 12 months.

Government purchases of dairy products dropped substantially by mid-summer of 1954 and the downward trend continued throughout the year. During the month of December 1954 we bought not a single pound of butter. With the flush production season ahead of us, we may reasonably expect to purchase substantial quantities of dairy products again, though at a far lower rate

than a year earlier.

For the calendar year 1954, the surplus production which found its way into Government hands in the form of various dairy products amounted to the equivalent of 9.1 billion pounds of milk-about 7.4 percent of the total production. Nevertheless, this meant that CCC became the owner of 22 percent of all creamery butter produced in the United States in 1954, 35 percent of the cheese production and 50 percent of the nonfat dry milk output. This illustrates how the Government becomes the market for processed dairy products when milk production moves up or demand moves down by only a few percentage points.

Increasing consumption of fluid milk has,

of course, resulted in reduced production of butter and cheese during recent months. As I indicated a few months age, we must continue to emphasize this approach as the only effective solution to the dairy problem.

We have made real progress in moving dairy products from CCC inventories into channels of consumption, both at home and abroad, through a variety of methods including commercial sales, welfare donations, and school-lunch programs. At the beginning of this month we had on hand 253 million pounds of butter. Seven months earlier we owned 466 million pounds of it.

Unsold cheese inventories of CCC have declined from 435 million pounds at the end of last September to 334 million at the beginning of this month. Last April we had 600 million pounds of nonfat dry milk on hand. That had been reduced to 72 million pounds by March 1. Altogether, CCC has disposed of more than 1.6 billion pounds of these products during the last 11 months.

These sales and donations involved substantial losses, in most instances. But the products were moved from storage into channels of consumption.

Pricewise the improving dairy situation is illustrated by the fact that for several months the average wholesale price received by farmers for all milk has been ranging between 84 and 86 percent of parity. Just 1 year ago, when dairy supports were still at 90 percent, the average price received by farmers for all milk was 86 percent of parity.

I am convinced that there are better days ahead for the dairy industry. The many encouraging signs unmistakably point up this fact. It would be most unwise at this juncture-when production and consumption are moving toward a balance-to increase dairy price supports by legislative action. Many of the impressive gains of the past year would be swept away almost overnight. We would only be postponing until another day the readjustment which the industry inevitably had to make—a readjustment which is now well on the way to completion

It is gratifying to me that the Nation's vast poultry industry, in which so many of you have a direct interest, is also emerging from the price problems which plagued it for many months. Despite the rapid recovery in egg and poultry prices, I would strongly urge the industry to move with some caution at this point. As was demonstrated so emphatically last year, even the broad and constantly expanding market which the industry has built will not absorb at profitable prices the entire output of eggs and poultry which existing facilities are capable of producing.

Producers must voluntarily exercise some restraint upon overexpansion and excessive production if we are to have a stable and prosperous poultry industry. We must seek to avoid the violent ups and downs which have too often characterized the egg and

poultry markets in the past.

As you know, the current upturn in egg prices began about 2 months ago at a time when production was increasing seasonally, although egg receipts at terminal markets Egg production estimates were declining. for January and February showed a 3-percent increase over a year earlier for the country as a whole. There were weather factors, perhaps, plus stronger consumer demand stemming from improving general business conditions, which tended to offset this.

Another underlying source of strength in the market-and it may be the most important one of all-is the general belief that there will be a smaller supply of eggs later this year. In each of the last 5 months, fewer pullets were started for laying-flock replacements than for the corresponding months a year earlier. As of Febuary 1, farmers indicated intentions of buying 18 percent fewer chicks for laying replacements than last year. Stronger egg prices may lead farmers to purchase more replacements than they had originally planned. This could have later repercussions.

With the number of layers on farms March I slightly above the same date for last year, egg production also may be expected to run a little higher than a year ago during the next 2 or 3 months. The rate of lay per bird is expected to be about the same as in

1954 for April and May.

Broiler prices into March continued high enough to induce increased placements. The broiler-feed price ratio in mid-February stood at 4.9, as compared with an average of 4.3 for 1954. Chick replacements and eggs set in incubators in specialized broiler areas Guring recent weeks have been almost up to the levels of a year ago. And all of us remember the broiler industry got into serious price troubles in 1954.

The Department of Agriculture has already asked turkey growers to reconsider their production plans for 1955. As you know, an 11-percent reduction in light-breed turkeys had been indicated for this year by producers. On the other hand, intentions were to produce about the same number of heavy turkeys as last year. If these plans are followed through, the total tonnage of all turkeys in 1955 would be reduced by only about 1.5 percent below the record output of 1354.

While I have expressed some concern here over what could happen to poultry and egg markets if production gets too far out of line, I realize that this entire problem is foremost in your minds, too. In similar situations in the past, the poultry industry has moved effectively to avert further over-expansion. I am confident the industry again will act with foresight and resolution.

The poultry industry has made outstanding progress in recent years. The heavy emphasis upon greater production and marketing efficiency has brought poultry and egg consumption in the United States to new record levels through the years. I firmly believe this trend will continue, as a result of these constant efforts. Great as the record of the industry has been, there are still horizons beyond.

Now I should like to turn to a matter which concerns not only the poultry and dairy industries but all of agriculture in fact, all of the people of this Nation. That is the basic question of what kind of a farm program we are to have. Shall we move forward in our efforts to establish a soundly conceived, long-range program designed to bring about better-balanced agricultural production, broader financial stability, and greater freedom for farmers? Or shall we continue the unrealistic, stopgap, emergency program of high, rigid price supports which has already demonstrated its inability to cope with the problems of a peacetime agricultural economy?

Congress clearly rejected this second approach only a few short months ago when it adopted the Agriculture Act of 1954 and voted to permit flexible price supports for the basic commodities to become effective, as scheduled, in 1955. Now the whole issue has been revived. The House Committee on Agriculture has reported favorably a bill which would, among other things, continue rigid price supports at 90 percent of parity for the basic commodities for 3 more years.

The principal argument put forward by the proponents of this measure is that it will halt the steady decline in farm income which has been underway since 1947. What they fall to mention is that this entire reduction has come about while we had rigid 90 percent supports for the basic commodities. What they are recommending, in effect, is another dose of the same medicine that has made the patient progressively sicker.

The fixed price support advocates, reinforced by labor leaders turned farm experts, are shouting from the rooftops that farm prices are being wrecked by flexible supports. It just isn't so. Not 1 bale of cotton, not 1 bushel of corn or wheat, not 1 sack of rice, not 1 pound of peanuts has yet been placed under loan or sold to the Government at less than 90 percent of parity. Plexible price supports don't become operative until the 1955 harvests—still several months away—and even then the levels of support will be unchanged for some commodities and most modest for others, in line with President Eisenhower's recommendation for gradual adjustments.

The attempt to saddle the failures of the old program upon a new one which hasn't even been tested yet is unlikely to meet with very broad acceptance among farmers who know the facts. The issues at stake are of such great importance to every farmer, however, that I believe the record must be set straight for all to see.

Flexible price supports have been a part of our bipartisan farm programs for many years. They have been endorsed at one time or another by every Secretary of Agriculture for the past 20 years and by every major farm organization. They were advocated in the platforms of both major parties during 1948 and by the then occupant of the White House.

In fact, it was from this unanimity of opinion that the Agricultural Acts of 1948 and 1949 were distilled. Both of these measures called for flexible price supports for basic commodities. The effective date of the flexible program was repeatedly postponed, however, the last time until 1955. This year we are finally scheduled to employ the flexible price support provisions which almost everybody once agreed were essential to the effective operation of a long-range, peacetime agricultural program.

For some time now, many would-be political leaders have been using high, fixed price supports as a smokescreen to cover up one indisputable fact—the fact that it was the unprecedented demands of war, together with inflation, that kept farm prices high during the 10 years following Pearl Harbor. The parity ratio averaged between 100 and 115 during those years. Actually, it was ceilings fixed by law at the top—not the 90 percent floor below—which set farm prices. Every farmer knows he would have received even more for his products during this period had there been neither ceilings nor price supports.

Mounting surpluses, increasing costs and decilning farm prices are evidence enough that high, rigid, emergency supports offer no solution to our peacetime agricultural problems. If they were the solution, there would be no problems. Even though farm prices have declined under the program which we inherited from the preceding administration, this administration is willing to assume its share of the responsibility. But let me make it very clear just what our share is.

Between February 1951 and January 1953, when this administration assumed office, the parity ratio tumbled from 113 to 94. This is a downward plunge of 19 points. Since January 1953 the parity ratio has declined from 94 to a current level of 87—a change of 7 points. It has averaged about 90 over the last 2 years.

Thus, it will be seen that nearly three-fourths of the drop in farm prices which has occurred since the Korean war peak in 1951 came under the preceding administration. So, as I have said, we are willing to assume our share of the responsibility. Let our predecessors face up to theirs.

Today it seems to me that the situation which has developed with respect to wheat pinpoints the major fallacles and contradictions of high, rigid price supports. Wheat is a most important crop not only in this area but over much of the United States. And wheat is also the Government's biggest problem in the field of price supports. Here is a commodity which actually has been supported at about 105 percent of modernized parity. And still it is in worse trouble than any other crop.

The United States had on hand for the current marketing year an all-time record supply of 1,878,000,000 bushels of wheat. At the present rate of disappearance, this unprecedented supply is enough to meet all of our domestic and export requirements for more than 2 full years.

The Commodity Credit Corporation today has investment in more than I billion bushels of wheat—660 million bushels owned outright in inventory and the rest held as security against price support loans. This involves a commitment of approximately \$2,700,000,000 of CCC funds. It represents well over one-third of the CCC funds now invested in all price support activities.

For 1955, the national wheat acreage allotment has been reduced to 55 million acres, the minimum provided by law. This compares with a 1954 allotment of 62 million acres and represents a cut of 30 percent from 1953, when no acreage allotments were in effect. Without the minimum amount provided by law, the allotment for 1955 would have been sharply below the 55 million total. In view of the record supplies of wheat on hand for this year, the formula in the law called for a national allotment of only about 19 million acres if no minimum had been provided.

The very substantial cut in our national wheat acreage creates serious operating problems for many farmers. Even after this sharp reduction for 1955, the minimum national acreage will, with average yields, produce almost as much wheat as we are now moving into domestic consumption and foreign markets in a year. Insofar as exports are concerned, we need to keep in mind that at our present level of price support, wheat shipments to foreign countries are made possible only by active programs of United States United States sales of wheat assistance abroad will involve subsidies of at least \$175 million for the current crop year.

One fact that stands out is that this Nation's carryover of wheat next July 1 will be larger than it was a year earlier despite everything we are trying to do to bring about a reduction. Although we have succeeded in boosting wheat exports somewhat during the current crop year, there are limitations upon what the world markets will take even at the Wheat Agreement price or under the new program which permits sales abroad for foreign currencies. There are legal restrictions upon selling wheat in the domestic market at less than 105 percent of parity, plus carrying charges.

With total wheat supplies increasing in spite of production controls last year, it now appears that our carryover in 1955 will approach 1 billion bushels, for a new all-time record. It is expected that CCC will own some 850 million bushels of this vast surplus. The yearly storage charges alone on this inventory, not counting interest or deterioration, will be near the \$140 million mark.

In talking about this wheat-surplus problem, we lump all wheat together—spring and winter, hard and soft, red and white, high protein and low protein. Yet farmers know there can be at least as great a difference between different types of wheat as there is between Holstein and Hereford cattle.

At a time when we have a record-breaking surplus of wheat in the United States, there is an acute shortage of durum wheat and a tight situation with respect to high-protein milling wheat. Flour has been selling at the highest prices since 1920.

Farmers in some parts of the country have been concentrating upon exceptionally high-yielding wheat, rather than upon quality wheat. Since the grain is produced for sale to the Government at a fixed, guaranteed price, rather than for conversion into bread, the sole objective is to grow as many bushels as possible on the allotted acreage.

Unrealistic price supports have brought about a sharp rise in wheat production outside the area we normally think of as the commercial wheat country. The Corn Belt has become the source of more wheat. So have the grasslands of the southern Great Plains and the dairy regions of the Northeast.

In Illinois the 1953 wheat acreage was 51 percent above the 10-year average. In Michigan it was up 46 percent. Even in New York the increase was 36 percent. One Dust Bowl county of eastern Colorado, which reported a mere 5,000 acres of wheat in 1939, had 365,-000 acres in this 1 crop by 1952 as the "suitcase" farmers and speculators moved in.

Now, farmers in the low-cost areas where most of our wheat has been produced in recent decades find themselves in the same production strait-jacket as growers in States less favorably suited to efficient wheat production. The man who has been growing

quality wheat for the market gets cut back on the same basis as the man who grows wheat for the Government loan.

I would like to see us produce wheat in the regions where it can be grown most efficiently. Many of these areas are not well adapted to the production of profitable crops other than wheat.

Wheat growers understandably are dissatisfied with the conditions which have been forced upon them under this system of high, rigid supports. Perhaps more than any other major producer group they are actively seeking a new approach to the whole problem. They want a program which will give them greater freedom, a chance to utilize more fully the potential of their land.

I am sympathetic to those wishes. cently I requested the National Agricultural Advisory Commission to review the entire wheat situation, giving special attention to possible means of expanding consumption, as well as to grades and classes of wheat and land-use programs. The study will also be directed toward the merits of production controls established on a bushel rather than an acreage basis.

I believe the flexible price support program which becomes effective with this year's harvest will help to bring wheat sup-plies and utilization into better balance. But it is going to take the time because of the mountainous surplus built up under

high, rigid supports.

Certainly agriculture has had its problems during this period of adjustment from war to a peacetime economy. Yet it is also true that we are making the changeover this time with far less hardship than farmers experienced in the years following the First World

The flexible price support provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1954 can be of real assistance in making an orderly transition from an emergency program to a permanent, peace-time farm plan. Let us not turn back the clock at this point. Instead, let us give the new program a fair chance to operate.

Let us work toward a well-balanced agriculture-one in which farmers themselves will make most of the management decisions right on their own farms. Let us seek to build a thriving farm economy in which dairymen, poultrymen, and all other seg-ments of agriculture will share fairly and fully.

Our national economy is sound and prosperous. That, in the long run, is the best guarantee of a brighter tomorrow for American agriculture.

Let us push toward those "horizons beyond."

Let us continue resolutely to work toward a stable, prosperous, and free agriculture here in this choice land which God has blessed above all others.

Who's Being Irresponsible Now?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I present a letter received from Walter P. Reuther, president, UAW-CIO, accompanied by his reply to Secretary Weeks. The correspondence is self-explanatory, but I think that the membership of this House will not fail to notice a now familiar strategy of this

administration demonstrated in the past congressional election. Has the reckless tactics of the Vice President in the last campaign now carried its contagion to a member of the Cabinet? For now in the person of Mr. Weeks, Secretary of Commerce, we hear such terms as "scaremongers" and "bogeyman of automation," appellations attributed to Mr. Reuther in his efforts to bring to light a very crucial problem that only dispassionate reasoning will afford a solution. Name calling only serves to cloud the issues behind the smog of catch phrases which are designed to confuse rather than clarify.

My district is in the heart of the automobile industry. The welfare and peace of mind of my constituents, as well as the entire population of the Detroit area, lies heavily in the balance of the outcome of the labor-management negotiations that will take place in the next 2 months. I consider it a disservice to the American people for a highly placed public official to make irresponsible statements that will interfere with the orderly negotiations that must take place if we are to have industrial peace and prosperity. The careless statements of many individuals must sometimes be tolerated by ignoring them; but I feel occupants of high public office should speak in the measured language consonant with the dignity of their position.

The above-mentioned letter follows:

DETROIT, MICH., March 18, 1955. The Honorable Louis C. RABAUT, House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RABAUT: I enclose a letter and pamphlet which I have forwarded to Mr. Sinclair Weeks. I respectfully urge that you take note of the reckless and irresponsible behavior and statements to which I refer on the part of the Sccretary of Commerce.

Such distortion of the truth on the part of a Cabinet member in an attempt to divide and disunite our people deserves Presidential and congressional attention.

I think you will agree, as I suggest to Mr. Weeks in my letter to him, as Americans we should stand together to protect and respect our right to differ but our differences should be based on facts, not fancy; on knowledge, not prejudice.

Sincercly yours,

WALTER P. REUTHER, President, UAW-CIO.

DETROIT, MICH., March 11, 1955. The Honorable Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Your remarks on automation in a recent speech in New York are a startling and shocking demonstration of reckless irresponsibility on the part of a Cabinet officer.

In your references to "scaremongers" who are trying to frighten automobile workers with the "bogeyman of automation," you spoke either in ignorance of the facts or with willful distortion of the facts, as other reckless propagandists, with less stature than your position gives you, have done before.

As a Cabinet officer, it is your responsibility to get the facts and, having got them, to state them accurately and truthfully. is also the responsibility of a public official of your rank to devote his energies to pulling the people of our country together on the basis of a sound, constructive program of united action to meet and overcome the economic, social, and political problems that confront Americans and the free people of

the world generally. The objective results of your uninformed or untruthful remarks on attitudes toward automation are to divide our people into warring economic

While you did not mention the UAW-CIO or any of its officers by name, it is obvious you were referring to us because the distortions you uttered coincide exactly with the false propaganda which has emanated from other sources.

The truth about our position on automation was and is available to you from Government as well as from union sources.

Let me quote to you certain passages from an introduction which I wrote to a recent UAW-CIO publication on automation:

"Automation must be met sanely and constructively so that the miracle of mass production—and the ever greater economic abundance made possible by automation can find expression in the lives of people through improved economic security and a fuller share of happiness and human dignity.

"Sensibly, rationally, scientifically we intend to harness this radical new force in our lives, using its potential to produce an era in which well-being, justice, and peace will be the universal possession of all mankind.

"Historically, the problems of mankind have been set in conflict between people, groups, and nations each engaged in a struggle to divide up economic scarcity. We have had a world divided between the haves and the have-nots-those who were fed and those who were starving. Now science and technology have at last given us the tools of economic abundance, and we are confronted no longer with the need to struggle to divide up scarcity.

"Economic abundance is now within our grasp if we but have the good sense to use our resources and technology, fully and effectively, within a framework of economic policies that are morally right and socially

responsible.

The UAW-CIO and its 1,500,000 members welcome automation, technological progress, and the promise of the peacetime use of the atom. We offer our cooperation to men and women of good will in all walks of life in a common search for policies and programs within the structure of our free society that will insure that greater technological progress will result in greater human progress.
"We in the UAW-CIO believe that we can

solve the problems of UAW-CIO members as wage earners only as we work with other people in our free society in the common effort to find answers to the problems of all the people in our country-and ultimately in the world, for only as we learn to work with people everywhere in finding answers to the problems of the world community can we find answers to our own. As citizens of the stomic age, we have the tools of abundance at our disposal. We are confident that the free people of America, in cooperation with freemen everywhere, will demonstrate the good sense and courage to use the tools of abundance for constructive and moral purposes."

For your convenience, I am enclosing a copy of the publication from which these

quotations are taken.

I would also like to refer you to the transcript of both my prepared statement and my oral testimony before the Agriculture Committee of the House of Representatives on February 25, and also my prepared statement and my oral testimony before the Joint Economic Committee of Congress on February 10, where I elaborated in greater detail on the position of our organization on this subject. I am sure a transcript is available to you. One would think that a Cabinet officer would avail himself of the information compiled by congressional hearings before speaking on matters covered by those hearings. In fact, it would seem obvious that an official with the rank of Cabinet member would find it incumbent upon himself to check all possible sources of information and find out what is going on in particular areas of American life before making public pronouncements that carry the weight and authority of that high office.

The difference, Mr. Secretary, between you, like other critics who have misrepresented our position, and us in the UAW-CIO, is that you are trying to run away from the problems attendant upon automation, trying to sweep them out of sight under the rug, while we are stepping up to our responsibilities by exploring all the problems and possibilities and, within our abilities, taking positive action to assure the maximum social good.

maximum social good.

It is our considered judgment that you owe to the UAW-CIO and to the American people a public apology for your intemperate

and untruthful statements.

Let us as Americans stand together in fully protecting and respecting the right to differ. Let us act responsibly and base our differences upon facts, not fancy; upon knowledge, not prejudice.

Sincerely,

Walter P. Reuther,

President, International UAW-CIO.

Newsletter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I enclose herewith a newsletter sent by me and published in the East Side News, a weekly newspaper published in my district:

Washington is a busy place these days. There is, of course, always the important and sometimes complex program of legislative action. There is also always and inevitably the clash of party politics. And as background to both, there is the still tense international situation and the concern that many of us feel about our internal affairs, particularly our internal economy.

One of the more ironic indications of party politics was the recent publication of the Yalta papers. There was a great deal of excitement about it, and a sly injection of political motives was apparent. The way I see it, the Republican administration once again yielded to the pressure of its extremist faction in the hope that the revelation of the Yalta diplomatic papers would be good grist for the political mill; and I am sorry to have to say that I think they did it without any regard to the effect of the publication of the papers upon our delicate international relations.

In ail, I think their plan will backfire. There is nothing in the published correspondence that has not already been general public knowledge. There is nothing to show that this is anything more than the hind-sight wisdom of Monday morning quarterbacks.

I don't think the American people can be fooled. Little by little, I am sure, they will realize that what the American delegation, headed by President Roosevelt, tried to do above all was to act on the unanimously given advice of the President's millary advisers: That, at the time of the conference, there was no certainty of the effectiveness of superior weapons such as the atom bomb, that the invasion and defeat of Japan was likely to cost hundreds of

thousands of American lives, and that it was, therefore, in the American interest to work out some deal that would save those lives. Surely it is ironical that an American President should be attacked posthumously for having done his level best to save American lives and to spare the agonies of hundreds of thousands of wounded soldiers, sallors, marines, and aviators, and the torments of their mothers, wives, sweethearts, and families.

If there were less of politics in our international affairs, the publication of the Yalta papers, no matter what is revealed by hind-sight, should have evoked a solemn tribute to the American representatives for their concern with American lives.

One of the early acts of the Congress this session was to increase the pay of Federal judges, Senators, and Congressmen, and a few others in the Federal service. Here again is a case where there has been something of an artificial outcry, but the commonsense of the American voters will no doubt prevail in the long run. They realize, of course, that no matter how big American industry is, there is no business, none in the whole country, that is as important as the business of our Federal Government, and that its compensation must be somewhat in line with the payments in general industrial and mercantile life. No conscientious Congressman serves his constituency only because of congressional pay. But it would be an act of folly to penalize those public servants by compensation that is out of line with general practice. The plain fact is that every committee of inquiry has recognized the inadequacy of Federal pay and has recom-mended a substantial increase. Without such fair compensation the tendency would be to have as representatives only men of wealth who could afford the luxury of congressional service. And nothing could be more destructive of the American purpose to avoid rule by class than a procedure that would automatically make the men of wealth the only representatives of the peo-ple in the United States Congress.

Meanwhile, there is much that is still in the process of public discussion. The Democratic proposal for a \$20 reduction to the small individual taxpayer was completely in the spirit of the Democratic Party's concern for the individual wage earner, small-business man, and farmer, as against the Republican Party's concern last year for the big corporation and the fortunate stockholder.

The senatorial inquiry into the stock market is another indication of the same broad concern for the general public. The last time that Wall Street was looked into was after the event when a crash had already impoverished millions of Americans. The Democratic purpose was to look into the situation in advance so as to have safeguards against such calamity.

The McCarran Act continues to plague us, as it should. A recent television program under the auspices of Edward Murrow brought out again the iniquities of that legislation. With these in mind, I introduced a bill to wipe the slate clean, to return to the state of affairs before the McCarran Act was passed, and to codify our immigration and naturalization procedures along sound and fair lines.

One thing must be clear in this regard: That the national origins quotas, used as the basis for our immigration, are indefensible. Whatever else may be valid about the bill, this aspect, basing our immigration on an archaic and racially minded national origins quota, must go. They are an affront to scores of millions of American citizens. I am sure that as they express themselves a change will be made, and I, for one, am ready to fight for such a change.

Recently I also introduced into the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD a statement expressing my concern at a report published in the

New York Times that the United States might return the Nazi archives before a full study will have been made. In my remarks in Congress I said—and I stand by—the following:

I am, frankly, very much concerned with the subject with which that story deals. It seems to me that, if what it reports is accurate, it will mean that the United States will give up an invaluable resource in our knowledge of totalitarian conquest. If so, our present efforts to combat another version of totalitarianism, that of international communism, will be seriously handicapped and our intentions thwarted.

The German archives contain, no doubt, material that can shed a powerful light on the goals, methods, and processes of the Nazi conquest of one country, Germany; material about the unutterable plans for the destruction of what they called inferior people, first in their own land and then in neighboring countries. It, no doubt, sheds light on their Machiavellian propaganda techniques, including those by which they contemplated the division of our own country and the weakening of our material and moral strength to resist totalitarianism. Such material is of incalculable historical importance. It must not be jeopardized or lost to us by its casual return to a country where its nationalist forces may be disposed to destroy the full record or to conceal it forever from the scrutiny of the civilized world.

This record must be kept and, in due course, be made available to American scholarship as the all-important source material by which we can learn from the dread recent past and be strengthened by that knowledge to deal with problems that we may well have to meet in the imminent or far future.

I believe this subject is one that ought to be of great concern to all of us. I for one mean to explore it fully so that no step will be taken that will prevent American scholars and historians, the American universities, and the American people as a whole from having access to data that is so important for our understanding of recent world events, and so essential for our own strength in any trials that may lie ahead.

Dinosaur National Monument

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in the district in Illinois which I have the honor to represent there is a keen sense of awareness of the danger now facing our superb national park system. My mail is heavy with letters from my constituents protesting legislative action by this Congress that would lead to the destruction of the Dinosaur National Monument. At the suggestion of Kenneth C. Sears, professor of law at the University of Chicago and nationally renowned as educator and author, I am extending my remarks to include an article by John B. Oakes in the New York Times of March 6, 1955. Those of my colleagues, if any, who are not acquainted with the high standing of Mr. Sears, I refer to page 2380 of volume 28 of Who's Who in America.

The article by Mr. Oakes follows:

CONSERVATION: SAVING WETLANDS—IMPOR-TANCE IS STRESSED OF PRESERVING MANY SWAMPS AND MARSHES

RENEW DINOSAUR FIGHT

Of all the unwise and unnecessary governmentally sponsored schemes to destroy an irreplaceable natural resource, the proposal to build Echo Park Dam inside Dinosaur National Monument in northwestern Colorado is—as readers of this column are well aware—the No. 1 national threat. The Upper Colorado River storage project—a billion-dollar baby of extremely doubtful economic value which includes the controversial dam and for which the entire Nation is expected to pay—was turned down in the last Congress. It is coming forward again under a heavy head of steam.

The Department of the Interior, which is fighting hard for the project with strong support of Members of Congress from the immediately affected areas, has produced evaporation figures showing the superiority of Echo Park Dam over proposed alternatives. But the figures have repeatedly been shown to be erroneous, and have had to be scaled down by 90 percent, so that the differential now-even according to the Bureau of Reclamation's own questionable figures—is relatively slight. Probably the most effective conservation group in this battle has been the Sierra Club, of California (1050 Mills Tower, San Francisco). Its president, Richard M. Leonard, has pointed out in a recent statement the fallacy of the argument now being presented by proponents of the dam that it would actually improve the recreational if not the scenic potentialities of the Dinosaur National Monument. Mr. Leonard

"The reservoir behind Echo Park Dam would be a vast, unslightly, fluctuating reservoir which would be full only once every 30 or 40 years, drawn down to dead-storage level in the same period, and fluctuating between those levels the rest of the time."

Low-water hazards

"Horizontally, the drawback at periods of low water would be as much as 25 miles on the Green River arm of the reservoir and 13 miles on the Yampa arm. This area would be the primary deposition zone for silt, sand, and clay; it would be ooze when wet and cracked mud when dry. About 34,000 acres of stained, drowned, and eroded landscape would be periodically exhumed.

"No permanent vegetation would grow within the fluctuation zone. Fish and wildlife would suffer accordingly. The bottom lands and river shore which now constitute a natural setting would be permanently

obliterated.

"It is not necessary to guess about the aftermath of an Echo Park Dam. The situation at Lake Mead, where progressively new low-level records are being set since the one time (1941) it nearly filled, speak for themselves.

Last year, Congress was asked for \$128,000 to adapt beach development there to the retreating lake in which growth of harmful bacteria required closing some beaches. The lowdown then was 88 feet. It is now 120 and is dropping toward a predicted 150 feet. Some lakeshore development has had to be abandoned. Silt averaging about 200 feet deep extends the 40-mile length of oncestriking lower Granite Gorge.

"The Secretary of the Interior has said: What we have done at Lake Mead and in the Great Smokies is what we have in mind for

Dinosaur.'

On the desirability of subsidizing reclamation projects in this area, Mr. Leonard Observes:

"Whether additional farm lands should be brought under irrigation at the average milehigh, short growing season elevations of the upper basin States at an estimated cost ranging from \$500 to \$2,700 per acre for get-

ting water on the land is a question for the agricultural experts to answer."

Productivity figure

"Dr. Paul B. Sears, president-elect of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in a recent study indicated that the productivity of millions of acres of land east of the Rockies could be doubled at a cost of less than \$30 per acre.

"Can the American people afford to bring into production relatively poor, agricultural lands at a cost as high as \$2,700 per acre when the same effect can be produced on other lands for \$30 per acre?

"Do the American people want to do this at the price of losing one of the most beautiful units of their superb national park system? We do not think the people will permit this if they know the facts. That is why we are asking conservationists all over the country to jump into this fight as never before to prevent the inclusion of Echo Park Dam in the upper Colorado River project."

Isthmian Canal Policy of the United States—Documentation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, since the modification, by order of the Secretary of War—now Army—in May 1942 of the additional facilities for the Panama Canal authorized under Public Law 391, 76th Congress, approved August 11, 1939—Fifty-third Statutes at Large, page 1409—all construction toward the modernization of that waterway has been in abeyance. Meanwhile, the broader problem of Isthmian Canal policy has become a matter of a growing public interest and congressional concern.

Discussion of the entire question of interoceanic canals received a great impetus on December 1, 1947, when the President transmitted to the Congress a report of the Governor of the Panama Canal—now Canal Zone—under Public Law 280, 79th Congress. This report recommended only the so-called sea-level project for major canal construction at Panama.

Significantly, the report was forwarded without Presidential approval, comment or recommendation. The Congress took no action thereon and the report was not published. Congressional leaders, however, recognized the issues presented by its recommendations as affecting policies of the highest national and international importance, with grave implications for the future welfare of the United States.

The first step in the congressional consideration of the canal problem was the passage on February 28, 1949, of House Resolution 44, 81st Congress, authorizing a full and complete study by the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the financial operation of the Panama Canal.

For this task, its distinguished chairman, the late Honorable Schuyler Otis

Bland, of Virginia, designated a special subcommittee, of which I was chairman and Representatives Tom B. Fugate, of Virginia, and Edward T. Miller, of Maryland, were members.

After an extended investigation, which included numerous consultations with officials of the Panama Canal, Army, Navy, and merchant marine, and a visitation in the Canal Zone, April 18 to 22, 1949, it became apparent to the subcommittee that the adequate resolution of the canal question could not be limited to statistical studies but would ultimately require consideration of all phases of Isthmian Canal policy. Its studies and recommendations eventually led to the reorganization of the entire canal enterprise under Public Law 841, 81st Congress—the first basic improvement in the administrative setup in the Canal Zone since the Panama Canal Act of 1912.

The subcommittee realized, however, that this administrative improvement was only preliminary to the resolution of more fundamental elements in Isthmian Canal policy that still remain to be redetermined. As an aid in that direction, I prepared a selected bibliography on this policy, which was published in the Congressional Record—81st Congress, 1st session, volume 95, part 16, August 25, 1949, page A5580. The subsequent publication of much additional information requires that this list be revised.

First in importance are the writings of recognized authorities on the Panama Canal. Among these are:

Abbot, Henry L.: Problems of the Panama Canal (2d ed.). New York: MacMillan Co.; 1907.

DuVal, Miles P.:

Cadiz to Cathay: The Long Diplomatic Struggle for the Panama Canal (2d ed.). Stanford University Press, 1947.

And the Mountains Will Move: The Story of the Building of the Panama Canal. Stanford University Press, 1947.

The Marine Operating Problems, Panama Canal, and the Solution. American Society of Civil Engineers. Proceedings, volume 73 (February 1947), page 161; Transactions, volume 114 (1949), page 558.

Goethals, George W., et al. The Panama Canal: An Engineering Treatise. New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1916 (2 volumes.).

Johnson, Emory R.: The Panama Canal, New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1916.

Sibert, William L. and John F. Stevens: The Construction of the Panama Canal, New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1915.

The great constructive engineering contributions of General Abbot, Chairman, 1907, and chief engineer, 1905–07; John F. Stevens, of the Isthmian Canal Commission; General Sibert, Chairman and chief engineer, 1907–14; and first Governor of the Panama Canal, 1914–16, George W. Goethals; the well-known historical and marine operational studies of Captain DuVal; and the original and fundamental economic studies of interoceanic commerce of Prof. Emory R. Johnson, entitle the writings of these authorities to universal consideration by both professional interests and the general public.

The principal governmental documentation of the Panama Canal, 1901 to 1954, is as follows:

LAWS AUTHORIZING ACQUISITION OF CANAL ZONE, CONSTRUCTION AND OPERATION, OF THE PAN-AMA CANAL, 1902-12

Act to provide for the construction of a canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Approved June 28, 1902 (Spooner Act).

Act to provide for construction of a lock canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and the method of construction. Approved June 29, 1906.

Act to provide for the opening, maintenance, protection, and operation of the Panama Canal, and the sanitation and government of the Canal Zone. Approved August 24, 1912 (Panama Canal Act).

CANAL TREATIES AND CONVENTIONS, 1901-36

Treaty between the United States and Great Britain to facilitate the construction of a ship canal of November 18, 1901 (Hay-Pauncefote Treaty).

Treaty between the United States and the Republic of Panama of November 18, 1903

(Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty).

Boundary convention between the United States and Republic of Panama of September 2. 1914 (Price-Lefevre convention).

Treaty between the United States and Republic of Colombia of April 6, 1914, proclaimed March 30, 1922 (Thomson-Urrutia

General treaty of friendship and cooperation between the United States and Republic of Panama of March 2, 1936, proclaimed July 27, 1939 (Hull-Alfaro Treaty).

United States Army Interoceanic Canal Board, investigation and survey, 1929-31: Public Resolution 99 (S. J. Res. 117), 70th Congress. Approved March 2, 1921.

the Chief of Engineers and United States Army Interoceanic Canal Board, 1931 (H. Doc. 139, 72d Cong.).

Third locks project for increasing canal facilities, 1939-42: Public Resolution 85 (H. J. Res. 412), 74th Congress, authorizing and directing the Governor of the Panama Canal to investigate the means of increasing its capacity for future needs of interoceanic shipping. Approved May 1, 1936.

Report on Panama Canal for future needs of interoceanic shipping (H. Doc. 210, 76th

Cong.).

House Committee on Merchant Marine and Pisheries: Hearings on H. R. 180, H. R. 201, H. R. 202, H. R. 2667, and House Joint Resolution 112, 76th Congress, on March 14, 15, and 16, 1939, concerning additional interoceanic canal facilities.

Senate Committee on Interoceanic Canals: Hearings on S. 2229 and H. R. 5129, 76th Congress, on July 20 and August 3, 1939, concerning additional facilities for the Panama Canal Zone.

Public Law 391, 76th Congress, authorizing construction of additional facilities for the Panama Canal substantially in accordance with plans set forth in a report of the Governor dated February 24, 1939, and published as House Document 210, 76th Congress. Approved August 11, 1939.

Secretary of War's letter of May 23, 1942, directing modification (suspension) of third

locks project.

ISTHMIAN CANAL STUDIES UNDER PUBLIC LAW 280, 79TH CONGRESS, 1946-47

House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Executive hearings on H. R. 4480, 79th Congress, on November 15, 1945, concerning investigation of additional Panama Canal facilities.

House report on study of additional Panama Canal facilities, November 16, 1945 (H. Rept. 1213, 79th Cong.).

Senate report on study of additional Panama Canal facilities, December 19, 1943 (S. Rept. 862, 79th Cong.).

Public Law 280, 79th Congress, authorizing the Governor of the Panama Canal to investigate the means of increasing its capacity and security to meet future needs of interoceanic commerce and national defense. Approved December 28, 1945.

House Resolution 36, 80th Congress, passed February 10, 1947, authorizing continuation of investigation by Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries begun under House Resolution 281, 77th Congress.

House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Report on Operations and Future of Panama Canal, July 2, 1947 (H. Rept. 781,

80th Cong.).

Report of the Governor of the Panama Canal under Public Law 280, 79th Congress, transmitted by the President to the Congress, December 1, 1947, without Persidential approval, comment, or recommendation.

INVESTIGATION OF FINANCIAL OPERATIONS AND REORGANIZATION, PANAMA CANAL, 1949-50

House Resolution 44, 81st Congress, passed February 28, 1949, authorizing an investigation of the financial operations of the Panama Canal by the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and submission of a report by June 30, 1949.

House Resolution 337, 81st Congress, extending time for submission of the report under House Resolution 44 to January 31,

House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Hearings before Special Subcommittee To Investigate Panama Canal Tolls, under House Resolution 44, 81st Congress on March 14, April 6 and 19, May 23, and June 6 and 14, 1949.

House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries:

Interim Report on Investigation of Panama Canal Tolls, August 23, 1949 (H. Rept. 1304, 81st Cong.).

Second Interim Report, March 2, 1950

(H. Rept. 1728, 81st Cong.).
Third Interim Report, August 25, 1950

(H. Rept. 2993, 81st Cong.).

President of the United States: Report and Recommendations on Organization and Operation of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad, January 31, 1950 (H. Doc. 460, 81st Congress).

House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Report on Reconstitution of Panama Canal, August 16, 1950 (H. Rept. 2935,

81st Congress).

Senate Committee on Armed Services. Report on Reconstitution of Panama Canal, September 8, 1950 (S. Rept. 2531, 81st Congress).

Public Law 841, 81st Congress, establishing the Panama Canal Company and Canal Zone government, approved September 26, 1950 (64 Stat. 1038).

OPERATION OF PANAMA CANAL UNDER CORPORATE ORGANIZATION, 1951-54

Comptroller General of the United States: Audit report. Fiscal year, 1952 (H. Doc. 207, 83d Congress).

Comptroller General of the United States: Audit report. Fiscal year, 1953 (H. Doc. 473, 83d Congress).

Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisherles: Hearings on execution of Public Law 841, 81st Congress, June 9, 14, 18, and 28, July 6-7, 1954.

House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Interim Report on Operation of the Panama Canal under Public Law 841, 81st Congress, August 4, 1954. Congressonal RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 149 (August 4, 1954), page A5766.

The principal articles published since 1945 that are applicable or pertinent to the Panama Canal specifically, interoceanic canals generally, and other aspects of Isthmian Canal policy, some of which have been included in extensions of remarks of distinguished Members of Congress, are listed in a form convenient for reference, as follows:

ISTHMIAN CANAL POLICY

ALLEN, Hon. JOHN J., JR .:

Trans-Isthmian Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in Marine Progress, February 1951. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 12 (March 19, 1951), page A1526.

Panama Canal. Extension of quoting an article by Capt. Frederick L. Oliver in Christian Science Monitor (Atlantic edition), November 26, 1952, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 9 (February 12, 1953), page A605.

Bennett, Ira E .:

Panama Canal Must Remain American. National Republic (Washington), XL (June 1952), 17.

Same. Congressional Record (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 9 (March 2, 1953), page A1006.

Panama Canal: Today and Tomorrow. National Republic, XLI (August 1953), page 15.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 12 (July 30, 1953), page A4857.

Bland, Hon. Schuyler Otls: The Panama Canal: Operations or Engineering? Extension of remarks quoting an article by Arthur Stanley Riggs in the USNI Proceedings, December 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2c. sess.), volume 94, part 9 (January 6, 1948), page A19.

Bowles, James T. B., et al.:

The Panama Canal Problem: A Memorandum to the Members of the Congress. Hope-William R. McCann, consulting Va., engineer, 1954.

Same. Civil Engineering, volume 24 (July 1954), page 460.

Same. Concressional Record (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 79 (April 29, 1954), page 5491, and No. 154 (August 10, 1954), page A5912.

Bradley, Hon. Willis W .:

Let's Have an Interoceanic Canals Commission. Extension of remarks quoting a resolution of the American Coalition. Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 9 (January 27, 1948), page A451.

The Panama Canal Question—Bibliographical List. Congressional Record Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, par. 11 (June 15, 1948), page A3890. DuVal, Capt. Miles P.:

The Interoceanic Canals Problem Address before the Explorers' Club of New York, November 13, 1951. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 98, part 8 (January 15, 1952), page A163.

Summary of same. The Retired Officer (Washington, D. C.), volume 8 (January-

February 1952), page 10.

Isthmian Canal Policy-An Evaluation. United States Naval Institute Proceedings (Annapolis), volume 81 (March 1955), page 263.

Freeland, Stephen L.: New Plans for Panama. Popular Science (New York), volume

151 (July 1947), page 66.

Fugate, Hon. Tom B.: Panama Canal Question. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in the National Bulletin of the Military Order of the World Wars, September 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 17 (September 19, 1950), page A6653.

Godsoe, Charles H., editor:

A Panama Canal Commission. Marine Progress (New York), volume 18 (April 1950). page 6.

Trans-Isthmian Canal. Marine Progress (New York), volume 19 (February 1951), page 9.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 12 (March 19, 1951), page A1526.

Harding, Earl:

Will Panama Be Next? Economic Council Letter 341, August 15, 1954. New York. National Economic Council, Inc., 1954.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 163 (August 20, 1954), page A6236.

Hobbs, William H .: The Problem of a New Trans-Isthmian Canal. USNI. Proceedings

(Annapolis), volume 76 (February 1950), page 129.

KEOGH. HON. EUGENE J .:

Panama Canal Construction Engineers Favor Interoceanic Canals Commission. Address quoting memorandum to the Members of Congress transmitted by Consulting Engineer William R. McCann, March 24, 1954. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.). volume 100, No. 79 (April 29, 1954), page 5491. - Panama Canal: Today and Tomorrow. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Ira E. Bennett in National Republic, August 1953. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 12 (July 30, 1953), page A4857

- The Panama Canal Must Remain American. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Ira E. Bennett in National Republic, June 1952. Congressional Record (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 9 (Mar.

2, 1953), page A1006. Little, Captain H. H.:

Let Us Build the Best Canal at Panama. American Society of Naval Engineers Journal (Washington, D. C.), volume 58 (November 1946), page 560.

Same. Marine News (New York), XXXIV

(March 1948), 21.

Little, H. H., Arthur Stanley Riggs, and E. B. Small .

Panama Canal: Operations or Engineering?—Discussion. USNI proceedings (Annapolis), volume 74 (July 1948), page 894.

MARTIN, Hon. THOMAS E .:

An Interoceanic Canals Commission, the Best Solution of Panama Canal Problem. Extension of remarks commenting on a news story by Jules Dubois in the Chicago Tribune. June 13, 1951. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 14 (July 18, 1951), page A4480.

Oliver, Captain Frederick L .:

Panama Canal Seeks Ear of Congress. Christian Science Monitor (Boston), (Atlantic ed.), November 26, 1952, page 16.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 9 (Feb. 12, 1953), Dage A605

Modernized Canal Put Off. Christian Science Monitor (Atlantic ed.), September 3, 1954, page 10, columns 6-8.

Panama Canal Could Be Improved; We Don't Need a Brand New One. Editorial. Saturday Evening Post (Philadelphia, volume 225 (Mar. 7, 1953), page 12.

Same. Congressional Record (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 9 (Mar. 5, 1953),

page A1102.

Panama Canal Question (editorial). Military Order of the World Wars National Bulletin (Washington, D. C.), XXXI (Sept. 1950), 4.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 17 (Sept. 19, 1950). Dage A6653

Riggs, Arthur Stanley:

The Panama Canal: Operations or Engineering? USNI proceedings (Annapolis), volume 73 (December 1947), page 1455.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 9 (January 6,

1948), page A19.

SMITH, Hon. LAWRENCE H: Panama Canal: A Much Neglected Waterway. Extension of remarks quoting a memorandum to the Congress published in Civil Engineering, July 1954. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 154 (August 10, 1954), page A5912.

Thatcher, Hon. Maurice H: Panama Canal. Remarks introducing Hon. Willis W. Bradley before the Engineers Club of Washington, D. C., February 24, 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volupart 12 (March 9 1949), page A1304.

THOMPSON, HOD. CLARK W:

Isthmian Canal Policy of the United States—Bibliographical List. Concaessional RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 16 (August 25, 1949), page A5580.

Interoceanic Canals Problem. Extension of remarks quoting addresses of Capt. Miles P. DuVal and Mr. John Frank Stevens, Jr., at the Explorers' Club of New York, November 13, 1951. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 98, part 8 (January 15, 1952), page A163.

Practical Solution of Canal Problem Requires Interoceanic Canals Commission. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in the Saturday Evening Post, March 7, 1953. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 9 (March 5, 1953), page

A1101.

Panama Canal: Memorializations and Modernization. Extension of remarks quoting a Nevy Department press release published in the Canal Record (St. Petersburg, Fla.), December 1953. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 30 (February 17, 1954), page A1324.

ATOMIC BOMB, SECURITY, AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

Baldwin, Hanson W .:

What Kind of War? Atlantic Monthly (Concord, N. H.), volume 184 (July 1949).

Same. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 1st Sess.), volume 95, part 15 (July 14, 1949), page A4627.

Betts, A. W., Lt. Col., Corps of Engineers,

United States of America:
Nuclear Weapons. The Military Engineer (Washington, D. C.), XLI (March-April 1949), 104.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st Sess.), volume 95, part 13 (March 24, 1949), page A1713.

Bradley, Gen. Omar N.:

A Balanced Military Establishment. The Military Engineer (Washington, D. C.), XLI (March-April 1949), 101.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st Sess.), volume 95, part 15 (August 18, 1949), page A5402.

Bradley, Hon. Willis W .:

St. Lawrence Waterway, Panama Sea-Level Project and National Defense. Statement before House Committee on Public Works. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st Sess.), volume 97, part 12 (April 11, 1951), page A1950.

Bush, Dr. Vannevar:

Modern Arms and Free Men. Readers' Digest (Pleasantville, N. Y.), volume 56 (February 1950), page 151.

Same. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 2d Sess.), volume 96, part 14 (March 9, 1950), page A1986. The Weapons We Need For Freedom.

Readers' Digest (Pleasantville, N. Y.) volume 58 (January 1951), page 48. Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong.,

1st Sess.), volume 97, part 11 (January 23, 1951), page A349.

Collins, General J. Lawton:

Panama Canal Would Not Be Greatly Threatened in War. Public statement of Chief of Staff, United States Army. Star and Herald (Panama, Republic of Panama), May 13, 1953.

Same. Congressional Record (83d Cong., 1st Sess.), volume 99, part 11 (June 11, 1953). page A3408.

Groves, Lt. Gen. Leslie R.:

Can New York Hide From the Atomic Bomb? Cosmopolitan (New York), volume 126 (January 1949), page 41.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (January 13, 1949), page A169.

Hessler, William H .:

The A-Bomb Won't Do What You Think. Colliers' (New York), volume 124 (September 17, 1949), page 17.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 16 (October 11, 1949), page A6190.

Hopkins, Frederick W .:

Security of the Panama Transit in the War. USNI proceedings (Annapolis), volume 75 (March 1949), page 321.

Same. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 15 (August 5, 1949), page A5085.

Lear, John:

Hiroshima, U. S. A. Colliers' (New York), volume 126 (August 5, 1950), page 11.

MARTIN, Hon. THOMAS E .:

The Atomic Bomb and the Isthmian Canals. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves in Cosmopolitan, January 1949. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (January 13, 1949), page A169.

The Atomic Bomb and the Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Maj. Gen. C. F. Robinson in the Military Engineer, January-February 1949. Congres-SIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (February 14, 1949), page A755.

The Panama Canal and Nuclear Weapons. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Lt. Col. A. W. Betts in the Military Engineer, March-April 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13

(March 24, 1949), page A1713. Panama Canal Security Against Atomic Attack. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Lt. Comdr. H. B. Seim in the USNI proceedings, April 1949. Congressional Rec-ORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (May 2, 1949), page A2639. Isthmian Canals and National Defense.

Extension of remarks quoting an article by Hanson W. Baldwin in Atlantic Monthly. July 1949. Congressional Record (81st 1st sess.), volume 95, part 15 (July 14, 1949), page A4627.

A Balanced Military Policy for the United States. Extension of remarks quoting an address by Gen. Omar N. Bradley in the Military Engineer (March-April 1949). Congres-SIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 15 (August 18, 1949), page A5402.

Interoceanic Canals-The Atomic Bomb and National Defense. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Comdr. Robert C. Wing in the USNI proceedings, September CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 16 (October 11, 1949), page A6197.

Isthmian Canals and Atomic Defense. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Lt. Col. Richard D. Wolfe in the Military Engineer, November-December 1949. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 14 (March 7, 1950), page A1725. Isthmian Canal and Atomic Bomb Defense

Plans. Extension of remarks quoting a statement by Dr. Vanneyar Bush in the Associated Press, February 9, 1950. Congres-SIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 14 (March 8, 1950), part A1754.

Interocianic Canals-Modern Arms and National Defense. Extension of remarks quoting a condensation of a book by Dr. Vannevar Bush in the Readers' Digest, Pebruary 1950. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 14 (March 9, 1950), part A1986.

Panama Canal-Propaganda for Sea-Level Project. Extension of remarks commenting on an Associated Press news story by Luis B. Noli, of Panama, July 9, 1950. SIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 16 (July 13, 1950), page A5087.

Apropos of Interoceanic Canals: Atomic

Bomb and National Defense. Extension of remarks quoting a statement by Dr. Vannevar Bush in the Washington Daily News of December 18, 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 11 (January 22, 1951), page A283.

Re Panama Canal: Modern Weapons and National Defense, Extension of remarks quoting an article by Dr. Vannevar Bush in the Readers' Digest, January 1951. Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 11 (January 23, 1951), page A349.

Army Chief of Staff Minimizes Threat to Panama Canal in Major War. Extension of

remarks quoting a statement of Gen. J. Lawton Collins, Chief of Staff, in the May 1953, issue of the Star and Herald, Panama, Republic of Panama. Congressional Rec-ORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 11 (June 11, 1953), page A3408.

McEvoy, J. P.: Panama Canal: Our Most Insecure Outpost. Readers' Digest (Pleasantville, N. Y.), volume 64 (March 1954), page 91.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 42 (March 5, 1954), page A1778.

Potts, Hon. David M.:

The Panama Canal in the Atomic Age. Radio address over the American Broadcasting Co. network on December 8, 1947. Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 13 (December 11, 1947), page

Defense of the Panama Canal. Radio address over WMCA in New York City on De-(80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 9 (January 6, 1948), page A23.
Robinson, Maj. Gen. C. F.:

Industrial Vulnerability to Bombing. The Military Engineer (Washington, D. C.), XLI (January-February 1949) page 1.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (February 14,

1949), page A755. ROGERS, Hon. BYRON G.: Panama Canal: Our Most Insecure Outpost. Extension of remarks quoting an article by J. P. McEvoy in Readers' Digest, March 1954. Congressional. RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No.
42 (March 5, 1954), page A1778.
Seim, Lt. Comdr. H. B.:
Atomic Bomb—the X Factor of Military

Policy. USNI proceedings (Annapolis), volume 75 (April 1949), page 387. Same Congressional Record (81st Cong.,

1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (May 3, 1949), page A2639.

Shalett, Sidney: Can We Defend the Panama Canal? Saturday Evening Post (Phila-delphia), volume 221 (October 9, 1948), page 15.

THOMPSON, Hon. CLARK W .: Security the Panama Transit in the War. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Frederick W. Hopkins in the USNI proceedings, March 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., sess.), volume 95, part 15 (August 5, 1949),

page A5085.

Van Zandt, Hon. James E.: St. Lawrence Waterway, Panama Sea-Level Project, and National Defense? Extension of remarks Extension of remarks quoting a statement before the House Committee on Public Works by Capt. Willis W. Bradley. Congressional Record (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 12 (April 11, 1951), page A1950.

Velle, Lester: The Panama Canal Is Wide Open to Attack. Colliers (New York), Jan-

uary 20, 1951, page 13.

Wing, Comdr. Robert C., United States Navy:

Potentialities of Atomic Warfare Against United States Petroleum Industry. USNI proceedings (Annapolis), volume 75

(September 1949), page 983. Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 16 (October 11,

1949), page A6197. Wolfe, Lt. Col. Richard D.:

Atomic Defense—A Constructive Approach. The Military Engineer (Washington, D. C.), XLI (November-December 1949), 417.

Same. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 96, part 14 (March 7, 1950), page A1725.

TERMINAL LAKE-THIRD LOCKS PROJECT

Bland, Hon. Schuyler Otis: The Marine Operating Problems, Panama Canal, and the Solution. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Capt. Miles P. DuVal proceedings, February 1947. Concressional Record (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 10 (March 21, 1947), page A1176. Bradley, Hon, Fred:

Canal. Radio address of The Panama March 24, 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (June 2, 1947), page A2597. (80th Cong.

The Panama Canal, Radio address of March 31, 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 March (June 3, 1947), page A2632.

Bradley, Hon, Willis W .:

The Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting a radio address of Hon. Fred Bradley, March 24, 1947. Congressional Record (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (June 2, 1947), page A2597. The Panama Canal. Extension of remarks

quoting a radio address of Hon. Fred Bradley, March 31, 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (June 3, 1947), page A2632.

What of the Panama Canal? Address before the Cosmos Club of Washington, D. C., April 19, 1948. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 10 (April 21, 1948), page A2449.

The Whys of the Panama Canal.

before the Engineers Club of Washington, D. C., February 24, 1949. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume part 12 (March 4, 1949), page A1303.

Don't Overdo on Panama Canal Changes. Editorial, Long Beach (Calif.) Press-Telegram, April 4, 1951, page A18.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 12 (April 23, 1951), page A2212.

Cole, Harry O .:

What Should Be Done To Improve the Panama Canal? Congressional Record (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 10 (May 4, 1948), page A2743. Panama Canal. Letter to the editor. Ma-

rine Progress (New York), volume 17 (Janu-

ary 1949), page 22.
Same. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (February 14, 1949), page A760.

Panama Canal-Sea-Level Project-Discussion. ASCE proceedings, volume 75 (January 1949), page 143.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (February 9, 1949), page A662.

DuVal, Capt. Miles P .:

The Marine Operating Problems, Panama Canal, and the Solution. ASCE proceedings (New York), volume 73 (February 1947). page 161.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 10 (March 21, 1947), page A1176.

Same. Marine News (New York), XXXIV (August 1947), 41. Same. ASCE transactions (New York),

volume 114 (1949), page 558.

The Marine Operating Problems of the Panama Canal Involved in Its Modernization and Their Solution. Address before the District of Columbia section of the American Society of Civil Engineers in the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, April 15, 1947. Available at the general headquarters of the society in New York.

Summary of same. Christian Science Monitor (Atlantic edition), May 28, 1947,

page 9.

Godsoe, Charles H., editor:

The Panama Canal Modernization. Marine Progress, volume 14 (April 1946), page 16.

Same. Congressional Record (79th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 92, part 11 (May 9, 1946), page A2563.

Panama Canal. Marine Progress (New York), volume 14 (September 1946), page 16. Ship Operation-The Panama Canal. Marine Progress (New York), volume 15 (January 1947), page 18.

The Canal Question and Shipping. Marine Progress (New York), volume 15 (June 1947), page 7.

The Panama Canal Modernization. Marine Progress (New York), volume 15 (June 1947). page 22.

Marine Progress (New Isthmian Plan. York), volume 16 (August 1948), page 18. Same. Congressional Record (81st Cong.,

1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (April 9, 1949), page A2168.

Panama Viewpoint. Editorial quoting a letter by Harry O. Cole. Marine Progress (New York), volume 17 (January 1949), page

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (February 14, 1949), page A760.

KEOGH, Hon. EUGENE J .: The Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in Marine Progress, April 1946. Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD (79th Cong., 2d sess), volume 92, part 11 (May 9, 1946), page A2563.

Kirkpatrick, Ralph Z .: Panama Canal-Sea-Level Project-Symposium Discussion. ASCE proceedings (New York), volume 75 (January 1949), page 151.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 14 (May 27, 1949), page A3331.

MARTIN, Hon. THOMAS E .:

The Panama Canal Problem. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Arthur Stanley Riggs in Shipmate, May 1948. Congressional Record (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 11 (May 28, 1948), page A3399.

Panama Boondoggling. Extension of remarks quoting article by Arthur Stanley Riggs in Work Boat, November 1948. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 1st sess.), vol-

ume 95, part 12 (January 5, 1949), page A44. Waterway Improvements. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Arthur Stanley Marine Progress, January 1949. Congres-SIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (February 14, 1949), page

McGregor, Hon. J. HARRY: Panama Canal Changes. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial by Hon. Willis W. Bradley in the Long Beach (Calif.) Press-Telegram of April 4, 1951. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 12 (April 23, 1951), page 2212.

Oliver, Capt. Frederick L .:

United States-Built Ditch Is Found Inadequate, Christian Science Monitor (Boston) (Atlantic ed.), April 15, 1952, page 3, columns 1-3.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 98, part 10 (May 1, 1952), page A2659.

Pepperburg, Roy L .:

The Battle of the Levels. Sea Power (New York), volume 7 (spring 1947), page 18. The Panama Canal. Our Navy (Brooklyn,

N. Y.), XLIII (Mid. November 1948), 4. Bottleneck at Panama. The Rotarian (Chicago), LXXIV (March 1949), 26,

Potts, Hon. David M: Alternative Canal Extension of remarks quoting a letter of William G. B. Thompson in the Wall Street Journal, June 4, 1947. Congressional Record (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (June 12, 1947), page A2826.

Rich, Hon. Robert F.: The Panama Canal-Stop, Look, and Listen. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Arthur Stanley Riggs in the Commonweal. September 9, 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 16 (September 26, 1949), page A5867.

Riggs, Arthur Stanley:

The Panama Question. Shipmate (Annapolis), volume 11 (May 1948), page 7.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 11 (May 28, 1948), page A3399.

Panama Boondoggling. Work Boat (New Orleans), V (November 1948), 46.

Same. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (January 5, 1949), page A44.

Panama Canal Prospect. The Commonweal (New York), L (Sept. 9, 1949), 526.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 16 (September 26,

1949), page A5867.

Snyder, Hon. Melvin C .: What Should Be Done To Improve the Panama Canal? Extension of remarks quoting two statements by Harry O. Cole. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 10 (May 4, 1948), page A2743.

STAGGERS, Hon. HARLEY O .: Panama Canal-Sea Level Project. Extension of remarks quoting a technical discussion by Harry O. Cole in ASCE proceedings, January 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (February 9, 1949), page

Stevens, John Frank, Jr.: Views of the Late Chief Engineer John F. Stevens of the Isthmian Canal Commission. Congressional RECORD (82d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 98, part 8 (January 15, 1952), page A163.

THOMPSON, Hon. CLARK W .:

The Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an address by Hon. Willis W. Bradley and proceedings of the Engineers' Club of Washington, D. C., February 24, 1949. Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (March 9, 1949), page

The Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in Marine Progress, August 1948. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.). volume 95, part 13 (April 9,

1949), page A2168.

The Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting a technical discussion by Ralph Z. Kirkpatrick in ASCE proceedings, January 1949. Congressional Record (81st Cong., lat sess.), volume 95, part 14 (May 27, 1949), page A3331.

Weichel, Hon. Alvin F .:

Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an address by Hon. W. L. Fiesinger in the Sandusky Register-Star-News, May 9, 1952. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., sess.), volume 98, part 10 (May 16, 1952), page A3050.

Same. Extension of remarks quoting an address by Hon. W. L. Fiesinger in the Erie County Reporter (Huron, Ohio), June 27, 1952. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 98, part 11 (July 5, 1952), page

A4865.

Woodruff, Hon. Roy O .: Improvement of Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Capt. Frederick L. Oliver in the Christian Science Monitor (Atlantic ed.), April 15, 1952. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 98, part 10 (May 1, 1952), page A2659.

PROPOSED SEA-LEVEL PROJECT

Bland, Hon. Schuyler Otis:

A Sea-Level Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Brig. Gen. Hans Kramer, United States Army (retired), in the Pacific Marine Review, March 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (March 29, 1949), page

A Sea-Level Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in the Pacific Marine Review, February 1949. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (April 5, 1949), page A2018.

Bowman, Waldo G .:

Puzzle in Panama. Engineering News-Record (New York), volume 138 (May 1, 1947), page 740.

Same. Reprinted in Annual Report of Smithsonian Institution, 1947, page 407. Claybourn, John G., et al.: Sea-Level Plan

for Panama Canal with discussions. ASCE transactions, volume 114 (1949), pages 572-

Department of the Army: The Panama Canal-Vital Link in Hemisphere Defense. Armed Forces Talk No. 253. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1948.

King, Donald D., editor: Sea-Level Panama Canal Dictated by New Weapon Dangers. Civil Engineering (New York), volume 18 (February 1948), page 17.

Kramer, Brig. Gen. Hans:

Sea-Level Panama Canal. Marine Review (San Francisco), volume 46 (March 1949), page 49.

Same, Congessional Record (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (March 29, 1949), page A1864.

Kramer, Hans, and Philip G. Nichols: Panama Canal—the Sea-Level Project—Dis-

cussion. ASCE procedings (New York), volume 74 (June 1948), page 1015.

Kramer, Hans, and James H. Stratton: Sea-Level Plan for Panama Canal—Discussion. ASCE proceedings (New York). volume 74 (June 1948), page 921.

MacMullen, T. Douglas, editor:

Sea-Level Panama Canal. Marine Review (San Francisco), volume 46 (February 1949), page 51.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (April 5, 1949),

page A2018.

Secretary of Defense: The Panama Canal-An Outpost of Hemisphere Defense. Armed Forces Talk 373, May 18, 1951. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1951.

Stratton, Col. James H., et al.: Panama Canal-The Sea-Level Project-A Symposium. ASCE transaactions (New York), volume 114 (1949), pages 607-906.

COST ESTIMATE RELIABILITY

Bland, Hon. Schuyler Otis:

Panama Canal-Symposium Discussion. Extension of remarks quoting a technical paper by Capt. H. H. Little in ASCE proceedings, March 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (Bist Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (March 30, 1949), page A1887. Slide Problems of the Panama Canal. Ex-

tension of remarks quoting a technical paper by A. Casagrande in ASCE proceedings, March 1949. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (April 12, 1949), page A2228.

Casagrande, A.:

Panama Canal-Sea-Level Project Symposium Discussion. ASCE proceedings (New York), volume 75 (March 1949), page 421.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (April 12, 1949). page 2228.

Little, Capt. H. H .:

Panama Canal-Sea-Level Project Symposium Discussion. ASCE proceedings (New York), volume 75 (March 1949), page 417.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (March 30,

1949), page A1887.

Rich, Hon. Robert F.: Panama Sea-Level Canal—An Engineer's Day Dream and Giant Bonanza for Machinery Manufacturers. Extension of remarks quoting a statement by Hon. W. L. Flesinger in the Sandusky Register-Star-News, November 11, 1949. Congres-SIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 13 (January 12, 1950), page A238.

DIPLOMATIC AND HISTORICAL

ABBITT, Hon. WATKINS M.: Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in Human Events, June 23, 1954. Congres-SIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 123 (July 2, 1954), page A4819.

ALLEN, Hon. JOHN J., Jr.:

The Panama Canal and Theodore Roosevelt Inseparable in History. Extension of remarks quoting an address by Hon. Willis W. Bradley before Panama Canal Societies of the United States, Washington, D. C., May 3, 1947. Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (May 6, 1947), page A2127.

Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting a 10-year overhaul program. Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 10 (March 31, 1953), page A1689, Bland, Hon, Schuvler Otis:

Panama Canal-John F. Stevens and the High-Level Type. Extension of remarks quoting the report of Chief Engineer John F. Stevens of January 26, 1906 recommending the high-level-lake and lock type. Congres-SIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95 part 16 (Oct. 13, 1949), page A6282.

Panama Canal-President Theodore Roosevelt's Decision. Extension of remarks quoting President Roosevelt's message to the Congress of February 19, 1906, recommending the high-level-lake and lock type. Congress-SIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 16 (October 13, 1949), page A6286.

Panama Canal-William Howard Taft and the High Level Lake Type. Extension of remarks quoting the letter of Secretary of War Taft of February 19, 1906, forwarding the report of the International Board of Consulting Engineers to the President. CONGRES-SIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 16 (Oct. 18, 1949), page A6440.

Bowman, Waldo G.: Random Lines (edi-torial on Panama Canal). Engineering News-Record (New York), volume 138 (April

3, 1947), page 492.

BOYKIN, Hon. FRANK W.: John Frank Stevens, Engineer, Pioneer, Discoverer, Railroad Builder, Statesman, and Basic Architect of Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Mildred Beedle Fossett in the magazine section of the Lewiston (Maine) Journal, January 27, 1951. Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 13 (June 18, 1951), page A3657.

Bradley, Hon. Fred:

The Panama Canal, Press release, April 10. 1947.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.) volume 93, part 11 (June 5, 1947). page A2674.

Bradley, Hon. Willis W .:

The Panama Canal and Theodore Rooseveit Inseparable in History. Address before Panama Canal Societies of the United States, Washington, D. C., May 3, 1947. Congressional Record (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (May 6, 1947), page A2127.

The Panama Canal. Extension of remarks

quoting a press release of Hon. Fred Bradley, April 10, 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (June 5, 1947), page A2674.
Cole, Harry O.:

Tribute to the Late Sydney B. Williamson. Address before the Panama Canal Societies of the United States, Washington, D. C., May 8, 1948. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 11 (May 21, 1948), page A3190.

Summary of same. Engineering News-Record (New York), volume 140 (May 13,

1948), page 692.

Davies, Wallace, editor: Something's Going To Happen to the Canal-But What? Army Transportation Journal (Washington, D. C.). volume 3 (May-June 1947), page 20. Dubois, Jules: Problem in Panama. Amer-

ican Mercury (New York), LXXVIII (March 1954), 79.

Fossett, Mildred Beedle:

Maine's John F. Stevens Among the Nation's Greatest Engineers. Lewiston (Maine) Journal, magazine section, January 27, 1951. Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 13 (June 18, 1951).

page A3657.

Fugate, Hon. Tom B .: Panama Canal Memoralization. Extension of Remarks quoting a letter of C. L. Chapin in the Washington Post, April 22, 1952. Congressional Record (82d Cong., 2d Sess.), volume 98, part 10 (May 7, 1952), page A2803.

Kent, John L.: Have We Outgrown the Panama Canal? Popular Mechanics (Chi-cago), volume 85 (June 1946), page 120. Keogh, Hon. Eugene J.: Pacific Locks, Panama Canal—Views of Sibert and Stevens.

Extension of remarks quoting chapter IX in The Construction of the Panama Canal by

William L. Sibert and John F. Stevens, published by D. Appleton & Co., 1915. Con-gressional Record (84th Cong. 1st Sess.) volume 101, No. 37 (March 1, 1955) page A1340.

Lisle, B. Orchard, editor: Panama Canal Losing Major Oil Artery Status. Oil Forum (New York), I (May 1947), 138.

MARTIN, Hon. THOMAS E .:

The United States and Panama. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in the Star and Herald, Panama, Republic of Panstar and Heraid, Panama, Republic of Pan-ama, December 13, 1948. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 1st Sess.), volume 95, part 12 (January 17, 1949), page A219. Isthmian Canals: The Panama Canal and

Diplomatic Relationships. remarks quoting an article by Arthur Stanley Riggs in Forum November 1949. Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d Sess.), volume 96, part 13 (January 18, 1950), page

A353.

Panama Sea-Level Project Apparently Ditched. Extension of remarks quoting a news story by Jim G. Lucas in the Washington Daily News (noon ed.), March 29, 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d Sess.). volume 96, part 14 (March 31, 1950), page A2413.

Trans-Isthmian Canal Problem: Tehuan-tepec Ship-Tunnel and Ship-Railway Proposals. Extension of remarks quoting a professional discussion by Arthur Stanley Riggs in the USNI proceedings, August 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d Sess.), volume 96, part 17 (August 15, 1950), page A5871.

Will Panama Be Next? Extension of remarks quoting an article by Earl Harding in Economic Council Letter 341, August 15, 1954. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 163 (August 20, 1954), page A6236

O'Neill, J. J.:

Planning the New Panama Canal. New York Herald Tribune, March 16, 1947, section II, page 10, columns 1-3.

Condensation of Same. Science Digest (New York), volume 21 (June 1947), page 6. Pitkin, Robert B.: How Secure Is the Panama Canal? American Legion magazine, volume 57 (October 1954), page 16.

Potts, Hon. David M.: The Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting a news story by S. H. Scheibla in the Wall Street Journal, May 27, 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (May 28, 1947), page A2516.

REVERCOMB, Hon. CHAPMAN: Tribute to the late Sydney B. Williamson. Extension of re-marks quoting an address by Harry O. Cole before the Panama Canal Societies of the United States, Washington, D. C., May 8, 1948. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 11 (May 21, 1948), page 3190.

Riggs, Arthur Stanley:

Panama Futility. Catholic World (New York), CLXIV (January 1947), 298.

Panama Railroad. Railway Progress (Washington, D. C.), III (April 1949), 25.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (May 5, 1949),

- The Bridge of Fear. Forum (Philadelphia, CXII (November 1949), 267.

Same. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 13 (January 18, 1950), page A353.

. Understanding Panama, Catholic (New York), CLXIX (September 1949), 418. Trans-Isthmian Canal Problems. Discussion USNI Proceedings (Annapolis), volume 76 (August 1950), page 911.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 17 (August 15, 1950), page A5871.

Salomon, Lt. Comdr. Henry, Jr.: Isthmian USNI Proceedings (Annapolis), Interlude. volume 76 (March 1950), page 269.

Big Ditch Debate. Wall Street Journal New York), May 27, 1947, page 2, column 1. Same. Congressional Record (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (May 28, 1947). page A2516.

STAGGERS, HOD. HARLEY O.:

Harry Outen Cole: A Builder of the Panama Canal. Address to the House quoting a eulogy by Hon, Maurice H. Thatcher. Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 3 (March 3, 1950), page 2853.

Harry Outen Cole, interoceanic ship-canal engineer and builder of the Pacific end of the Panama Canal. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 14 (March 9, 1950), page A1821.

Steese, Col. James G.: Panama Canal in World War II. Military engineer (Washington, D. C.), XL (January 1948), 20. Stevens, John Frank, Jr.: President Wil-

liam Howard Taft. Address before Panama Canal Society of Washington, D. C., May 19, 1951. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., sess.), volume 97, page 13 (May 24, 1951), page A3072..

Thatcher, Hon. Maurice H.: Harry Outen Cole: An Outstanding Builder of the Panama Canal. Address before the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D. C., May 27, 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 15 (June 1, 1950),

Thomas, Hon. J. Parnell, as told to Stacey V. Jones: Reds in the Panama Canal Zone. Liberty (New York), volume 25 (May 14, 1948), page 14.

THOMPSON, Hon. CLARK W .:

Centenary of Panama Star and Herald. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in that paper, February 24, 1949. Congres-SIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (March 10, 1949), page A1361.

anama Railroad: A Historic and Epoch-Making Institution. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Arthur Stanley Riggs in Railway Progress, April 1949. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (May 5, 1949), page A2706.
May 4, 1904: Canal Zone Acquisition Day.

Extension of remarks quoting a news story in the Star and Herald (Panama, R. P.), May 5, 1953. Congressional Record (83d

Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 11 (June 3, 1953), page A3188.

Wolverton, Hon. Charles A.: Panama Canal Society Honors William Howard Taft. Address of John Frank Stevens, Jr. GRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 13 (May 24, 1951), page A3072.

Woodruff, Hon. Roy O.: Harry Outen Cole: An Outstanding Builder of the Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an address by Hon. Maurice H. Thatcher before the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D. C., May 27, 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 15 (June 1, 1950), page A4147.

PANAMA CANAL AND TRANSIT TOLLS

ALLEN, Hon. JOHN J., JR.:

Panama Canal Reorganization. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in Marine Progress, March 1950. Congressional Rec-ORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 15 (May 2, 1950), page A3191.
Panama Canal Tolls. Address to House

quoting correspondence with the president, Panama Canal Company, April 1952. Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 2d sess.), vol. 98, part 4 (May 13, 1952), page 5131.

Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting a letter of the President of the Panama Canal Company concerning formula for tolls. March 20, 1953. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 10 (May 4, 1953), page A2341.

Panama Canal: Interim Report. Congres-SIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume

100, No. 149 (August 4, 1954), page A5766.
Association of American Ship Owners: Our National Investment in the Panama

Canal. Shipping Survey (New York), volume 4 (April 1948).

Bailey, Frazer A.: United States Shipowners Oppose Increased Toll Charges. Lykes Fleet Flashes (New Orleans), September 1948, page 6.

Bland Hon, Schuyler Otis: The Case Against Present Panama Canal Tolls. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Charles L. Wheeler in Pacific Marine Review, April 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (April 14, 1949). page A2307.

Bradley, Hon. Willis W.: What's Ahead for the Merchant Marine. Address before the Rotary Club, Baltimore, Md., January 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (January 27,

1949), page A395.

DAVIS, Hon. GLENN R.: Study of Panama Canal Tolls. Extension of remarks quoting a study on tolls addressed by the president of the Panama Canal Company to the Speaker of the House, March 5, 1954. Congressional Record (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 10, No. 49 (March 16, 1954), page A1995. Dodge, Wendell Phillips, editor: Panama

Canal Tolls versus a Long Range Toll Policy. Marine News (New York), XXXIV (March

1948), 28.

Godsoe, Charles H., editor: Panama Canal Tolls. Marine Progress (New York), volume 17 (September 1949),

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 96, part 13 (Jan. 6, 1950), page A50.

Panama Canal Tolls. Marine Progress (New York), volume 18 (January 1950), page

Panama Canal Reorganization. Marine Progress (New York), volume 18 (March 1950), page 12.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 15 (May 2, 1950), page A3191.

HAND, Hon. T. MILLET: What's Ahead for the Merchant Marine. Extension of remarks quoting an address by Hon. Willis W. Bradley before the Rotary Club, Baltimore, Md., January 11, 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (Jan. 27, 1949), page A395. MacMullen, T. Douglas, editor:

Pacific Coast Ports and the Panama Canal. Pacific Marine Review (San Francisco), XLVI (September 1949), 34.

Suppose Canal Tolls Were Shown Freight Bills. Pacific Marine Review (San Francisco), XLVI (December 1949), 78.

Memo from the Panama Canal. U.S. News & World Report, April 9, 1954, page 78 Morse, Murray, editor: Who Pays for the Panama Canal? The Log

(New York), volume 42 (July 1947), page 36. Fiscal Fallacies of the Panama Canal. Log (New York), volume 44 (September 1949), page 44.

Rankin, Hon. John E.: Restoring the Panama Canal Toll Exemption for Coastwise Trade. Extension of remarks quoting a statement by Hon. Charles L. Wheeler. Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (Apr. 9, 1949), page A2163.

Riggs, Arthur Stanley: What Panama Canal Proposals Mean to Tanker Operators. Oil Forum (New York), volume 2 (April 1948), page 151.

Sandusky, Lawrence, editor: Panama Canal and the Pacific Coast. Nautical Gazette (New York), volume 143 (December 1949), page 18.

THOMPSON, Hon. CLARK W .:

Panama Canal Tolls. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in Marine Progress. September 1949. Congressional Recoan (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 13 (January 6, 1950), page A50.

Emory R. Johnson and the Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting a eulogy in the Star and Herald, Panama, R. P., March

15, 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 14 (April 5, 1950), page A2602.

Panama Canal Tolls. Remarks in House. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 4 (May 27, 1953), page 5739. Wheeler, Hon. Charles L.:

The Case Against Present Panama Canal Tolls. Pacific Marine Review (San Francisco), April 1949, page 60.

Same. Congressional Record (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (April 14, 1949), page A2307.

Mr. Speaker, as emphasized in the first report of the Special Subcommittee on the Panama Canal under House Resolution 44, 81st Congress, House report 1304, the history of that waterway has been featured by a series of crises. These, at times, have required vigorous interventions by the Congress and the President. On those occasions, the Government had the benefit of advice by independent canal commissions not dominated by routine administrative agencies. The Panama Canal is now in another critical period in which the toll question and the physical form of the future canal are definitely linked.

In line with historical precedent and to provide the Congress with the best means for obtaining disinterested advice on the gravely important questions of Isthmian Canal policy, Representative THOMAS E. MARTIN-now junior Senator from Iowa-and I introduced or supported measures in both the 82d and 83d Congresses to create an independent Interoceanic Canals Commission. Like measures-S. 766 and H. R. 3335-are now pending before the 84th Congress.

Camp Pickett, Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, several days ago I called to the attention of the House a number of typical comments which were being made by editors of newspapers in Virginia relative to the proposal to dispose of Government holdings at Camp Pickett, Va. These views. in my opinion, represent the overwhelming majority of the people of Virginia who feel that the Government is unjustly disturbing the economy of Southside, Va., by its continued uncertainty as to the future of Camp Pickett.

The Army has taken the position that Camp Pickett represents one of the best training areas available to the Army and yet, on a number of recent occasions when the necessity arose for the expansion of training facilities or the utilization of existing facilities, Camp Pickett was bypassed in favor of other camps in various parts of the country. I refer particularly to recent notices in the press regarding the utilization of facilities at Camp Breckinridge, Ky., and announcements concerning the use of certain other areas for National Guard training.

As I have previously called to the attention of the House, Camp Pickett is presently lying dormant, slowly rotting away and, in the meantime, the economy of a large section of southside Virginia is suffering immeasurably by this uncertainty. I do not feel it incumbent upon myself to dictate to the Army or any agency of the Government as to the use it intends to make of any Government facility. I do not propose to offer the suggestion that one single soldier be sent to Camp Pickett merely for the purpose of strengthening the economy of a civilian community. I do feel, however, that the Army and the Department of Defense owes it to the civilian communities surrounding Camp Pickett to make it clear once and for all what use, if any, it is contemplating for Camp Pickett in the foreseeable future. As the situation now exists, there is gross uncertainty on the part of all of the business interests of the entire Southside, Va., area, due to the fact that the Army says one day that Camp Pickett is the best military training camp it has and the next day that they foresee no immediate use of these facilities.

The Members of the House are certainly familiar enough with the military situation to know that we must maintain a strong reserve position in order to protect the future of our county. I feel that in the case of Camp Pickett or any other camp that the Government should take it upon itself to specifically and expressly advise the governing officials of these communities adjacent to military camps exactly what they can look forward to in the way of military activities in the future. It is not fair to the economy of any community to not know from one day to the next whether they will be flooded by the emergence of military personnel or whether their economy is to be drained by periodic deactivations.

Camp Pickett has been opened and closed three times within the past 8 years and I feel very strongly that unless the defense officials can make an announcement with some degree of certainty that Camp Pickett will be utilized in the foreseeable future; then, I feel it only fair, just, and proper that the Army get out and stay out of Pickett so that the economic blight hovering over this great section can be removed, our people allowed to work out their own economy and once again have growing and strong communities as we had before Pickett.

To support this view, I wish to insert a splendid article prepared by Mr. A. L. Singleton, Jr., for the Progress-Index of Petersburg, Va., which appeared on Sunday, March 20, accompanied by illustrations of the many facilities at Camp Pickett:

BLACKSTONE AREA LEADERS CONTINUE CAM-PAIGN TO MAKE PERMANENT, PRODUCTIVE USE OF CAMP PICKETT SITE

(By A. L. Singleton, Jr.)

There's a "ghost town" in Southside Virginia, and a number of residents are trying to do something about it.

One mile from Blackstone, concrete and macadam roads run in neat patterns through an area covered with buildings, including:

Some 500 houses, mostly pre-fabs; 35 warehouses, with railway sidings and unloading ramps at the end of spur tracks; several libraries and club houses; six fire stations; a bakery; a laundry plant capable of handling 100,000 pieces of clothing daily; three 10ton incinerators; 13 chapels; seven movie theaters; a bus terminal; an outdoor ampitheater (seating capacity 8,000); an indoor arena (capacity, 5,000); a sewage disposal plant; a refrigeration plant; motor repair shops; a 2,050-bed hospital; and an airport with control tower and four runways 5,300 feet long and 300 feet wide.

Most of the facilities were heated by a giant central plant, supplied electricity through a Virginia electric and power company sub-station and gas by underground distribution, given telephone service through an exchange handling 2,000 dial phones; and provided water out of storage tanks holding 900 million gallons and purified by a filtration plant with a daily capacity of 6 million gallons.

Today, the buildings are unoccupied, few vehicles move along the streets, and motors and engines are idle.

Around this developed area, thousands of acres of land lie fallow. The total acreage of the tract is 46,000.

This is what is left at Camp Pickett, 3 times a booming Army post, and 3 times a ghost town. It originally was 503 separate tracts, covering 6,500 acres of Brunswick County, 15,116 acres of Dinwiddle County, 50 acres of Lunenburg County, 24,438 acres of Nottoway County, and 259 acres of Blackstone.

The camp was first occupied in 1942 (to house about 80,000 troops). It was de-activated in 1946; reactivated in June 1943; deactivated 10 months later; reactivated in August 1950; and deactivated last year.

Government and business leaders of Blackstone and the four neighboring counties protested often to Federal authorities that the openings and closings of Camp Pickett severely damaged the economy of their communities. After the third closing, they launched a campaign.

R. D. Maben, Jr., town manager of Blackstone, and a leader in the campaign, said it started in earnest January 22, 1954, a date he remembers well.

"It was my 12th anniversary as town manager, we had a terrible snow and sleet storm, and we got the news that Camp Pickett was closing for the third time."

Blackstone area people want the Defense Department to reactivate the camp or sell it as surplus property. Fourth District Representative Watkins M. Abbitt is sponsoring a bill to that effect before the Congress, and the State legislature already has approved a measure permitting establishment of area redevelopment authorities, which could buy and use inactive military reservations for commercial, industrial, agricultural, or institutional purposes.

"Here we have a self-supporting place equal to a city to take care of 15,000 people. If the Federal Government does not want it, why shouldn't the State of Virginia or a civilian agency be able to use it?", Maben

asked last week.

A tall, agile, energetic man, he summed up his case for utilization of Camp Pickett last April before members of the Senate Armed Services Committee in Washington, Among those present, were Senators Flanders of Vermont, Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, and Byrd; Maben, Blackstone's Mayor W. I. Moncure; and Secretaries of the Army, Stevens, and Air Force, Talbott.

"We never solicited the camp, we never opposed it, we are not opposing it now," declared Maben, "but we are opposing, and think we are justified in opposing, the constant opening and closing, boom and bust, tail-tied-to-the-kite idea. No community can stand it indefinitely."

Secretary Stevens commented that Camp Pickett had to be held by the Army on standby basis because 10 percent of the potential mobilization force of 375,000 men could be trained there, and because the National Guard needed it, Maben recalled.

Now, the Blackstone manager pointed out, "they are planning to cut the Army in size, and the National Guard is being encamped at Breckinridge, Ky., and Indiantown Gap,

This indicates to Maben that Secretary Stevens' reasons for holding on to Pickett no longer are sound. Other indications, he explained, are plans for disposing of housing units there. This month, 238 prefab dwellings are to be sold on the site, and 250 others soon are to be moved west to Indian reservations under control of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, according to Maben.

That's a vicious part of this thing," he said. "If they don't need the housing, why

do they need the camp?"

For months, Maben has visited officials of State organizations, seeking reaction to Federal handling of Pickett. He reported that county boards of supervisors, town and city councils, fraternal and civic groups throughout southside Virginia have passed resolutions urging the sale or reactivation of Pickett. The latest resolution came Thursday from the Virginia Ports Authority.

Maben said he hopes the camp will be declared surplus property and sold for \$1,183,-000-the sum the Federal Government paid

for the land-or less.

"Of course the land has been developed by the Army," he declared, "but when the Government bought it, farmers in the area moved out," and Blackstone and nearby communities thereby suffered severe losses agriculturally.

He also pointed out that private investments of more than \$5 million and capital outlays of some \$1.500,000 (by Blackstone) had been necessary to provide services for an expanding population resulting from activation of the camp.

(In 1940, Blackstone's population was 2,-

700; now it is more than 7,000.)

Maben revealed last week that two small industries had moved into the Blackstone area to take up some of the slack from the latest Pickett closing, but he said that did

not alter the area's major problem.

He recently told the State capital outlay study * commission that Virginia could realize a 20 percent saving if it obtained some of the Pickett land for institutional use, because streets, water and sewer lines, railway spur tracks, and land already are provided.

"What North Carolina did with Camp Butner, Virginia could do with Pickett,"

he said.

Camp Butner, about 15 miles from Durham, was acquired as surplus property by property encompasses some 41,000 acres, 5 .-000 fewer than Pickett.

In operation now on the Butner site are 4 State institutions—a mental hospital, an alcoholic rehabilitation center, a youth center (reformatory), and a school for feebleminded adults and childrens—em-ploying some 750 persons, and 5 industries

with about 450 on payrolls.

Maben has reminded Virginia authorities that recommendations for new mental hospitals, penal institutions, and other public service facilities are being considered by the capital outlay study commission.

Maben, Mayor Moncure, and other Blackstone area citizens are pleased with the support for their campaign pledged by people and organizations in other parts of Virginia.

They had special praise last week for Virginia legislators-in the Congress and the general assembly-who have proposed or supported bills to solve their economic problem.

Representative ABBITT's bill is still before the House Armed Services Committee. If approved there and finally enacted, the State law permitting establishment of an area redevelopment authority could go into effect. The authority would be composed of one representative each of Blackstone and the counties of Nottoway, Dinwiddle, Brunswick, and Lunenburg, and two at-large members.

Blackstone's Manager Maben, speaking for the southside groups hoping the campsite

will be used, said:

"The Army does not intend to use it, but they are fighting against turning it loose. They fought turning loose (Camp) Butner. too. But we do not intend giving up our fight, either."

What if Panama Canal Is Knocked Out?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF.

HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, a very interesting and well-considered article dealing with the Panama Canal appeared on the 20th of this month in the bilingual newspaper published at Miami, Fla. It was written by Harry W. Frantz, of the United Press. Mr. Frantz is a veteran writer-reporter on Latin American affairs and stands high in his knowledge and judgment as to United States and Latin American relationships and the Panama Canal. The newspaper referred to is Diario Las Americas-Spanish section—and the Americas Daily—English section. The article is carried in Americas Daily and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT IF PANAMA CANAL IS KNOCKED OUT? (By Harry W. Frantz)

Fundamental shifts in expert opinion concerning the United States Atlantic-to-Pacific canal policy are indicated by preliminary discussion of bills pending in Congress, ac-cording to well-informed transportation authorities.

The concept of sea-level canal at Panama is believed to be losing ground partly because of recent revelations that the "fall out" from atomic explosions affects an area as large as the entire Canal Zone.

The cost estimate of a sea-level canal is now raised to \$10 billion which would necessitate very high transit tolls for repayment.

The arguments for an improved lock canal at Panama with a future third set of locks competent to handle the world's largest ships has gained support among experts who consider that prospective expansion of world commerce should be the chief criterion in formulation of future policy.

Meanwhile, everyone that studies the question speculates as to whether the exigencies of atomic warfare would justify the construction of an entirely new canal at a distance from the Panama Canal, in order that there would be a second waterway if Panama transits were interrupted by a bomb or a major landslide.

Another school of experts favors a general restudy of all of the transportation methods, such as old and new highways, the Panama Railroad, a transcontinental trunk highway system in the United States, and South American transportation routes.

The theory is that numerous alternative routes and methods would be used to service interoceanic traffic in the event of a knockout to canal facilities.

There's a rapidly mounting volume of unofficial discussion of the canal problem in trade, engineering, and service publications. This public interest is inspired partly by bills introduced in the Senate by Senator THOMAS E. MARTIN, of Iowa, and Representative CLARK THOMPSON, of Texas, for the creation of a trans-isthmian canal commission which would review all phases of policy affecting an enlarged or new canal.

The interest also reflects the negotiation of a new United States-Panama treaty pertaining to relations between the Canal Zone and the Republic of Panama, including increased annuity payment to Panama. treaty has already been ratified by the Re-public of Panama, and will be considered later by the United States Senate.

For more than a decade, Congress has been willing to accept views of Defense Department and executive branch of the Government concerning future canal policy.

President Truman sent to Congress in 1947 an engineers report which contained strong arguments for a sea-level canal at Panama.

but Congress took no action.

The big question for the early future is the nature of the recommendations which the Government departments will make to Congress concerning the creation of a new transisthmian canal commission. If the White House and Pentagon give approval to this project, it would have good prospects for action in present session of Congress, and a "great debate" on long-term policy would logically follow.

The long-range study, if undertaken, would certainly reveal endless ramification in the fields of diplomacy, engineering, the commercial utility of various routes, and

problems of defense.

To illustrate the complexity of this problem, the United Press correspondent asked various experts the hypothetical question: What would happen to approximately 35 million tons of cargo which now moves annually through the Panama Canal if transit should be interrupted by war, sabotage, or a major landslide before an alternative waterway is built?

Experts suggested that with great difficulties and delays that immense traffic would be rerouted substantially as follows:

- (1) United States intercoastal traffic would move in large volume and at greater cost on transcontinental railways and projected new trunk motorways.
- (2) If the Suez Canal remained open a large amount of Asiatic, Australian, and European traffic would be diverted from Panama to Suez-such a possibility must take into account, however, the fact that in a third world war an enemy of free nations would presumably try to wreck both canals.
- (3) A large volume of traffic which now moves via Panama, as for example that of South American west coast countries, would resume the historical route between Pacific and Atlantic by way of the Magellan Straits or around Cape Horn.

Such rerouting if long continued would raise major international questions of shipping security. British war vessels protected this route in earlier decades, but both Argentina and Chile now have greater power in the area.

Antarctic bases probably would become necessary to the defense of the straits be-tween Cape Horn and Palmer or Graham Land, and the Antarctic area would have a vastly increased strategical importance, with greater intensity of rival territorial claims.

(4) Peru would have a special problem because of frontiers on both the Pacific Ocean and the Amazon Basin, presently serviced by ships moving through the Panama Canal. Peru would have an obvious interest in improving overland communications across Peru.

(5) The overland routes in Central America, Mexican isthmus of Tehuantepec, and between Chile and Argentina, would attract an increasing volume of transportation on rail and motor routes.

(6) The Panama Railroad, which presumably could be restored before the canal could be reconstructed, would have a tramendous utility and could be supplemented by motor transportation.

God's Answer to Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, WALT HORAN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under the privilege to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I am pleased to include a radio talk by a constituent of mine, the Reverend Clay Cooper who wrote this from Salgon, Vietnam.

The Reverend Cooper conducts the Church of the Air in Spokane, Wash., and I feel that his reactions to what he sees as he visits in one of the truly distraught areas of our globe is worth reading. His solution is one with which we can all agree and undoubtedly the solution he suggests is the one that will succeed.

The address follows:

Gop's Answer to Communism
(By Rev. Clay A. Cooper)

"The only solution is Christ. We should not waste our time on anything else. Theoretically, Christians believe the only solution is Christ, but in actuality they often go overboard on other ideas and panaceas," is the studied opinion of former Communist Helen Sigrist.

That Christianity holds the only real answer to communism is a conviction being shared more and more by the greatest champions of human rights which our generation knows. General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, whose men fought it to a standstill in Korea; Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who first embraced its tenets to later repudiate them as a fraudulent scheme to enslave the world; Syngman Rhee; President of United States Dwight Eisenhower. The list grows impressively with the passing of time.

Tragic indeed that such a simple and workable solution is not implemented by those who "go overboard on other ideas and panaceas." What fools we mortals be, to keep on believing that regimentation, militarization and a host of other substitutes can provide the universal remedy.

In our current struggle with the hammer and sickle we could learn valuable lessons from the recent past. In pulling down the Swastica, and the emblems of Fascism and the Rising Sun, we put forth monumental efforts and sacrifices. Yet where is the elusive peace? Just try to imagine the state of our world today if but a portion of the price of World War II (§4 trillion in money and 40 million casualties in men) would have been devoted to foreign missionary enterprises prior to 1939. What poor economists we are to invest trillions in munitions and trifles in missions.

This is no pacifist's plea, however. It is certain if our world is not staffed with missionaries, it will have to be policed with marines. Our youth will either go to the ends of the earth with God or guns and if our professedly Christian America does not soon come to regard foreign nations as mission fields she must continue to deal with them as battlefields. Still, it is not so much a choice between Chapels or cruisers, Gospels or grenades, Bibles or bombs. At the end we shall learn that even released nuclear energies can never liberate minds and hearts but that it is Truth, in the person of Jesus Christ, that "makes men free."

What is God's answer to Communism? Is it the launching of an international crusade against this monstrous evil? No: A thousand times no. Such an approach is entirely too negative and too late. Simply getting down to the business of giving Christ to the world is God's plan and purpose. I have seen this method work on hundreds of mission fields in foreign lands the world around, even where Christ's cause was understaffed, underfinanced and underequipped. Yet where in spite of such needless limitations the superiority of the Christian message and its dynamic in human experience triumphed over every obstacle. I challenge, I defy, anyone to sell a Communist bill of goods to any nation or any people once the Gospel of Christ has effectively taken root in a sufficient number of individual hearts and lives. The two are diametrically opposed.

God's answer to communism is the same as His answer to other isms stalking our world. Both it and they will disappear like dew before a Sahara sunrise once His church, like a sleeping giant, awakes from her torpor, takes His marking orders to heart, marshalls her men and materiel for the world objective of propagandizing the earch with Truth, of preaching the Gospel to every creature.

Yes; for communism, the handwriting is on the wall. Light is stronger than darkness, love than hate, and Jesus Christ is alive and Karl Mark is dead. Since it is foredoomed and on its way out, let's hurry it on its way. It's our generation that needs Christ promised the "might deliverance. of hell" should not prevail against His allies when dedicated to such tasks, how much less the might of Moscow. A militant program of prayer, of sacrificial giving, going, and sending; a stepped-up foreign missionary progression to an unprecedented pace, can and will solve the Communist-created chaos in our world and at the same time make its inhabitants "heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ" eternally. Christianity, to quote an apostle, holds the "promise of this life and that which is to come."

Finally, communism being the true enemy of the people is the enemy of God and as such is destined to destruction. There is no question but that sooner or later the Biblical pronouncement will be realized and Hts enemies "shall lick the dust" (Micah 7: 17). If eventually, why not now?

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of specches in pamphlet form.

our professedly Christian America does not LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF soon come to regard foreign nations as mis-

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which I shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at \$1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

SENATORS WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON OFFICE ADDRESS: Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. [Streets northwest unless otherwise stated] Vice President, Richard Nixon Alken, George D., Vt.....Carroll Arms, Allott, Gordon, Colo.....Anderson, Clinton P., 6 Wesley Circle, N. Mex. Barkley, Alben W., Ky_____ The Woodner. Beall, J. Glenn, Md_____ The Mayflower Bender, George H., Ohio__ The Mayflower Bennett, Wallace F., Utah__ Bible, Alan, Nev ... Bricker, John W., Ohio____The Mayflower. Bridges, Styles, N. H_____ Bush, Prescott, Conn____ Butler, John Marshall, Md_ Byrd, Harry Flood, Va____The Shoreham. Capehart, Homer E., Ind ... The Westchester. Carlson, Frank, Kans.....Sheraton-Park Case, Clifford P., N. J.......4545 Conn. Ave Chavez, Dennis, N. Mex....4327 Cleveland ----4545 Conn. Ave. Ave. Clements, Earle C., Ky____2800 Woodley Rd. Cotton, Norris, N. H_____Curtis, Carl T., Nebr____ Eastland, James O., Miss__5101 Macomb St. Ellender, Allen J., La_____ Ervin, Samuel J., Jr., N. C__ Flanders, Ralph E., Vt Frear, J. Allen, Jr., Del_____Fulbright, J. William, Ark__ George, Walter F., Ga The Mayflower. Goldwater, Barry M., Ariz__ Gore, Albert, Tenn_____ Green, Theodore Francis, University Club. R. I. Hayden, Carl, Ariz. Hennings, Thomas C., Jr., Mo. Hickenlooper, Bourke B., 5511 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Iowa. Hill, Lister, Ala_____Sheraton-Park Holland, Spessard L., Fla__Sheraton-Park Hruska, Roman L., Nebr___. Humphrey, Hubert H., Minn. Ives, Irving M., N. Y Jackson, Henry M., Wash_ Jenner, William E., Ind____ Johnson, Lyndon B., Tex__ Johnston, Olin D., S. C____ Calif. Kuchel, Thomas H., Calif... Langer, William, N. Dak...The Roosevelt. Lehman, Herbert H., N. Y...Sheraton-Park Long, Russell B., La..... McCarthy, Joseph R., Wis. McClellan, John L., Ark. McNamara, Pat, Mich. Magnuson, Warren G., The Shorcham. Wash. Malone, George W., Nev.... The Mayflower. Marsfield, Mike, Mont..... Martin, Edward, Pa.... Martin, Thomas E., Iowa.... Millikin, Eugene D., Colo... Monroney, A. S. Mike, Okla. Morse, Wayne, Oreg_ ___5020 Lowell St. Mundt, Karl E., S. Dak ___ The Capitol Towers Murray, James E., Mont ... The Shoreham. Neely, Matthew M., W. Va. Oreg.

O'Mahoney, Joseph C., Sheraton-Park

Purtell, William A., Conn_

Robertson, A. Willis, Va___ Russell, Richard B., Ga____

Ealtonstall, Leverett, Mass_2320 Tracy Pl. F., Schoeppel, Andrew

Kans. Scott, W. Kerr, N. C ..

Smathers, George A., Fla___ Smith, H. Alexander, N. J_Sheraton-Park Smith, Margaret Chase, (Mrs.), Maine, Sparkman, John J., Ala___4920 Upton St.

Stennis, John, Miss_____ Symington, Stuart, Mo ...

Thurmond, Strom, S. C Thye, Edward J., Minn ...

Watkins, Arthur V., Utah... Welker, Herman, Idaho....4823 Tilden St. Wiley, Alexander, Wis.....2122 Mass. Ave. Williams, John J., Del ...

Young, Milton R., N. Dak_Quebec House So.

OFFICERS OF THE SENATE

Secretary—Felton M. Johnston.
Chief Clerk—Emery L. Frazler.
Sergeant at Arms—Joseph C. Duke.
Secretary for the Majority—Robert G. Baker.
Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice. Chaplain-Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D.

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

Messrs. Ellender (chairman), Johnston of South Carolina, Holland, Anderson, Eastland, Clements, Humphrey, Scott, Aiken, Young, Thye, Hickenlooper, Mundt, Williams, and Schoeppel.

Committee on Appropriations

Messrs. Hayden (chairman), Russell, Chavez, Ellender, Hill, Kilgore, McClellan, Robertson, Magnuson, Holland, Stennis, Clements, Bridges, Saltonstall, Young, Knowland, Thye, McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Dworshak, Dirksen, and Potter.

Committee on Armed Services

Messrs. Russell (chairman), Byrd, Johnson of Texas, Kefauver, Stennis, Symington, Jackson, Ervin, Bridges, Saltonstall, Flanders, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Case of South Dakota, Duff, and Welker.

Committee on Banking and Currency

Messrs, Fulbright (chairman), Robertson, Sparkman, Frear, Douglas, Lehman, Mon-roney, Capehart, Bricker, Ives, Bennett, Bush, Beall, Payne, and Morse.

Committee on the District of Columbia

Messrs, Neely (chairman), Gore, Bible, Mc-Namara, Beall, Hruska, Case of New Jersey, Allott, and Morse.

Committee on Finance

Messrs. Byrd (chairman), George, Kerr, Frear, Long, Smathers, Johnson of Texas, Barkley, Millikin, Martin of Pennsylvania, Williams, Flanders, Malone, Carlson, and

Committee on Foreign Relations

Messrs, George (chairman), Green, Ful-bright, Sparkman, Humphrey, Mansfield, Barkley, Wiley, Smith of New Jersey, Hicken-looper, Langer, Knowland, Alken, Capehart, and Morse.

Committee on Government Operations

Messrs. McClellan (chairman), Jackson, ennedy, Symington, Ervin, Humphrey, Kennedy, Symington, Ervin, Humphrey, Thurmond, McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Cotton, Bender, and Martin

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs Mcssrs. Murray (chairman), Anderson, Long, Jackson, O'Mahoney, Scott, Bible, Neu-berger, Millikin, Malone, Watkins, Dworshak, Kuchel, Barrett, and Goldwater.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Messrs. Magnuson (chairman), Pastore, Monroney, Smathers, Daniel, Ervin, Bible,

Thurmond, Bricker, Schoeppel, Butler, Potter, Duff, Purtell, and Payne.

Committee on the Judiciary

Messrs. Kilgore (chairman), Eastland, Kefauver, Johnston of South Carolina, Hennings, McClellan, Daniel, O'Mahoney, Wiley, Langer, Jenner, Watkins, Dirksen, Welker,

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Messrs. Hill (chairman), Murray, Neely, Douglas, Lehman, Kennedy, McNamara, Smith of New Jersey, Ives, Purtell, Gold-water, Bender, and Allott.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

Messrs. Johnston of South Carolina (chairman), Neely, Pastore, Monroney, Hennings, Scott, Neuberger, Carlson, Jenner, Langer, Curtis, Martin of Iowa, and Case of New Jersey.

Committee on Public Works

Messrs. Chavez (chairman), Kerr, Gore, Symington, Symington, Thurmond, McNamara, Neuberger, Martin of Pennsylvania, Case of South Dakota, Bush, Kuchel, Cotton, and Hruska.

Committee on Rules and Administration Messrs. Green (chairman), Hayden, Hen-nings, Gore, Mansfield, Jenner, Barrett, Mc-Carthy, and Curtis.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D. C. Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St.,

Alexandria, Va.

Mr. Justice Reed, of Lentucky, the Mayflower. Mr. Justice Frankfurter, of Massachusetts, 3018 Dumbarton Ave.

Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 3701 Connecticut Ave.

Mr. Justice Burton, of Ohio, the Dodge.

Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut

Mr. Justice Minton, of Indiana, the Methodist Building.

OFFICERS OF THE SUFREME COURT

Clerk—Harold B. Willey, 3214 N. Wakefield St., Arlington, Va. Deputy Clerk—Reginald C. Dilli, 1329 Hem-lock St.

Deputy Clerk-Hugh W. Barr, 4701 Connecticut Ave.

Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Road. Reporter—Walter Wyatt, 1702 Kalmia Rd. Librarian—Helen Newman, 126 3d St. SE.

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS JUSTICES ASSIGNED TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

First fudicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frank-furter. Maine, New Hampshire, Massachu-setts, Rhode Island, Puerto Rico.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frankfurter (temporary appointment). Vermont, Connecticut, New York.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Burton, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Virgin

Fourth fudicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Loui-giana, Texas, Canal Zone.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Reed.

Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Minton. Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark,
Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota,

Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Arkansas. Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Washington, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, Cali-fornia, Nevada, Arizona, Alaska, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Kansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico.

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE Committee on Agriculture

Messrs. Cooley (chairman), Poage, Grant, Gathings, McMillan, Abernethy, Albert, Abbitt, Polk, Thompson of Texas, Jones of Missouri, Watts, Hagen, Johnson of Wiscon-sin, Anfuso, Bass of Tennessee, Mrs. Knutson, Messrs. Jennings, Matthews, Hope, August H. Andresen, Hill, Hoeven, Simpson of Illinois, Dague, Harvey, Lovre, Belcher, McIntire, Williams of New York, King of Pennsylvania, Harrison of Nebraska, Laird, Dixon, Mrs. Farrington, Messrs. Bartlett, and Fernos-Isern.

Committee on Appropriations Messrs. Cannon (chairman), Mahon, Shep-Messrs, Cannon (chairman), Mahon, Shep-pard, Thomas, Kirwan, Norrell, Whitten, Andrews, Rooney, Gary, Fogarty, Sikes, Fer-nandez, Preston, Passman, Rabaut, Yates, Marshall, Riley, Sieminski, Evins, Lanham, Deane, Shelley, Boland, Magnuson, Natcher, Flood, Denton, Murray of Illinois, Taber, Wigglesworth, Jensen, H. Carl Andersen, Horan, Canfield, Fenton, Phillips, Scrivner, Coudert, Clevenger, Wilson of Indiana, Davis of Wisconsin, James, Ford, Miller of Mary-land, Vursell, Hand, Ostertag, and Bow.

Committee on Armed Services

Messrs, Vinson (chairman), Brooks of Lou-isiana, Kilday, Durham, Rivers, Philbin, Hébert, Winstead, Price, Fisher, Hardy, Green of Pennsylvania, Doyle, Wickersham, Miller of California, Bennett of Florida, Holtzman, of California, Bennett of Fiorida, Holtzman, Mollohan, Lankford, Huddleston, Short, Arends, Cole, Johnson of California, Gavin, Norblad, Van Zandt, Patterson, Cunning-ham, Bates, Hess, Nelson, Devereux, O'Kon-ski, Bray, Wilson of California, Osmers, Mrs. Farrington, Messrs. Bartlett, and Fernos-Isern.

Committee on Banking and Currency Messrs. Spence (chairman), Brown Georgia, Patman, Rains, Multer, Addonizio, Barrett, O'Hara of Illinois, Mrs. Buchanan, Mrs. Sullivan, Messrs. Fountain, Reuss, Mrs. Griffiths, Messrs. Ashley, Vanik, Davidson, Belt, Wolcott, Gamble, Talle, Kilburn, Mc-Donough, Widnall, Betts, Mumma, McVey, Hiestand, Nicholson, Oliver P. Bolton, and Bass of New Hampshire.

Committee on the District of Columbia Messrs. McMillan (chairman), Harris, Abernethy, Smith of Virginia, Klein, Teague of Texas, Davis of Georgia, Morrison, Dawson of Illinois, Williams of Mississippi, Steed, Wier, Jones of North Carolina, Rutherford, Simpson of Illinois, O'Hara of Minnesota, Talle, Miller of Nebraska, Auchincloss, Allen of California, Kearns, Patterson, Gubser, Broyhill, and Hyde.

Committee on Education and Labor

Messrs. Barden (chairman), Kelley of Pennsylvania, Powell, Bailey, Perkins, Wier, Elliott, Landrum, Metcalf, Bowler, Chudoff, Mrs. Green of Oregon, Messrs. Roosevelt, Zelenko, McDowell, Thompson of New Jersey, Udall, McConnell, Gwinn, Smith of Kansas, Kearns, Velde, Hoffman of Michigan, Bosch, Holt, Rhodes of Arizona, Wainwright, Freilinghuysen, Coon, and Flare Frelinghuysen, Coon, and Fjare.

Committee on Foreign Affairs

Messrs. Richards (chairman), Gordon, Morgan, Carnahan, Chatham, Zablocki, Bur-Morgan, Carnahan, Chatham, Zablocki, Burleson, Hays of Arkansas, Mrs. Kelly of New York, Messrs. Dodd, Hays of Ohio, Donovan, Jarman, Byrd. Selden, Pilcher, Williams of New Jersey, Chiperfield, Vorys, Mrs. Frances P. Bolton, Messrs. Smith of Wisconsin, Merrow, Judd. Fulton, Jackson, LeCompte, Radvan, Morgano, Mrs. Church, Messrs. Addir. Morano, Mrs. Church, Messrs. Adair, wan, Prouty, and Bentley.

Committee on Government Operations

Messrs. Dawson of Illinois (chairman) blifield, McCormack, Chudoff, Brooks of Holifield. Brooks of Texas, Holtzman, Mollohan, Fountain, Hardy, Blatnik, Jones of Alabama, Garmatz, Moss, Kilgore, Fascell, Mrs. Griffiths, Mesars. Reuss, Hoffman of Michigan, Riehlman, Mrs. Har-den, Messrs. Brownson, Meader, Brown of Ohio, Lipscomb, Reece of Tennessee, Younger, Knox, Krueger, Jonas, and Minshall.

Committee on House Administration

Messrs. Burleson (chairman), Byrd, Friedel, Ashmore, Hays of Ohlo, Jones of Missouri, Rhodes of Pennsylvania, Lesinski, Smith of Mississippi, Dowdy, Long, Alexander, Thompson of New Jersey, --, LeCompte, Morano,

Schenck, Carrigg, Harrison of Nebraska, Corbett, Bennett of Michigan, Hillings, Oliver P. Bolton, Lipscomb, and Halleck.

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Messrs. Engle (chairman), Aspinall, O'Brien of New York, Rogers of Texas, Mrs. Pfost, Messrs. Haley, Shuford, Powell, Edmondson, Metcalf, Christopher, Sisk, Udall, Diggs, Rutherford, Mrs. Green of Oregon, Messrs. Miller of Nebraska, Saylor, Wharton, Berry, Dawson of Utah, Westland, Pillion, Young, Hosmer, Rhodes of Arizona, Budge, Chenoweth, Utt. Mrs. Farrington, Messrs. Bartlett and Fernos-Isern.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Messrs. Priest (chairman), Harris, Klein, Granahan, Carlyle, Williams of Mississippi, Mack of Illinois, Roberts, Moulder, Staggers, Dollinger, Rogers of Texas, Dies, Friedel, Flynt, Macdonald, Hayworth, Wolverton, Hinshaw, O'Hara of Minnesota, Hale, Dolliver, Heselton, Bennett of Michigan, Hoffman of Illinois, Beamer, Springer, Bush, Schenck, Carrigg, and Derounian.

Committee on the Judiciary

Messrs. Celler (chairman), Walter, Lane, Feighan, Chelf, Willis, Frazier, Rodino, Jones of North Carolina, Forrester, Rogers of Colorado, Donohue, Fine, Brooks of Texas, Tuck, Ashmore, Quigley, Boyle, Reed of Illinois, Keating, McCulloch, Miss Thompson of Michigan Messrs, Hillings, Crumpacker, Miller of igan, Messrs. Hillings, Crumpacker, Miller of New York, Taylor, Burdick, Curtis of Massachusetts, Robsion of Kentucky, Hyde, Poff, and Scott

Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries

Messrs. Bonner (chairman), Boykin, Garmatz, Robeson of Virginia, Mrs. Sullivan, Messrs. Thompson of Louisiana, Miller of California, Kluczynaki, Byrne of Pennsylvania, Bell, Tumulty, Davidson, Zelenko, Clark, Ashley, Machrowicz, Tollefson, Allen of California, Seely-Brown, Sheehan, Van Pelt, Ray, Mailliard, Dorn of New York, Pelly, Cederberg, Baumhart, Chase, ——, Bartlett. Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

Messrs. Murray of Tennessee (chairman), Morrison, Davis of Georgia, Rhodes of Penn-sylvania, Lesinski, Dowdy, Alexander, Moss, Robeson of Virginia, Mrs. Pfost, Messrs, Fas-cell, Tumulty, Kilgore, Holifield, Rees of Kan-sas, Corbett, Mrs. St. George, Mr. Gross, Mrs. Harden, Messrs. Cretella, Gubser, Broyhill, Cederberg, Henderson, and Johansen.

Committee on Public Works

Committee on Public Works

Messrs. Buckley (chairman), Fallon, Davis
of Tennessee, Blatnik, Jones of Alabama,
Dempsey, Smith of Mississippi, Machrowicz,
Kluczynski, Steed, Thompson of Louisiana,
Gentry, Burnside, Mrs. Blitch, Messrs. Wright,
Hull, Gray, Clark, Rogers of Florida, Dondero, McGregor, Auchincloss, Mack of Washington, Scudder, George, Becker, Scherer,
Withrow, Cramer, Baldwin, Schwengel, Alger,
Bush, and Nicholson Bush, and Nicholson.

Committee on Rules

Messrs. Smith of Virginia (chairman), Colmer, Madden, Delaney, Trimble, Thornberry, Bolling, O'Neill, Allen of Illinois, Brown of Ohio, Ellsworth, and Latham.

Committee on Un-American Activities Messrs. Walter (chairman), Moulder, Doyle, Frazier, Willis, Velde, Kearney, Jackson, and Scherer.

Committee on Veterans' Affairs

Messrs, Teague of Texas (chairman), Dorn of South Carolina, Mrs. Kee, Messrs. Long, Byrne of Pennsylvania, Edmondson, Boykin, Aspinall, O'Brien of New York, Shuford, Christopher, Diggs, Sisk, Haley, Mrs. Rogers of Massachusetts, Messrs. Kearney, Ayres. Adair, Fino, Weaver, Avery, Thomson of Wyoming, Siler, and Teague of California,

Committee on Ways and Means

Messrs. Cooper (chairman), Dingell, Mills, Gregory, Forand, Eberharter, King of Cali-fornia, O'Brien of Illinois, Boggs, Keogh, Harrison of Virginia, Karsten, Herlong, Mc-Carthy, Ikard, Reed of New York, Jenkins, Simpson of Pennsylvania, Kean, Mason, Holmes, Byrnes of Wisconsin, Sadlak, Baker, and Curtis of Missouri,

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT (United States Court House, 3d and

Constitution Ave.) Office telephone Chief Judge telephone Harold M. Stephens, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3-5700 Adams 4-6420 Circuit Judges

Henry White Edgerton, Washington 1, D. C. Emerson 3-6017 Sterling 3-5700 Wilbur K. Miller, Washington 1, D. C.

North 7-8109 Sterling 3-5700 E. Barrett Prettyman, Washington 1, D. C.
Colling 3-5700 Oliver 2-3263 Sterling 3-5700 David L. Bazelon, Washington 1, D. C.

Sterling 3-5700 Emerson 2-0544 Charles Fahy, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3-5700 Emerson 3-6267 George T. Washington, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3-5700 Adams 2-6327

John A. Danaher, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3-5700 District 7-4704
Walter M. Bastian, Washington 1, D. C.

Sterling 3-5700

COURT OF CUSTOMS AND PATENT APPEALS

(Internal Revenue Building. Phone National 8-4696)

Chief Judge-Finis J. Garrett, of Tennessee, 3550 Springland Lane.

Judge—Ambrose O'Connell, of New York, Hunting Towers, Alexandria, Va. Judge—Noble J. Johnson, of Indiana, 4318

Warren St.

Warren St.
Judge—Eugene Worley, of Texas, 4745 32d St.
North, Arlington, Va.
Judge—William P. Cole, Jr., of Maryland, 100
West University Parkway, Baltimore, Md.
Judge—Joseph R. Jackson (retired), of New
York, Westchester Apts.

THE UNITED STATES COURT OF CLAIMS (Pennsylvania Ave. and 17th St. Phone, District 7-0642)

Chief Judge-Marvin Jones, of Texas, 1500 Massachusetts Ave.

Judge-Benjamin H. Littleton, of Tennessee, 1868 Columbia Road.

Judge—Samuel E. Whitaker, of Tennessee,

4921 Quebec St.

4921 Quenec St.
Judge—J. Warren Madden, of Pennsylvania,
300 East Broad St., Falls Church, Va.
Judge—Don. N. Laramore, of Washington,
4912 Brookway Road, Sumner, Md.

EMERGENCY COURT OF APPEALS Washington 1, D. C.

Chief Judge-Albert B. Maris, Philadelphia 7, Pa. (United States Circuit Judge for the

7. Pa. (United States Circuit Judge for the Third Circuit.)
Judge—Calvert Magruder, Boston 9, Mass.
(Chief Judge, United States Court of Appeals for the First Circuit.)
Judge—Thomas F. McAllister, Grand Rapids,
Mich. (United States Circuit Judge for the Sixth Circuit.)
Judge—Walter C. Lindley, Danville, Ill.
(United States Circuit Judge for the Seventh Circuit.)
Judge—Bolitha J. Laws, Washington, D. C.
(Chief Judge, United States District Court for the District of Columbia.)

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGES District of Columbia (Washington 1, D. C.) Chief Judge Bolitha J. Laws Judges

F. Dickinson Letts Edward M. Curran James W. Morris Edward A. Tamm David A. Pine
Matthew F. McGuire Burnita S. Matthew
Henry A. Schweinhaut James R. Kirkland
Alexander Holtzoff Luther W. Youngdahl
Joseph C. McGarraghy Charles F. McLaughlin Burnita S. Matthews

UNITED STATES COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS

(United States Court of Military Appeals Building, 5th and E Sts. NW.) Phone, Liberty 5-6700

Chief Judge Robert E. Quinn
Judge George W. Latimer
Judge Paul W. Brosman
Commissioner Richard L. Tedrow ... Alfred C. Proulx

REPRESENTATIVES WITH	Chiperfield, R
RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building,	Christopher,
Washington, D. C. [Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]	Chudoff, Earl Church, Marg
Speaker, Sam Rayburn	Ill. Clark, Frank
Abbitt, Watkins M., Va Abernethy, Thos. G., Miss_6278 29th St. Adair, E. Ross, Ind3971 Langley Ct.,	Clevenger, Cli Cole, W. Sterl Colmer, Willia Cooley, Harold
Addonizio, Hugh J., N. J	Cooley, Harold
Albert, Carl, Okla	Cooper, Jere,
Alexander, Hugh Q., N. C Alger, Bruce, Tex	Corbett, Robe
Allen, John J., Jr., Calif Allen, Leo E., Ill	Corbett, Robe Coudert, F. R. Cramer, Willia Cretella, Alber
Andresen, H. Carl, Minn4545 Conn. Ave.	Cretella, Albei Crumpacker, Jr., Ind.
Andrews, George W., Ala3108 Cathedral Ave.	Cunningham,
Anfuso, Victor L., N. Y	Curtis, Lauren Curtis, Thoma
Arends, Leslie C., Ill4815 Dexter St. Ashley, Thomas L., Ohio	Dague, Paul I
Ashmore Robert T S C	Davidson, Irw Davis, Clifford
Aspinall, Wayne N., Colo_Arlington Towers, Arlington, Va.	
Auchincloss, James C., N. J. 113 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.	Davis, Glenn
Avery, William H., Kans	Davis, James
Ayres, William H., Ohio	Dawson, Willis
Bailey, Cleveland M., W. Va_ Baker, Howard H., Tenn	Deane, Charle
Baldwin, John F., Jr., Calif. Barden, Graham A. N. C. 2737 Devenshire	Delaney, James Dempsey, John
Balley, Cleveland M., W. Va_Baker, Howard H., Tenn Baldwin, John F., Jr., Calif_Barden, Graham A., N. C2737 Devonshire Pl. Barrett, William A. Pa	Dempsey, John Denton, Winfi
Barrett, William A., Pa Bass, Perkins, N. H	Derounian, St Devereux, Jan
Bass, Ross, Tenn	Dies, Martin, Diggs, Charles
Bates, William H., Mass	Dingell, John
Baumhart, A. D., Jr., Ohio_ Beamer, John V., Ind110 Maryland	Dixon, Henry
Becker, Frank J., N. Y1727 Mass. Ave.	Dollinger, Isia
Belcher, Page, Okla	Dolliver, James Dondero, Georg
Bell, John J., Tex Bennett, Charles E., Fla1530 38th St. SE.	Donohue, Har
Bennett, John B., Mich7304 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md.	Donovan, Jan Dorn, Francis
Berry, E. Y., S. Dak	Dorn, Francis Dorn, W. J. B
Berry, E. Y., S. Dak2720 Terrace Road SE.	Dowdy, John, Doyle, Clyde,
Betts, Jackson E., Ohio	Durham, Carl
Blatnik, John A., Minn Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga	Eberharter, H
Boland, Edward P., Mass	
Bolling, Richard, Mo Bolton, Frances P., Ohio2301 Wyo. Ave.	Edmondson, l Elliott, Carl, Ellsworth, Ha
Bolton, Frances P., Ohio2301 Wyo. Ave.	Ellsworth, Ha Engle, Clair, (
Bonner, Herbert C., N. C. The Dorchester	
Bolton, Oliver P., Ohio Bonner, Herbert C., N. C., The Dorchester Bosch, Albert H., N. Y Bow, Frank T., Ohio4301 Mass. Ave.	Evins, Joe L., Fallon, Georg
Bowler, James B., IllThe Washington Boyle, Charles A. IllThe Washington	
Boyle, Charles A., Ill	Fascell, Dant Feighan, Mich
Boyle, Charles A., Ill Bray, William G., Ind Brooks, Jack B., Tex	Fernandez, A.
Brooks, Overton, La4413 46th St.	Fine, Sidney Fine, Paul A.,
Brown, Clarence J., Ohio_Alban Towers Brown, Paul, GaBoston House	Pisher, O. C.,
Brownson, Charles B., Ind.	Fisher, O. C., Fjare, Orvin Flood, Daniel
Broyhill, Joel T., Va Buchanan, Vera, Pa	Flynt, John J
Buckley, Charles A., N. Y	Fogarty, John
Budge, Hamer H., Idaho Burdick, Usher L., N. Dak Burleson, Omar, Tex2737 Devonshire	Forand, Alme
Burleson, Omar, Tex2737 Devonshire Pl. Burnside, M. G., W. Va	Ford, Gerald
Bush, Alvin R., Pa	Forrester, E. 1
Byrd, Robert C., W. Va Byrne, James A., Pa	Fountain, L.
Byrnes, John W., Wis1215 25th St. So., Arlington, Va.	Frazier, Jas. l Frelinghuyser
Canfield, Gordon, N. J	N. J. Friedel, Sami
Cannon, Clarence, Mo The Washington	Fulton, Jame
Carnahan, A. S. J., Mo	Gamble, Ralp
Carrigg, Joseph L., Pa Cederberg, Elford A., Mich_	Garmatz, Edv Gary, J. Vau
Cederberg, Elford A., Mich. Celler, Emanuel, N. YThe Mayflower	Gathings, E. Gavin, Leon
Chase, Jackson B., Nebr Chatham, Thurmond, N. C_	Gentry, Brad
Chelf, Frank, Ky Chenoweth, J. Edgar, Colo_	George, Myro Gordon, Tho
Charles of the Control of the Contro	

Chiperfield, Robert B., Ill_1713 House Office	Granahan, William T., Pa
Christopher, George H.,	Grant, George M., Ala4801 Conn. Ave. Gray, Kenneth J., Ill
Mo. Chudoff, Earl, Pa	Green, Edith, Oreg Green, William J., Jr., Pa
Church, Marguerite Stitt, 2122 Mass. Ave. III.	Gregory, Noble J., Ky2401 Calvert St. Griffiths, Martha W., Mich_
Clark, Frank M., PaThe Jefferson	Gross, H. R., Iowa Gubser, Charles S., Calif
Cole, W. Sterling, N. Y 1610 44th St.	Gwinn, Ralph W., N. Y
Colmer, William M., Miss Cooley, Harold D., N. CThe Dorchester Coon, Sam. Oreg	Hagen, Harlan, Calif Hale, Robert, Maine2722 N St.
Coon, Sam, OregThe Washington Cooper, Jere, TennThe Washington Corbett, Robert J., Pa	Haley, James A., Fla Halleck, Charles A., Ind4926 Upton St.
Coudert, F. R., Jr., N. Y	Hand, T. Millet, N. J Harden, Cecil M., IndThe Congressional
Cramer, William C., Fla4454 Tindall St. Cretella, Albert W., Conn	Hardy, Porter, Jr., Va
Crumpacker, Shepard J., Jr., Ind.	Harris, Oren, Ark1627 Myrtle St. Harrison, Burr P., Va4519 So. 34th St.,
Cunningham, Paul. Iowa	Harrison, Robert D., Nebr
Curtis, Laurence, Mass3314 O.St. Curtis, Thomas B., Mo	Harvey, Ralph, Ind110 Maryland
Dayue, Paul B., Pa Davidson, Irwin D., N. Y	Hays, Brooks, Ark314 2d St. SE.
Davis, Clifford, Tenn4611 Butter- worth Pl.	Hays, Wayne L., Ohio The Woodner Hayworth, Don, Mich
Davis, Glenn R., Wis2550 South Joyce, Arlington, Va.	Hébert, F. Edward, La104 Cockrell St., Alexandria, Va.
Davis, James C., Ga	Henderson, John E., Ohio_125 Marthas Rd., Alexandria, Va.
Dawson, William A., Utah Dawson, William L., Ill	Herlong, A. S., Jr., Fla Heselton, John W., Mass
Deane, Charles B., N. C Delaney, James J., N. Y	Hess, William E., Ohio
Dempsey, John J., N. Mex_2500 Q St.	Hiestand, Edgar W., Calif
Dempsey, John J., N. Mex_2500 Q St. Denton, Winfield K., Ind.	Hill, William S., Colo110 Maryland Ave. NE.
Derounian, Steven B., N. Y. Devereux, James P. S., Md.	Hillings, Patrick J., Calif
Dies Martin Tex	Hinshaw, Carl, Calif Hoeven, Charles B., Iowa_2108 Suitland
Diggs, Charles C., Jr., Mich. The Congressional	Terrace SE.
Dingell, John D., Mich Dixon, Henry Aldous, Utah.	Hoffman, Clare E., Mich Methodist Bldg. Hoffman, Richard W., Ill
Dodd, Thomas J., Conn	Hollfield, Chet, Calif
Dollinger, Isidore, N. Y Dolliver, James I., Iowa3752 Jocelyn St.	Holmes, Hal, Wash
Dondero, George A., MichThe Continental	Holt, Joe, Calif Holtzman, Lester, N. Y
Donohue, Harold D., Mass_ Donovan, James G., N. Y	Hope, Clifford R., Kans 3541 Brandywine
Dorn, Francis E., N. Y	Horan, Walt, Wash
Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C	Hosmer, Craig, Calif
Dowly, John, Tex3877 30th St. N.,	Huddleston, George, Jr.,
Armgton, va.	Ala. Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo
Durham, Carl T., N. CThe Lee House	Hyde, DeWitt S., Md
Eberharter, Herman P., Pa. 3101 4th St. N., Arlington, Va.	Ikard, Frank, Tex
Edmondson, Ed, Okla	Jackson, Donald L., Calif
Ellisworth, Harris, Oreg4301 Mass. Ave.	James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. SE. Jarman, John, Okla
Engle, Clair, Calif 3840 Lorcom Lane	Jenkins, Thomas A., OhioThe Mayflower
Arlington, Va. Evins, Joe L., Tenn5044 Klingle St.	Jennings, W. Pat, Va Jensen, Ben F., IowaThe Washing-
Fallon, George H., Md	Johansen, August E., Mich
Faccell, Dante B., Fla Feighan, Michael A., Ohio_	Johnson, Leroy, Calif630 North Caro-
Feighan, Michael A., Ohio_ Fenton, Ivor D., Pa3725 Macomb St.	Johnson, Lester R., Wis3816 Pope St. SE.
Fernandez, A. M., N. Mex_200 C St. SE. Fine, Sidney A., N. Y	Jonas, Charles Raper, N. C.
Pino Paul A N Y	Jones, Paul C., Mo3613 Greenway Pl., Alexandria,
Pisher, O. C., TexCalvert-Woodley Fjare, Orvin B., Mont	Va.
Flood, Daniel J., PaThe Congressional	Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala Jones, Woodrow W., N. C.
Flynt, John J., Jr., Ga Fogarty, John E., R. I3627 Chesapeake	Judd, Walter H., Minn 3083 Ordway St.
Forand, Aime J., R. I4108 Dresden St.,	Karsten, Frank M., Mo Kean, Robert W., N. J2435 Kalorama
Ford, Gerald R., Jr., Mich_514 Crown View	Kearney, B. W. (Pat), N. Y.
Dr., Alexandria, Va.	Kearns, Carroll D., PaSheraton-Park Keating, Kenneth B., N. Y.1249 31st St.
Forrester, E. L., Ga Fountain, L. H., N. C3251 Q St.	Kee, Elizabeth, W. Va
Frazier, Jas. B., Jr., Tenn_Fairiax Hotel	Kelley, Augustine B., Pa Kelly, Edna F., N. Y
Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr., 3014 N St. N. J.	Kelly, Edna F., N. Y.——The Mayflower Keogh, Eugene J., N. Y.—The Mayflower Kilburn, Clarence E., N. Y. The Gen. Scott
Friedel, Samuel N., Md	Kilday, Paul J., Tex3507 Albemariest.
Fulton, James G., Pa	Kilgore, Joe M., Tex
Gamble, Ralph A., N. Y Garmatz, Edward A., Md	King, Cecil R., Calif King, Karl C., Pa
Garmatz, Edward A., Md Gary, J. Vaughan, Va	Kirwan, Michael J., Ohio
Gathings, E. C., Ark6377 31st Pl.	Klein, Arthur G., N. Y Kluczynski, John C., Ill
Gavin, Leon H., Pa Gentry, Brady, Tex	Knox, Victor A., Mich
George, Myron V., Kans3801 Rodman St.	Knutson, Coya, Minn Krueger, Otto, N. DakThe Coronet
Gordon, Thomas S., Ill	

Laird, Melvin R., Wis	Pil
Landrum, Phil M., Ga	Pil
Lane, Thomas J., Mass	Po
Lanham, Henderson, Ga	Do
Lankford, Richard E., Md Latham, Henry J., N. Y	Po
LeCompte, Karl M., Iowa_Sheraton-Park	Po
Lesinski, John, Jr., Mich	Pr
Lipscomb, Glenard P., Calif.	Pr
Lorge, George S., La Lovre, Harold O., S. Dak1605 Sherwood	Pr
Road, Silver	
Spring, Md.	QI
McCarthy, Eugene J., Minn_419 Raymond St.,	Ra
Chevy Chase, Md.	Ra
McConnell, Samuel K., Jr.,	Ra
Pa.	Ra
McCormack, John W., Mass. The Washington	Re
McCulloch, Wm. M., Ohio_Westchester Apts. McDonough, G. L., Calif	Re
McDowell, Harris B., Jr.,	
Del.	Re
McGregor, J. Harry, Ohio_The Westchester	Re
McIntire, Clifford G., Maine	Re
McMillan, John L., S. C1201 S. Barton St.,	761
Arlington, Va.	RI
Arlington, Va. McVey, William E., Ill	Ri
Ave.	Ri
Macdonal 1. Torbert H.,	Ri
Mass.	Ro
Machrowicz, Thaddeus M., 812 Park Ave.,	Ro
Mich. Falls Church, Va.	Ro
Mack, Peter F., Jr., Ill Mack, Russell V., Wash	Ro
Madden, Ray J., Ind3250 T St. SE.	Ro
Magnuson, Don, Wash	Ro
Mahon, George H., TexAlban Towers	Ro
Magnuson, Don, Wash Mahon, George H., Tex Malliard, William S., Calif Marshall, Fred, Minn	Ro
Martin, Jos. W., Jr., Mass. The Hay-Adams Mason, Noah M., Ill The Baronet	Ro
Mason, Noah M., IllThe Baronet	Ru
Matthews, D. R. (Billy),	Sa St.
Fla. Manday Garge Mich 9960 Tennyon Ct	Sa
Meader, George, Mich3360 Tennyson St. Merrow, Chester E., N. H	Sc
Metcalf Lee Mont	
Miller, A. L., Nebr2801 East-West	Sc
Highway, Chevy	Sc
Chase, Md.	Sc
Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend	
Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend	Sc
Lane, Kensing-	Se
Mills William D. Ask 2701 Conn Ave	Se
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio_	
Mollohan, Robert H.,	Sh
W. Va.	Sh
Morano, Albert P., Conn	Sh
Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La4420 Dexter St.	SI
Moss, John E., Jr., Calif	Si
Moulder Morgan M Mo	Si
Multer, Abraham J., N. Y	Sil
Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., PaThe Coronet Murray, James C., Ill.	Si
Murray, Tom, Tenn	Si
	Sn
Natcher, William H., Ky5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda,	Si
Md	Sn
Nelson Charles P. Maine	Sn
Nicholson, D. W., Mass	Sp
Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave,	Sp
Noticit, W. P., Ark2501 Conn. Ave.	St
O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y.	St
O'Hara Barratt III The Congressional	Ts
O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Thomas J., IllThe Hamilton O'Hara, Barratt, IllThe Congressional O'Hara, Joseph P., Minn2213 31st St.	Ta
O Autiset, Aivin E., Wis 4201 Mass. Ave.	Ta
O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr.,	Te
Mass. Osmers, Frank C., Jr., N. J.	Te
Ostertag, Harold C., N. Y. 100 Maryland	Tr
Ave NE	Th
Passman, Otto E., La	Th
Passman, Otto E., La17 Carroll St. SE. Patterson, James T., Conn_ Pelly, Thomas M., Wash	Th
Pelly Thomas M Wash	Th
Perkins, Carl D., Ky	Th
Plost, Gracie, Idaho	To
Divillator Til III v V Mana	
Phillip J., Mass	Tr
Phillips, John, Calif	

Pilcher, J. L., Ga Pillion, John R., N. Y Poage, W. R., Tex2309 Skyland Pl. SE.
Poff, Richard H., Va
Quigley, James M., Pa Rabaut, Louis C., Mich Radwan, Edmund P., N. Y_
Rains, Albert, Ala
Reed, Daniel A., N. Y The Woodner Rees, Edward H., Kans 1801 16th St. Reuss, Henry S., Wis 2750 32d St.
Rhodes, John J., Ariz
Richards, James P., S. C Riehlman, R. Walter, N. Y.3210 Wis. Ave. Riley, John J., S. C Rivers, L. Mendel, S. C Roberts, Kenneth A., Ala_4545 Conn. Ave.
Robsion, John M., Jr., Ky_1500 Delafield Pl. Rodino, Peter W., Jr., N. J
Rogers, Byron G., Colo Rogers, Edith Nourse, Mass_The Shoreham Rogers, Paul G., Fla Rogers, Walter, Tex Rooney, John J., N. Y
Roosevelt, James, Calif Rutherford, J. T., Tex Sadlak, Antoni N., Conn St. George, Katharine, N. Y.
Saylor, John P., Pa
Schwengel, Fred, Iowa
Scudder, Hubert B., Calif 4545 Conn. Ave. Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St.
Ala. So., Arlington, Va. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif
Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sheraton-Park Sleminski, Alfred D., N. J Silvas, Pochert J. B. Flag.
Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa_4545 Conn. Ave. Simpson, Sid, Ill2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St.
Smith, Frank E., Miss 204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va. Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester
Smith, Wint, Kans
Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo
Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Olin E., Tex6015 Mass. Ave. Thomas, Albert, Tex2901 34th St.
Teague, Charles M., Calif. Teague, Olin E., Tex
Alexandria, Va. Thomson, E. Keith, Wyo Thornberry, Homer, Tex Tollefson, Thor C., Wash Trimble, James W., Ark Tuck, William M., Va
Tuca, William M., Va

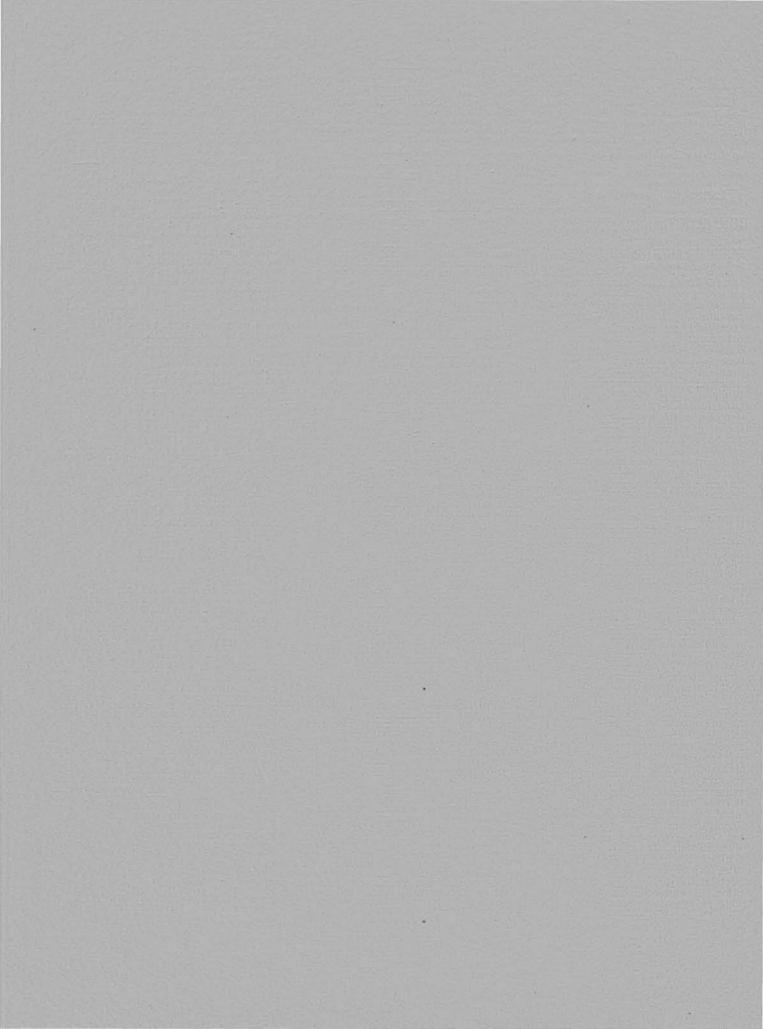
```
Tumulty, T. James, N. J...
Udall, Stewart L., Ariz....
Utt, James B., Calif __
Vanik, Charles A., Ohto____
Van Pelt, William K., Wis__
Van Zandt, James E., Pa___The Senate Courts
Velde, Harold H., Ill __
Vinson, Carl, Ga ....
                                    4 Primrose St.
                                 Chevy Chase, Md.
Vorys, John M., Ohio____2032 Belmont
Vursell, Charles W., Ill___The Congres-
Wainwright, Stuyvesant,
Walter, Francis E., Pa____
Watts, John C., Ky ______9408 Crosby Rd.,
                                    Silver Spring, Md.
Westland, Jack, Wash......
Wharton, J. Ernest, N. Y...
Whitten, Jamie L., Miss....5804 Nebraska
                                    Ave.
Wickersham, Victor, Okla __
Widnall, William B., N. J.
Wier, Roy W., Minn.
Wigglesworth, R. B., Mass. 3257 N. St.
Williams, Harrison ... Jr.,
N. J.
Williams, John Bell, Miss_1001 26th Road S.,
                                     Arlington, Va.
Williams, William R., N. Y-1241 Pa. Ave. SE.
Calif.
Winstead, Arthur, Miss____
Withrow, Gardner R., Wis_
Wolcott, Jesse P., Mich___3707 Thornapple
St., Chevy Chase
Wolverton, Charles A., N. J_1336 HOB
Wright, Jim, Tex ...
Yates, Sidney R., Ill_
Young, Clifton (Cliff), Nev_3202 So. Stafford
St., Arlington, Va.
Younger, J. Arthur, Calif_4545 Conn. Ave.
Zablocki, Clement J., Wis__
Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y____
                      DELEGATES
Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE.
   Alaska.
Farrington, Mrs. Joseph
   R., Hawaii.
             RESIDENT COMMISSIONER
Fernós-Isern, A., P. R.____2210 R St.
              OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE
Clerk-Ralph R. Roberts.
Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller.
Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St.
Postmaster-H. H. Morris.
     OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE
                        SENATE
James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy
```

James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md.
John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane.
Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St.
Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace.
J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE.
Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St.,
Arlington, Va.
Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St.
Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr.,
Silver Spring, Md.
Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St.
Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave.

HOUSE

W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Ave. Roy L. Whitman, 4820 Linnean Ave. F. S. Milberg, 5032 Massachusetts Ave. E. B. Clark, 604 Bennington Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Frank E. Battaglia, 957 East-West Highway. Claude S. Scheckel, 6 East Blackthorne St.,

Md.
Frank E. Battaglia, 957 East-West Highway.
Claude S. Scheckel, 6 East Blackthorne St.,
Chevy Chase, Md.
Albert Schneider, 7516 14th St.
Paul L. Miller (clerk), Shadyside, Md.
Sidney W. Williston (assistant clerk), 1830
Longford Drive, Hyattsville, Md.



Appendix

Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CLIFTON (CLIFF) YOUNG

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, it was recently my good fortune, although perhaps not entirely my pleasure, to spend some time at the Naval Medical Center at Bethesda, Md. During my confinement there. I was impressed with the quality of medical care and overall excellence of this outstanding institution. It reflects favorably on the men in charge and is a credit to our naval forces.

While such care is partly the result of fine facilities, it also depends upon the skill and training of the personnel involved. Evidence of these qualities, I might say, was manifest at all levelsdoctors, nurses, and corpsmen. As I observed some of the more highly trained experts performing their duties, several questions came to mind. What are the attractions of military service for such well-trained men who could obviously receive more remuneration in a civilian status? Are we losing the services of such men at a dangerous rate? What needs to be done, if anything, to improve their position and insure a sufficient number of such personnel in the

Upon several occasions I talked with some of these men to determine their attitudes on a military career. It was pointed out to me that already some of the highly trained medical personnel have left the service and that others are dissatisfied with their present status and military hopes for the future. While the dissatisfaction results in part from the pay differential, this is not the entire story.

During my study of this problem, I encountered an article by Col. Oliver G. Haywood, Jr., which appeared in This Week magazine on March 28, 1954. This article very forcefully presents reasons why some of our best soldiers are leaving the services. With world conditions so unsettled, the need of highly trained personnel in the armed services, not only in our medical centers but in other units, is extremely important. While the House of Representatives has recently taken steps to raise the pay of military personnel, there are other aspects of this problem which merit attention. I commend this stimulating article to those who are interested in

Stop Driving Our Best Soldiers Out of maintaining the strength and efficiency of our national security program.

> STOP DRIVING OUR BEST SOLDIERS OUT OF SERVICE

> > (By Col. Oliver G. Haywood, Jr.)

I have recently resigned by commission in the United States Air Force because I believe this Nation is imposing conditions of secondclass citizenship on its professional military

My resignation was not prompted by any feeling of personal hardship. It was one individual's protest against policies which I consider a threat to the safety of every American. Now that my lips are no longer sealed by military regulations, I am free to speak of these policies of expediency, in-difference, and discriminatory legislation which are making military careers less and less attractive when our Nation most needs top-caliber leadership.

It is my deep conviction that if present trends continue our country will enter any future conflict with a second-class Army. Navy, and Air Force, regardless of how many billions we pour into defense. And may God protect the Nation. The Armed Forces will not be able to.

My resignation from the military-an act by which I chose to forfeit all retirement pay and other benefits-follows 22 years of serv-It was a hard decision, for my military service has been interesting and varied. I graduated from West Point in 1936. I have known the life of a line officer, having served as a company and battalion commander. I have soldiered in places as far apart as Germany and Bikini. In the scientific line, I have had tours of duty working on atomic-energy problems at the Los Alamos Laboraand in the Manhattan engineer

I resigned not because I was personally dissatisfied but, as I wrote in my letter of resignation, because, "As a senior officer I must impose on able and patriotic subordinates conditions of second-class citizenship. The degradation of military status must lead to a decline in the quality of our Military Establishment."

SERVICE CAREERS FALLING OFF

I believe that to remain in such a career merely helps to conceal a condition more dangerous to the future security of our Nation than any number of Russian bombs. This is the declining attractiveness of the military career-a situation which is causing trained officers and men to leave the service and forcing young men to refuse service careers.

I intend to document here some ways in which this Nation has whittled away at military careers. But I'd like to emphasize that no single example is in itself decisive. Each example is important only as a development in a general trend. Soldiers are aware that as times change certain traditional advantages may be taken away.

But if the services are to represent careers that will attract and hold capable young men instead of mediocrities, the loss of certain benefits should be compensated by the creation of some new ones. The last 20 years have certainly seen a substantial increase in the standard of living of the civilian

population. But for the military-and this is provable statistically or any way you want—the last two decades have seen all the major advantages of military service reduced or eliminated.

Let's take the question of retirements. It is a good example of the way Congress has repeatedly welshed on its agreements with the military. When I came into the service, one of the advantages of a military career was the promise that officers could retire with a pension after 30 years' service, enlisted men after 20. Recently Congress began a series of changes in retirement regulations that were so bewildering that it has become im-possible to plan for the future.

For instance, Congress decided 2 years ago that no officer could draw retirement pay even after 30 years' service unless he had also reached his 60th birthday. Under this provision a man like Gen. Lucius D. Clay, former military governor of Germany who retired at 52 years of age, would have left the service without benefit of pension.

There were a number of exceptions to this ruling. One exception provided that a 30year man could retire with full pay even if he was still under 60 years of age-providing he had proved himself an incompetent officer. In other words, if an officer does his work poorly enough to be judged incompetent he receives retirement pay for life. It is only those who do their work well who are released with nothing.

NO CHOICE

In my letter of resignation I observed that loyalty should go down as well as up, and it's an important principle to me. soldier has no choice but to live up to his end of the contract with Uncle Sam. should Uncle Sam be entitled to break his promises once the soldier is committed to a military career?

In civilian life, a man can quit or go to court if his boss violates his contract. In the military there have been periods when you couldn't even resign your commission. My own resignation was in process exactly I year. At the time I submitted it, military authorities were not accepting resignations of regular officers except in hardship cases, After many months and a change of policy my resignation was accepted. But I know several officers whose resignations have been summarily rejected. For these men military life has become involuntary servitude of indefinite duration.

Congress has over past years been making frequent assaults on so-called fringe benefits-commissaries, post exchanges, dependent medical care, etc.-which in effect formed part of military pay. Because military pay has always been low in comparison with civilian salaries the Nation traditionally has tried to bridge part of the difference by providing essentials such as staple foods, drugs, etc., at virtually cost prices.

ITS OWN COMMUNITY

Also, because soldiers are frequently transferred from area to area—and this is particularly true of combat pilots in such vital duties as the Strategic Air Command-officers and men rarely have opportunity to adjust to the community around them. In fact communities have been known to be mighty hostile to a sudden influx of military personnel. So the military tries to create on its military posts its own community—its own clubs, doctors, food stores, theaters, etc.

Let's take the fate of the commissaries—food stores which primarily benefit married enlisted men. Yielding to lobbying by retail-store associations, Congress passed legislation intended to close down the majority of these stores. By so yielding to the pressure of the retailers the Congress made plain its willingness to aid civilian merchants at the expense of individuals in the military service.

Since I entered the service, this congressional attitude has taken many forms. The post exchanges—which have always been operated without expense to the taxpayer—have become of little value because outside pressure has reduced the variety and quantity of goods available. In line with this trend the quality of military housing has declined; retired pay for the physically handicapped has been reduced; recreational and social facilities on military bases have been curtailed, and dependent medical care has been made uncertain.

The impact of all of this is clearer if you look closely at military salaries. A second lieutenant graduating from West Point receives \$338.58 a month, including all allowances. This is a little more than base pay of an able-bodied deckhand. An Air Force captain with 8 years' experience, including Korea jets, draws \$593.25 a month. An airline pilot with 8 years' seniority averages over \$1.000.

The take-home pay of an Air Force major general is less, dollar for dollar, than it was 30 years ago. Let me repeat, in dollars—with no adjustment for the way dollars have shrunk to a fraction of their former value. Income taxes and lowering of flight pay have taken away far more of the general's salary than has been provided by infrequent pay raises.

In fact, if you adjust for the cost-of-living index, the modern-day Air Force general has less than a third of the purchasing power possessed by his counterpart of 30 years ago. And he has no expense account. Is such a statement true for the top leadership of any other profession?

ARBITRARY CHANGES

There is an interesting test of congressional attitude when you compare Uncle Sam's treatment of his soldier employee and civilian employee. Concerning the very vital matter of pay, civil-service employees back in 1951 were granted a 10-percent increase, with retroactive features. A year later Congress gave the military an increase averaging 5 percent and with no retroactive provisions. Thus the benefits granted the civilians averaged just about double those granted the men in uniform.

Sudden arbitrary changes in regulations can hurt officers and their families in ways that would probably surprise civilians not accustomed to the hazards of a profession which as part of its duty must move long distances from post to post. (In my 17 years as an officer my family moved 11 times.) Consider the impact of the recent ruling reducing from 12,000 to 9,000 pounds the amount of household furniture a senior officer and his family could transport at Government expense. Nine thousand pounds constitutes 4 rooms of furniture, and not even that if you include a refrigerator, a home freezer, or a plano.

Look what happened to the military personnel in Japan who were on duty in 1950, the year the war in Korea exploded. All the families had traveled to the Orient under the old regulations permitting the transfer of 12,000 pounds of furniture. Then in 1952, when many of the officers were fighting for their lives and ours in Korea, the weight al-

lowances were arbitrarily reduced. On transfer back to the United States these officers had to sell their excess goods locally or bring them back at their own expense, in either case at a substantial loss.

This business of always getting the short end of the stick is probably most irritating when it results from the indifference of your own military leadership or of the Defense Department. I am thinking of an incident in my last 2 years of service when I was Chief of the Air Force Office of Scientific Research.

MATTER OF POLICY

selected three young officers to go to Belgium for some scientific work. There was transport available to take their families, and housing was available at their destination. But my requests for orders for their families were denied. Now it is my firm belief that individuals are entitled to dignified and considerate treatment, even though they are in the uniform of their country. I, like many others in the service, like to assist my wife in the complicated business of breaking up one home and moving to the next. So I offered to delay the orders of the three officers until their families could go with them. But the Pentagon said it was a matter of policy that families could not travel as units. husband went first and the family followed after—often long after. Why? We could never figure it out. For in the same period State Department and other Government officials were having no difficulty traveling to overseas posts with their families.

Because of prolonged overseas assignments without families, the divorce rate in the Strategic Air Command recently shot up to a record of 1 breakup in every 3 marriages. Surely there is enough separation of military families in war and cold war without inflicting it on them unnecessarily and in peacetime.

I hope that in outlining some of the grievances of the military I have not sounded petulant or one-sided. I certainly have no personal axe to grind, as I could not go back into the regular service even if I wanted to. But it is my belief that the justified problems of a military career have not been clearly placed before the American public, and that this is one reason the grievances remain. What it all comes down to is this: a profession either attracts competent people by offering a respected and worthwhile life or an attractive salary, or the promise of great reward to the successful few who reach the top. Today the military offers none of these advantages.

ARMY OF EXPERTS

Just what is the role of the professional soldier? As distinguished from the man who obtains a commission during an emergency or for a specific assignment, the professional or regular military man devotes the prime of his life and skill to preparing for the day of crisis. Today the breadth of knowledge these professionals must possess is unprecedented. They must be experts in science, management, procurement, public relations, budget, atomic energy jet engines, psychological warfare, etc.

As we learned during the occupation of both Germany and Japan, today's officers must know not only military strategy but must understand economics, the structure of government, and political theory. Remember that one of our greatest soldiers, Gen. George S. Patton, was relieved of his command in Germany not because of a military blunder but because in a thoughtless moment he commented that, "This Nazi thing—it's just like a Democratic-Republican election fight." General Patton stubbed his toe on political theory.

The importance of America's corps of regulars was pointed up in World War II. In that era just over 11,000 Regular Army officers developed a ground force that successfully

fought the Germans and the Japanese on many fronts. This small nucleus of professionals trained, administered, supplied, and deployed a mammoth army that eventually totaled 930,000 officers and 12 million men.

Although public ignorance and national apathy are partly responsibile for the state of affairs in the professional Military Establishment, Congress obviously cannot escape a large share of the blame. The open hostility of Congress to the regular-officer personnel has been expressed in speeches, press releases and in legislation such as I have described. There have been many instances when discriminatory legislation was voted into law without reference to the congressional committee that the Congress itself had set up for the purpose. Congressional hostility in itself would have been enough to make me desire to leave the service.

Although the congressional speechmakers invariably mention the so-called "brass"—that is, the generals and the admirals—much of the discriminatory legislation hits hardest at the young officers and enlisted men. A rider in the 1952 appropriations bill was announced to the press and public as slowing down the promotions of the "military brass."

BLAMED THE PENTAGON

The rider was so ill-conceived and poorly worded as to have little effect on senior officers, but it made a drastic impact on promotion opportunities of young officers. Several thousand Navy lieutenants would have had to be demoted if the next session of Congress had not taken prompt action to correct the more glaring errors in the original wording. But the Congressman who authored this "rider" was not at all embarrassed by his error. He blamed the Pentagon. He felt the Pentagon should have told him how to word his rider so that it would hurt only the "brass," as he had intended.

Now, as this Nation faces new crises, what are the overall effects of a policy of constantly whittling away at the military profession?

Here are some statistics that help to tell the tale.

Resignations of cadets at West Point reached 109 in 1952 and 95 in 1953, with many youngsters frankly stating that they were leaving because of better career opportunities in civilian life.

The Air Force is having difficulty retaining its skilled technicians. These airmen, who are expensively trained and invaluable in the jet age, are turning down offers of reenlistment at the rate of 200,000 a year.

Another spectacular example of young Americans' attitudes toward professional military careers is afforded by the Navy's Holloway plan. Under the plan the Navy provides financial assistance and naval training to selected college students in return for the pledge by these students to serve for 2 years after graduation, as Reserve officers. After the 2 years of Reserve training are over, the students are offered commissions in the Regular Navy. A year ago the first group of 800 Holloway plan officers completed their required 2 years. Nearly 90 percent rejected careers as Regular officers in the Navy.

The question before Congress and the people, as I see it, is whether this is the time to subtract additional prerogatives and prestige from the Regular Military Establishments, or whether the time has come to make military careers more attractive than ever.

Can we risk the kind of Military Establishment that for want of better must take in a large proportion of mediocrities?

Docs America want its military leadership of tomorrow to come from the bargain basement?

More Secret Conferences Yet?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "More Secret Conferences Yet?" written by David Lawrence and published in the Washington Star on March 22, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

More Secret Conferences Yet?-Proposals FOR TOP-LEVEL WORLD PARLEYS VIEWED AS INCREDIBLE AFTER CASE OF YALTA, WHERE PRINCIPLES WERE TRADED

The news continues to be incredible. One would have thought, after the publication of the Yalta papers, that the world would have had its fill of secret conferences at which statesmen trade away the principles of international morality for which American boys gave their lives. But just the same, the proposal now is being made that some more "top-level" conferences be held—this time between Marshal Bulganin of Soviet Russia, President Eisenhower, Prime Minister Churchill and the Premier of France.

Senator George, of Georgia, venerable Democrat, who is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has brought the idea of a top-level conference into the headlines, though he frankly says the conference shouldn't be held till after France ratifies the new European agreements to permit Germany to rearm.

This is substantially what Secretary of State Dulles has outlined as a possibility after the Paris accords with Germany are ratified. But Mr. Dulles qualifies it a bit by pointing out that America would have to see a demonstration of good faith and tangible evidence that a conference would be able to accomplish something.

Again and again the argument for toplevel conferences has been advanced by political factions in Europe on the Socialist side Who feel that the peace urge of the people everywhere can be satisfied politically by conferences with the Communists. The idea is that there is some magic in personal meetings between heads of states--as if the ambassadors regularly assigned to world capi-tals cannot negotiate when there is something to negotiate.

Prime Minister Churchill, long accustomed to the deals of diplomacy, has sponsored the conference idea on the assumption that something might possibly be accomplished. He knows, of course, that the chances of any Worthwhile agreement are practically nil, but he favors a meeting anyway, if only to placate the elements in opposition to him in his own country which keep bringing up the subject. Similarly leftwing groups in Germany and France continue to harp on the proposal.

The Communist propaganda all over the world, moreover, emphasizes that it is the Western World which refuses to sit down to talk things over. This intensifies a feeling among so-called neutral nations like India that the West is bellicose and unwilling to make agreements to solve world problems.

What the Moscow government knows, of course, is that international meetings such as were held in Berlin and Geneva afford a big opportunity to divide the Western allies. For the Communists can count on the pressure of the Labor-Socialist group to keep the Conscrvative government of Mr. Churchill

and Mr. Eden at odds with America. What finally results is a conference for the purpos of wearing down the adherence of the United States to moral principles.

The Yalta Conference was a secret affair. It tore to pieces the Atlantic Charter. The Congress of the United States knew nothing about its details or its giveaways until it was too late to do anything about them. It now is proposed that secret diplomacy be utilized to make a deal with the Communists and that the heads of the major powers sit down to try to appease the Soviets in their drive of world dominion. The hopes of millions of people in satellite countries would thereby be crushed. The end result might well be further manifestations of arrogance by the Communists which could only be resolved by an atomic war.

The Soviets have gained in the cold war through the conference method. They won their biggest victory at Geneva last year, and they were aided in that victory by the weakness of Great Britain and France.

The idea that 3 or 4 men can barter away the ideals of the world for expediency's sake is not new. It happened at Munich because of a craven refusal to face the facts of an aggressor's insatiable thirst for power. And yet, after the exposure of what went on at Yalta, the suggestion of more "Yalta Conferences" now is seriously advanced. It is incredible news and can be explained only on the theory that many people here and abroad have been so frightened by the Communist propaganda about atomic war that they are ready for peace at any price. This is the way to bring on world war III, just as World War II came 1 year after the Munich Conference gave encouragement to the aggressor.

More Shipbuilding on West Coast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALAN BIBLE

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, on March 22, the Senator from Washington [Mr. Magnuson), chairman of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, delivered a very informative and factual address to the Western States Council at San Francisco, Calif. I ask unanimous consent to have a report on this address, which appeared in the New York Times, March 23, 1955, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MORE SHIPBUILDING ON WEST COAST IS PRE-DICTED BY A SENATE LEADER—MAGNUSON TELLS 11-STATE COUNCIL HE IS "VERY HOPE-FUL" THE ADMINISTRATION WILL REVISE POLICY NOW FAVORING THE EAST

(By Lawrence E. Davies)

San Francisco, March 22.—Senator Warren G. Magnuson, Democrat, of Washington, predicted today a brighter era for west coast

The chairman of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee told the Western States Council he was "very hopeful" the Administration would revise its present policy and give the West greater opportunities.

This would be done, he said, by allocation of a specific number of vessels in any Government-financed shipbuilding program to the Pacific Coast, to be bid upon by West Coast yards.

"At present," he asserted, "we are penalized 15 to 16 percent of the cost of ships, in bidding against East Coast yards, because of labor and materials prices."

Senator Magnuson forecast the construc-tion on this coast of 3 to 4 big new tankers, They would be part of a program of 10 to 12 tankers soon to be authorized by the Federal Maritime Board, he said. They would be built for private operators, with the Government insuring up to 100 percent of 871/2 percent of the cost and retaining the right to buy them back in 10 years.

His committee, the Senator announced, rould report out tomorrow or Thursday,

bills to provide:

That the Civil Aeronautics Board give permanent certification to feeder air lines, most of them west of the Mississippi River. Thirteen of them, he said, now are operating under three-year permits, giving them no opportunity for permanent planning.

That the Civil Aeronautics Board have ju-

risdiction over what airlines will fly to United States Territories. This would deprive the President of the right of veto over Board deci-

sions in this respect.

EASING OF PROBLEMS SEEN

Senator Magnuson said the White House welcomed this prospective legislation because of the headaches it would save President Eisenhower. Pressures were tremendous, he indicated, prior to recent issuance of Presidential directives as to what lines should fly to Hawaii and Alaska. Actually, the present law was not intended to give the President the right to say what lines should operate to our Territories, but only to foreign countries, he said.

The Senator defended subsidies, both for steamship and airlines. Total subsidies to the whole American merchant marine this year, including some back obligations, did not exceed \$60 million. He said, adding:
"That literally is less than the subsidy
we pay for peanuts."

He told the council members, who include executives of State, county, and local chambers of commerce of the 11 Western States, that unpublished census figures he had just seen in Washington gave these estimates:

A present population of 23,400,000 for the Western States, compared with 19,600,000 in This 19 percent increase is more than double the national growth rate.

A population in 1960 of 30 million, or a gain of more than 28 percent in the next 5 years. This would be double the estimated national rate of growth, he said.

TRANSPORT CRISIS CITED

"The East is in a deep freeze on transportation problems," Mr. Magnuson declared. "We can't afford to let that happen to us, with these great problems we face accompanying enormous population gains. We ought to have a political-economic revolt on questions affecting us in a nonpartisan way."

The council adopted resolutions reiterating its positions on shipbuilding, mining, air transportation and other matters after hearing testimony on these subjects.

The 134th Anniversary of Greek Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, PAT McNAMARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a statement prepared by me on the 134th anniversary of Greek independence be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR MCNAMARA

Tomorrow will be the 134th anniversary of Greek independence. It was on March 25, 1821, that the Greek people began their struggle for freedom in the modern world. As His Excellency, the Ambassador of Greece to the United States, George V. Melas, said just a few days ago, "The 25th of March could readily be compared with that other great date in history, the Fourth of July. For similar ideals, that same craving for liberty, that same yearning for independence, that same determined love of democratic institutions have been the bases of the erection of both countries, America and Greece, into independent states."

The contributions Greece has made to the pattern of western civilization cannot be overestimated. Plato and Aristotle in the world of philosophy, Homer and Sophocles in the realm of literature, Phidias in the field of architecture, Euclid in science and Pericles in the field of statecraft are only a few of the examples of Hellenic influence on our history.

As the Greek people fought against tyranny in the 19th century, so too in this country, they battled courageously against Communist attacks in Korea. As an American I am proud that our country, at the initiative of President Truman in 1947, sent military and economic aid to help the Greeks in their struggle to recover liberty for themselves. I am glad to recognize Greece as our staunch ally in the Mediterranean region and as a member of NATO.

Here in the United States, Americans of Greek birth and blood have continued their heritage of leadership and have enriched our Nation by their activities both as individual citizens and through their great fraternal organization, the Order of Ahepa.

I am sure that we are all glad to join the valiant Greek nation and people of Hellenic origin everywhere in the celebration of Greek Independence Day.

The Columbia River Dams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the completion of Bonneville Dam in 1937 laid the foundation for the opening of a vast new inland waterway down the Columbia River, with river tonnage increasing 30 times over the last 18 years. The completed McNary and Bonneville Dams, along with the Dalles and John Day Dams yet to be completed, will open the Columbia River to ocean and river tugs to Pasco, Wash., the year round. The Columbia Basin irrigation project has greatly increased the need and use of this great inland waterway. The great wisdom which prompted the construction of the Columbia River dams, planned and begun during the Roosevelt Administration, has shown itself once more in the development and use of our great inland waterway.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a most informative editorial from the Sunday Oregonian of March 20, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIFEBLOOD OF COMMERCE

Bonneville and McNary Dams have removed some of the thrills that steamboatmen once knew on the upper Columbia. The Dalies Dam will remove some more, when it is finished within the next 3 years. John Day Dam, above The Dalies, will complete a planned series of pools that will back up water from Bonneville to the lower Snake.

Today the Columbia is carrying immense loads of cargo, not by steamer but by diesel Through Bonneville locks tugs and barges. last year went 1,377,819 tons of goods, including 642,159 tons of petroleum products. In 1937, the year before Bonneville was finished, the total through Cascade locks was only 52,473 tons. This is about the same as the annual quantity of anhydrous ammonia alone which Shell Chemical Corp. and Tidewater-Shaver Barge Lines plan to carry by ocean and river tugs and barges from Pittsburg, Calif., through Portland to the new distributing plant dedicated the other day at Pasco, Wash. When the Dalles Dam is finished, it will

When the Dalles Dam is finished, it will be possible to move the 252-foot seagoing ammonia barge, Ammonia Mariner, which can carry nearly 1,700 tons at a time, all the way from California to Pasco 4 months of the year. When John Day Dam is built the seagoing rig will be able to reach Pasco the year round. Now the load is transferred at Portland to a specially constructed river ammonia barge for shipment to Pasco.

Meanwhile a trip down the Columbia on a tug and barge rig, which a representative of this page was able to make recently, is both a revelation of the Columbia's importance as a natural artery of commerce, and an adventure which still contains some of the thrills experienced by pioneer steamboatmen.

From the windows of the high pilot house of the tug Rampant, not only the river itself was revealed as a vital carrier of commerce. From midstream one sees also the railroad on either side of the river, over which long trains roll on the easy water-level grade, and the highways over which trucks carry commodities and supplies to and from the rich Inland Empire. The river and its two banks all are part of the artery which gives Portland and other lower river communities a big trade advantage.

The adventure comes from riding a 90-foot tug and a 158-foot barge—nearly 250 feet of powerfully engined metal—through the rapids and narrow passages between rocks which have challenged rivermen for a century. Capt. Wayne (Bud) Bateman named off the stretches of fast water and cuts through the rock as he steered his vessel through them. Squally, Canoe, Indian, John Day, Hell Gate were some of the names that boatmen over the years have given these difficult sections.

One fast-water stretch is known as Miller's Drift. The story is that the name of an old-time pilot on the Columbia, Charlie Miller, became associated with this sharp turn below Blalock island because he stopped the paddles and drifted around it. The tug boats of today slide around the bad spots. It takes skill and years of experience to know when to stear off a range so that the current will swing the long tow just right to avoid the rocks,

All manner of transportation appears to be prospering in the Inland Empire. At Pasco, near the two large anhydrous ammonia spheres built for Shell Chemical Co.,

Tidewater-Shaver has a farm of 40 petroleum tanks, other ammoniia-storage facilities, and cement tanks, all built within the past 3 years at a cost of several millions of dollars. Oil pipelines from Utah and to Spokane are tied in with the petroleum tanks. Rail cars and trucks distribute the various products over a wide area in the Inland Empire. There are many other upriver installations also. Inland Transportation Cooperates a barge service of comparable size. Increased barge and pipeline transportation does not appear to have hurt the railroads. The Northern Pacific is constructing a \$5 million hump freight yard at Pasco.

The transportation investments are indicative of the effect the Columbia River Basin irrigation project is having on the Northwest's economy. The ammonia, of course, is used to considerable extent on the constantly growing irrigated area, as well as on wheatlands, to add nitrogen to the soil, and to improve and increase the

yield.

The consumption of gasoline and oil is tremendous. Despite the newly come pipeline, barging of petroleum products through Bonneville locks increased in 1954 over 1953, from 582,242 to 642,159 tons. Last year's barged petroleum was not far from the peak of 749,991 tons in 1952.

Growth can be expected as land continues to be placed under water in the Columbia Basin. Portland will be affected favorably as it comes. For the Columbia with its barges, railroads, and highways make our city the natural outlet and inlet for the wide country that is shedding its sagebrush for crops.

Diplomatic Papers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Diplomatic Papers," written by Irving Brant and published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 22, 1955. Mr. Brant is a distinguished historian, and the article is most interesting and timely.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIPLOMATIC PAPERS—HISTORICAL POLITICAL WEAPON

To get a proper perspective on Secretary Dulles' release of the Yalta papers, one needs to go back to a time when diplomatic dispatches were the principal weapon in American politics. That was in the first decade of the 19th century, when politics and diplomacy were really boiling in the United States and the world was as much of a madhouse as it is today.

In that decade—near the high point of Napoleon's colossal power—England and France were engaged in a hot war with each other and each of them in a cold war with the United States. Charges of French influence were hurled at leaders of the Democratic Party (then called Republican) as zestfully as 20 years of treason is today. Diplomatic dispatches were held back or published with one eye on Europe and the other on American politicians and newspapers, but with differences more important than the resemblances to the Dulles pattern.

The campaign literature which was used to elevate James Madison to the Presidency in 1808 consisted of diplomatic letters, about half of them written by himself as Secretary of State. These letters were given to Congress and the press in two batches—one of them so voluminous that it filled the newspapers for 2 months. And all were written within a year, not held back 10 years. However, everything that would have betrayed confidential talks with European officials was pared out, as such material was in a dozen other releases of papers by the Presidents in that era—releases regularly made in connection with their annual messages to Congress.

Individual Senators were as irresponsible and unethical then as now. To emphasize the wickedness of Bonaparte and the "treason" of Democratic officials, Federalist Sen-ators surreptitiously secured the publication of dispatches from Paris sent to the Senate in confidence-an action which made Minister Armstrong's position at Napoleon's court almost untenable. Again, a British diplomatic dispatch mysteriously appeared in the American press. It looked as if British Minister Erskine had slipped it to a news-Paper to hurt the President. But he had a simple and convincing explanation. To protect himself against Federalist criticism, he had shown the dispatch in confidence to two Senators of that party and one of them secretly copied it. Such incidents, however, were not the official acts of responsible officers of government.

Had some counterpart of the Yalta papers been given to the press in 1810, with all the circumstances corresponding to the course pursued by Mr. Dulles, the manner of it—not the presumed motive—would have shocked the country. It would have been shocking on four accounts, all deeply

grounded in American politics:
1. Not one of the Presidents w

1. Not one of the Presidents who held office in that decade—John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison—would have dreamed of disclaiming responsibility for the action of his Secretary of State. Any one of them might have called it a Cabinet action, in which he shared, but to say publicly that he had no part in it would have lowered him in the eyes of every American.

2. Lumping Presidents and Cabinets together, not one of the Executives in that decade would have published such a set of Papers under pressure from Congress, or togain political advantage, if such action adversely affected the country's interest or its international standing.

3. Not one of the Secretaries of State in that period—not even the incompetent Robert Smith—would have said at one moment

that the papers would not be released and released them the next.

4. Not one of those Executives would have released the papers in opposition to the Wishes of a friendly European statesman concerned in them, or even, one could safely say, in violation of the amenities towards an unfriendly statesman.

The year 1810 is taken as an example because such an issue arose at that time. In the preceding fall, President Madison cut off all diplomatic relations with British Minister Francis Jackson—in effect ordering him out of the country—because he felt personally insulted by that Minister's conduct. The political heat that followed was terrific—Federalists supporting Jackson and Democrats upholding the President. And everybody asked: How would England react to the dismissal?

Bailing ships sped eastward across the Atlantic and beat their way slowly back. Four months passed without a word. Crucial spring elections lay just ahead—elections of State legislatures which would choose United States Senators.

Then, on March 12, the administration's chief newspaper organ published a little item. The Secretary of State had received

a private note from the American Minister in London, saying that Lord Wellesley "did not attempt to vindicate Mr. Jackson," but admitted he was in the wrong and would recall him.

Here was a statement which upset the Federalist election campaign. They called the letter a forgery, a thing which did not exist. Produce it, they cried. The House of Representatives, coerced by the minority, passed a resolution asking the President to transmit late dispatches from London. Madison replied that none but this private note had come, and "personal considerations of a delicate nature" forbade its disclosure.

After Congress adjourned the cries of forgery became a veritable scream when it turned out that Wellesley, in recalling Jackson, gave him praise instead of censure. Every political consideration now demanded publication of the private note. Continued silence would cast doubt on the President's integrity and imperil Democratic chances in

the congressional election.

Why not publish this brief record of a confidential talk, which furnished evidence that a British Foreign Minister had said one thing and done the opposite in a controversy with the United States? Why not add American Minister Pinknew's later statement that Wellesley had changed his attitude when he learned that the Federalist Party in the United States was supporting the ousted British diplomat? There were two reasons for not doing so: It would weaken Pinkney's position in London and would be a discourtesy to the British Foreign Minister.

The President said nothing. The Federalists were still crying "forgery" when Madison received this personal note from Pinkney:

"I am glad you refused to lay my private letter before the Congress. The publication of it, which must necessarily have followed, would have produced serious embarrassments."

In that same decade. European diplomats called the United States a nation ruled by public opinion. So it was, but it was a nation ruled by the opinion of an informed public, wise in political ways and contemptuous of men who lacked the nerve to stand firm against political clamor.

Program of Northeast Pennsylvania Industrial Development Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in order to show that a valient effort is being made by the leading citizens of the coalfields of northeastern Pennsylvania to help solve the economic problems of the area, I sumbit the following statement of program of the Northeast Pennsylvania Industrial Development Commission on the occasion of a visit to the Atomic Energy Commission in Washington today:

REGIONAL OBSERVATIONS ENTERED BEFORE THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION AND THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY, CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, BY THE NORTHEAST PENNSYLVANIA INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION, SEEKING CERTAIN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT CONSIDERATION FOR DISTRESSED AREAS IN PENNSYLVANIA AND ELSEWHERE, MARCH 24, 1955, WASHINGTON, D. C.

(Note.—Release of atomic energy has changed the whole of mankind; imaginative

industrial development through atomic energy can insure stable manpower conditions throughout the Nation.)

I. DISCUSSION

In a copywrited story in the March 18, 1955, issue of U. S. News & World Report, entitled the "Atomic Revolution Is Here," John J. Hopkins, president of the General Dynamics Corp., builders of the first atom submarine, declared: "There is a tremendous economic revolution involved. And we've got to look at it as much more of a revolution than the industrial revolution was, because you are dealing with many more hundreds of millions of people. You had a handful of people to deal with in the old days of the industrial revolution. Now you have a really serious situation."

We are all aware of the universal and national importance of our nuclear future. We know and feel, as Mr. Hopkins, that our economic and social future is dependent upon atomic energy.

It is this awareness that prompts a civic group from northeastern Pennsylvania to

make these observations.

(a) Future industrial development: Under the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, there appears latitude for AEC to continue the rapid pace of Government research and production and authorization to additional installations. Likewise, the congressional effort to stimulate greater private industry participation under the act also provides many new and expansive industrial development opportunities.

(b) Manpower in northeastern Pennsylvania: In a population pool of 1 million people, there are upwards to 100,000 idle but willing workers. In 5 counties alone, there is in excess of 12 percent unemployment, thereby listing this area in the Department of Labor's "very substantial labor surplus" category, or on the technical map, a class

4-B region.

Last May 11, our Northeast Pennsylvania Industrial Development Commission pleaded with President Eisenhower for some Federal assistance to alleviate the growing economic paralysis that is gripping our section of Pennsylvania as well as other distressed areas in the Nation.

On August 10, Under Secretary of Commerce Walter Williams, who coordinated President Eisenhower's recommendations to NPIDC, reported among other objectives that "it is the policy of the Atomic Energy Commission to give consideration to labor-distressed areas when letting contracts, and they have instructed the prime contractors to give the same consideration when letting subcontracts."

II. PROBLEM

Our problem before both the AEC and the joint congressional committee is simply this-we want to link the industrial development of nuclear energy with our heavy unemployment surplus and substantially reduce the great number of thousands of our idle workers. We feel that employment through atomic energy projects—government or private, or subcontracts-holds great social, economic and military significance, We know that a nation is weakened where great pockets of chronic idleness continue to exist when the Government can provide assistance and guidance. We are not making this plea without calling attention to the great community efforts that are being made in this region toward industrial diversification—accomplishing a shift from coal mining, an industry that is now being further impaired by thorough increased utilization of atomic power.

III. CONCLUSION

We ask the Atomic Energy Commission and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy to give "distressed areas" utmost consideration in planning and executing all future Government projects. We ask both groups to implement the President's recommendation by positively suggesting to all prime and subcontractors or licensees that they consider "distressed areas" and in our particular situation, northeastern Pennsylvania, when they contemplate new construction and placement of additional installations for both research and production.

We are in great need of assistance and we feel that our Government's atomic agencies can, in a large measure, provide at least a partial solution to our unemployment problem—one whose "chronic condition" deserves the immediate attention of the research and industrial development groups of the nuclear energy program.

BERNARD B. BLIER.
Chairman.
HARRY L. MAGEE.
Vice Chairman.

Yalta Repudiated by Release of Documents, Lane Declares

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record, an article entitled "Yalta Repudiated by Release of Documents, Lane Declares." The article is based on a statement made by our former distinguished Ambassador, Arthur Bliss Lane, and was published in the Washington Evening Star of March 22, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YALTA REPUDIATED BY RELEASE OF DOCUMENTS, LANE DECLARES—EX-DIPLOMAT SAYS ACT SIGNALS END OF APPEASEMENT

(By L. Edgar Prina)

Former Ambassador Arthur Bliss Lane said today that publication of the Yalta papers is an implied repudiation of that wartime Big Three agreement by the United States

Three agreement by the United States.

He asserted that "this thought, if properly conveyed" by the Voice of America and our overseas information programs, could have a profound effect behind the Iron Curtain.

"It would indicate to those sad and silent

"It would indicate to those sad and silent peoples that the United States no longer stands for a policy of appeasement, containment, or peaceful coexistence, whatever that last expression means," he said.

Mr. Lane was named Ambassador to Poland by President Roosevelt in 1944 and served until 1947. He then retired, after 31 years in the Foreign Service, so that he could speak out against what he calls "the gravity of the crime of Yaita."

INDEPENDENT IN POLITICS

He has been especially concerned with the effect the February 1945 agreement had on the Polish people. His book, I Saw Poland Betrayed, was published early in 1948. He is an avowed political independent, although a vigorous supporter of the Eisenhower foreign policy.

According to the former envoy, publication of the Yalta papers has this educational value: "It will teach the American people that the executive branch should not be allowed to take action in changing frontiers and peoples without the consent of the Senate."

Mr. Lane's principal criticisms of the Yalta Agreement are that the United States signed a pact "putting millions of Poles into the Soviet Union" (by changing that nation's frontiers) and "giving Poland a Communist government without consent of the Polish people."

LACKS DEMOCRATIC GUARANTIES

While the Soviet Union pledged free elections for Poland at Yalta, Mr. Lane said that the United States did not exact the guaranties to assure such a democratic processes.

"It is not enough to say that Stalin violated the agreements," Mr. Lane declared. He recalled that he pointed out to Secretary of State Stettinius in December 1944, that the United States was contribuing millions of dollars' worth of military equipment to Great Britain and the Soviet Union and had the most powerful army, navy, and air force in the world. Therefore, he told the Secretary, the United States should and could see that the Polish people were given the chance to select their own government.

PEOPLE WERE STUPEFIED

Mr. Lane branded as preposterous the Soviet concession to broaden the Moscow-dominated Lublin regime in Poland by including other political parties. He said that "once you have a Communist core in the government you have a nation controlled by Communists."

He disclosed that he found the Polish people stupefied by Yalta, adding:

"They wondered why the principles of the Atlantic Charter—for self-determination by peoples—were violated by that pact."

The U. S. S. R., while not an original party to the Atlantic Charter, later said they agreed to its principles.

The retired diplomat said that he hoped the American people realized "that we cannot give up certain basic principles • • • merely for the sake of expediency. • • We cannot sell into slavery millions of people or be a party to the wiping out of freedom of the press, religion or thought."

Expatriated Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H. R. 5186, which provides for certified copies of citizenship to be furnished to repatriated American citizens who voted in an Italian election or plebiscite during the years 1946 and 1948.

Under the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act, those citizens who so voted may be repatriated under certain conditions, but under the provisions of law they are not entitled to certified copies of their citizenship once repatriated. There are now thousands of persons awaiting this documentation which would enable them to be registered voters, or to qualify for employment where citizenship is essential, and for countless other activities in which positive American citizenship must be established.

There appears to me to be excellent justification and a basis for this legislation caused by the recollection that great numbers of prominent and nationally known groups and civic organizations put on a tremendous campaign between 1946 and 1948, for American citizens in Italy, to cast a vote against the Communist candidates in these elections and plebiscites.

Through the dissemination of millions of letters, telegrams and circulars and other material to Italy, the Christian Democrat Party led by Alcide de Gasperi was able to defeat the Communist and other radical left wing parties in the opposition and preserve Italy to the free world. One such organization in the United States, the Order Sons of Italy, during its annual convention in California in 1946, was one of the spearheads in the nationwide efforts to defeat the Italian Communists. Many thousands of dollars contributed by this organization and its members were used during these 2 years to contact friends, relatives, and countrymen and urge them to cast a vote against the Communist candidate.

There were also many broadcasts made to Italy during this time as a direct appeal to Americans to vote in the elections. Certain officials of the United States Government did, in fact, appear on these broadcasts in strong support of this move.

Following such action, those who had participated in these elections lost their American rights but they were later repatriated by legislative action. My bill would enable repatriated citizens to obtain upon request, an exact copy of the certificates of citizenship which are supplied to the Department of Justice and State Department. This would end a great deal of confusion which exists today for these people, and would entitle them upon request to immediate documentary proof furnished by our Government of their American nationality.

I trust that the appropriate committee to which this legislation will be referred will take immediate action and that this legislation will receive the wholehearted support of my colleagues.

Greek Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AIME J. FORAND

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join with my colleagues to once again, on Greek Independence Day, pay a tribute to a gallant people.

Tomorrow, March 25, is the 134th anniversary of Greek independence. The great Hellenic culture has had a profound and lasting effect on the freedom-loving nations of the western world. The Greeks, as did the Americans, fought hard and long for their independence, and they are ready and willing to fight just as hard and long to retain it. We Americans are proud to have the Greck Nation as a true and stanch ally in the continuing struggle for freedom for all

peace-loving people throughout the world.

The history of the valiant Greek Nation reveals that its life has not been any easy one. Greece maintained its freedom from foreign domination from 1827 to 1941, and the world will not soon forget the heroic struggles of the Greek people against fascism, and how they overcame great odds in driving back Mussolini's army in 1940. When the Nazis joined the fray, however, the Greek Nation was overwhelmed, its people subjugated, its earth scorched, and its economic resources systematically destroyed by Hitler's hordes.

The Greek Nation was once again liberated, through the assistance of the British in 1944, but over 400,000 Greeks died of starvation during the period of

this ruthless occupation.

After World War II, liberated Greece found its chief ports in ruins, threefourths of its merchant fleet destroyed. the vital Corinth Canal blocked by mines, major rail lines torn up, and with more than 1,500 villages and towns destroyed. Thousands of people were homeless, and living standards reached an almost impossible low level.

It was in this moment of Greek national weakness that the Communists struck. Unable to win a strong voice in the Greek Government, the Reds formed guerrilla bands, to terrorize the villagers and to prevent them from carrying on their essential task of rehabilitation. This Communist move was intended to deal a death blow to the wartorn economy of Greece and to force the country to accept its orders from the Kremlin.

Early in March of 1947 the Greek Government appealed to the United States for assistance. With a great example of courage and foresight, and in full recognition of not only the humanitarian needs of the Greek people, but also of the danger of international communism to the security of the free world, and to the United States, President Truman responded boldly, with the initiation of What is now known as the Truman doctrine for Greece and Turkey.

The President then secured from Congress his initial request for \$300 million Which went into guns and equipment for the Greek army, as well as foodstuffs and other necessities for the population, and the Greek people were again on the way to the establishment of decency and free-

Aided by an American military mission, a revitalized Greek army defeated the Communists and established peace and order in October of 1949. Continued United States aid has helped rebuild Greece's economy and has enabled the Greek people to strengthen their army against another Communist attempt to seize power.

It is also significant that the Greeks, having defeated the Communists at home, had a military unit fighting with other United Nations forces in Korea.

Greece and the United States share defense responsibilities as NATO partners. With some 200,000 men under arms, Greece has a larger percentage of its population in active military service than any other European NATO nation, and this force, we are told, can be doubled on short notice.

Today Greece stands as a fortress of freedom in the Mediterranean. She is of great importance, strategically and geographically, to our own national defense and security. She is a true and staunch ally, and the investments of the United States in this cradle of western civilization were wise and judicious. Our firm stand and financial assistance to Greece has resulted in uniting Greece, not only internally but also with other freedom loving countries in their stand against aggressor forces.

Here, in our own country, the Greek-American community has made a great contribution to our culture, to our economy, and to our democratic spirit. We owe a great debt to the Greek mind and

to the Greek spirit.

On this 134th anniversary of the independence of Greece, we join in its celebration and hope that this anniversary will always be celebrated in peace and freedom.

The Farm Problem and Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MARGUERITE STITT CHURCH

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mrs. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am happy to direct the attention of the House to strong and unwavering opposition of the Illinois Agricultural Association to H. R. 12. I hope that every Member will read the following sane analysis made by Mr. Otto Steffey, president of the Illinois Agricultural Association, and note how unqualifiedly this great agricultural association of Illinois goes on record in favor of continuing flexible price supports:

ILLINOIS AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION, Chicago, Ill., March 21, 1955 Hon. MARGUERITE S. CHURCH,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN CHURCH: The House Agricultural Committee has voted out House Resolution No. 12. It is my understanding that the bill will be discussed on the floor and acted on within the next few days. The bill contains in part the following features:

1. Provides 90 percent mandatory price supports for wheat, cotton, corn, peanuts and rice through 1957.

2. Provides a choice of two systems for

supporting wheat prices:

A. Return to 90 percent supports with marketing quotas—the same program which was in operation prior to the Agricultural Act of 1954.

B. A multiple price plan whereby bread grain would be supported at 100 percent of parity and wheat for export and feed at some lower level.

3. Provides for raising the minimum level at which dairy prices must be supported to 80 percent of parity.

In regard to point No. 1, concerning the continuance of 90 percent of parity on basic commodities we have had such a program since the war. It has tended to stimulate production while depressing markets, has led to the greatest surplus situation in the history of the country and, at the same time, it has failed to maintain farm prices. In the light of this unfavorable experience it seems to me that we should give the 1954 Agricultural Act an opportunity to work. You are, of course, aware that nothing has yet been sold under this program.

Point No. 2, providing for a choice of two systems for supporting wheat prices, in my opinion would encourage further unneeded production. The current wheat surplus of 1,100 million bushels (quantity held by CCC, both inventory and loans, as of January 31, 1955) is one of the most baffling problems before us today. If this bill should pass and large quantities of wheat were released on the feed market, it would create disastrous conditions for corn and feed grain producers. As you perhaps know, grain prices are already weak because of extremely heavy supplies.

In regard to point No. 3, concerning 80percent support on dairy products, it appears that milk production and demand are currently moving toward a better balance but we are still in a surplus situation. It would be unwise at this time to take any action which would reverse this trend.

In the interest of a strong and prosperous agriculture in Illinois, I trust you will use your utmost influence to prevent the passage of this bill. This action would be in complete accord with the policy of this organization as established through 1,200 local policy development meetings held over the State of Illinois during 1954 and adopted by the voting delegates at the annual meeting in November.

Sincerely yours, ILLINOIS AGRICULTURE ASSOCIATION. OTTO STEFFEY, President.

Comments by Hon. John J. Dempsey, of New Mexico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ANTONIO M. FERNANDEZ

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. FERNANDEZ. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I insert in the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD comments of my colleague, the Honorable John J. Dempsey. in his weekly newsletter for release to the press tomorrow on the subject of the Yalta documents:

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM YOUR NATION'S CAPITOL (By JOHN J. DEMPSEY, Congressman from New Mexico)

WASHINGTON, March 24 .- Nearly three centuries ago one William Shakespeare provided the most fitting title for the now subsiding Yalta papers episode in the Nation's Capital-Much Ado About Nothing—at least about nothing new. It is a combined comedy and tragedy. The bungling, inept handling of the whole affair by the State Department, coupled with the all too apparent political motive which inspired it, has backfired as far as American public opinion is concerned, Only the political alarmists sought to blow up the revelations to elephantine proportions. Their efforts have been providing the comedy but have resulted also in tragedy insofar as this Nation's world relationships are concerned. There is no question, in my opinion, but what our diplomacy has suffered a serious setback.

Secretary of State Dulles, who admits there is nothing new in the disclosures, allowed himself to be maneuvered into a leak of the Yalta records—somewhat expurgated, he explains—to a New York newspaper. He could not have been naive enough to believe, having ordered dozens of copies of the 500,000-word Yalta dossier runoff for confidential distribution, that such a leak would not occur. If he was he should not be Secretary of State of our great Nation. He knew it would leak and that the demands of his political cohorts would be satisfied.

What the Secretary of State, of all men in our public life, did not appear to foresee was the worldwide repercussions that would follow. Sir Winston Churchill and the British people in particular waxed angry. They had a right to do so. The loss of confidence we have suffered in Britain alone may well be incalculable. The facts of the Yalta agreement were known to the British, as well as to our own people, but the informal—and admittedly rather tactless—discussions among the Big Three leaders at Yalta were not common property. Making them so accomplishes no peace-advancing purpose. It has nullified in no small part the friendships we have been spending billions of dollars to build up in all of the free nations.

Sir Winston also charges that the released Yalta papers are erroneous in many instances. That is understandable in view of the admitted fact that they are not stenographic transcripts, but rewrites from hurriedly made notes and jottings from memory—a very fallible source. Their value, therefore, is dublous.

The grins in the Kremlin are wide, indeed, over the loss of face America has suffered by this diplomatic faux pas. The Communists are enjoying the comedy and chortling over the new strain we have placed on our free-world relationships, not to mention the threat to congressional bipartisan accord on foreign affairs. My own conclusion is that Mr. Dulles' State Department efforts could be better devoted to keeping alive the spark of international peace rather than snuffing it out in the ashes of the dead past.

Growing Nationalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PERKINS BASS

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BASS of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the Concord Monitor, Concord, N. H., of March 22, 1955, entitled "Growing Nationalism." This is a timely and thought-provoking editorial on one of the biggest and most important issues facing the country today, namely, international trade:

GROWING NATIONALISM

The Congress still has not completed final action upon extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act, and shortly it must take up consideration of revisions negotiated in the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, better known as GATT.

These two instruments are the foundation of a conscious effort by the Government to

establish some rules or principles as to the imposition of tariffs in order to remove this problem from legislative logrolling. Long experience revealed the inadequacies of trying to write tariff schedules in the Halls of Congress. That way the national interest came last.

Neither the Reciprocal Trade Act nor GATT are perfect organisms. Their past acceptance, and their present status, is based upon exceptions to the general rules established, whereby they are made sufficiently asceptable to be approved by the Congress. There are signs that these exceptions may not at present be enough to win their extension.

Should these two instruments of trade and tariffs be defeated in the present Congress a backward step will have been taken which can become an additional breeder of world conflicts.

Trade between nations upon this earth is still beset by many problems. A principal irritant is the nonnegotiability of many currencies. Outside the Iron Curtain there are dollar and sterling areas, and little else. Many nations still have multiple exchange rates. Economic sanctions operate as part of the cold war. Our own subsidy of agricultural products for export is an exception to the general rule. Commonwealth concession not granted to third nations is a British exception. Import and export controls other than tariffs are more or less common-

Despite this confusion the situation is more stable than it would be without the two implements whose extension is being considered at this session of the Congress.

Normally, trade is the principal consideration of international diplomacy. If international trading arrangements are satisfactory as between nations the dangers of war are greatly reduced. So is the tendency to resort to political extremes involved in totalitarian policies adopted by "have not" nations.

Without some general rules international trade becomes almost anarchial. It is every nation for itself. Strange alliances become commonplace. Unrealistic balances of power are generated. Unsound economies are developed by almost all nations, Corrective and progressive national economic development is delayed everywhere. Politics gain priority over national productivity.

Unfortunately, political pressures adverse to maintenance of an ever-increasing orderliness in world trade, with mutual benefits to all nations, seem to be on the rise again in this country.

Part of this pressure is a result of the failure of those associated with declining industries to recognize the impact of new industrial forces which are, as they always have, constantly expanded the economy of this Nation. So the attempt is made to save what must inevitably recognize change by international trade barriers, whereas such barriers will not prevent oil and natural gas from causing further declines in the use of coal, for example, or the use of substitute materials devised by chemistry as a substitute for cotton or woolen goods.

This is a strange Nation. It has undergone more changes than any other on earth in less time. But the vast adjustments it has made in this perpetual process of development of the highest standard of living upon this earth are now being forgotten in more and more quarters and the resistance to further expansion is increasing in a false effort to preserve the status quo in industry after industry.

This is the sort of reaction which comes following periods of excessive international strain. It is a nationalistic reaction not uncommon elsewhere on this earth, but of which we are critical except as we ourselves indulge in it.

The Independence Day of Byclorussia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 25, 1955, Americans of Byelorussian origin and Byelorussian immigrants in the United States are solemnly celebrating the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the Byelorussian National Republic.

Byelorussia, a country of 250,000 square miles and 18 million population, is situated in eastern part of Europe, between Poland and Russia—Ukraine, Lithuania, and Latvia. Byelorussia has become better known to the West as Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, a charter member of the United Nations since 1945.

In the past Byelorussia was an independent nation and played a great part in the medieval history of eastern Europe. Under the conditions of the time Byelorussia appeared under the name of Kryvia and later on—the 13th century—it was known as a Grand Duchy of Lithuania; since 1795 forcibly incorporated into imperial Russia.

For several times Byelorussians have tried to reestablish their sovereignty; in 1912 with the help of Napoleon, in 1831 and 1863 by armed uprising in alliance with Polish insurgents. With the start of the First World War Byelorussians again took the opportunity to liberate themselves from the Russian slavery. Through the coordinated effort of all Byelorussian organizations a general national representation, consisting of 1,167 delegates from all the corners of the country, gathered in Minsk on December 14, 1917. This first all Byelorussian Congress became the actual constituent assembly of Byelorussia, it elected the Rada-Council-and its Presidium as its executive bodies, which have assumed the responsibility for the fate of the nation.

On March 25, 1918, Rada of the Byelorussian National Republic solemnly proclaimed the independence of Byelorussia and published its third constitutional act containing the official text of the proclamation. That was the birthday of the new Byelorussian State under the name of Byelorussian National Republic.

Byelorussian Government quickly set to work to expand its activities in all fields of the national life. In spite of great difficulties connected with the war and the devastation of the country the Government made significant advances in the fields of economy, defense, education, culture, social protection, etc. Byelorussian National Republic was recognized de jure by Austria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Ukraine and de facto by Bulgaria, Denmark, France, and Yugoslavia.

The new republic could not resist for too long a time the pressure of Russian imperialism without any help from outside and soon fell the victim of new occupation, this time by Red army. It was finally liquidated by the Riga Treaty of March 1921, and its territory divided between Poland and U. S. S. R.

The Russian sponsored B. S. S. R. took her place, created on January 1, 1919, in Smolensk as a Communist counterweight to the democratic republic established in Minsk in 1918. This union republic with its puppet government is still in existence within the structure of the Soviet Union.

Ever since the Russian Communists took over the country its population has been subjected to a violent and ruthless persecution for its unabating love of freedom—in soviet official language, "national-democratic" deviation—in addition to the "normal," social, and economic experimentation and irresponsible manipulation with people's property and life by Communists. But in spite of this, and in spite of thwarted uprisings, trials, shootings and deportations, the people of Byelorussia did not accept the government forced upon them, they still resist it.

The legal Government of Byelorussian National Republic was compelled to go into exile in order to continue the struggle against communism for restoration of the Byelorussian democratic independent state. After 34 years of difficult life the Government is still in existence and leads the best forces of the nation in the fight for freedom and justice.

The Yalta Explosion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very interesting and truthful editorial on the release of the Yalta papers which appeared in the Daily Evening Item, Lynn, Mass., Monday, March 21, 1955:

THE YALTA PAPERS

Release of the mammoth 500,000-word State Department account of the famous Big Three conference at Yalta in early 1945 likely will fuel more controversies than it settles.

For years some Republicans have been assailing the historic meeting as a "sell-out" to the Russians which opened the floodgates to the spread of communism across Asia and Eastern Europe.

They have demanded to see the full record. Now we have all the record that was kept except for a few parts deleted by the Department in the national interest or to avoid undue offense to certain nations.

This was the conference, remember, at which President Roosevelt and Prime Minlster Churchill handed Premier Stalin the Japanese-held Kurile Islands, the southern half of Sakhalin Island, and large rights in China, particularly Soviet access to the warm-water Manchurian port of Dairen. In addition, plans were made for the postwar partition of Poland, and for establishment of democratic regimes in other eastern European lands, now under Soviet domination.

The documents do not appear to support the allegations of a sellout. Even hastily scanned, they make it abundantly clear that the great aim at Yalta was to bring World War II to the quickest possible end and with the least cost in allied lives.

Toward that goal, American military and diplomatic officials were convinced it was absolutely essential to bring Russia into the war against Japan. They felt it would take 18 months after Germany's surender to subdue Japan. Actually, Japan fell 3 months after V-E Day.

Time and again, before, during and after Yalta, the record shows that when Mr. Roosevelt and others felt concern over puzzling Russian attitudes and behavior, the military advised caution, advised doing nothing to upset the prospect of drawing Russia into the Far Eastern war.

At Yalta the United States representatives knew we might have an A-bomb by August 1, 1945, but they could not be sure. Not even the scientists knew it would work until one did actually explode in New Mexico on July 15, 1945, 5 months after Yalta.

Thus all war calculations left the A-bomb out of account. This is the context in which the Yalta concessions must be read.

So long as we believed we needed Russia against Japan, we were in a weak bargaining position at Yalta. As it was, we resisted some Soviet demands, but we felt we had to give enough to assure Soviet entry into the Asian war.

It is a tragic fact that it turned out we did not need Russia. But it has not been shown that this misjudgment was a deliberate sellout. Our leaders were acting always on the military's advice. The documents make plain that Alger Hiss, former State Department officer convicted of lying about Communist affiliations, played only a notetaker's role at the conference.

Evidently we had poor intelligence or badly evaluated intelligence on the matter of Japan's capacity to continue fighting.

Other than this, the great fault at Yalta seems to have been not only our misplaced trust in Russia (a fault shared by millions at that time), but the rather glib, naive notion of our leaders that they and their wartime allies could in effect make over the world in a week's time.

Greek Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HERBERT ZELENKO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of Greek Independence Day, March 25, it is well that we salute our many great Americans of Greek origin and to point out that the United States of America and Greece have always been closely bound by ideals of liberty, freedom, and democracy.

When Congress assembled in December 1823, President Monroe made the revolution in Greece the topic of a paragraph in his annual message, and, on December 8, Daniel Webster moved, in

the House of Representatives, the following resolution:

Resolved, That provision ought to be made, by law, for defraying the expense incident to the appointment of an agent or commissioner to Greece, whenever the President shall deem it expedient to make such appointment.

Our Nation, and particularly this House of Representatives, can take pride in the fact that these were the first official expressions by any government supporting the independence of Greece and that these few official words contributed immensely in creating a feeling throughout the civilized world which led eventually to the liberation of a portion of Greece from Turkish domination.

On January 19, 1824, this House of Representatives resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, took the above resolution into consideration and listened to a speech by Daniel Webster on the resolution and the revolution in Greece. That speech contained many remarks apropos today.

Webster's interest in the revolution of Greece was motivated not by the glories of ancient Greece but rather as an American question. He said:

What I have to say of Greece, therefore, concerns the modern, not the ancient; the living and not the dead. It regards her, not as she exists in history, triumphant over time, and tyranny, and ignorance; but as she now is, contending, against fearful odds, for being, and for the common privileges of human nature.

We are called upon, by considerations of great weight and moment, to express our opinions upon it. These considerations, I think, spring from a sense of our own duty, our character, and our own interest. * * Let this be, then * * * purely an American discussion; but let it embrace, nevertheless, everything that fairly concerns America. Let it comprehend, not merely her present advantage, but her permanent interest, her elevated character as one of the free states of the world, and her duty toward those great principles which have hitherto maintained the relative independence of nations, and which have, more especially, made her what she is.

The self-interest Webster spoke of is strikingly similar to that of our own age, the contest between absolute and regulated governments. At that time the continental European powers were reiterating the divine right of kings theory and advocating a forcible maintenance of the status quo, including denouncements of the Greek revolt against Turkish oppression.

The force of Webster's speech is felt even today, for our official statements of support in 1823 have brought us dividends of the highest order. Greece's entry into World War I in 1917 with Greek troops winning an important victory on the Balkan front helped speed the end of that war; her defeat of Mussolini's troops for 7 months in the winter of 1940-41 necessitating Hitler's sending in panzer divisions to subdue the Greeks fired the imagination of the free world and is cited by many military analysts as the key to the eventual defeat of the Axis; and most recently Greece, in defeating Communist aggression in a bitter war, again dealt tyranny and governments based on absolute power a severe blow. It should be noted that this was the first and only time the Communists have been completely defeated by force of arms.

The history of Modern Greece is the history of the gradual liberation of Greek inhabited territories. For example, the Ionian Islands were ceded by Great Britain to Greece in 1864 after a prolonged period of constant struggle; Crete and the Aegean Islands were liberated from Turkish yoke after the victorious Balkan Wars, 1912-13. The Dodecanese were ceded by Italy after World War II and the currently publicized struggle on Cyprus dates back to the days of the Turkish occupation. Today Cyprus represents the only Greek island still not free. Webster, in his speech, actually commented on the Turkish massacres in Cyprus in which the ranking members of the Greek community were executed on the charge of conspiring with the insurgents in

American-Greek relations from the 1820's until the present have been of the highest order. The principles of our own revolution and its flames were carried over into Greece and she is today one of our most ardent champions on the Continent. This also explains her disbelief in our failure to support the principle of self-determination for Cyprus and the ensuing demonstrations.

The United States can look back on 1823 as an act of statesmanship which has brought us great dividends from a moral as well as a realistic viewpoint. Today the United States has a continuing interest in the future of modern Greece. As a military bastion of NATO and as the pivot in the Balkan alliance, Greece is our one tried and true ally in the eastern Mediterranean. As the only nation to have defeated the Communists by force of arms, she stands on Russia's doorstep as a symbol of freedom and determination.

It is only natural that the United States salute the freedom-conscious people of Greece on this occasion. We join with them in celebrating their independence and we are not only aware of Greece's ancient glories but we recognize her contemporary importance to a free world. Greece has influenced all aspects of civilization and she has been a brave and noble ally. She adds proof to the contention that the support of free institutions can hold us in good stead today.

Lithuanian Appeal to the Pope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a copy of an unusual letter from the Lithuanian people which was

addressed to our Holy Father, the Pope. Six men carried the letter on a dangerous route through East Prussia, Poland, and the East German Zone into the free world in 1948. Four sacrificed their lives on the mission. The message contained herein is a sign of the times and needs no further commentary:

[From the Catholic Standard and Times of Philadelphia]

Holy Father, shepherd of all Catholics: we Roman Catholics from the Republic of Lithuania humbly entreat Your Holiness' intercession. Faced with extermination, subjected to a reign of terror, hungry, naked, accustomed to much bloodshed, deprived of all rights and cut off from the rest of the world, we ask your protection and assistance.

During the past 9 years we have lived under an occupation of terror and violence. With our lives at stake, we send this message to Your Holiness about the sufferings of our people and herein render an account of the 20th century merciless godlessness that is communism and unveil the manifold lies concerning religious freedom in the Baltic lands. As long as the great oppressors have not liquidated us entirely, we will continue to proclaim the clear truth about the impending tragedy of our people. This is the testament of our dying fatherland. Fortunate are those who have not lived to see what is happening to our country.

Holy Father, forgive us if we who are alive seem to be jealous of the dead. No man can ever imagine what we have lived to see—no man shall ever be able to imagine it. There is no comparison even with the dreadful assaults of the Tartars. In June 1940, within the space of 3 days, almost 40,000 Lithuanians, men, women, and children, the aged and the sick, without any respect for condition and without any judgment or court sentence being passed, were herded into crude carts and taken away to Siberia.

We can still hear the cries of the dying from those carts. The persecution that began in blind fury has today become a well-planned extermination of our country, a crucifixion under the Russians. It is estimated that it will take 10 years to carry out this plan in all its details.

Five years have already elapsed and we exist no longer as a nation. Eighty-seven percent of the Lithuanian people are Catholics and the influence of religion on our people was, and is today, very great. Communists know all too well that as long as the influence of religion remains unimpaired, our people will be able to offer resistance. The newly appointed priests are difficult to distinguish from political agents. Their god is a god who has borrowed his strategy from Lenin.

On the other hand, the priest who is free from blame is stamped as a thief, a murderer, a robber whom a court of justice "out of respect to his holy orders" sentences to 15 years of hard labor in Siberia.

Eighty percent of our priests have either been banished to Siberia or are living in various hiding places throughout the land and belong to the underground movement in our forests. The corpses which are thrown from the carts or even lie in front of the church are only imaginary representations to the outside world, while the naked, scarred bodies of men and women which lie here for days—until their mothers or children identify them—are dread realities to us.

Holy Father, we ask ourselves day by day: Where are the Nations of the civilized world, where are the hundreds and millions of Christians? Do men exist who will fight for truth and the rights of humanity? Are these men found no longer? Have the Christian nations of the world been asleep in a dream of a false sense of security? Do they think that the hordes from the East

will stop with our extermination? Communism is preparing to lay waste the entire world, our civilization, culture, and Christianity itself.

No one can afford to let himself be blinded to this fact: Communism waits only for the the opportune moment. When this letter reaches Your Holiness, perhaps we may no longer be alive; when it reaches the outside world, many of those who carried it on their person will have fallen before Communist bullets. Holy Father, grant us, who are dying for our faith, for our country, your blessing. Praised be Jesus Christ, Lord of the living and the dead. The Roman Catholics in the Republic of Lithuania.

Coming to Grips With Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, the President has recently asked for an appropriation of \$12 million for civildefense planning, and the request will soon be before this House for approval. We shall certainly make no mistake in making these funds available. Just as our Armed Forces have been faced with the necessity for developing new strategies, as result of nuclear weapons, so our Civil Defense Establishment is faced with vast new and complex problems, which must be analyzed and solved at the earliest possible moment. Congress can expedite that vital task by making available the funds the President has requested.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include in the Record an editorial from today's issue of the New York Herald Tribune, bearing on this important matter:

COMING TO GRIPS WITH CIVIL DEFENSE

President Eisenhower's request for \$12 million for civil defense planning is a necessary first step toward meeting a swift-changing problem. World War II proved that many previous ideas on this subject needed revision in the light of experience. The atomic bomb forced a drastic alteration in plans based on conventional bombing. The hydrogen bomb and the development of guided missiles have introduced new factors of great importance into the equation.

The first defense against the H-bomb, of course, is to make certain that it will not be used. But given the character of the Communist regime, no final reliance can be placed on efforts to end war or the use of weapons of mass destruction. Cities must have the ability to mitigate the effects of bombing; the technical skills that have made nuclear war possible must be applied to protecting threatened populations against its effects.

This is a huge and complex task. To evacuate an island city like New York (where only one borough is on the mainland) would require the most careful planning, with due allowance for all the changes that might be necessary under different circumstances—a warning period shorter or longer than might be anticipated, the loss of one or more means of transportation, uncertainties of weather and of the time of day or night. New means of departure, strict control of pedestrian and vehicular traffic, ac-

curate estimates of the personnel essential to maintain services during an evacuation, food and quarters for the displaced, are all parts of the problem. Much has been done in this direction, but revision and refinement are always necessary, particularly since it is only recently that the scope of the H-bomb threat has been known.

Congressional committees, under Democratic leadership, have been critical of lack of centralization in civil defense spending. It is perfectly obvious, however, that many agencies must take part in the actual work of civil defense, and the Democratic cuts in appropriations for this purpose cannot be justified. Centralization in planning is necessary and this will be provided if the President's request is granted. Congressional consent to the appropriation cannot be withheld without jeopardizing national security.

Sermon of Archbishop Cushing on Feast of St. Patrick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following text of the sermon delivered by the archbishop of Boston, the Most Reverend Richard J. Cushing, on a subject matter which is close to the hearts of all persons of Irish extraction and one which His Excellency has given a great deal of thought and study.

On several occasions Archbishop Cushing has made pilgrimages to Ireland gathering up on these occasions information and facts concerning the history of St. Patrick and the traditions, customs, and habits of the Irish people. Since he is well versed on this subject matter, I submit his interesting remarks for the attention of the Members of Congress.

The complete text of Archbishop Cushing's sermon delivered at a pontifical Mass in Holy Cross Cathedral on March 17, appeared in the Pilot, Saturday, March 19, 1955, and is as follows:

ARCHBISHOP HAILS SPIRITUAL GENTLENESS OF IRISH—TRAIT NATIVE TO IRELAND STRONGER ENHANCED BY FAITH AND TRIBULATION

"To no man rendering evil for evil. Providing good things not only in the sight of God, but also in the sight of all men. * * * Be not overcome by evil, but overcome evil by good." (Words taken from the Epistle to the Romans, ch. 12.)

Each nation in Christendom rejoices in a dominant characteristic by which it may be identified. That characteristic represents the nation in its highest and best aspects. A people may have faults, serious and glaring, but those who love them, and particularly their brethren in the faith, think of them gladly in terms of their outstanding favorable characteristics.

Thus in the family of Christian nations Spain is no doubt distinguished for her flaming, holy pride in the uncompromising possession of the fatth. Italy is perhaps best loved for her humanity in the genial living out of Christian values. France is beloved for the chivalry of her catholicism. Catholic England lays just claim to the recognition of her enlightened practicality in piety and in

the profession of the faith. The typical characteristics of other ancient Christian nations are familiar; that of our own Nation is perhaps not yet formed, at least in its final nation.

The national personality of Ireland among the nations which comprise the Christian commonwealth is the proper subject of our affectionate meditation on the feast of the patron of the Irish people. That personality warrants our speaking of Ireland as the nation of spiritual gentleness and our hailing the gentleness of the Irish tradition as the dominant trait of Erin's spiritual portraiture.

Gentleness is probably not the first characteristic which one might expect of a people whose history is so filled with violence as is that of the Irish nation. So much bloodshed, so many exiles, such cruel hardships have the Irish people suffered that one might easily expect to find them a militant people, even a valiant people, but a spiritually hard and unbending people withall. Yet I venture the thought that it is precisely their sufferings and the injustices to which they have been subject which have produced the spiritual gentleness which is the characteristic of St. Patrick's people.

That gentleness is in accord with the lofty ascetical ideal which Paul preached to the disciplined Christian community in Rome: "Be not overcome by evil, but overcome evil by good." Thus does crueity beget gentleness and does gentleness conquer adversity.

We discover the character of a people not so much in their occasional moments of conspicuous greatness as in the everyday routine of their lives. By this test the spiritual gentleness of the Irish people reveals itself at every turn. One sees it in the modest demeanor of the people at prayer in the pro-Cathedral of Dublin or in any of the churches of Ireland. One hears it in the soft speech of the marketplaces and the streets. It is almost tangible in the deference and quiet manners of crowds like those we met at Droghera, Armagh, and Galway, crowds which were characterized, as crowds elsewhere rarely are, by great gentleness, the gentleness that is everywhere in Ireland.

NATURAL DISPOSITION

The gentleness of the Irish people has acquired its spiritual overtones and its almost ascetical quality from centuries of patience under suffering. But it corresponds to something almost native to the Irish temperament, something which must have been in the Irish character long before the conqueror came or even the gospel. Perhaps this gentleness is a byproduct of the very climate and geography of a country where rain, rolling hills, the colors of the land, lake, and sky all blend to produce the effect of "softness" in the sense of gentleness, but not in the sense of weak or undisciplined. Nature herself predisposed this people for the gentleness that God's grace has perfected in them.

GENTLE TEACHER

The grace of God came to Ireland chiefly through the preaching of St. Patrick. Gentleness pervades that preaching. St. Patrick is one of the few major apostles to Christian peoples who has left behind him an authentic self-portrait. The self-portrait of Patrick comes down to us in the religious autobiography called the Confession of St. Patrick. It is an intensely personal document and forever reflects the personality of the man and the saint. It is also a fountainhead of inspiration for later Irish literature. The quality of gentleness, so marked in the man and his writing, entered Irish Catholicism with the preaching and influence of Patrick.

Patrick began his account of his life and the declaration of his credentials to be heard as God's spokesman with words of disarming humility: "I, Patrick, a sinner, most ignorant. * * *" So he began and then he told of his calling by God, his vigils and austerities, his holy aspirations for the people to whom he had been sent. In all his writ-

ing and in anything he said, we seek in vain for violent words of rebuke or upbraiding. Authority is there, and also the dignity of one who speaks of Christ, for Christ, and in Christ. But the all-prevailing spirit and the least letter of what the apostle preached are warm with that gentleness which adversity was later to deepen, not destroy, in Patrick's people.

That same quality of spiritual gentleness is echoed in the writings of the religious and literary children of St. Patrick. One of the earliest Latin hymns in the Irish church is also one of the earliest Eucharistic hymns still extant in the Universal Church. Whoever writes of the Blessed Sacrament writes with gentleness; it cannot be otherwise. So with those who write of the Blessed Mother, and nowhere are her praises sung so early and so tenderly.

The monks who went from Ireland in the

The monks who went from Ireland in the days of St. Columba, and later Columbanus, brought the Faith back to whole areas of Germany, Gaul, Italy, and the East. They did not go as chaplains accompanying military chieftains or political conquerors. Their sole weapon was the gentleness with which, in the faithful pattern of St. Patrick, they preached the Gospel to rude peoples whose refined descendants remember them still for the meekness and clemency of their ways.

This typical gentleness of the Irish spiritual tradition is mirrored in the story of St. Columbkille, sometimes hailed as the supreme type of Irish genius. He was a scholar as so many of his race have been. He was an administrator, a diplomat, and a born leader. He was of course, a saint. But it is his gentleness which stamps him with the authentic seal of characteristic Irish spirituality.

WORK OF RECONCILIATION

His mighty missionary enterprise did not begin as a heroic response to a glorious call from God; neither was it launched as a campaign conceived in overpowering ambition to accomplish a resounding victory for the church. It began as a quiet man's effort to atone for an injustice, to repair by gentleness the damage done in a battle. His work, conceived in a spirit of gentle reconciliation, began in suffering and in sacrifice. It eventually bore its fruit in a spiritual harvest which probably has no par-But the point is that all the allel in history. historic accomplishments of Columbkille, his chain of monastic foundations and unique record of administration, began with the gentle decision of a peace-loving man to devote himself as best he could to a work of reconciliation, not of reform and least of all, of revolution.

Who can fail to see how this is typical of the saga of Irish spirituality from Patrick professing his sinfulness and ignorance down to Matt Talbot, the gentle, penitent recluse of our own generation? Whether we test it in the stories of the missionary monks, in the cheerfully accepted privations of the Irish exiles, in the penitential austerities of a Father Willie Doyle—it is always the same.

The gentleness, the invincible meekness of characteristic Irish spirituality, finds its inspiration in the words of Jesus: "Amen, Amen, I say to you, unless the grain of wheat falling into the ground, die, it remaineth alone. But if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." It is taught in the line which sums up that school of Catholic asceticism which the Irish have always found so congenial: "If you wish to conquer, first learn to suffer." It is proclaimed in the phrase of St. Paul with which we began, a phrase which sums up at once the history and the spiritual portrait of St. Patrick's people: "Be not overcome by evil, but overcome evil by good."

May God give us generously of the grace to be gentle in good times as in bad. May St. Patrick, patron of our people, preserve in us the gentleness that we have loved in him.

Washington's Big Brawl: Dixon-Yates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, just what is the real meaning and real purpose of all this political frenzy created by the Democratic Party leadership over the Dixon-Yates contract?

Nothing has been more deliberately and more grossly misrepresented than this particular matter. They have misrepresented the facts in order to conceal the real issue.

William Hard, one of our very best political reporters, who has been an observer of the Washington scene since Woodrow Wilson's administration and is a profound student of national politics and public affairs, has written an article on this subject. It is entitled "Washington's Big Brawl: Dixon-Yates," and appears in the April 1955 issue of the Reader's Digest.

He makes a keen and penetrating analysis of this issue. He takes the facts, and only the facts, and explains clearly and concisely exactly what they mean. This article should be read by every American that he may know the truth.

The article follows:

WASHINGTON'S BIG BRAWL: DIXON-YATES

(By William Hard)

Poor Mr. Dixon, poor Mr. Yates. A ago they were reasonably obscure, private businessmen operating successful electricutility companies westward and southward from the Government's Tennessee Valley Authority electric-service area.

There was a crisis, though, in that area. Congress had declined to make an appropriation to the TVA for a new electric-generating plant at Fulton, in western Tennes-The Memphis region was threatened with a power shortage. Mr. Dixon offered to relieve the shortage by selling power to the TVA out of his own nearby system at a rate satisfactory to the Government's Federal Power Commission. Mr. Dixon thought this offer obviously fair. The TVA did not accept it.

Then, at the instigation of the Government's Budget Bureau, Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates signed a contract with the Government's Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates (meaning, of course, their companies) together would build a plant to supply power to the TVA's powerhungry Memphis region; and the TVA would thus be enabled to continue supplying largescale power to the AEC's installations at Paducah, Ky., and Oak Ridge, Tenn.

So now the hot air rising from Washington's political furnaces has wafted Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates from reputable obscurity to the heights of oratorical infamy.

We are assured that the Dixon-Yates contract is a scandal, a steal, and a multimillion-dollar giveaway. Representative CHET HOLIFTELD, of California, Democrat, a member of the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, of New Mexico, Democrat, now chairman of the committee, are so shocked that they have promised vigorous committee action against the contract. State Senator Foutch, of Tennessee, Democrat, has proposed a State appropriation of \$100,000 for the hiring of criminal investigators to ferret

out the improper pressures brought to bear upon Washington officials by Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates-or others.

Clearly, Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates are now political personalities of the largest magnitude. So let us take an awed look at their contract, as it reads at this writing, even though its ultimate fate is uncertain.

Mr. Dixon's company, Middle South Utilities, operates through a subsidiary in Arright across the Mississippi from the TVA. And it is in Arkansas, at West Memphis, that Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates plan to build their new plant under the name of a new joint company called Mississippi Valley Generating Co.

A year ago Mr. Dixon was wholly unknown to the head of the AEC, Lewis Strauss. He was also unknown to the head of the Budget Bureau, Joseph Dodge. Yet his contract was approved by all the present members of the AEC, and passed on by the Budget Bureau, and also by the Federal Power Commission, the General Accounting Office, the Department of Justice. Surely no unknown has ever before subverted so many Federal Government agencies in so short a time.

Let us therefore look at the principal "smart tricks" that Mr. Dixon is accused of having put over on these agencies. There are four.

Trick 1: It is charged that Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates persuaded the AEC to give them the contract through negotiation without any competitive bidding.

What is the explanation? Last August Mr. Stephen Mitchell, then chairman of the Democratic National Committee, thought he knew. You see, Mr. Yates, of Committee, Dixon-Yates, is chairman of the Southern Co. And the Southern Co., through a subsidiary, sells power and light in Georgia. And President Eisenhower plays golf at Augusta, Ga., and knows Bobby Jones, who is reputed have played golf quite well himself. And Bobby Jones is a director of the Southern Co. The conclusion seemed to Mr. Mitchell to be obvious. Here was corruption at the White House level.

If Mr. Mitchell had really believed his appalling charge, he would have sought the President's impeachment by the House of Representatives for high crimes and misdemeanors. He didn't. His charge fell to

What, then, is the true explanation of the lack of competitive bidding in the Dixon-Yates contract?

In 1950 and 1952, under President Truman's administration, the AEC signed contracts with two groups of private electric companies for power to be delivered to its installations at Paducah, Ky., and at Portsmouth, Ohio. These contracts were negotiated. In neither case was there any competitive bidding. And the Democrats were quite right.

When you want electric power, the custo-mary thing is to get it from the nearest companies. These companies already have generating capacity which can be used to pump power to you in an emergency. And there are always emergencies.

Consider, for instance, the new plant that Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates are going jointly to build. It will have 3 generators. From time to time 1 of them is bound to be out of commission for repair. Then Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates will be able to make up for the incapacitated generator by supplying the authority with power from their presently existing nearby generating systems. And they are obligated under the contract to do so. The TVA is thus protected in its power requirements from the new plant.

Trick 2: It is charged that Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates persuaded the AEC to allow itself to be overcharged for the new power from the Mississippi Valley Generating Co.

Let us compare the charges made to the AEC under its Democratic contract at Paducah, Ky., and under its Democratic contract at Portsmouth, Ohio, and under its Republican contract with Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates' new company at West Memphis, Ark. With the same cost of coal the charges per kilowatt-hour stand thus:

		Mills
Democratic	Paducah	4.08
Democratic	Portsmouth	3.97
Republican	West Memphis	3.99

The Democrats at Portsmouth get power for the AEC two one-hundredths of a mili cheaper than the Republicans at West Memphis. On the other hand, the latter are going to get power for the AEC nine onehundredths of a mill cheaper than the Democrats at Paducah. Surely it will take an extremely good political mint to change hundredths of mills into political dollars.

Trick 3: It is charged that Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates persuaded the AEC to give them a contract under which they are guaranteed a profit on the \$5,500,000 of stock which their companies are going to put into the new Mississippi Valley Generating Co. But what does the contract really say and do?

It puts a ceiling on the company's profit and then it goes further; it puts the profit on a descending escalator. The contract's target estimate of the cost of the project is \$107,250,000. If Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates can keep the cost down to that estimate, the return on the company's stock will be 9 percent, which (as the Federal Power Commission's figures show) is less than the average stock profit of electric companies in the United States. But the cost of construction has risen considerably since the target esti-mate was fixed, and it may well continue to rise. If then the cost of the new project rises to \$113 million, the profit of Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates, under the contract, will sink to 6 percent. If it rises to \$120 million, the profit will sink to zero. What sort of guaranteed profit is this?

It would certainly seem that Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas, Democrat, and liberal, had ample justification for telling the Senate: "The Dixon-Yates contract has been unfairly and viciously and erroneously attacked."

There must be some impelling backgroundforce behind attacks so erroneous. Now we are beginning to come to it.

Trick 4: It is charged that Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates persuaded the AEC to let them include taxes in the rates to be charged to the Commission by the new Mississippi Valley Generating Co. Well.

The Republicans on this point are again admiringly imitating the Democrats. are included in the rates charged to the Commission under its Democratic contracts with private companies at Paducah and Portsmouth. And taxes are taken into consideration by all private companies as an element of cost in the prices of all things that they sell to the Government. Basic question: Should the Government buy anything from private companies?

"Not electric power for use by us," say multitudes of enraged citizens in the TVA's electric-service area. "This Dixon-Yates contract is with the AEC," they say, "but it is for power that we are to consume. want no private power. We want public

power only."

And that is the true vortex of all the hurricane that is beating upon the Dixon-Yates contract. The big thing that is being decided is the TVA's future. That future will profoundly affect the whole nationwide struggle between public power and private

power. Let us try to forecast it.

The TVA is no "inefficient governmental bureaucracy." From the engineering point

of view it is admirably operated.

There are few people in public life who have any idea of legislating TVA out of existence. Nor has that idea any influential support among the managers of adjacent privately owned electrict utilities. I have heard Mr. C. Hamilton Moses, chairman of the board of the Arkansas Power and Light Co., say: "We must learn to live with—and work with—the TVA." The TVA will thereupon remain, I calculate, as a public "yardstick" with which to measure the performance of the privately owned utilities.

What, then, is the real complaint against the TVA? It is increasingly voiced by moderate men in both public and private life. The TVA yardstick is unfair, for two rea-

1. The TVA, except on a relatively tiny bond issue bought by the Government, pays no interest on the immense sums of money advanced to it by the Government for the construction of its powerplants. Those sums will presently amount to approximately \$1 billion. A privately owned electric utility, when it raises construction funds, pays interest averaging over 3 percent. How can it match its kilowatt costs against a virtually interest-free TVA?

2. The TVA pays no Federal income tax. It pays local taxes to the extent of 5 percent of its gross receipts from private customers. Middle South Utilities, by contrast, pays to the Federal and local governments 23 percent of its gross receipts. Again, how can a privately owned electric utility match its owatt costs against so lightly taxed a TVA?

This is what makes it easy for TVA to attract new business customers into its area, and what makes it difficult for privatepower areas to win those customers away from TVA. Arkansas recently tried to attract a new atomic-energy undertaking.
Arkansas' Senator Fulbright reports: "We had everything the undertaking neededexcept one thing. The TVA power rate.

Surely that kind of competition is what the Federal laws expressly condemn in pri-

vate enterprise: unfair competition.

By such unfair competition the TVA could undoubtedly supply Memphis with cheaper power than can be supplied to it by the interest-paying, tax-paying Mississippi Valley Generating Co. of Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates. That is, it could do so if the Congress would give it money for the new steamplant it wants to build near Memphis. Why is it, then, that it has repeatedly failed to persuade the Congress to appropriate that money? The reason is, I think, that in Washington an "agonizing reappraisal" of

TVA is underway.

This reappraisal has two forms. Both have

been expressed by President Eisenhower. First. "If," says the President, "the Federal Government assumes responsibility for providing the TVA area with all the power it can accept, it has a similar responsibility with respect to every other area and region and corner of the United States."

Such a responsibility, extended to the whole country, would involve outlays of scores of billions of dollars. The Congress would never enact it. Accordingly, in the President's view, the Government's policy in the TVA area itself should be reexamined.

Second. Could not the Federal Government make the TVA yardstick fairer? The President's answer to that question, the first that any President has ever attempted, has historic significance. It appears in his recent message to the Congress. Summarized, it is as follows:

The President will send legislation to the Congress for obliging the TVA to pay "an adequate rate of interest" to the Treasury on construction funds advanced to it by the Congress. And the President has said that TVA is studying "the possibilities of financing further expansion of its power system by means other than Federal appropriations. Which means, presumably, that the TVA would raise further expansion funds by issuing "revenue bonds" and selling them, just as is done by numerous public "bridge authorities" and "turnpike authorities."

These reforms would not make the TVA yardstick completely fair. But they would

make it immensely fairer.

It is horrifying, though, to think of the anguish that they will cause in the Tennes-see Valley area. The inhabitants of that area have not gone "Socialist." just like the inhabitants of every other area. Once accustomed to any kind of Federal

stimulant, they become addicts and feel "just awful" when it is taken away. And they realize that the Dixon-Yates contract is a symbol of the President's inclination to take it away from them and prescribe un-

stimulated local exercises.

That is the real root of the convulsive opposition to the Dixon-Yates contract. TVA, in the course of the years, has bought billions and billions of kilowatt-hours of electricity from adjacent private utilities. It has bought millions from Mr. Dixon's own Middle South Utilties. But those purchases did not portend any change in TVA's essential nature. The policy behind the Dixon-Yates contract does.

Let us imagine that Dr. Eisenhower's prescription has been accepted by the Congress. Where would the TVA be then? Why, it would merely be in the position already occupied by hundreds of American municipally owned electric-power systems and by Ne-braska's public utility districts which cover the whole State. Those public-power or-ganizations get no Federal appropriations. They raise their own funds. TVA would do

In other words, Dr. Fisenhower, who has a degree in middle-of-the-road philosophy, is not prescribing the death of public power. He is simply suggesting that it should walk more on its own local feet.

And that is all that there is to the furor

over the Dixon-Yates contract.

Coal Facts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

COAL FACTS

(By the National Coal Association)

Delivering many millions of tons of coal a year requires an intricate pattern of transportation systems. However, the high freight rates of these systems and the resultant high cost of delivered coal have priced coal out of many traditional markets. This situation is paradoxical. While income from coal freight contributes greatly to the welfare of coal's transportation systems, the rates required by those systems are injurious to the point where coal traffic actually decreases.

Take railroads, for example. Tonnagewise, coal is the most important commodity hauled by rail. Approximately 80 percent of all coal produced in the United States is moved by this method, making up the railroads' largest single source of freight revenue. Now, railroad freight rates account for about 40 percent of the delivered price of industrial coal. Due in great part to these rates, the percentage hauled by rail has been steadily decreasing over the past several decades. Forty years ago, 97 percent of United States coal mined was hauled by rail. Despite the fact that railroads offer not only flexibility but a capacity to haul coal difficult to duplicate in another system, the present cost structure of hauling coal by rail will probably cause railroads to lose even more tonnage in the future.

Coal has proved a substantial source of revenue for trucking companies, also. Trucks now move over 10 percent of total coal production. Although State regulations restrict their operation, trucks offer the advantage of great flexibility and speed. However, trucking costs are high, even higher per ton-mile than by rail for long hauls. Because of this, truck haulage is limited principally to short hauls and small lot de-

About 8 percent of all coal mined is transported by inland waterways. This is a slow method and, unless supplemental transportation is used, coal moved in this manner can reach only users close to water routes. However, coal is becoming a bigger user of the waterways. Of necessity, new powerplants being planned-will locate near water sources and thus be in a position to use coal moved by water, taking advantage of the lower transportation rates.

Naturally new and better means of transportation are under consideration. One such technique is to use conveyors which could carry coal many miles on a moving belt. Another possible transportation medium is pipelines through which a mixture of crushed coal and water would be forced. Either method would reduce transportation costs while offering speed and flexibility, and are regarded with great interest by the coal industry.

There Is Widespread Sentiment Among Members of the Legal Profession in Favor of the Van Zandt Bill (H. R. 855) Designed To Extend Coverage Under the Social Security Act to Lawyers

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, because of the numerous requests I received from lawyers in the State of Pennsylvania that members of their profession be included for coverage under the Social Security Act, I introduced H. R. 855 on January 5, 1955, when the 84th Congress convened.

Since the introduction of H. R. 855. which is now pending before the House Ways and Means Committee, I am amazed at the many letters I have received from attorneys in various States expressing warm approval of my legislative proposal. In addition to individual communications, I have received favorable letters and copies of resolutions adopted by county bar associations and State bar associations in the several States which disclose that there is a lively interest on the part of lawyers throughout the Nation that social security coverage be extended to members of their profession.

At this point in my remarks, I should like to call attention to the provisions of H. R. 855, which reads as follows:

H. R. 855

A bill to extend the Federal old-age and Survivors insurance system to individuals engaged in the practice of law.

Be it enacted, etc., That section 211 (c) (5) of the Social Security Act and section 1402 (c) (5) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 are each amended by striking out "lawyer,".

SEC. 2. The amendments made by the first section of this act shall be applicable only with respect to taxable years ending after 1954. For purposes of section 203 of the Social Security Act the amendment made by the first section of this act to section 211 (c) (5) of the Social Security Act shall be effective with respect to net earnings from self-employment derived after 1954; and the amount of net earnings from self-employment derived during any taxable year ending in, and not with the close of, 1955, shall be credited equally to the calendar quarter in which such taxable year ends and to each of the three or fewer preceding quarters any part of which is in such taxable year. Net earnings from self-employment so credited to calendar quarters in 1955 shall be deemed to have been derived after 1954.

As stated previously, H. R. 855 is pending before the House Ways and Means Committee and because of the keen interest manifested by lawyers in securing its approval, I am hopeful that the legislation will be scheduled for early consideration.

What Secretary Humphrey Said

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting the editorial appearing in the March 17, 1955, St. Louis Post-Dispatch correcting the injustice done Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey in a previous editorial, to which I referred in my remarks made during the debate on H. R. 4725, a bill to repeal sections 452 and 462 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954:

WHAT SECRETARY HUMPHREY SAID

We are indebted to Congressman THOMAS B. CURTIS, of Webster Groves, for calling our attention to an injustice to Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey in these columns last Sunday.

We took Mr. Humphrey to task for seeming to duck responsibility for the "blooper" which has turned up in last year's tax bill, by which corporations can get double deductions for certain expenses. Mr. Humphrey has admitted that the loophole was an error which should be corrected, but the Associated Press quoted him as telling members of the House Ways and Means Committee:

"You gentlemen passed the law. We did not. If you made a mistake, I'm sorry."

This quotation, on which we based our comment, evidently was taken out of context and did not accurately express the full sense of Mr. Humphrey's testimony. Representative Curris tells us that the unrevised transcript of the hearing shows the Secretary as saying to Representative Wilbur D. Mills, of Arkansas:

"Answer. Well, Mr. Mn.Ls, I don't know what it is you are trying to dive at. You gentlemen passed the law. We did not.

"QUESTION. That is the point I am driving

at, Mr. Secretary.

"Answer, If you made a bad error, I am Jurst sorry. For our participation in it, I am sorry. I regret that it happened, and I am trying to correct it as quickly as possible.

And I am not trying to pin it on you.

"QUESTION. Mr. Secretary, my point is this, exactly the point you make. You attempt to lay the blame and the responsibility on this committee.

"Answer. No; I am not."

At another point in the hearing, Representative Curits reports, Mr. Humphrey referred to the loophole as "a mistake that we made in the Treasury in the first instance * * * a mistake that you gentlemen and all of us participated in as we went along." Again he said: "We will take our full share of responsibility for it. I think we are all involved." We are glad to set the record straight, and we thank Mr. Curits for helping us do so.

Georgetown Founders Day Convocation To Hear Clare Boothe Luce; Three Honorary Degrees To Be Awarded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBERT P. MORANO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a Georgetown University news statement:

EORGETOWN FOUNDERS DAY CONVOCATION TO HEAR CLARE BOOTHE LUCE; THREE HONORARY DEGREES TO BE AWARDED

Georgetown University will celebrate the 166th anniversary of its founding at a special Founders Day convocation on Friday, March 25, at 3 p. m., in McDonough Memorial Gymnasium on the university campus, 37th and O Streets NW.

The Very Reverend Edward B. Bunn, S. J., Georgetown president, will confer three honorary degrees at the convocation—on Clare Boothe Luce, United States Ambassador to Italy; Dr. Michael X. Sullivan, noted chemist and professor in the university's Graduate School, and Dr. Thomas J. Tudor, heroic "country doctor" from the mountain area of southwestern Virginia.

Ambassador Luce will deliver the convocation address.

The convocation will open with an academic procession of faculty members garbed in caps and gowns of universities from many parts of the world. Among those present will be numerous righ-ranking members of Washington's diplomatic corps.

Also to be honored at the ceremony are 9 members of the university's faculty and administrative staff who will receive the vicennial medal, denoting 20 years of service to the institution. The gold medal for full-time service will go to Prof. Leon E. Dostert, director of Georgetown's Institute of Languages and Linguistics; Dr. Charles B. Murto, professor of crown and bridge at the School of Dentistry; Margaret C. O'Byrne, Medical-Dental School librarian; and Dr. James F. Leahigh, political science professor in the Foreign Service School.

The silver vicennial medal, for part-time service, will be awarded to Dr. Garnet W. Ault, professor of surgery in the Medical School; Drs. Philip A. Caulfield, and Leo B.

Gaffney, associate professors of surgery; Al Philip Kane, professor of medical jurisprudence; and Francis C. Nash, professor of law.

Certificates of merit, also denoting 20 years' service, will be presented to Bernard C. O'Leary, superintendent of buildings at the university's Medical Center, and J. Russell Rice, superintendent of buildings at the Law Center.

Ambassador Luce, who took up her duties at Rome in April 1953 has supervised American participation in the numerous programs being operated by the United States and Italy, especially those involving military and economic assistance, and immigration. Before her appointment to Rome she had served as United States Congresswoman from Connecticut for two terms.

Mrs. Luce has achieved fame as a play-wright, scenarist, author, and magazine correspondent. Among her better-known works are the play, The Women, the movie, Come to the Stable, and a series of articles, The Real Reason, published in McCall's magazine in 1947, describing her conversion to the Catholic Church the year before.

Dr. Sullivan, research professor of chemistry, has been at Georgetown since February 1931. He has the bachelor of arts from Harvard University, and the master of arts and doctor of philosophy from Brown. He has conducted research for the Bureau of Solls and the United States Public Health Service, and is a recognized world authority on sulfur metabolism in health and disease. He was a pioneer in the study of pellagra and has done important research in muscular dystrophy. He is now doing research in the relation of biochemical amines to health and disease. He has published 190 research brochures covering practically the entire field of biochemistry.

Dr. Tudor, for 45 years by day and night, has been a man of medical mercy to the isolated families in the mountains and valleys of the area around Norton, Va. He is the very symbol of the ideal American doctor. He is 75 years old.

The community of Irish-born nuns of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God, conducting St. Marys Hospital at Norton, went into that hostile country 6 years ago with just their stout hearts and bare hands. They met with so much opposition that they were on the verge of defeat. The suspicious mountain people would not be patients at St. Marys Hospital.

It was Dr. Tudor who turned defeat into victory by sending all his patients to St. Mary's. His prestige as a great doctor and a great man in that vicinity, and the confidence which people had in him, turned the tide. Dr. Tudor is not a Catholic.

When the nuns sought exemption from State and town taxes, the town of Norton opposed them and the case was taken to court. Dr. Tudor—alone among the local doctors—came to court to testify in the sisters, favor.

Now the scene has changed and all the doctors, with one or two exceptions, send their patients to St. Marys.

Dr. Tudor has been diligent in searching out Catholics in the mountains who needed a priest and the Sacraments, and has been equally diligent in searching out priests to minister to their spiritual needs. Three years ago he insisted on bringing a Hungarian priest from 220 miles away at High Point, N. C., to hear the confession of a Hungarian mountain women.

The Virginia physician is a man of substantial wealth which he uses for such charitable purposes as putting poor boys through college and professional schools. He asks no medical fees from the poor people of the mountains, and sometimes takes a gift of food along when calling on the very poor.

Many Masons Among Americans Who Signed Declaration of Independence and Constitution

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, HOWARD H. BAKER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the Knoxville Journal, written by Mr. E. E. Patton, a distinguished historian of Tennessee, entitled "Many Masons Among Americans Who Signed Declaration Independence and Constitution."

The article follows:

George Washington, our first President, became a member of the Masonic Order when he was barely 21 years of age and 14 of his successors were also Masons. There has been much discussion, pro and con, in regard to the number of Masons who signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. It is my purpose to give the exact number in each instance of the Masons who participated in the formulation of those great documents-the bulwark of our safety and security as a Nation.

Paul Revere, who warned the patriots at Concord and Lexington, was one of the leading Masons of Massachusetts, along with John Hancock and Samuel Adams, two firebrands of the Revolution. One of the many favorable features of Masonry is that it never permits politics to enter the lodge rooms. One Mason who was the nominee of his party three times was defeated twice by one Mason and the third time by another mem-

The Presidents who were members of the Masonic fraternity were: Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, James Buchanan, Andrew Johnson, James A. Garfield, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, William H. Taft, Warren G. Harding, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Harry Truman.

It is true that it is not known where some of those men belonged-where their lodge was. Take Andrew Jackson, for instance. He was, at one time, the Most Worshipful Grand Master of the Masonic Lodges of Tennessee, yet it is not on any record that has been found where he became a Mason. However, we know that he was made a Mason in due form.

The names of Masons who signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution will be given, but there is a strong belief that some not listed as Masons were members of the order. Quoting from a memorandum of the Masonic lodge, it might be stated as follows: "It must be remembered that 18th century records of Masonic membership bear no resemblance to the complete records maintained by the fraternity today. In the Colonial period many lodges worked for a short time only. During the Revolutionary War there were numerous so-called Army lodges which conferred degrees, but purposely kept no records or destroyed their records for lack of a safe place to keep them."

Fifty-six Members of the Continental Congress signed the Declaration of Independence. Some of the signers were not Members of the Congress on July 4, 1776, when it was adopted, but were Members in the following September when it was engrossed for signature. Charles Carroll, of Carrolton was

one of them. Strictly speaking, he had no right to sign. But here is the list of the signers who were Masons:

Lyman Hall and George Walton, Georgia; William Hooper, North Carolina; James Hewes, North Carolina; John Penn, North Carolina; John Hancock, Massachusetts; Richard Henry Lee, Virginia; Thomas Jeffer-son, Virginia; Thomas Nelson, Jr., Virginia; Francis Lightfoot Lee, Virginia; Robert Morris, Pennsylvania; Benjamin Rush, Pennsylvania; Benjamin Franklin, Pennsylvania; George Read, Delaware; Thomas McKean, Delaware; Philip Livingston, New York; Francis Lewis, New York; Richard Stockton, New Jersey; John Witherspoon, New Jersey; Josiah Bartlett, New Hampshire; William Whipple, New Hampshire; Samuel Adams, Massachusetts: Robert Treat Paine, Massachusetts; Elbridge Gerry, Massachusetts; William Eliery, Rhode Island; Roger Sher-man, Connecticut; Samuel Huntington, Connecticut; Oliver Wolcott, Connecticut; Matthew Thornton, New Hampshire. Of those signers the following were born in foreign countries: Francis Lewis, Wales; Robert Morris, England; and John Witherspoon, Scotland.

I now list those who were signers and some of whom may have been Masons, but it is not definitely known that they were members: Button Gwinnett, Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton, Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll, George Wythe, Benjamin Harrison, Carter Braxton, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross, Caesar Rodney, William Floyd, Lewis Morris, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark, John Adams, Stephen Hopkins, and William Williams.

Seventy-four men were elected as dele-gates from 12 States to help frame a constitution. Rhode Island sent no delegates. Several of the appointed delegates never attended a day and I give here the entire list and the States from which they came: Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and Thomas Nelson of Virginia; Abraham Clark and John Neilson, New Jersey; Richard Caswell and Willie Jones, North Carolina; George Walton and Nathaniel Pendleton, Georgia; Henry Laurens, South Carolina; Francis Dana, Massachusetts; Erastus Walcott, Connecticut; John Pickering, and Benjamin West, New Hampshire. But Maryland has the record on elected delegates who did not attend this great convention: Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Gabriel Duvall, Robert H. Harrison, Thomas Sim Lee, and Thomas Stone.

There was another group of delegates who took the oath of office, but who did not remain until the convention adjourned on September 17, 1787. There were 13 of them, as follows: James McClurg and George Wythe, Virginia; William Houston, New Jersey; Alexander Martin and William R. Davis. North Carolina; William Pierce and William Houston, Georgia; Robert Yates and John Lansing, New York; Caleb Strong, Massa-chusetts; Oliver Ellsworth, Connecticut; John T. Mercer, and Luther Martin, Mary-

The following remained in the convention until its final adjournment, but they refused to sign: Edmund Randolph and George Mason, of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry, Massachusetts. It is well to speculate on what the descendants of the nonattenders and the nonsigners think of them. The members of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Sons of the Revolution have pardonable pride in the loyalty and bravery of their ancestors who fought for our independence, and well they may.

Wherever masonry is free, religion is free. Wherever one is restricted, the other is out-Wherever religion is controlled or directed by the state, there freedom is unknown.

A dictator knows no law. His will is the law, and he who refuses to submit to the orders of the dictator is foully and ruth-

lessly murdered.

The very fact that Washington, Franklin, and scores of other Revolutionary heroes were members of the Masonic Lodge is enough to recommend it to all intelligent people who want a stable government. You can control a man's body, but you cannot control his mind or his conscience. Masonry means freedom of religion, freedom of the courts, a clean conscience, loyalty to the flag of America, and the supporter and the defender of our public schools, America's safeguard.

Every Mason can truthfully and conscientiously repeat the pledge to the flag: I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation, under God, indivisible,

with liberty and justice for all."

Difficult To Understand General Vogel's Position

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF .

HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in a recent issue of the Florence Times, one of Alabama's outstanding daily newspapers:

DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND GENERAL VOCEL'S POSITION

We have never had the opportunity of meeting Brig. Gen. Herbert D. Vogel, the new Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, but we have come to the conclusion that he must be a rather difficult man to understand.

During the past 6 months of his chairmanship, we have attempted to follow his statements and lines of reasoning regarding a number of things affecting TVA and the people it seeks to serve, and, we admit, some of his statements have left us suspended in mental midair. We just don't know exactly what he means.

Now, he has come forward, in a copyrighted interview with the Knoxville News-Sentinel, a Scripps-Howard newspaper that is friendly toward TVA, suggesting that he would be willing to resign his chairmanship in favor of appointment of a large board of directors, presumably dollar-a-year men, to

run the Authority.

* I can see considerable merit in the idea of a large board such as that which heads up the New York Port Authority and most large corporations," he said. members of such a board could be selected from among topflight citizens of the Nation and could be expected to work without salary, being paid only for attendance at monthly meetings and in reimbursement of expenses. Speaking solely for myself, I would be happy to resign in favor of such a group.

It is difficult for us to believe that any improvement would be wrought in TVA principles and policies, insofar as they affect either the valley or the Nation, by turning the vast regional agency over to

body of dollar-a-year men.

The first question that arises is who would

these men be?

No doubt, in line with thinking of the present Eisenhower administration, those to be named to any board would be big-business men thoroughly acquainted with the power business and possibly actually engaged in it all over the country. We can well imagine what such a board would do to TVA if they ever got their hands on it. These kind of businessmen have always fought TVA and the TVA principle and, in our opinion, this time the "Little Red Riding Hood" of TVA would surely be gobbled up by the private utilities who would play the role of "Grandma."

To further complicate our effort to understand General Vogel, we find him saying in the same interview that "TVA is, of course, responsible for a large share of the development which has taken place within it (the valley) during the last 20 years, but I cm inclined to think that too many people give too small a share of the credit to the folks of the valley. I have never met more industrious, independent, friendly, and sound-thinking people anywhere. They ask odds of no one, and stand ready to help others when and wherever possible. I cannot see them standing still under any condition."

In the face of this statement from the TVA Chairman, it is veritably impossible for us to understand his approval of the Dixon-Yates contract. The sound-thinking people of the valley, to whom he refers, have almost unanimously expressed their opposition to any such contract as Dixon-Yates.

It certainly seems strange to us that one who credits the valley's people with such sound thinking would so lightly cast aside their opposition to Dixon-Yates.

Or is General Vogel just "soft soaping" us?

The Nixons in Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LAURENCE CURTIS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, a letter to the editor of the Christian Science Monitor, published in Boston on Friday, March 11, 1955, has expressed in a few words the significance of the recent visit of the Vice President and Mrs. Nixon to the Caribbean area. Because of the importance of this journey to the citizens of this country and our southern neighbors, I would like to bring this letter to the attention of the Members of Congress:

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon did a remarkable thing here in Puerto Rico, an act of great credit to him, to his Nation, as well as to the people of Puerto Rico.

Twice in a day Mr. Nixon stepped off his car and walked freely among the people of San Juan. We say this is a brave act because it is hardly possible that all the terrorists of the Island are in jail. The overwhelming majority of the people of Puerto Rico reject terror as an instrument of political action, but it has never been possible to lock up for good all those who would bring discredit and disaster to the people of this island, and insanely at that.

Mr. Nixon took the problem into his own hands; he just mingled freely with the street spectators of San Juan. He showed remarkable courage in doing that, and nothing is as admirable as a courageous action. His gesture implied likewise a confidence in the good sense and patriotism of the people of Puerto Rico.

Mrs. Nixon on her part went all over the island, graciously saluting the children and parents of Puerto Rico. We appreciate all of this; we admire it greatly. We appreciate the just confidence Mr. and Mrs. Nixon showed in us, and we want all the people of the United States to know that their Vice President and his gracious lady have contributed immensely to the respect and affection we have for the best in the United States.

JOSEPH I. PUENTE, Rio Piedras, P. R.

United Labor Council of Blair County, Pa., Endorses H. R. 4943, Amending the Natural Gas Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on March 23, 1955, at Altoona, Pa., there was held a field and transportation conference during which time the plight of coal, railroad, and other industries in the central Pennsylvania area was considered. In attendance at this conference were representatives of the fuel and transportation industries, as well as spokesmen for labor organizations whose membership depends upon these industries for employment.

Among the resolutions approved at the conference is the following, which I received in the form of a telegram from Mr. C. B. Crumm, chairman of the United Labor Council, Altoona, Pa., which comprises affiliates of the A. F. of L., CIO, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

The telegram referred to is as follows: MARCH 23, 1955.

Congressman Van Zandt, House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.:

From the United Labor Council of Blair County, AFL, CIO, and Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen:

The interested labor councils at the fuel and transportation conferences are very much concerned with the outcome of proposed natural-gas bill, H. R. 4943, and similar bills; also any proposed bills on the residual oil which concerns our membership from Pittsburgh, to Harrisburg, and from Clearfield to Bedford, Pa.

In conjunction with the petitions of signatures presented on behalf of our unemployed members, group 4 distressed areas, to Dr. A. S. Flemming, Director of Defense Mobilization, we concur wholeheartedly with resolutions passed at the conference meeting in Altoona, Pa., on March 23, 1955.

RESOLUTION

Whereas bills have been introduced in the Congress of the United States for the purpose of amending the Natural Gas Act; and

Whereas one of such bills is H. R. 4943, originally introduced by Congressman Stagers, of West Virginia, with similar bills proposed by Congressman Saylor (H. R. 4959), Carricg (H. R. 4981), Kelly (H. R. 5034), Morgan (H. R. 5035, Van Zandt (H. R. 5068); and

Whereas H. R. 4943 would amend the Natural Gas Act in such manner as to further protect the Nations' fuel-consuming public from depletion of an essential and highly valuable fuel source, result in equal-

izing distribution of natural gas transmission costs, and assure the Nation's economy in time of war or defense of stable and readily available sources of energy to power our industrial machines; and

Whereas the provisions of H. R. 4943 and similar bills are in keeping with suggestions for changes in the Natural Gas Act contained in the Cabinet committee on energy supplies and resources policy, issued by the White House, and in the annual reports of the Federal Power Commission: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Pennsylvania Fuel and Transportation Conference in meeting at Altoona, Pa. on March 23, 1955 by this formal resolution, unanimously adopted, approves and supports the Natural Gas Act amendments as contained in H. R. 4943 and similar bills; be it further Resolved, That the chairman of the con-

Resolved, That the chairman of the conference be instructed to bring this action to the attention of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania's congressional delegation in House and Senate; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Chairman and Members of the House and Senate Committees on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and to the governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and both houses of the Commonwealth's legislature; be it further

Resolved, That appropriate notice of action of the conference be given the press wire services, the press of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the trade and organizational publications serving groups represented in the conference, all associations of the coal industry, the United Mine Workers of America, the Association of American Railroads, the presidents of the interested railroads, and the headquarters of all railroad brotherhoods and other employee groups.

We will appreciate anything that can be

done on the above matter. Sincerely yours,

C. B. CRUMM.
Chairman,
JOHN HORON,
Vice Chairman.
L. J. HANELLY.
Secretary.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Byelorussian National Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow, March 25, 1955, is the 37th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Byelorussian National Republic. At the request of the Byelorussian-American Association, Inc., 33 Norfolk Street, New York City, I include an article commemorating this anniversary:

COMMEMORATING THE 37TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF BYE-LORUSSIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC

Each year on March 25 the Byelorussians all over the world commemorate the anniversary of the short-lived independent Byelorussian National Republic.

The whole story of the perennial fight of the Byelorussian people for their independence is a tragic one. However, their unshaken belief in justice and their great desire for the blessings of freedom encourage them to continue the struggle.

In the past Byelorussians enjoyed their own indepndent statehood for centuries. Already in the 9th century the most powerful of the Byelorussian-Slavonic tribes, the Krivichi, formed several extension states, such as Polotsk and Smolensk princedoms, which embraced almost the whole of today's Byelorussia. In the 13th century, urged by the growing strength of the German Teutonic order in the west, and the menace of Mon-gols in the east, Byelorussians created the great Lithuanian princedom, in original-Litva, which in the 15th century stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Byelorussians never succumbed to the Mongolian yoke, as Moskovites did. Litva successfully resisted the onslaught of Mongols on Europe and finally arrested their progress toward the west. In Litva Byelorussians were in great majority even after the annexation of the devasted southern princedoms (Ukraine). Byelorussian was both the state language and the language of the educated and ruling classes. The first Byelorussian (White Ruthenian) printed book, a translation of the Bible by Dr. Francis Skaryna was published in 1517. Vilna, the capital of Litva, got its first printing press in 1525, some 80 years earlier than Moscow. The most noteworthy of the Byelorussian printed books of that time was the Litouski Statut, 1. e., the code of the princedom's laws. Thus Byelo-russians of today justifiably consider the Great Lithuanian princedom (Litva) a truly Byelorussian state.

Since 1385, under the pressure of external enemies from east and west, Litva entered into an unstable personal union with Poland. In 1569, the union was strengthened and the Pollsh-Litva Commonwealth was created, but actually each state retained much of its political, economic, and military independence. Byelorussian state lasted in this manner till the end of the 18th century. At the partition of the commonwealth (1793-97), the Russians overran it against the will of its people, in the same way as Russia has devoured hundreds of other peoples of quite different races both in Europe and Asia.

Ever since, the Russians have tried to eradicate all traces of the Byelorussian national life and political traditions. The language was continually suppressed and finally prohibited in press and court (1867); schools and churches were under strict Russian control, and there was a continuous stream of forced exiles to Siberia. But the czars never did succeed in extinguishing the spirit of the Byelorussian nation. With the collapse of the czarist empire following World War I, the Byelorussian people roused to fight for their independent state following the principle, put forth by President Wilson, of the right of every nation to self-government.

In December 1917 the first Byelorussian Congress assembled in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia; 1,872 duly elected representatives from the entire country participated. With an overwhelming majority, the Congress accepted a resolution calling for the creation of the Independent Byelorussian Democratic Republic

Using their customary methods, the Russian Bolsheviks dispersed the session of the congress by force of arms. However, the delegates succeeded in electing the RADA (National Council) of 71 members and to Brant it full powers to proceed with the establishment of the free Byelorussian National Republic.

On March 25, 1918, the RADA announced to the whole world the birth of the independent Byelorussian National Republic. Turkey, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, Finland, and two Republics of Caucasus—Georgia and Armenia—recognized the Byelorussian state de jure, while many of the governments of the world recognized it de facto.

The Byelorussian people, having restored their own state on the ruins of the despotic tzarist empire, were forced to defend the young republic exclusively by their own forces, which by far proved insufficient to counteract the new form of Russian imperialism, that of bolshevism. The West turned deaf ear to repeated appeals for help. this very time Poland decided to attack Byelorussia from the west. So, by 1921, through the interference of Byelorussia's neighbors the new formed republic was again devoured. By the peace treaty of Riga in 1921, the living body of Byelorussia was dismembered-Poland got about one-third, the rest remained under the Russian occupation. The demo-cratic Byelorussian government, along with the majority of the members of the Rada of Byelorussian National Republic (BNR), were forced to go into exile. After 33 years, both the government and the Rada still exist and continue to operate under difficult circumstances of exile.

The so-called Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (B. S. S. R.) of today occupies only three-fifths of the Byelorussian territory with about 10 million inhabitants. eastern part of Byelorussia with about 7 million inhabitants is still within the boundaries of Russian Federal Soviet Socialist Republic. The Byelorussian S. S. R., proclaimed in Smolensk on January 1, 1919, is a creation of Bolsheviks, primarily aimed at counterbalancing and substituting the Byelorussian National Republic (BNR). It was established by the Sixth Northwestern Regional Conference of the Russian Communist Party. According to its written constitution, B. S. S. R. is an independent state which can even make separate treaties with other governments, and retains the right to sever its connections with Moscow. In actual fact, the B. S. S. R. government is a puppet of Moscow, deprived of all major attributes of sovereign government. The present chief delegate to the U. N. O. from Byelorussia S. S. R., Kusma V. Kisjelov, is a born Mosco-

Thirty-three years of Communist terror in Byelorussia have caused the country greater losses than the most keen war could have About 3 million of Byelorussian people were executed or starved to death in various concentration camps throughout the worker's paradise, many of them were leading personalities of Byelorussian culture, science, and literature. At present, Byelo-russians are suffering the worst national persecution, economic exploitation, sovietization, and russification their history has ever known. The people are continually kept at the subsistence level. Russians, not Byelorussians, occupy all positions of trust and importance. Byelorussians are reduced to a second-class people. Freedom is unknown; neither freedom of speech or freedom of the press. No one is master of himself in any sense, for everyone is under constant fear of arrest and prosecution.

Yet, all indications unmistakably prove that the ultimate aim of Moscow has not been achieved. On the contrary, it flared up with an unexpected and flerce revival. On his native soil, in the Soviet labor camps and prisons, in the underground movement, and in exile, everywhere the Byelorussian continue to oppose the Kremlin regime with mounting rigidity. Deliberate genocide, deportations and russification—nothing can shake his firm conviction that the only way to secure freedom and justice for himself

is through self-government and independence.

In this unequal struggle for freedom and national independence the Byelorussian people sincerely hope for the moral acknowledgment and support on the part of the free world, the United States in particular. The world cannot achieve a lasting peace without a firm adherence to the principles of justice and morality by which freemen and free nations, large or small, must always be governed.

We, Byelorussians, living in the United States, sincerely believe in the very fundamental-principle upon which the United States has been founded, namely, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Also, we believe in the pledge of President Eisenhower who affirmed in his inaugural speech his dedication to peaceful liberation of the nations oppressed by Russian communism. We hope that through the Voice of America and through the efforts of voluntary organizations, which try to penetrate the Iron Curtain, this good news will reach the Byelorussian people and strengthen their hope for freedom. With this hope they will stand firm like a thorn in the sick body of Soviet Russia, thus contributing to the internal weakness of the Soviet colossus and to the eventual downfall of the Communist tyranny.

The Tariff on Swiss Watches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, at times there seems to be a great lack of cohesion in our interdepartmental functions. As my record will show, I was opposed to a tariff increase on Swiss watches, due to the fact that it would adversely affect the sale of Maryland tobacco in European countries. Now it seems the increase was hardly necessary from the standpoint of national defense, even though some proponents claimed it was needed for national-defense reasons.

To illustrate this lack of cohesion, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of today's Record the text of an article which appeared in the March 24 issue of the Baltimore Sun.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL SECURITY, SWISS WATCHES, ETC.
National security, in today's immensely complicated world, is difficult to define. It is not simple. Its ramifications are all but infinite. Nevertheless, an effort should be made not to speak too loosely of the national security.

The effort is not being made with sufficient thought and determination.

Early last week we were told by a spokesman for the Department of State that to publish the Yalta papers now would be contrary to the interests of our national security.

The public assumed from that statement that the Department of State had made a careful appraisal of the question and had reached a decision based on the country's

¹There is a definite need for the important precaution: Historical Lithuania (Litva) and Lithuania of today (Letuva) are two different things which have solely that much in common that the latter was an insignificant small part of the former, and at that time had the separate name of its own, namely that of Samogitia. The present confusion of names is truly misleading.

security. What else should the public have assumed?

Yet the papers were released almost immediately, for reasons unclear, unless they were political.

Let us go back 8 months and think about Swiss watches. Last July, following a recommendation of the Tariff Commission, President Eisenhower increased the tariff on Swiss watches. The action caused widespread doubts abroad as to our sincerity on "trade not aid." One argument for the higher tariff was that the Nation needed the American watchmakers' skills, and a White House statement spoke of an important collateral effect of the tariff boost on the national defense.

The public assumed that the Department of Defense had thought the matter over and decided that it needed protection for American watchmakers. What else should the public have assumed?

Now it turns out that the Department of Defense did, indeed, think the matter over, and that it decided that the watch industry needed no special or preferential treatment, from the standpoint of defense needs. Its report, written in April of last year, has just been made available.

Incidents like these are damaging to the national security. They tend to make the public skeptical of the very phrase. At a time when we are engaged in one of history's great struggles, it is more important than ever that language be used with some precision, and that the broad general concepts within which we perforce think as a community be not irresponsibly debased.

President Syngman Rhee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday of this week, Syngman Rhee, the President of Korea, will celebrate his 80th birthday. Americans everywhere will wish him many happy returns.

Like America's Patrick Henry, President Rhee has had one dedicated objective in his long life—namely, to free his country from the yoke of foreign oppression, and plant the love of freedom—and the determination to fight for it—in the hearts of his countrymen. Among all the questions and doubts enshrouding the future of Asia, Syngman Rhee stands today, as he has throughout his long life, a man of no compromise where freedom is concerned.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an editorial from the April issue of Korean Survey, which pays a highly deserved tribute to President Rhee on the occasion of his 80th birthday. As it well says:

Americans hall President Rhee because his achievements have been not alone for Korea but for global freedom as well.

The editorial follows:

PRESIDENT SYNGMAN RHEE: HIS 80TH BIRTHDAY

On March 26 nationwide celebrations will be held in Korea (extending surreptitiously, we hay be sure, behind the Communist front in North Korea) honoring the 80th birthday of President Syngman Rhee—who is the father not alone of Korea's independence but of its modernity and democracy as well.

Syngman Rhee merits the admiration and has won the gratitude of the entire free world. On June 25, 1950, he led his nation into a war of resistance against the overwhelming surprise attack launched by the Communist Empire and thereby made possible effective action by the United States and other Allies to save the United Nations from the danger of dissolution and to prevent the rapid spread of Communist imperialism through all Asia.

The first President of the Republic of Korea, elected on July 19, 1948, and reelected in July 1952. Dr. Rhee was also unanimously elected President of the revolutionary Provisional Republic of Korea established in exile in April 1919. From his youth as a leader in the movement to reform Korea's ancient monarchy (as a consequence of which he was imprisoned from 1897 to 1904), Syngman Rhee has devoted his entire life to the liberation, democratic advancement, and reunification of his nation. As a prophet warning against the imperial ambitions of Japan in the 1930's and of Russia in subsequent years, he has rendered tremendous services to the free world. Under the inspiration of his leadership, the people of Korea have served as an impregnable bastion of democracy in north Asia.

Born March 26, 1875, Dr. Rhee was educated soundly in the ancient culture of the Far East, then studied English and democracy in the Pai Jai Mission School in Seoul. In 1904 he came to the United States to earn his A. B. degree at George Washington University, his M. A. at Harvard and his Ph.D. at Princeton. Specializing in international relations, and writing his doctoral dissertation on American Policies of Neutrality in the Far East, Dr. Rhee developed an unusually sound background for clear-visioned statesmanship in dealing with the problems that have beset his people and the democratic world.

In a book entitled "The Spirit of Independence," which he wrote in prison in 1904, he set forth his basic creed as follows: "If your own heart is without patriotism, your heart is your enemy. * * Do not wait for others to lead or to do what must be done, but arouse yourself. If you do not do it, it never will be done."

With the advent of self-government for south Korea in 1948, President Rhee led in the accomplishment of a remarkable program of democratic reforms,

Suffrage and full equality were granted to women as well as men. Universal education was encouraged and assisted. A land reform system practically wiping out farm tenantry was enacted. Freedom of speech was encouraged and over 90 newspapers of divergent editorial policies were established. A multiparty political situation has gradually evolved into a strong two-party system. Independence of the judiciary and of the legislature has been balanced by popularly supported executive leadership. Among all his great achievements, President Rhee will be remembered for his success in firmly emplanting the roots of genuine democracy on the continent of Asia.

Americans hall President Rhee because his achievements have been not alone for Korea but for global freedom as well. In the world struggle between the democracles and the totalitarian Communists, his people have been the severest sufferers and his courageous leadership has been a rallying point for the Allies. It is the deep hope of countless millions that his long life will be climaxed by seeing his country reunited and his people secure and prosperous in their independent democracy.

Some of the Tourist Attractions of the Seventh Congressional District of Alabama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL ELLIOTT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, the Seventh Congressional District of Alabama is coming to realize and to develop its scenic and tourist attractions with each passing year. The miracles that will soon be wrought on the Warrior River, and particularly in its headwaters, will, in time, provide a natural playground which should attract tourists, as well as the people who live in the area itself.

The New Hope Dam, designed to be approximately 300 feet high, will be the second highest dam east of the Missis-

sippi River.

The large steam, electric-generating plants at Gorgas, Ala., along with the adjacent mines, and together with the world-famous experiment in underground coal gasification are beginning to attract large numbers of visitors.

While these attractions are classified as being partially man-made, the natural wonders of that area of Alabama are most absorbing. Some that come quickly to mind are the Natural Bridge of Alabama, located in Winston County, 10 miles south of Haleyville on State Highway 195; the Cheatham Road-State Highway 36-Natural Bridge with a 70-foot span in the William B. Bankhead National Forest in Winston County; and the 80-foot Sandstone Natural Bridge, located 10 miles east of Phil Campbell in Franklin County, Ala. Others are the Underground Lake at Belgreen, and the Dismal Falls in Franklin County.

The Ave Maria Grotto in Cullman County is nationally known.

Very little has been written about these scenic attractions of this area of Alabama. There are many more than 1 have named.

My neighbor, Mr. W. M. Massey, of Jasper, Ala., published a story, entitled "Bridges What Come Naturally," dealing with the natural bridges of the Seventh Congressional District of Alabama, plus one in Tennessee. The article was published in the March 1955 issue of Ford Times.

The article follows:

BRIDGES WHAT COME NATURALLY (By W. M. Massey)

In northwestern Alabama, a farmer likes to build his home on a ridge. It tickles his fancy to think that water falling on one side of his roof will reach the Gulf of Mexico via the Tennessee, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, while raindrops sliding down the other side will travel via the Sipsey, Warrior, and Tombigbee.

The varied topography that allows this indulgence is also responsible for some very satisfactory scenery that is not widely known. The hinterland of the Muscle Shoals area, where thousands of vacationers an-

nually enjoy the man-made dams and lakes of the Tennessee Valley system, is replete with cliffs, gorges, waterfalls and an assortment of natural bridges.

About 50 miles north is the Natural Bridge of Tennessee, on U. S. 64 near Waynesboro. Here twin arches of limestone are set at right angles and joined on both ends by a semicircular bluff, on the Buffalo River. Terraces in the eroded rock form a natural amphitheatre in which, for some 40 years before the Civil War, the courts of Stone and Hardin Countles held sessions. A sign announces that David Crockett was a magistrate here in 1812. This is a resort area, with an admission fee.

The traveler southbound from Muscle Shoals may be startled to encounter the sign, "You are now entering the Free State of Winston * * *" It is a matter of much local pride that this county refused to se-cede from the Union in the War Between the States. It set up its own government, issued its own currency, and raised 5 companies of infantry for the Union Army. Its scenery is further cause for pride. A report by the Geological Survey of Alabama described it in these considered terms: "The topographical features are varied, grand, wild, and picturesque. It has abrupt chasms 200 to 300 feet below the general level of the county. These have perpendicular and overhanging rock cliffs 75 to 100 feet high *

One of those "abrupt chasms" is traversed by the Natural Bridge of Alabama, claimed to be the longest rock span in the East. It is 10 miles south of Haleyville, on State 195. Fifty years ago excursion trains brought city folk from Birmingham and Sheffield to marvel at this natural wonder and to picnic in its shadow. People are still coming—but in automobiles. The bridge is privately owned and admission is charged.

There are 2 other natural bridges nearby. One is an 80-foot sandstone arch hidden in a heavily wooded area of Franklin County, 10 miles east of the town of Phil Campbell. The other is in the national forest, on Cheatham Road (State highway 36). This 70-foot span is suspended half-way up nearly-vertical canyon walls.

To the dyed-in-the-wool nature lover, Bee Branch Scenic Area is the top attraction of the forest and the entire region. This deep box cayon, with vertical sandstone walls 60 to 125 feet high, shelters one of the last stands of virgin hardwood in Alabama. giant tulip trees, hemlocks and pines have been untouched by man or fire. The largest is a tulip tree 80 inches in diameter and 150 feet high. Roads and trails in the area are meager—by design. This 1,140-acre plot is to be preserved to show future generations a bit of genuine wilderness. The public is welcome but, as the local ranger puts it wryly, "Nothing is done to make access easy"

"Bowing to Red Gangsters"-Editorial From the Manchester Union-Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Bowing to Red Gangsters," Which was published in the Manchester (N. H.) Union-Leader on March 21.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD, as follows:

BOWING TO RED GANGSTERS

It is distinctly baffling to see the British and fellow-traveling Americans talking about the rights of the Red government in China and urging that Chiang Kai-shek should be eliminated.

The Red government in China is not a representative of the Chinese people but only a bunch of freebooters. The Yalta papers which took Soviet Russia into the Far Easttern war less than a week before it ended, enabled the Soviets to rush into Manchuria where a heavy supply of Japanese arms and ammunition was surrendered to them.

These military supplies were then turned over to the Chinese Communists, who used them in their war against National China. Meanwhile, the Nationalists were crippled by the withholding of American military supplies, after nearly 15 years of struggle against the Japanese invaders.

This gave the Reds the advantage and Chiang Kai-shek was driven out of China to Formosa, where he was able to establish his The Chinese people were turned defenses. over to a band of gangsters which has kept its foot on their neck since then. There has been no election to test the peoples' reaction to the Red government. Fifteen million have died from Red persecution, it is estimated.

Are these gangsters going to be accepted now as the legitimate rulers of China and received into the fellowship of free peoples? Surely such a proposal is absolutely crazy. Meanwhile Chiang Kai-shek is the man who unified China-the man who led the defense of China against Japanese aggression. He is the true representative of the Chinese people. In Formosa he has established a democratic system that has won wide approbation. Now he awaits the opportunity to restore freedom

For nations that claim to be defenders of freedom to turn Chiang Kai-shek down and talk about receiving the Red Chinese gangsters into their fellowship is not only an insult to justice, but it is a deliberate outrage against the Chinese people, whose dream of freedom is being destroyed. It is time the American people awakened to the seriousness of this situation. Surely we don't want a repetition of Yalta in China today.

Look Before Leaping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues here in Congress an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post under date of Wednesday, March 23, 1955, entitled "Look Before Leaping." recommend for your consideration this editorial which follows:

LOOK BEFORE LEAPING

The revolt in the House against the 7.5 percent average-pay raise for postal em-ployees recommended by the Post Office and Civil Service Committee was another manifestation of that body's reluctance to face fiscal realities when it considers pay bills and taxes. The House voted 302 to 120 against taking up the bill under a rule forbidding amendments only because it was not considered generous enough. A majori-

ty appears to favor 10 percent increases even though a bill carrying that figure is likely to encounter a Presidential veto. The result might be no increase at all for postal work-

Postal workers and other Government employees are undoubtedly entitled to higher pay. The question is how much should be granted. So far as postal workers are con-cerned, Congress could deal with the problem more realistically if it had increased postal rates to cover the wage and salary boost. The administration has sent its recommendations to Capitol Hill, and they have been embodied in the Murray bill to adjust postal rates temporarily and create a commission on postal rates. But no hearings have yet been scheduled on the bill. If the new rates favored by the Post Office Department are approved, they will bring in an additional \$342 million. But if Congress should add more than \$200 million to the Department's paryroll and then decline to increase rates, much of the progress that has been made toward reducing the postal deficit would be wiped out.

It is necessary to bear in mind also that incentive pay raises ought to be voted for the Armed Forces and that more than a million classified Federal employees are entitled to an increase. With Congress driving hard for tax reduction-a demand that will be repeatedly pressed during the next year and a half—legislators should take time to see where they are heading. No one needs to be a financier or a budget expert to see that pay increases must be kept moderate if spending in excess of income is not to be substantially increased at a time when the country ought to be paying its own way.

One Hundred and Thirty-fourth Anniversary of Greek Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, March 25 will mark the 134th anniversary of Greek independence.

Over a century ago the Greek people recovered their freedom and emerged once again an independent nation.

We here in America are happy to pay tribute to this great country and to her courageous people. Ancient Greece was the cradle of democracy and her culture formed the cornerstone of our western civilization. We know from history of the past glories and achievements of Greece; and we are forever indebted to her for the heritage she has handed down to us-love of liberty and concern for our fellowmen.

Since her reestablishment among the community of free nations, Greece has been beset by many enemies. In spite of those difficulties she has contributed far more than her share to the cause of world peace by her magnificent participation in World War II and in the recent Korean conflict.

Her determined opposition to nazism and communism, despite the sufferings and persecution of her people, has demonstrated to all how much freedom means to her. We have been proud to have the Greeks as our allies in the past,

and we shall consider it an honor and a privilege to continue our associations with her in the future as guardians of democracy.

Chief Judge Albert Conway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on February 17, 1955, the Brooklyn Lawyers Club of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies honored one of Brooklyn'sno-one of New York's greatest citizens, the Honorable Albert Conway. My first contact with the distinguished gentleman was when I sat at his feet as a student in classes taught by him at the Brooklyn Law School. I soon learned to respect and admire him as a fine teacher. an excellent lawyer, a truly high minded public servant, but most of all as a real friend.

He has served with distinction as a district attorney, State superintendent of insurance, county court judge, supreme court justice, associate judge of the court of appeals, and now as chief judge of that court, the highest in the State of New York.

Despite the heavy demands upon his time by official duties, he has always found time to devote to every worthwhile civic and charitable endeavor of our community.

Little wonder then, that among the many fine tributes to him that night were the following communications from the highest and most respected of our public officials:

THE WHITE HOUSE. Washington, D. C.

DONALD FREUND.

President, Brooklyn Lawyers Club:

Please convey my congratulations to the Honorable Albert Conway on the honor which the Brooklyn Lawyers Club extends to him on February 17. To all his friends who thus join in tribute to an eminent jurist, I send best wishes.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

DONALD FREUND.

26 Court Street:

May I tell you again how deeply sorry I am that official engagements of long-standing have made it impossible for me to attend the dinner in honor of Judge Conway at Union Temple. It would have given me the keenest pleasure to have joined his many other friends in this well-deserved tribute to Judge Conway, for whom I have great admiration and affection. I have known Albert Conway for more than a quarter century, and had the great privilege of appointing him to the court of appeals in 1940. He has made a wonderful record and I rejoice that he is now serving as chief judge, the highest judicial post in the State of New York. Will you please give Albert my congratulations and my affectionate regards? HERBERT H. LEHMAN.

UNITED STATES SENATE, Washington, D. C., January 26, 1955.

Donald Freund, Esq.,

President of Brooklyn Lawyers Club,

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear President Freund: I greatly appreciate your thought of me in connection with the testimonial dinner, which is being given in honor of Judge Albert Conway, on evening of Thursday, February 17, at Union Temple. Because of my great admiration and high regard for the guest of honor, I should like very much to be present and thus to pay tribute to him in person. Unfortunately for me a long-standing engagement for that same evening, which I shall be obliged to keep if possible, is going to prevent me from being in New York at that

Please convey to Judge Conway my deep regret that I cannot be on hand. His has been an unusual, long, and distinguished career in his noble profession and in public service. No one more than he deserves the tribute being paid to him by the Brooklyn Lawyers Club. Please express to him my hearty congratulations upon a tribute so richly deserved and my every good wish for all that is best in health, happiness, and success in the years ahead.

Again thanking you for inviting me to be present, I am

Sincerely yours,

IRVING M. IVES.

ALBANY, N. Y.

Donald Freund, Esq.,

President, Brooklyn Lawyers Club:

My warmest greetings to the Brooklyn Lawyers Club and to the renowned jurist, Albert Conway, whom you are honoring this evening. I deeply regret my inability to join personally in the tributes being paid to Chief Judge Conway, for his many years of service to the State and his contributions in the field of jurisprudence. All good wishes for the continuing and increasing vigor of the charitable, communal and civil activities of the Brooklyn Lawyers Club.

AVERELL HARRIMAN.

Judge Conway's remarks that evening have important significance and though addressed to a lawyers group, would be as apropos if delivered to a group of legislators. I, therefore, commend them to the attention of our colleagues.

They follow:

THE OBLIGATION OF THE LAWYER

(Address by Hon. Albert Conway, Chief Judge of the New York Court of Appeals on February 17, 1955, before the Brooklyn Lawyers

I must tell you, first and foremost, how much I appreciate the thoughtfulness and kindness of the Brooklyn Lawyers Club of the Jewish Federation of Philanthropies in tendering this dinner in my honor as chief judge. I appreciate that you are honoring both the office and me but I, as a Brooklynite, shall treasure the memory of it. I have lived here in Brooklyn all my life and practiced law here all of my life as a lawyer. believe that it is much easier to be wellliked and acclaimed in cities away from one's neighbors and so I have always wished to be liked in my borough among the people with whom I have grown up and with whom I have lived. Thus, I especially appreciate this dinner and thank you for it.

I should like to leave one thought with you this evening. I shall take as my text words of wisdom uttered by Mr. Bernard Baruch last year at a dedication ceremony:

"Government is only an instrument for regulating society. A limited democracy—the political form we live under—is bound to have its faults since none of us who make up this democracy is perfect. But this democracy has given each of us the opportunity to better his own condition by his own striving—and more than that no government can give us. * * *

"We in this country have succeeded be-cause we have made Americanization synonymous with expanded opportunity. have sought our goal of equality for all not by pulling everyone down to the same level, as has happened elsewhere, but by giving everyone the opportunity to rise."

In a measure, lawyers are set apart as members of a learned profession. I have always looked upon them as trustees of the rights of the residents of their communities. Those rights are life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness and the opportunity to rise commensurate with one's capacity and capability as received from his Creator. correlative duties of such residents are to be good citizens, to see that justice under prevails, and to support all worthwhile projects contributing to the good of their communities. Lawyers are thus as a group set apart. There is no other group which is the trustee of our community rights and must step forward to protect those rights when to fail to do so would be injurious. The people look to us in addition for leader-If you will consider for a moment you will realize that the people continually display not only their acceptance of the fact that we supply the leadership but also their expectation that we will live up to our heritage in that respect for in this country we have supplied the leadership since the days of the Founding Fathers. That entails more obligations than those of any other profession. A profession, as we know, is not a business. It is only for high minded individuals of character who work assiduously, not only in their preparation for a degree and for a license to practice but also for their clients during the balance of their lives as practicing lawyers. The old adage tells us that the law is a jealous mistress. Indeed, the practice of the law takes precedence even over family obligations if the rights of a client hang in the balance.

Again, if you will consider, you will realize that there is no other profession where the people in every community, whenever any worthwhile endeavor is to be initiated, require that there be a member of our profession on the executive board, by whatever name it may be called. We are the un-common men from whom those in our community demand service, far and beyond that which they require of business men or of men in any other profession except that of religion. When I speak of the uncommon men I refer to those men to whom much knowledge and ability has been granted and, therefore, men from whom much is to be expected and by whom much must be returned to their neighbors. It is not enough, however, that we as lawyers be trustees of the rights of our neighbors and that we as organized groups, such as this, are ready to spring to our neighbor's aid when his rights are in danger. Take freedom, for in-stance, freedom is the most important of our possessions and one easily lost. The Chinese have a proverb to the effect that when a man losses his freedom he has nothing else to lose. Mr. John Lord O'Brian, of Washington, a distinguished lawyer, speaking in December last put it clearly when he said:
"All of us agree that freedom for the in-

dividual is the most important and precious of our possessions. What we often forget, however, is that freedom cannot be created by law. All that the law can accomplish is to protect the rights of the individual from interference either by other individuals or by government. As Justice Brandels once observed, the American Constitution 'conferred, as against the government, the right to be let alone—the most comprehensive of rights and the one most valued by civilized man.' In America we constantly advocate respect for the dignity of man and the sanctity of the individual. But dignity cannot be conferred upon the citizen by law. The qualities that give dignity to the individual and sanctity to his personal beliefs are qualities that must be developed within the inner life of the individual himself."

While then we are trustees of the rights of those who reside in our respective communities, we can accomplish little unless those residents fully understand the fact that our government is unique in the history of mankind. The great contribution of America has been to make law the sovereign by means of a written constitution binding equally the government and the governed. Also, we can make little progress if it be not understood that freedom is not created by Laws are not self-executing. The public opinion which is the great law enforcer can come only from those who understand the problems which the specific law, whether common law or statute law, was meant and intended to solve. Education then in the philosophical theory of and basis for our government and education is the meaning of freedom under law, since freedom presupposes law, must also come from the organized bar, whether it by the Lawyers' Club, such as this, or a bar association. have a double duty, but it should not be too difficult if you teach it at your community level and thus make it leaven. It seems to me to be your duty as lawyers and mine as a judge to endeavor to do this to the best of our ability and thus to justify the confidence which has been reposed in you and me by our respective communities.

Repeat Performance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I voted to suspend the rules of the House to permit consideration of H. R. 4644, the postal pay bill. In the last Congress I voted for the only postal pay bill which had a possibility of becoming law.

I voted to suspend the rules for H. R. 4644 because I believe we should not further delay the passing of this pay legislation by incorporating provisions which would threaten the pay increases proposed in H. R. 4644.

As for the classification features of the bill, much study has been given to them and I believe they should be given a trial. Then after a fair test has been given, we can make the needed adjustments in later legislation covering classification.

The Washington Star presented its readers an editorial last night, warning of a "repeat performance" of what happened last year when postal employees lost their increase and pointing out that the course now being pursued is heading in the same direction. It follows:

[From the Evening Star of March 23, 1955]

REPEAT PERFORMANCE?

It is beginning to look as though Congress is headed for a repeat performance of past

errors in handling postal and classified pay legislation. Last year Congress ignored warnings of a Presidential veto and passed legislation unacceptable to the administration. As a result Federal employees lost their pay raise. Now there are new warnings of a possible Presidential veto if a postal raise of more than 7.5 percent is voted. But the House has gone right ahead with plans to exceed that limit. And the Senate Civil Service Committee has reported a bill calling for a 10-percent increase.

The House rejected an opportunity Monday to pass a bill that would have lifted postal pay to the ceiling which President Eisenhower insists is necessary to keep the cost within reasonable bounds. Instead the House preferred to follow a course which will permit amendment of the committee-approved 7.5 percent bill when it reaches the floor. Of course, if the House eventually should vote for an 8- or 10-percent raise for postal workers, fair play would dictate a like increase for all Government employees in the classified service.

The President, in a letter to Chairman M-RRAY, of the House Civil Service Committee, last week, said he was concerned about the fiscal impact of even a 7.5-percent increase. "In fairness to you and your colleagues," he wrote, "I must make it clear that any additional increases in postal salaries above your committee's action would give me the gravest apprehension." hard to see how he could have made his warning any plainer, short of actually mentioning a veto. In fact, the language has been interpreted at the Capitol as being tantamount to a veto threat. If Congress continues to ignore the Presidential warning, it will be subjecting Federal employees to the risk of more shattered hopes. For there is no assurance that advocates of higher raises would be able to muster the twothirds vote in each House necessary to override a veto.

A Fair Basis for Federal Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor, 83d Congress, under the chairmanship of Hon. Carroll D. Kearns, held hearings on the need for Federal aid for school construction. In an unanimous report the subcommittee acknowledged the urgency of the need and recommended "that legislation be enacted providing for Federal payments to enable the States and local communities to expand their school construction program."

On the first day of the 84th Congress Mr. Kearns and Hon. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY, the ranking Democratic member of the Kearns subcommittee, introduced identical bills—H. R. 14 and H. R. 15.

One of the features of the Bailey-Kearns bills was the proposal to distribute the Federal aid to the States on a flat-grant basis. Money appropriated by the Federal Government would be allocated to the States on the basis of the ratio of school age population in the State to the total school age population in the Nation. Then each State, in order to secure its allotment, would match the

Federal allocation on a statewide 50-50

Other bills have been introduced providing different formulas for distribution. A modification of the principle of the Hill-Burton Act for hospital construction has been suggested, and population-taxation formulas have been advanced.

The equity of the Bailey-Kearns approach has support in the following article by Dr. Samuel M. Brownell in the Nation's Schools, March 1946, written before Dr. Brownell became Commissioner of Education. Dr. Brownell's article follows:

A FAIR BASIS FOR FEDERAL AID—DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF PUPILS WOULD AVOID OBJECTIONABLE FEATURES OF OTHER PLANS

(By Samuel M. Brownell, Department of Education, Yale University)

It is of national concern that each child receive an education which is reasonably adequate; yet, measured by any standards, there are now many children receiving an education which is entirely inadequate. Present economic and tax conditions

Present economic and tax conditions make some communities and States unable to meet even low standards of education. State and local educational consciences in other localities are so low that they permit patently inadequate educational conditions to continue.

THE FEDERAL CONTROL FACTOR

These statements record conclusions that have been made from and are supported by research investigations and the study of individuals and groups that avocate Federal financial aid to schools. But, as pointed out in the timely and important document, "Federal-State Relations in Education," I these facts must be considered in relation to certain others, as for instance, the fact that the foundations of democracy would be jeopardized by centralized control of education which might result from certain types of Federal financial support of schools.

Furthermore, a tremendous and needless waste of resources has been observed where there are uncoordinated Federal, State and local educational enteprises, notable particularly because some federally supported enterprises ignore, compete with or dominate State and locally supported educational programs.

Recognizing the foregoing issues and problems is one thing. Developing a program which will resolve them is another. For years professional groups have proposed that Federal aid be granted but these proposals have not been accepted. Instead, Federal funds and programs have "come in the back door." In addition to recognizing the undesirability of and dangers in the present situation, it is perhaps proper that we examine some of the reasons for the nonacceptance of past Federal-aid proposals.

Without attempting to be exhaustive, we suggest three possible factors contributing to their nonacceptance.

1. Confusion has existed as to what is meant by equality of Federal interest in the education of each child and as to the provisions for Federal contributions to the States. Local communities long ago abandoned the practice of providing education supplementary to whatever parents could or would provide. Rate bills were abolished as were special schools for indigents.

SCHOOLS PROVIDED FOR ALL

The principle upon which schooling was furnished was, in general, this: because the community has an interest in the educa-

³ Federal-State Relations in Education, Educational Policies Commission and Problems and Policies Committee, March 1945.

tion of each child, it will establish schools for any and all who wish to and can utilize them. It makes no difference whether a child's parents are wealthy or poor, white or black, live close to the school or a long distance away, the means of education are provided to all equally.

The claim for a Federal stake in the education of each child is based on the importance to the preservation and advance of democracy of having each child receive an adequate minimum or basic education. The Government's stake or interest would, therefore, seem to extend to all children regardless of the financial status of their parents or their community. A plan for contrbuting Federal funds equally to each publie school child would be in accord with long-established local school policy and would eliminate the contention held by many who have opposed one or another plan for Federal aid because they considercd it discriminatory.

ECONOMIC NEED NO CRITERION

2. Educational need is tied inseparably with economic need in most proposals for Federal aid. Economic need, i. e. lack of sufficient tax resources to provide good ed-ucation, in reality has little to do with ed-ucational need. The obtaining of adequate resources is a fundamental economic problem which is as basic to the support of public health, good roads and other governmental services as it is to the support of

The Federal Government may and does recognize this through a tax program which, in general, collects most heavily from individuals and localities which have a high economic capacity and least heavily from those with the least capacity. It also at-tempts to aid States and communities to become economically self-sufficient through development of their resources or discourages the continuance of economically poor areas through resettlement and so on.

A permanent policy of Federal aid to poor communities does not strike at the basic problem. Furthermore, it draws opposition from those who recognize it as a form of double taxation, that is, a method of taking the most from those communities which have the greatest capacity to pay and distributing to them the least because

of this capacity.

Clear recognition that economic need is a tax problem which should be separately considered from educational need would lend further support to those who accept the fact that the Federal Government has an interest in the education of all pupils alike. Educational need from the Federal point of view would be reckoned in terms of the number of pupils in school membership

in any and all parts of the Nation.
3. Proposals for Federal support profess to want to eliminate Federal control but seek to incorporate certain types of con-A genuine faith in the effectiveness of the democratic process and in the ability of the community and the State to provide adequate education for all pupils is consistent with the position that education is a State and local function. Full acceptance of this principle would recognize that in providing funds for education the Federal Government needs no control beyond a report to show that as much money has been spent by the State on public education as has been allotted to it.

State and local leadership and educational conscience would be relied upon to see that more adequate education was provided by utilizing the combined Federal, State, and local resources than was possible through State and local resources alone. Federal leadership could be devoted to assisting the State and local leaders and to stimulating a more enlightened educational conscience throughout the Nation.

A proposal which makes Federal aid supplementary to State and local support of education involves the determination by the Government of how much or what kind of education and educational support is required before the Federal grant is made. Distribution of Federal funds on the basis of the "pauper oath" or economic need calls for Federal control sufficient to determine the economic status of the State or com-

Acceptance of these controls opens Pandora's box. Those who distrust local and State leadership are in good position to press for controls to insure that school support will increase if Federal aid is given, to seek some means of preventing "misuse" of the money, to see that there is a State plan for using the money for teachers' salaries, to require equal distribution of funds to all races, or to require that the money be spent only in elementary schools and so on. These demands would make easier the opening of the way for further controls. They would evidence a lack of faith in local and State leadership and in democracy.

DOLLARS PER PUPIL PLAN IS FAIR

It may well be that educators could profit most from the nonacceptance of previous proposals for Federal aid to education by supporting a plan to appropriate and distribute to each State a given number of dollars per pupil in average membership in public elementary and secondary schools. plan would provide a simple and easily understood basis for recognizing the Federal stake in the education of each child, would treat educational need as separate from economic need and would permit the distribution of funds to be free from all Federal control beyond a State affidavit that the amount of money received had been spent on the

The proposal has other merits; objections to it can be raised also, but it certainly offers a remedy for a number of conditions which past proposals have overlooked.

Yalta and History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Yalta and History," written by George Sokolsky, and published in the Washington Post of March 24, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

History has a curious way of asserting itself despite the efforts of vain men and powerful politicians to suppress the truth. Those who rewrite history to suit their private ends fail to suppress the whole truth because always somewhere, even hidden in desert sands, is another record which, in time, is uncovered.

Thus, for 10 years, the errors of Tcheran and Yalta have covered the political battlefield with the reputations of men who believed that they were wholly safe from the light of truth.

Before the Yalta Conference took place, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, East Finland, East Poland, Bessarabia, and Bukovina had already become absorbed in the Russian Empire. Stalin had erected Communist gov-

ernments in Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Albania prior to the Yalta Conference. He had also forced Communist participation in the governments of West Finland and Czechoslovakia and imperiled our position in Asia by maintaining a Chi-Communist military force in China.

The Yalta documents need to be read in this framework. It is not possible to believe that Roosevelt did not know the pattern that Stalin was cutting out of paper maps. Also, Roosevelt knew about the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, and it should have been a guide to Stalin's weltanschauung. In fact, in the very first conversation between Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta, Stalin made his position clear: The earth was to be managed by the three great powers and he was taking no back talk from any of the little nations. This is the conversa-tion as reported by Bohlen:

"Marshal Stalin made it quite plain on a number of occasions that he felt that the three great powers which had borne the brunt of the war and had liberated from German domination the small powers should have the unanimous right to preserve the peace of the world. He said that he could serve no other interest than that of the Soviet state and people, but that in the international arena the Soviet Union was prepared to pay its share in the preservation of peace. He said that it was ridiculous to believe that Albania would have an equal voice with the three great powers who had won the war and were present at this din-ner. * * *"

This policy Soviet Russia has pursued to the present day. Roosevelt is not reported to have protested against this principle of international conduct. Bohlen's notes say that he commented as follows:

The President said he agreed that the great powers bore the greater responsibility and that the peace should be written by the three powers represented at this

It was Winston Churchill who raised his voice, as apparently he often did, for the smaller countries, particularly for Poland. Bohlen gives this credit to Churchill:

"The Prime Minister said that there was no question of the small powers dictating to the big powers but that the great nations of the world should discharge their moral responsibility and leadership and should exercise their power with moderation and great respect for the rights of the smaller nations. • • • "

But Roosevelt said nothing about the Atlantic Charter, about the rights of small nations, about justice for friend and foe. This kind of talk was for the people: the hardheaded, practical men who sat in the Livadia Palace, on the Black Sea, had no time for petty talk. They were making history—by enslaving millions to Stalin's chariot.

It is not a pretty picture, but it is one that will undoubtedly be painted in even more lurid details when all the documents are available.

Congressman Dollinger's Report to His Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ISIDORE DOLLINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, at the close of the first session of the 84th Congress, I shall prepare and include in the Congressional Record my report to my constituents. I make this statement now so that the people I represent may know that the report will reach them shortly after the close of the session, and that they will be advised of progress made and the status of legislation of interest to them.

Why Should America Stand Last?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the strongest statements in behalf of the American merchant marine and our shipbuilding industry appears in an article written by James A. Brownlow, president of the A. F. of L. metal trades department. I hope that Members of Congress will have an opportunity to read it, for it is most timely.

The article follows:

WHY SHOULD AMERICA STAND LAST?

(By James A. Brownlow, president, A. F. of L. metal trades department)

America's shipbuilding industry and merchant marine are vital links in our national defense. On the strength and readiness of the shipbuilding industry and the merchant marine the safety and economic well-being of all Americans depend to a considerable degree. We should have learned this lesson well—the hard way—from our experiences in World War I, World War II, and, more recently, the Korean conflict.

Each time our shipbuilding industry and our merchant marine were completely unprepared to meet the emergency. Each time our shipbuilding industry had to perform its tasks in a great rush and at great cost. Each time the industry had been allowed to stagnate until the next emergency hit us.

It is high time that all Americans, regardless of where we live or what we do for a living, awake to this national problem. We must see to it that our elected spokesmen in Congress are aware of our concern and of our insistence on legislation to meet this critical situation effectively.

What has happened to our once vast ship-building industry and our merchant marine is a sad saga hidden in statistics. Seldom does the story make the headlines. The reports and the releases of the Maritime Administration and the various shipbuilding and merchant marine associations tell a tale all Americans should know and do something about.

Lloyd's latest report Indicates that the United States has dropped to last place among the major shipbuilding nations of the free world. During the last quarter of 1954 our country fell from 6th to 12th place. On January 1 the gross tonnage on the ways in our private United States yards was less than half of that on October 1 of last year.

Lloyd's report is based on all vessels under construction having a gross tonnage of 100 gross tons or more. The Shipbuilders' Council of America collects figures on merchant vessels of 1,000 gross tons or over and which are under construction or on order. The council's report for January 1 reveals the same shocking story.

On that day the shipyards of the free world had under construction or on order 1,347 vessels of 11,249,398 gross tons. Of this total only 14 vessels of 193,660 gross tons were in

American yards, The United States had dropped to 10th among the major shipbuilding nations. On January 1 we had only 1.7 percent of the total tonnage building or on order.

What were other countries doing? Here is the picture;

Country:	Percer	rtage
Britain		35. 1
Germany		12.6
Sweden		12.3
Holland		9.8
Japan		7.0
France		5.3
Norway		4,8
Italy		3.9
Denmark		2.7

While the United States has been slipping rapidly in ship construction, other countries have been experiencing remarkable gains. During the last quarter of 1954 the yards of the United Kingdom, Japan, Germany, Holland, and Italy all rolled up substantial increases in new-tonnage construction. Japan nearly doubled her tonnage during the last quarter of 1954. She claims that during the last three quarters of 1954 she had more ships on order than in 80 years of shipbuilding. Japan now claims to be third in the world in shipbuilding capacity. The yards of Western Germany turned out The yards of Western Germany turned out of the yards have a backlog of 4,250,000 gross tons, the president of that country's shipbuilding conference has announced.

Meanwhile our own American shipbuilding industry is in a distressed condition, and it is indeed a sad commentary that this condition has been aggravated—and to a large measure caused—by American firms and their affiliates. They have aggravated the condition by placing ship construction orders in foreign shipyards.

While American yards and their skilled work forces are suffering from lack of work, United States companies and their affiliates have seen fit to build large numbers of oceangoing vessels in the busy shipyards of foreign countries which have been rolling up substantial tonnage.

As of last June 30 United States companies and their affiliates were building or had on order in foreign yards and for foreign registry 57 vessels, totaling 888,687 gross tons—roughly, four times the entire merchant ship tonnage which all our United States yards had building or on order as of that date.

The orders for 57 vessels to be built in foreign yards included 41 tankers of 678,252 gross tons, 10 ore carriers of 187,150 gross tons, and 6 dry-cargo vessels of 23,285 gross tons.

These orders of American companies and their affiliates placed in foreign shippyards amount to almost five times the total tonnage under construction or on order in our American yards on February 1. As of that date our yards had on the ways or on order only 13 seagoing or inland merchant vessels of 1,000 gross tons or more. These 13 vessels, 7 for Government account and 6 for private United States flag account, total only 188,960 gross tons.

These foreign shipbuilding orders of American companies and their affiliates would have assured employment for 1 year for more than the 36,000 skilled-worker nucleus which the Maritime Administration figures we need to maintain our private yards in a position to meet the needs of rapid expansion in the event of full mobilization.

If we include our coastal, Great Lakes, and inland waterways and the repair facilities, 130,000 workers are needed in the shipyards of the Nation. These workers and yards should be distributed in the proper ratio on the three coastal fronts, and also inland and Great Lakes waterways.

A few weeks ago another large American oil company (Tide Water Associated Oil) an-

nounced that it had ordered four 50,000-ton supertankers, the largest such ships ever built, to be constructed in France and delivered in late 1956 and early 1957.

The Maritime Administration has estimated that the construction of a considerably smaller supertanker of 35,500 deadweight tons provides approximately 750 manyears of shipyard work. On this basis, it would appear that these 4 supertankers alone would have supplied our shipyards with at least 4,000 manyears of shipyard work.

Each of these vessels ordered abroad is a direct loss to our shipbuilding industry. As all of them are to be operated under a foreign flag, they will also constitute a loss to our American merchant marine. It is through such practices that these companies fail to sustain our American standard of living and the purchasing power of American workers, which is principally responsible for the broad American markets for their products.

These companies are American companies. They have a moral obligation to support American industry and our standard of living. It is unfair of them to ignore the plight of American workers. The patronage of American workers has made their success possible.

Trade unionists are well acquainted with the tactics of the runaway shop and farmingout of work. What is this practice of American companies in placing their ship construction work in foreign yards and then operating the vessels under foreign flags but another form of this same old problem?

It is true that construction costs in foreign yards are substantially less than in our own. The American standard of living is higher. Direct and indirect costs are greater. Therefore, even though our shipyards are more efficiently operated than those in foreign lands, the end-product costs more.

The construction of a large ocean-going vessel is not nearly so susceptible to the techniques and economies of mass production which have enabled so many American industries to meet foreign competition and constantly improve American living standards. It is still essentially a construction operation requiring specialized skills and large amounts of hand labor.

The fact that a merchant vessel is an instrument of foreign commerce makes it particularly vulnerable to cost advantages of foreign construction. Foreign construction is further stimulated and encouraged by the savings which accrue through foreign flag operation. Foreign flag construction and operation under a foreign flag constitute a runaway from the decent living standards established over many years of struggle by American shipbuilding workers and merchant seamen through their respective trade union organizations. The saving on construction averages at least 30 percent, and thereafter foreign flag operating costs are only about one-fourth of the costs of operation under the American flag.

Ten short years ago the United States led the entire world in ship production. Between 1941 and 1945 our yards produced 5,280 ocean-going ships totaling 54 million deadweight tons. For every 100 workers employed in our private yards during the wartime peak, less than five are employed today. Today the United States is fighting for its life as a shipbuilding Nation. We stand in last place—not first—among the major shipbuilding countries of the free world.

America's shipbuilding facilities are a vital part of our national defense. The success of any wartime overseas operation depends directly on the availability of speedy modern vessels to transport men, equipment, and supplies. Prompt and adequate action by Congress on a program, including subsidies, to offset advantages of foreign yard construction and foreign flag operation is essential if we are going to maintain the necessary hard core of our shipbuilding industry and our merchant marine.

The merchant marine and the shipbuilding industry go hand in hand. The merchant marine picture is dark. For the first time since 1939 we have lost our world leadership in the volume of privately owned oceangoing tanker tonnage. As of the close of last year, according to the American Merchant Marine Institute, our privately owned oceangoing tanker tonnage had decreased by 38 vessels and 320,000 deadweight tons. This left us at the start of 1955 with 6,624,658 deadweight tons, as compared with the United Kingdom's 7,054,000 deadweight tons.

United States petroleum imports in 1954 were a little above 1953, and 5 times those of 1938. However, our American-flag tankers hauled only 33 percent of this oil in the first 9 months of 1954, while in 1938 American tankers hauled 53 percent of our incoming oil and in 1946 they hauled 76 percent.

oil and in 1946 they hauled 76 percent.

Our tanker fleet tonnage is at its lowest level in 6 years. The standing of the leading tanker nations on January 1 was as follows:

	D	cadweight
Country:		tonnage
United	Kingdom	7, 054, 000
United	States	6, 624, 658
Norway		5, 693, 000
Panama	·	3, 578, 000
Liberia.		2,609,000
Italy		1,642,000
France.		1,442,000
Sweden		1, 166, 000

The American people are the largest users of petroleum in the world. A vast portion of this petroleum comes from overseas. Recent testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee indicated that 6 companies import 70 percent of the foreign oil used in the United States. Five of these are American companies. These 5 are purported to have 89 percent of their proved oil reserves and 64 percent of their present oil production outside of the United States.

Increasingly these American companies are resorting to foreign ship construction and foreign-flag operation (frequently through their foreign-controlled affiliates). Foreign construction gives them an initial cost advantage. Often this is supplemented by a healthy-sized construction subsidy, accelerated cost-writeoff allowances and, in at least one country (which has now passed us in construction tonnage), a complete exemption from income tax of all revenue derived from new ships for the first 3 years of their operation.

Tonnage itself does not tell the whole story. The American Merchant Marine Institute estimates that about 75 percent of our American tanker fleet was built during World War II and only 12 percent since the war. By contrast, only 25 percent of the foreign flag tankers were built during the war and more than 50 percent of foreign trankers are relatively new, having been launched since the war.

About 85 percent of our tankers will face the problem of obsolescence within the next 10 years. Replacement of our tankers as they reach the 20-year age limit will require careful planning of industry and Government and the availability of large sums of money if our privately owned and operated tanker fleet is to be maintained.

During the last 12 months increasing numbers of American merchant seamen have been beached. These Americans are jobless because of generally slow conditions in our shipping industry, the transfer of more than 130 ships to foreign flags and the construction of new vessels for foreign flag operation.

On January 1, according to the Maritime Administration, our merchant fleet offered 58,800 berths. This was 7,550 fewer than a year earlier. Unemployment rolls and union waiting lists "reflect the sad state of the Nation's sengoing force," says the New York Times. According to this newspaper, the A. F. of L. Masters, Mates and Pilots report only one-third of 12,000 members at sea.

This union supplies deck officers for virtually all of the Nation's deep-sea shipping. The other unions of seagoing workers report longer-than-usual waits for jobs.

America's shipbuilding industry and America's merchant marine operate directly in the national interest. They are part and parcel of our national defense. Last year Congress enacted various measures designed to bolster the shipbuilding industry and the merchant marine. These included:

The so-called 50-50 cargo bill, requiring that at least one-half of all cargoes financed by the United States Government-whether inbound or outbound—must move in American-flag ships; a ship mortgage insurance law. A law providing for the private construction of 15 tankers for longterm Navy charter and the building of 4 by the Navy. The Liberty-ship-conversion program, providing for the experimental conversion of four of these vessels. The tanker trade in and build program. The passenger-cargo ship replacement program providing for the replacement of four passenger-cargo vessels for South American and Caribbean trade. The Navy (MSTS) special-ship program, involving seven special-type ships. The emergency-repair program providing \$12 million for repair of vessels from the laid-up fleet.

These programs are helpful. They mitigate—but do not solve—the national crisis in shipbuilding and the merchant marine. The long-term merchant ship construction program, which the 83d Congress failed to act on, is sorely needed. This proposal called for the construction in American shipyards of 60 cargo and cargo-passenger ships per year.

Adoption of this program would be a long step toward meeting the block obsolescence which faces our merchant fleet and would assure a nucleus of about 36,000 skilled workers employment in our merchant shippards for our oceangoing ships. According to the Maritime Administration, this is the minimum peacetime employment which must be maintained in our merchant ship construction program as a mobilization nucleus if our private yards are to be in a position to meet the needs of rapid expansion in the event of full mobilization. The 84th Congress, which is now in session, should take prompt and favorable action on similar legislation.

The present growing trend toward foreign construction and foreign-flag operation is sapping the strength of our shipbuilding industry and our merchant marine. Our national safety, which demands the maintenance of our shipbuilding at least at the mobilization nucleus level and a speedy modern merchant marine fleet with the skilled men to man it, is endangered.

Our merchant marine is our lifeline in wartime overseas operations. It must be ready and available to transport men, equipment, and mountains of supplies, should the need arise.

We must keep our American corporationcontrolled ship construction work in our American yards. We must see to it that American-owned vessels operate under the American flag. Effective action to solve these problems must be taken promptly by the 84th Congress.

Minimum Wage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending

my remarks to include the full text of fact sheet No. 2 on fair labor standards for American workers from the CIO committee on fair labor standards. It is deserving of place in the working files of all Members of this body and of all persons interested in a subject that strikes at the very foundations of our national welfare.

Perhaps more than any other Member of the Congress, I have a personal interest in the minimum wage stemming from associations and activities in the era of the legislative birth of the concept that the least of our workers in the quality of labor required was entitled to a minimum wage sufficient to meet the demands of keeping body and soul together. As late as 1913 this concept was bitterly fought and stubbornly resisted in legislative councils.

FIRST STATE MINIMUM WAGE LAWS

In 1913 it was my privilege to chairman a committee from the State Senate of Illinois that attracted wide national attention. The revelations of that committee of the low wages paid to workers in even the most prestiged establishments, running from a dollar and a half to \$5 a week, aroused the conscience of the Nation, and resulted in the passage of the first State minimum-wage laws in our history.

In the 979-page report of the committee of which it was my privilege to be chairman, printed by the State of Illinois in 1916, will be found the full text of the testimony of many of the largest employers of the period and of other witnesses; testimony that stirred the conscience of the Nation, enlisted the active support of President Woodrow Wilson and of the governors of 35 States. including the great Hiram Johnson, of California, and resulted in the enactment of 6 State minimum-wage laws in 1 year. On page 52 of this report appears the recommendation of the committee for the immediate enactment of a minimum-wage law prohibiting the payment of less than a living wage, and stating:

To remove the deficit between cost of living and income from service is in the power of the legislature. Until it is done and everyone who has to work is assured of the minimum of a reasonable living, the State not only has fallen far short of the legitimate demands of plain justice, but failed to deal with a situation in economics interminably interwoven with deep moral problems. After nearly 3 years of study and inquiry, seeking statistics and viewpoints, reducing arguments to mathematics, applying accepted rules of economics and logic. your committee is arrived at the firm conclusion that the enactment of the proposed minimum-wage law is the essential initial step in the intelligent treatment of the problems under survey.

THREE DECADES LATER

More than three decades after those words were written and the start of the minimum-wage program on a State level which had resulted from the investigations and public hearings in 1913 of a select committee from the Senate of Illinois, there came to me the great satisfaction and privilege as a member of the 81st Congress to vote for a Federal minimum wage law assuring the least of our workers a wage not less than 75 cents an hour. Since that time the cost

of living has increased greatly, and it is imperative that this Congress should increase the minimum wage to \$1.25. There is now pending a bill to that effect. I am happy to be among its many cosponsors.

The statement from the CIO committee on fair labor standards follows:

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS FOR AMERICAN WORKERS

INDUSTRY ADJUSTED FAVORABLY TO HIGHER MIN-IMUM WAGE BATES 1933-35, 1939, 1941, 1950

1. Under the National Industrial Recovery Act industry successfully increased minimum wages and compensated for shortened workweek

Under the President's reemployment agreement, June to October 1933, workers in half the 159 industries for which data are available increased their hourly earnings from 7.5 to 20 percent. The lowest paying industries showed the highest increases in wages. Earnings increased by 50 percent in industries with average hourly earnings of 20 to 25 cents in June 1933; by 42.5 percent in industries with average hourly earnings of 25 to 30 cents; and by 30 percent in industries with average hourly earnings of 30 to 35 cents. Industries with the highest average hourly earnings, 75 to 80 cents, showed an increase in earnings of 8.8 percent.

In the code period from October 1933 through the first months of 1935, when the NRA was in effect, industries still further increased their wages as a result of improvements in the wage provisions of the codes. Again, the industries with the lowest wages made the greatest increases. Increases from 15 to 20 percent were recorded in the low-paying industries as compared with 5 percent in the highest paying group.

2. The 1938 act set a 30-cent minimim in 1939 directly affecting 6 percent of the American workers with constructive results

The actual distribution was as follows:

Workers under 30 cents-April 1939

Area	Number of em- ployees earning less than 30 cents	Per- cent of em- ploy- ees	Percent of total employ- ees cov- ered earning less than 30 cents
TotalSouthern States	650,000	100	6 12
Northern States	427, 200 207, 300	32	12
Western States	15, 520	2	î
Industry:			1111
Manufacturing	460, 000	71	6
Wholesale trade	79,000	12	5
Motor carriers	54, 000	8	6
Railroads Other nonmanufactur-	19,000	3	2
ing industries	38, 000	6	2

In fact, employment increased from October 1938 through May 1939 by 680,000 Workers with the rise in the minimum to 25 cents.

Business failures were greater in number before the act became effective than later. Highly competitive industries, such as cotton textiles, seamless hosiery, apparel, and paper products were stabilized and wage cutting as a competitive device was eliminated.

 The 40-cent minimum became effective by end of 1941 long before the act was contemplated (October 1945)

In September 1938, some 13 percent of all employees covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act were earning less than 40 cents. By the end of 1941, this group had been reduced to minor proportions.

When the 40-cent wage orders were issued by the Administrator, 1.6 million were receiv-

ing less than 40 cents. The percentage of workers directly affected by all wage orders was as follows: under 5 percent, 8 wage orders; 5 to 10 percent, 15 wage orders; 10 to 20 percent, 10 wage orders; 20 to 30 percent, 19 wage orders; 30 to 40 percent, 7 wage orders; and 40 percent or more, 11 wage orders. Of the 55 minimum wage orders for which estimates are available on the direct increases in the wage bill effected by them, 9 effected less than a 1-percent increase; effected an increase of 1 to 2 percent; 16 in increase of 2 to 3 percent; 8, 3 to 4 percent; 5, 4 to 5 percent; and 10 effected increases of 5 percent or more in the wage bill. In several instances the 40-cent orders applied to industries in which wages had been raised in 2, or sometimes 3, stages, so that the total increases amounted to more for them than for other industries. Three successive wage orders were applied to the textile and seamless hosiery industries.

These wage increases were made, industry absorbed them, and business prospered.

4. The 75-cent minimum wage absorbed with constructive effects in 1950

(a) Six percent, or 1.3 million, of the 21 million covered employees earned less than 75 cents at the time of the adoption of the 75-cent minimum. In manufacturing industries, there were 875,000 production workers earning less than 75 cents in November 1948, or 6.6 percent of the total employed.

(b) Increases in average hourly earnings in manufacturing industries were negligible. The rise from January through April 1950 was 1.6 cents.

Employment in manufacturing industries as a whole increased by 148,000 during this period, while total nonagricultural employ-

ment rose by 801,000.

(c) Manufacturing industries where increases in average hourly earnings, from January through April 1950, exceed 2 percent were 23 in number and employed approximately 2 million persons, or 14 percent of all manufacturing industries. (See table I for list of industries and percent increase in average earnings.) Total employment in this group of industries was quite stable in the period immediately after January 1950, and by January 1951 the number of production workers had increased by about 6 percent.

(d) Manufacturing industries in the following States showed increases in average hourly earnings in excess of 2 percent from January to April 1950;

	Average hourly earnings		
State	Janu- ary 1950	April 1950	Percent in- crease
A labama Arkansas Plorida Georgia Louisiana Mississippl Missouri New Mexico Tennessee Texas Vermont Virginia	\$1. 12 .96 1. 02 1. 03 1. 20 .91 1. 33 1. 29 1. 13 1. 30 1. 16 1. 14	\$1.17 1.01 1.06 1.07 1.25 .96 1.37 1.35 1.16 1.33 1.19	4.5 5.2 3.9 3.9 4.2 5.5 3.0 4.7 2.3 2.6 2.6

Total manufacturing employment in the above States increased by 5,000 between January and April 1950 in spite of a seasonal decline in Florida, which was the only one of these States recording a decline in manufacturing employment of as much as 2 percent. By January 1951, manufacturing employment in all these States had risen substantially and the total number employed had increased by 10 percent.

(e) The United States Department of Labor survey. Results of the Minimum Wage Increase of 1950, reports as follows:

1. The greatest effect of the 75-cent minimum was felt in the lowest-paying regions of the lowest-paying industries. Thus, in southern sawmilling, a 20-percent increase in average earnings was granted in the lowest-wage southeastern division as compared with a 5-percent increase in the highest wage border States.

2. The short-run effect of the 75-cent minimum in highly affected industries was to concentrate workers at the new minimum. Employers "did not try to maintain wage spreads between low-, middle- and high-wage occupations. These spreads were narrowed.

* * * The short-run indirect effect of the amended minimum on wages already equal to or higher than 75 cents an hour * * was not great."

was not great."

3. The "75-cent rate appeared to have had only minor effects on such variables as employment, plant shut-downs, prices, technological change, hiring policies, and overtime work."

(f) In his Annual Report for 1950 the Secretary of Labor published the following findings on the effects of the 75-cent min-

1. "Effects on employment * * * a listing of the information available * * * suggests a probable maximum (effect) of very small dimensions. * * Much of the unemployment reported appears to have been temporary in nature. In any case, the rising wage level already has tended to make the 75-cent minimum wage unimportant as a factor of any kind in most areas of the country, and negligible as a cause of unemployment. * * Most of the layoffs were made by establishments that were affected by seasonal decreases in activities. A large proportion of those laid off were rehired when activities again increased."

2. "Effects on industry * * * not only were plant closing few in number, but any changes in competitive conditions and dislocations in industry that might have resulted proved very temporary in nature."

locations in industry that might have resulted proved very temporary in nature."

3. "Effects on prices * * * prices for products of low-wage industries affected substantially by the necessity for the payment of higher wages do not seem to have risen as a group any higher than prices of other products * * prices were not as a rule immediately increased by passage of the 75-cent minimum wage rate. Increased efficiency of production, particularly through mechanization and high volume of operations * * apparently absorbed much of the increased costs."

Table I.—Manufacturing industries in which average hourly earnings increased by more than 2 percent between January and April 1950

	Average hourly earnings		Per-
Industry	January 1950	April 1950	in- crease
Food and kindred products:		wall.	
Canning and preserving	\$1.182	\$1, 221	3.3
Prepared animal feeds	1.196	1, 232	3.0
Confectionery	1.074	1, 106	3.0
Bottled soft drinks	1,098	1, 127	2.6
Cigars	.911	. 951	4.4
Tobucco and snuff	1.088	1, 122	3.1
Tobacco stemming and re-	1,000	3.144	9. 7
drying	.899	1.030	14.6
Textile mill products:	*000	4.000	14.0
Seamless hosiery	.907	, 960	6.8
North	.944	.981	3.9
South.	.900	.966	7.3
Knit outerwear	1.097	1.127	2.7
Apparel:	1.001	4. 141	
Men's and boys' furnish-	- 23	700	1
ings and work clothes	. 929	.986	6.1
Women's household ap-	. 843	+ 800	0.1
	.894	. 956	6.9
Women's and children's	6003	* 1000	0.9
	. 994	1,029	3.5
Undergarments Children's outerwear		1.080	3.1
Chidren a outerwear	1 2.045	1 1,000	1 24.1

Table I.—Manufacturing industries in which average hourly earnings increased by more than 2 percent between January and April 1950—Continued

	Average hourly earnings		Per-
Industry	January 1950	April 1950	in- crease
Lumber and wood products: Sawmills and planing mills:			
General	\$1, 257	\$1.330	5.8
Millwork, plywood, and prefabricated structural	.864	.915	5. 9
wood products	1.324	1.372	3.6
Wooden containers Miscellaneous wood prod-	1.037	1.098	5. 9
ucts	1.088	1.111	2.1
and fats	1. 057	1.164	10.1
Leather footwear. Leather products, exclud-	1,090	1, 129	3.6
ing, leather footwear Stone, clay, and glass products:	1.108	1.140	2.9
Brick and hollow tile Miscellaneous:	1. 166	1. 212	3. 9
Jewelry, silverware, and plated ware	1, 325	1, 363	2.9
Toys and sporting goods	1. 223	1. 250	2.2

Educational Facilities in South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "South Carolina Enters New Era in Public Education," published in the Columbia, S. C., Record of March 15, 1955. The subheading is "Sales Tax Boosts Building of New Facilities; School Districts Are Consolidated." The article is written by Dr. E. R. Crow, director of the South Carolina Educational Finance Commission.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOUTH CAROLINA ENTERS NEW ERA IN PUBLIC EDUCATION—SALES TAX BOOSTS BUILDING OF NEW FACILITIES; SCHOOL DISTRICTS ARE CONSOLIDATED

(By E. R. Crow, director of the South Carolina State Educational Finance Commission)

In 1951 the general assembly enacted a law that provided for what is usually referred to as the new school program.

It is the purpose of this article to review the main features of this law, to report on its administration to date, and to some extent attempt an evaluation.

The 1951 act provided for State aid for school construction and for a transportation system to be financed and supervised by the State. The State educational finance commission was created to administer the new program. This commission is composed of the governor, who is chairman, the State superintendent of education, and five other members who are appointed by the governor and confirmed by the senate.

APPROPRIATION PER PUPIL

To finance the building program an appropriation was made of \$15 per pupil per year

in average daily attendance. This was increased in 1953 to \$20 per enrolled pupil. Provision was also made whereby school districts could anticipate their annual appropriations for 20 years and borrow from the State up to 75 percent of this total, the funds to be secured from the sale of State bonds up to a maximum of \$100 million. The 1951 act also provided for a 3-percent retail sales tax.

Other significant provisions of the act were (1) that funds expended on building projects are subject to the approval of the commission, and (2) that the commission should supervise the consolidation of school districts.

The foregoing statements, a summary of the provisions of the 1951 act, do not in themselves indicate the far-reaching nature of this legislation or the revolutionary effect it has had and will have on the public school system.

TO AVOID EVILS

The first problem that faced the commission was that of effecting such changes in the organization of the school system that would avoid the evils of which the State was a victim and avoid the use of a new source of revenue to perpetuate them. The law had recognized the inadequacy of the existing organization and had provided that county boards of education should be reconstituted and given power to consolidate school districts by direct action under the supervision of the commission thus effecting "desirable consolidation of school districts throughout the entire State." Since the General Assembly did not define what was meant by desirable consolidations it became the duty of the commission to do so.

DISTRICT REORGANIZATION

Why was it necessary to reorganize school districts as the first phase of the building program?

A State-wide survey made in 1948 had revealed the fact that there were in South Carolina more than 1,700 school districts, a number greater than the total number of school districts in all the other southern States south of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi, the State of Mississippi being excepted. This fractionalization of the State made it impossible for any responsible board to plan an educational program over any considerable area. These school districts very often operated one- and two-teacher schools. Some had schools for one race, some for both. In fact there were districts that operated no schools at all and in which the sole function of the trustees was to transport pupils to another district.

To illustrate the confusion, we mention the number of districts in a few counties: Greenville, 82; Laurens, 49; Orangeburg, 43; Horry, 76; Chesterfield, 50; and Sumter, 26. In general, the story was the same throughout the State, although in 1950, as a result of the survey, a few counties had effected some consolidation.

Nearly all of these districts were elementary school districts. High school districts in the rural areas were superposed upon these according to a plan whereby each component district retained its identity. Thus these high schools, as well as the elementary schools, had their separate boards of trustees. In this manner, since the high school and the elementary school were under separate administration, any real coordination was impossible. The possibility of a unified school program was rendered impossible by the very nature of the school district system then in effect.

EURAL SCHOOLS ARE VICTIMS

In the operation of this system it was the rural schools that were the victims, for the conditions described generally did not apply to school systems in cities and in the larger towns.

Another obvious weakness in the smalldistrict system was the absence in many districts of sufficient tax resources to support a good program. Hence general absence of competent administrative and supervisory personnel.

In carrying out the mandate to effect desirable consolidations, the commission adopted certain criteria for the guidance of county boards of education, in whose hands the specific authority to effect consolidations had been lodged. The following are the most important items:

 Separate elementary-school districts shall be consolidated with high-school districts and placed under the same adminis-

tration.

2. Elementary schools shall be so planned as to have enrollment enough to provide a teacher for each grade taught, except where sparse population, natural barriers, or other considerations make the application of this requirement unwise.

3. New high schools shall have a minimum potential enrollment of 250 in the last 4 grades, with exceptions as noted above for

elementary schools.

4. Each school district shall provide high school as well as elementary facilities within the district for both races.

NUMBER IS REDUCED

As a result of the application of these criteria, the number of school districts was reduced to 102 by the end of 1952, with an average enrollment of a little more than 5,000. Thus the reorganization had laid the foundation for the development within the new districts of better educational opportunities.

As reorganization was completed, surveys were made by districts. These surveys evaluated existing physical facilities, made recommendations as to the consolidation of individual school units, and estimated the cost of new construction or renovation. These surveys represented the unbiased opinions of the survey teams as to the best course to pursue. The survey reports were made and reported to the local boards of trustees for their consideration.

The actual program of school construction was then in order. As surveys were com-pleted and as local school districts developed a districtwide building program, applications for approval of specific projects were sub-mitted to the Commission for its action. The Commission has examined applications submitted and has given its approval as funds are available when they are judged to be consistent with the standards and objectives of the program. As projects are approved, funds are provided to the local district. is the district that presents the application and it is the district not the State that awards the contract and through its architect supervises the construction. There is no prescribed architectural pattern. However, due to the influence of current architecture there is much similarity as to general pattern though much variation in detail. Economy and function are chief considerations. The new buildings are fire resistant, thus eliminating fire hazards.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVEN MILLION DOLLARS APPROVED

To date the Commission has approved projects at a total estimated cost of \$127,030.-993.21. Of this \$75,289,965.92 has been allocated to Negro schools. This is approximately 60 percent of the total.

In accordance with the purpose of the act of 1951 the Commission has given priority to Negro school projects with the result that now the State is in sight of substantial equalization of school facilities. It is estimated that the total building program will be about two-thirds completed when buildings already approved have been constructed.

TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

The second major function of the Commission is that of supervising the transportation system. The 1951 act required the Commission.

sion to acquire buses then owned by districts or contractors and to purchase additional ones through funds received from a \$7,500,000 bond issue. The law set forth limitations as to pupils to be served and prescribed that the Commission should issue regulations for the administration of the program. Wholesale purchase of school bus equipment on bids submitted was provided for and the highway department was given the responsibility for maintenance and for providing fuel and other supplies necessary for operation. Student drivers were authorized and a rigid program of training was given by the highway department.

The chaotic situation as to school districts had had its effect on transportation with the result that there was much duplication and confusion. Under the new system most of this has been eliminated. Significant savings have resulted from State purchase of school bus equipment and supplies, the use of high school students as drivers and better utilization of school-bus capacity. The student-driver program has been a success.

COST IS REDUCED

The reduction in the per pupil cost of transportation has been pronounced. In 1950-51, the last year of the operation of the old system, this cost was \$24.77. In 1953-54, the last year for which complete figures are available, this cost was \$17. This is a reduction in the per capita cost of 31.4 percent.

The number of busses in operation has increased from 2,200 in 1950-51 to 3.700 during the current year. The number of pupils transported has increased from 142,037 in 1950-51 to an estimated 241,200 during the present school year. Most of the additional service provided during the first years of the program went to meet the deficiency then existing for Negro pupils. As of the end of the last school year the percentage of all en-rolled pupils of each race that were transported was approximately the same. It is, therefore, possible to say that we have reached the point of substantial equality in providing transportation. As the consolidation of small schools with larger units proceeds, additional transportation will needed, for consolidation and transportation are tied together.

LESS THAN 4 YEARS

The foregoing brief account is dramatic when it is noted that it has been accomplished in less than 4 years. It is probably true to say that no State has ever done so much in so short a time. The program has had the support of the State government. It was launched in the first year of Governor Byrnes' administration and is being supported wholeheartedly by the administration of Governor Timmerman. The general assembly, since 1951, has done more for the public schools than at any previous time in the history of the State.

As this is being written the houses of the general assembly have passed separate but identical bills raising the limit on State bonds that may be outstanding at any one time from \$100 million to \$137.5 million. This will enable the commission to proceed according to a projected schedule and approve projects totaling \$218 million by 1960.

WILL IT BE ADEQUATE?

Will this be adequate? For the average district, yes. But not for those districts in which the enrollment increase is phenomenal. The larger cities cannot hope to meet their capital outlay needs from State funds. For it is the cities and not the rural areas that are increasing in population. The combined effect of the increased birth rate and of population shifts from rural to urban areas will mean that the latter will have to supplement State funds from their own resources to a considerable degree. School enrollment figures projected by P. C. Smith, assistant director, indicate an increase of 93,000 pupils in the next 5 years. This com-

pares with 91,000 increase during the last 9 years. By far the greater part of this increase will be in the towns and cities.

A significant feature of the program is that of equalization of educational opportunity as between the cities and the rural areas. With few exceptions school districts embrace both rural and urban areas and will, of course, offer the same educational advantages to all. Already more than 1,000 small substandard schools have been abandoned and the pupils transferred to modern schools. Practically all of these were rural schools.

This program represents an unprecedented effort by the State to provide better education for all its citizens.

Considered in relation to the economic progress we are now experiencing it can be truly said that South Carolina is going forward.

Farm Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ROBERT D. HARRISON

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. HARRISON of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorials:

[From the Washington Star of March 23, 1955]

APPEAL FOR RESPONSIBILITY

A persuasive appeal for responsible House action on farm price supports has been made to that body by a bipartisan minority of the Agriculture Committee. It is an appeal to defeat legislation which would restore mandatory 90 percent of parity supports for 5 basic crops—corn, wheat, cotton, peanuts, and rice—and it is an appeal that should be honored.

By law enacted last year, the Government is authorized to apply a flexible support formula within a range of 821/2 to 90 percent of parity on these 5 commodities. Initial application of this authority would apply to 1955 crops and there has been no opportunity vet to establish claims that the flexible formula will be injurious to the farmers or to the national interest. There has, however, been ample opportunity to recognize the damaging impact of a high, rigid price-support program that was adopted originally as a temporary wartime formula. The committee minority has summed up this evil result in one effective paragraph, as follows: "Rigid 90 percent mandatory price-support programs have falled to keep farm income from declining, created surpluses that have forced farm prices downward, held commodities off the market at great cost to the Government, undermined public support for sound farm programs, lost foreign and domestic markets, assisted foreign competitors to take our markets, and have taken the right to produce away from both small and large farmers."

Effectively, too, the committee minority drew some parallels between price structures for the commodities "favored" by the rigid supports and those for so-called nonbasic commodities. "It is an interesting and significant fact," they pointed out, "that the average price for nonbasic (unsupported) commodities has been higher (as measured by parity-price relationships) in every year since 1940 except one than the price of so-called basic commodities." As a consequence, the outlook today for the nonbasics is better than that for those which have been covered by high supports.

The flexible-support theory is a keystone of the Republican administration's program for dealing with the farm problem. Influential Democrats in both branches of Congress have favored it, at least to the point of urging that it be given a trial. Disposal of some of the huge Government-owned surpluses, expansion of research and educational work in agriculture, and some pending recommendations for helping the small low-income farmers are other major parts of the administration blueprint. At this stage it appears to have much greater merit than a retreat to a program that already has been proved costly and unsuccessful.

[From the Kansas City Times of February 19, 1955]

WHY ASK FOR MORE TROUBLE?

Farm prices have fallen appreciably since the end of the Korean war. All of that drop occurred when prices on basic crops were supported at 90 percent of parity. Meanwhile, huge surpluses were built up which have served to hold prices down and make the Government's bolstering efforts more difficult than ever.

more difficult than ever.

The new flexible price farm law did not go into effect until January 1 of this year. It has had no chance as yet to operate. For reasons rather difficult to understand, the opponents of flexible price supports blame that system for the fall in farm prices that came while the fixed, 90-percent supports were in effect.

Secretary Benson has proposed to Congress that the flexible price program should be given the chance to prove its worth. Certainly this is a logical proposal, at lenst until the opponents offer something better than going back to the old system under which prices fell and the surplus pile mounted.

SPANISH DAIRYMEN IRKED OVER UNITED STATES
GIFT OF SURPLUS

Madrid, Spain, January 13.—The United States has donated nearly 10,000 tons of powdered milk, butter, and cheese to the Spanish poor in the last 5 months and Spanish milk producers say they are being ruined.

A statement published today after a meeting of the Syndicate of Milk, Butter, and Cheese Producers said milk sales in the Valencia region have fallen off 25 percent and the budding powdered-milk industry in the Santander region is in danger of being put out of business.

The American program tentatively calls for shipment to Spain of 80,000 tons of powdered milk, 3,000 tons of butter, and 3,000 tons of cheese over a 3-year period from surplus farm products.

Welfare officials said the dairy products are being distributed only to persons unable to afford them except in the case of school children. At the same time, they added, Spanish powdered-milk producers have been assured that if they have any unsold surpluses as a result of the program they will be purchased at slightly below market prices by the Spanish Catholic welfare organization. Caritas.

Damage to the Total Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, high, rigid price supports for farm products help create unemployment.

Under rigid 90 percent price supports surpluses have been created, markets have been destroyed, resulting in the loss of net farm income. Since 1947, net farm income has shrunk from \$16.5 billion to \$12.5 billion in 1954. The main reason for the shrinkage is the loss of markets and the taking of 38 million acres out of production.

With smaller production and smaller markets farmers have less to spend, which means less opportunity for employment for laboring men. The road to full employment is an expanding, dynamic, competitive economy with improvements in production and expansion of markets by the device of lowering prices.

High, rigid price supports in themselves create unemployment. They shrink business activities in the rural villages and towns. The effects reach back into manufacturing centers and all through the economy.

When a large part of farm production is closed down it not only cuts farm profits but damages all those dependent upon agriculture for employment and business.

Some 53 to 40 million acres of the Nation's highest profit crops have been cut back under the conditions created by high, rigid 90 percent price supports. These include some of the most fertile and productive lands.

It will tend to slow down the expansion of the total economy. That is why leaders in all 48 States share the concern

about this great problem.

There will be less profits for farmers.

All those who sell to, or serve farmers, will transact less business—sell less farm machinery, fertilizers, chemicals, gas and oil, and all other supplies and services that are required to keep farms in full production.

There will be less for labor to do—less crop work, harvesting, processing, trans-

portation, storage, and sales.

Prices have been supported at artificially high levels in cotton. There may be a direct connection between this fact and the fact that in 1948 there were 1,387,000 persons employed in textile mills and on January 1, 1955, textile mill employment was only 1,079,000. Likewise, flour prices have been held at artificially high levels. Employment in flour mills in 1947 was over 39,000, and in 1953 it had dropped to 31,000.

Similarly, with from 35 to 40 million less acres devoted to the high-profit crops, all farm machinery manufacture has declined proportionately.

This has all occurred under 90-percent price supports and reasonably explains why we have less employment in industry.

Just the opposite has happened in Florida in the case of oranges. We have expanded production, kept price low—often 50 percent below parity, and expanded consumption, which has resulted in more employment. We did not have price supports for the citrus industry. The consumption of frozen orange juice has increased from less than 1 pound per person in 1935–39, to about 7.5 pounds per person in 1954.

To the extent farm production is cut back and restricted, it tends to weaken the consumer demand and national prosperity on which profitable farm markets depend.

Agriculture should be making its full contribution to the future national welfare. Farmers are greatly dependent upon full employment, and a vigorous, productive, and prosperous America. The degree to which we have such is to no small extent dependent upon the rate at which farms produce.

Operation of the high, rigid pricesupport laws has diverted more than mere acres.

It is diverting a big capital investment in farmland, buildings, machinery, and equipment to a lower level of use or to idleness.

It is diverting and disrupting crop rotation and proper land use.

It is reducing farm family labor to less profitable employment and in some cases partial idleness.

It is diverting employed farm workers and laborers in industries to other jobs or less employment.

It is cutting business for those who sell to or buy from farmers—and from all those who share in the business generated by production from the farms of the Nation.

To get more farm profits there must be increasing production and increasing consumption. Beware of the philosophy of scarcity. Agriculture must produce—and produce in large volume to be most profitable.

Labor, too, must have full employment in productive enterprises. Full agricultural production helps maintain full employment. When workers have good incomes it helps insure strong markets for farm products.

America did not become great on an economy of scarcity—nor will it remain great under such an approach. Restricted production is not the road to prosperity over the long pull. As we have learned through the years, a dynamic economy requires increased production and increased consumption. This is the way to more enjoyment of the better things of life by more people—the way to maintain a high level of living.

House Member Says Pentagon Knifes Reserve

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CHARLES B. BROWNSON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BROWNSON. Mr. Speaker, shortly, Members of the House will be asked to consider the national Reserve plan advocated by the Department of Defense.

This plan or any other military manpower proposal cannot and should not be considered except in the overall concept of effective manpower utilization. In that connection a thoughtful observer is bound to ask, What is the matter with our present Reserve program? Why do the very generals charged with responsibility for the success of the Reserve program spend hours testifying that it is a virtual failure?

My distinguished colleague from Missouri [Mr. Curtis] has a direct and forthright way of thinking which often cuts through extraneous matter and arrives at sound, if unconventional, conclusions. His thinking on military problems dates back to his not inconsiderable World War II experience and his careful observation of present-day events. Under unanimous consent, I include an account in the Daily Oklahoman of Saturday, March 19, of a speech and interview given by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Curtis] at the Oklahoma City Life Underwriters in the Record.

HOUSE MEMBER SAYS PENTAGON KNIFES RE-SERVES—CONGRESSMAN SAYS LEADERS WANT ONLY BIG STANDING ARMY

(By Elwin Hatfield)

The Nation's high military leaders are sabotaging congressional efforts to develop a workable Reserve program in favor of a large standing Army, a United States Congressman charged here Friday.

"The Military Establishment," Represent-

"The Military Establishment." Representative Thomas Curits, Republican, of Missouri, said, "is determined that no Reserve program will work." Curits, here to address a meeting of the Oklahoma City Life Underwriters, made his statement on the Reserve program in an interview.

A member of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, Representative Curris said that "until the Military Establishment determines to make a Reserve system work, it won't matter at all what laws Congress makes."

These leaders, Representative Cuarts said, "don't want the National Guard to be made attractive" or, for that matter, any organization which isn't a part of the regular, active duty establishment.

SEVERAL PLANS CONSIDERED

Congress now is trying to write a Reserve program which will correct inequities of present and past systems. Several have been proposed and are now under consideration.

At the same time, Congress is writing the next 2-year budget which, in concert with presidential recommendations, would cut the size of the Army and other services. This has brought testimony from the Army Chief of Staff, General Matthew Ridgway, that if anything, the Army must be increased.

Representative Curris, though, believes the armed services should be cut down to a fighting force by turning over housekeeping-type services to private industry.

"Why should we send mechanics in uniform to Panama when we can hire mechanics there who are just as well trained?" he asked.

ONLY 20 PERCENT FIGHTS

That such functions as auto maintenance, kitchen duty, and barracks scrubbing can be better and more cheaply performed by local civilians and local industry has been proven, he pointed out, in Japan and elsewhere.

Representative Cuaris, a Navy lieutenant commander during World War II, estimated that during that war only 20 percent of the total Armed Forces personnel were used in combat while the remaining 80 percent performed duties which could have been better handled by civilians and private industry.

"It's that 20 percent which they use to sell us on a large standing Military Establishment," he said.

"The men in the fighting forces should be trained and trained better than we have been training them," he said. SYSTEM HURTS ECONOMY

"If we can get these admirals and generals out of the coffee-roasting business and the optical business," he continued, the Nation can give that training under a budget it can stand.

The economy of the country can't stand the present system he said, nor, he added, can military efficiency stand it.

The Seabees of World War II had the

right idea, he said.

Those units-Navy construction battalions-hired men already trained to do civillan-type jobs in combat.

"If they wanted a bulldozer operator, they didn't call up a kid and send him to boot camp and then to bulldozer school."

OLD METHODS RETURN

"Instead they hired a bulldozer operator and put him to work."

The Seabees had to fight to be permitted to do that, he said. And now that the Regulars are back in control the old system is also back in effect.

Curtis also charged Armed Forces leaders Will destroy anything in the way of a re-

serve program that looks good.

He said he and two other World War II Veterans in the House proposed a reserve training program based on extension of high-school Reserve Officers' Training Corps program.

"We used the Army's own statements about the worth of the high-school ROTC to present our program," he said,

Right after that, funds for the high-

school ROTC program were cut. "The conclusion is rather obvious-anything that looks good, they'll destroy. The high-school ROTC, the National Guard, or What have you."

The Role of the College Library

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT C. BONNER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, the State of North Carolina, and especially the city of Greenville, was delighted to have Dr. Lawrence Quincy Mumford, Librarian of Congress and president of the American Library Association, make the principal address at the dedication ceremonies of the J. Y. Joyner Library on the campus of East Carolina College, Greenville, on March 8, 1955.

I have read with interest Dr. Mumford's address and I am confident that the people throughout the length and breadth of this Nation will find much enjoyment in reading his speech:

THE ROLE OF THE COLLEGE LIBRARY

(Address by Dr. Lawrence Quincy Mumford, Librarian of Congress and president of the American Library Association, at Founders Day, East Carolina College, March 8, 1955)

This, for me, is more a homecoming than it is a speaking engagement. I was born just a short distance to the south, and as One of Pitt County's most loyal alumni I can say with enthusiasm that I am delighted to The occasion has an added personal significance because several members of my family have been closely associated With East Carolina College. It is a pleasure hot only to come back to home ground and renew acquaintance with old friends but to bring all of you the greetings of the American Library Association and the Library of Congress

I am one of those who subscribe to Carlyle's dictum that the true university is a collection of books, and to the modern principle of educational thinking that the heart of a university is its library. The impor-tance of having a good collection of books as part of an institution of learning has been recognized since the founding of Harvard College in 1636; Yale University, in fact, started as a group of books even before it came into being as an institution. strengthen the supports of the college library, as we are doing today, is not only increasing our opportunities for educating the student but following one of the most timehonored of American traditions.

Although libraries have been an integral part of our colleges and universities for more than three centuries, it has only been within the last hundred years that they have begun to realize their full potentialities. If you take a look at the college library of the early or middle 19th century, and contrast it with one like this we are dedicating today.

you will see a great difference.

The library then was a much more restricted institution, a kind of storehouse where books were accumulated and access to them was severely controlled. At the University of Virginia, for example, the rules adopted in 1825 provided that no student could have more than three volumes out on loan at one time. To borrow books at all he had to show authorization from a professor. Fines for overdue books were graduated-in accordance with the size of the book detained. If a student lost a book, he had to pay three times its value. For this magnificent service, the library was open 1 whole hour a week.

The 19th-century college librarian was regarded chiefly as a custodian of the material interests of his library. He kept the books, preserved them from loss or injury, and used every means in his power to increase their number. But he was not expected to offer people any great encouragement to use them; this was not his job. A story is told about John Langdon Sibley, chief librarian of Harvard University from 1856 to 1877. Perhaps it is apocryphal, but I think it well illustrates this older concept of the librarian's function. The president of the university is said to have come upon Sibley one day locking the door to the library, and noticing that he seemed to be in unusually good spirits, asked why he was so happy. "Well," replied Sibley, "every one of my books is in its proper place on the shelves except two, and I am now on my way to Professor Agassiz's house to get them back."

The librarian of today has quite a different outlook. He still, to be sure, is a keeper of books; he is still concerned with preserving them from loss or injury, and none of us can possibly deny that he exercises every device in his power to increase his possessions. If I were asked to sum up in a few words wherein the difference lies, I would say simply that he thinks of books as tools for active use and that he is engaged in getting them into the hands of as wide a public as he can. It is a business—to pursue this comparison a little further—that has a multitude of shareholders, has large capacities for expansion, and never fails to pay dividends. huge complex of libraries, large and small, is dedicated to the proposition that books are not inanimate objects, to be stockniled and stored, but rather are instruments of information and enlightenment-the common property of all.

We see this reflected in the library we are dedicating today, which has been created by the joint endeavor of many hearts, many heads, and many hands. We see it in the readily accessible catalog, the bibliographical aids, the reference books-and in seeing them it is hard to realize what a struggle Henry Adams had with Librarian Sibley to get him to set aside special shelves for books which he assigned to be read by his students. We see it in the recreational reading room where students may browse, in the special reading rooks for periodicals and newspapers and North Caroliniana, and in the seminar rooms where students, teachers, and books are brought together. But, still more, we sense it in the very atmosphere-in the way the building has been planned to make it as inviting as possible not only for the student to carry on his work but to learn to know and to value books.

In dedicating this library, therefore, we take real pride in accomplishment. But a dedication is a pledge toward continued accomplishment, and, from this point on, you have every right to expect this library take on an even larger role in the life of the university.

How does your college library carry out this role? It does so in many ways, some of them obvious, some of them intangible. supplies materials needed for classroom instruction and, in fact, is the necessary extension of the classroom in the educative process. Some like to refer to its facilities as a workshop, the laboratory for the humanities and the social sciences. It also furnishes the means by which the student may broaden his knowledge beyond his field of specilization, increasing his resources for learning about nonacademic subjects. And it serves as a reservoir of knowledge upon which the advanced researcher may draw to make his contribution to learning.

But there is one intangible function that is perhaps more important than any of these. In the college library the student develops the ability to use tools of learning and thereby acquires the means of educating himself, quite apart from what he is required to learn in prescribed courses. I would not go so far as to say that all students acquire this ability and carry it away with them when they leave the college halls; in fact, it rather a tragedy that so many of our college graduates are not more devoted to serious reading. It is sufficient to say that, at the time of life when young minds are most receptive to learning, the college library offers them the means of acquiring the reading habit. And it is a challenge to the college library, as it is to the faculty, to see that the habit becomes so firmly rooted that it flourishes—for, as we all know, education is a process on which an entire lifetime is well spent.

Your college library has other challenges to meet, many of them shared, in one way or another, by all academic libraries. As essential part of the machinery of education, it must shape its services, from year to year, so as best to aid the college's educational program. It must, in other words, be responsive to new needs and to considerations that bring current practices into question. Improved methods of teaching, changes in the activities and composition of the academic community, and the development of new scientific techniques for scholarly research-these are some of the things that must be taken into account in its planning. Particularly important, in my opin-ion, is seeing that the professional competence of its staff continues to measure up to the library's resources. I am sure that you are all determined that the collections here, which now total nearly 100,000 volumes and will doubtless rise to many more, will continue to be adequately manned.

Another knotty problem for all libarians is the provision of ample bibliographic aids to the use of the library's resources. Justin Winsor, who followed Sibley at Harvard, said that a library without a catalog is a mob of books. Today few libraries are without some means of control over this mob, but unhappily there are few that can claim either that their catalogs are completely up to date

or adequate in other ways.

Some problems can be solved, at least partially, through cooperation. By such means much has already been done in de-

veloping and improving college and university library service in North Carolina. The exchange, 20 years ago, by Duke University and the University of North Carolina of their catalogs, and their cooperative selection of books illustrate interlibrary cooperation. The addition of cards representing the holdings of college and public libraries has created at Chapel Hill a North Carolina Union Catalog of great value. We can take pride, in fact, that representatives of North Carolina have played a major role in regional planning for higher education in the South. It has been said of this development of regional cooperation that the Southeast, traditionally book-poor, has, however, admirably advanced its position in recent years by the leverage of its own bootstraps. In enlightened cooperative efforts and intelligent exploitation of existing resources no other region can quite match the Southeast.

Further ideas for cooperation may be found in a plan proposed last summer for improving college library services in New York State. Intelligent self - interest prompted the comprehensive program suggested by an advisory committee of college librarians reporting to the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York. Recognizing at the outset that no modern

college or university can act as a completely independent unit, the committee emphasized the educational and economic importance of institutional cooperation. It hoped to develop scholarly resources on a planned basis that would still respect both the common and special interests of each school. Noting that New York's church-supported colleges and its liberal arts and technical colleges each had special library requirements, the committee sought ways to promote greater integration of efforts and of resources. though college libraries in the State had overcrowded shelves, their librarians did not share the problem of university librarians, who were primarily concerned with storing extensive holdings of infrequently used materials. The chief difficulty of the college librarians seemed to be rendering service with limited resources. No one suggested a substitute for good library service on each college campus, but the committee did specify the type of books college libraries should supply as well as those considered beyond their capacity. It concluded that these libraries needed to have the New York State Library strengthened to serve them as a "library's library," supplying certain materials and services beyond the reach of many of the separate colleges but possible for all if provided on a cooperative basis through the State library.

But I see that I am venturing into the realm of possibilities, into questions that the Joyner library will want to explore for itself. Let me close, therefore, by saying that the library world, with East Carolina College, welcomes this occasion both for what it is the achievement of another landmark in your history-and for what it symbolizes another step in enriching and strengthening our democratic system of education. Long may this building stand to serve you, and

serve you well.

Increasing Minimum Wage to \$1.25 an Hour

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT ZELENKO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I present two resolutions adopted at the shop stewards conference conducted by the New York City CIO Council in New York City on March 19, 1955. The first resolution calls for the increase of the minimum wage to \$1.25 an hour, and the second resolution for the extending of the minimum wage coverage to retail industry. They follow:

RESOLUTION ON INCREASING THE MINIMUM WAGE TO \$1.25 AN HOUR

Whereas the United States, so richly endowed with natural resources and an able and industrious population, should insure to all its working men and women a fair day's pay for a fair day's work; and

Whereas this Nation suffered a serious recession in 1954, which caused nearly 3.5 million able-bodied men and women to be unemployed in 1954 and unable to maintain for themselves and their families a decent standard of living; and

Whereas the labor force increases steadily each year; and

Whereas in order to insure full employment, a rising standard of living for all and a stable, rapidly expanding economy, it is necessary materially to increase the purchasing power of all the people; and

Whereas the minimum wage as provided for by Congress in the Fair Labor Standards Act has remained unchanged at a level of 75 cents an hour since the year 1949; and

Whereas the cost of living has been steadily and inexorably rising since the year 1949;

Whereas the present minimum wage of seventy-five cents (75c) per hour is totally inadequate and no longer provides a min-imum acceptable standard of living for the working men and women of this Nation; Now, therefore be it

Resolved, That the New York City CIO Council calls upon the Congress of the United States immediately to enact bills now in Congress amending the Fair Labor Standards Act and raising the minimum wage from 75c an hour to \$1.25 an hour, and be it further

Resolved, That the New York City CIO Coucil calls upon all its affiliates and all the members of CIO in the metropolitan area to make the drive for the enactment of \$1.25 an hour minimum wage the major activity of CIO in the coming weeks, and be it fur-

Resolved, That the executive officers and Executive Board of the New York City CIO Council be empowered to take all measures necessary to secure the passage of the Federal minimum wage law including the following program:

1. A mass letter writing campaign to Congressmen from this area and to the Labor Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives.

2. A petition campaign calling upon all those interested to sign CIO petitions to Congress calling for enactment of the \$1.25 an hour Federal minimum wage law.

3. The executive officers of the New York City CIO Council to be authorized to seek a joint meeting of AFL and CIO in New York City for the purpose of furthering the campaign for the \$1.25 an hour minimum wage

RESOLUTION ON EXTENDING MINIMUM WAGE COVERAGE TO RETAIL INDUSTRY

Whereas there are more than 7 million men and women employed in the retail industry in the United States; and

Whereas they are without exception paid at a lower rate than their brothers and sisters in the productive industries; and

Whereas until now these retail workers have been denied the guaranties of subsistence wages provided by the Federal Wages and Hours Act: and

Whereas the continued payment of substandard wages to retail workers is a direct threat to the wage standards of all workers; and

Whereas the present minimum wage of 75 cents an hour applicable to those now covered by Federal law is insufficient to maintain a healthful and proper standard of living: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this conference of shop stewards representing workers of both productive and retail industry declare itself in favor of the Federal minimum wage being increased to \$1.25 an hour, and be it further

Resolved, That this group representative of many industries unite in a determined ef-fort to win inclusion of retail workers under the provisions of the Federal law, and be it finally

Resolved, That the New York City CIO Council take the leadership in inviting all other labor bodies and local unions to participate at this time in an aggressive campaign designed to win public support from all the workers in this area and from our representatives in both Houses of Congress.

Resolution on Housing Discrimination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a copy of the resolution on housing discrimination adopted by the American Veterans Committee at their Eighth convention in Boston, Mass., on December 5, 1954. The resolution fol-

Whereas the American Veterans Committee has continuously affirmed its unqualified belief in the fundamental democratic concept of equality of opportunity for all people in this Nation; and

Whereas we believe that the realization of the right of equal access to housing facilities without restriction or discrimination based upon race, religion, color, or national origin is of singular significance, because in practical effect, the realistic achievement of equality in many phases of human activity will be shaped and determined by the elimination of or nonelimination of discrimination in housing: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the 8th annual convention of the American Veterans Committee, in convention as-sembled, call upon the President of the United States to enunciate as the policy of this Nation, that the functions, programs. and services of the Government must not and shall not be used to aid in the fostering. maintenance, and perpetuation of discrimination by segregation or otherwise, in housing.

Urge that the President direct that all Federal agencies offering aid to private developers or to local communities for the development of housing and the acquisition, ownership, or assembly of land for redevelopment or housing construction, establish policy that all such Federal aids are to be extended only to those who commit contractually that multiple dwelling and multidwelling housing developments and related facilities under their control, and made possible by Federal funds, subsidies, insurance. guaranties, or other alds are not to be denied to any eligible families because of their race. religion, color, ancestry or national origin.

and that this policy of nondiscrimination and nonsegregation also be pursued by all Federal agencies directly engaged in the sale, leasing, or other disposal of homes or hous-

ing units.

Further urge that State and local governments declare discrimination, by segregation or otherwise, in housing to be against their public policy, and enact fair housing practices legislation, relating to housing developments as above described, with adequate provision for enforcement and sanction, and that their licensing and regulatory taxing, enforcement, planning, condemnation, and relocation functions be used to facilitate the elimination of racial separation and discrimination.

Walter White, Leader, Dies-President Eisenhower Joins in Recognition of His Devoted Service Over a Period of 40 Years

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to place before you and the other distinguished Members of this great legislative body newspaper recitals and editorials of facts, and also statements by distinguished American leaders, with reference to the life of Walter White, the distinguished leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, commonly known as NAACP.

I shall always remember with pleasure and benefit to my attempt to understand the problems which I have to consider and vote on the fact that I had the privilege of hearing Mr. White speak on occasions, and also the privilege of meeting

him personally.

It should also be noted that President Eisenhower paid high tribute to Mr. White in a personal telegram to the Widow, wherein he said:

His devoted service to his race over a period of 40 years was tireless and effective. Permit me to express to you my personal sympathies in your loss.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 23, 1955

WALTER WHITE EULOGIZED BY LEADERS

With President Eisenhower in the forefront, leaders throughout the Nation yesterday joined in mourning the death of Walter White, ardent champion of Negro rights, who at 61 succumbed to a heart aliment on Monday in his New York home.

Mr. White was executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of

Colored People.

Puneral services will be held at Thursday in St. Martin's Episcopal Church in New York. The body will be on view at the church from 2 p. m. to 6 p. m. today, and between 10 a. m. and 11 a. m. Thurs-

President Eisenhower paid high tribute to White in a personal telegram to the widow. The President wired:

"His devoted service to his race over a Period of 40 years was tireless and effective. Permit me to express to you my personal sympathies in your loss."

NAACP President Arthur Spingarn declared Mr. White's leadership had developed the NAACP from "a small society into its present position as the Nation's largest civilrights organization."

Mr. White's death brought a statement of sorrow and salute on behalf of Freedom House by Whitney North Seymour, chairman of the board, and Herbert Bayard Swope, chairman of the executive committee. Mr. White was a member of the directorate.

From the halls of Congress came these statements:

Senator HERBERT H. LEHMAN, Democrat, of New York: "The country has lost a great leader. Walter White was a courageous and unflinching fighter for freedom and justice."

Senator Leverett Saltonstall, Republican, of Massachusetts: "He was an ardent and sincere proponent of his cause."

Senator PAUL H. Douglas, Democrat, of Illinois: "Mr. White was a highly cultivated, able and very honorable man, not only a splendid member of his race, but also a true American. The country has been true American. The country has been richer for his life and it is much poorer because of his death."

Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Democrat. of Minnesota, said Mr. White "literally gave his life for the welfare of his people. was truly a fine citizen and an American."

[From the Washington Star of March 22, 1955]

WALTER WHITE, NAACP LEADER WHO FOUGHT SEGREGATION, DIES-ONLY ONE SIXTY-FOURTH NEGRO, HE CHOSE TO WORK FOR RACE HE CALLED OWN

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and lifelong champion of Negro rights, died last night in New York at the age of 61.

Ill for several years, he died of heart disease in his home.

Mr. White's career, devoted to improving the lot of colored people, was climaxed by the Supreme Court's ban against segregation in public schools last year.

He had been a determined fighter against segregation, and despite ill health had been in the front ranks of those pressing the suit that finally resulted in the Supreme Court ruling.

FAMILIAR FIGURE HERE

Mr. White was a familiar figure in Washington. Several years ago, in 1939, he helped stage an open-air concert for Marian Andershe had been refused the use of Constitution Hall by the Daughters of the American Revolution on the grounds she was a Negro.

Then Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes made the mall in front of the Lincoln Memorial available for the concert. More than 75,000 persons attended.

White in complexion as well as in name, Walter White was black by sympathy and on the basis of a diluted strain of Negro blood. He might have had a career as a white man; he chose a career as a colored man to work for the race he claimed as his own.

FITTED SPECIAL JOB

He became assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1918. The organization employed him because it wanted a colored man who could pass as white to investigate lynchings. In 1931 he became secretary of the organization.

In the opinion of many, he provided the chief spark in the organization's drive to end discrimination on the basis of color. He lived to see segregation in housing, schools, interstate travel on trains, restaurants, all banned by court orders, and a general decline in distinctions based on color alone.

Fair skin, blue eyes, and blond hair made him more distinct from Negroes than from whites. E. A. Hooten, Harvard anthropologist, estimated Mr. White was one-sixtyfourth Negro, which would mean a Negro ancestor five generations back.

Mr. White was born in Atlanta on July 1, 1893. His father, George White, was a mail collector who is said to have suffered an injury and then to have died of neglect due

to his being a colored man.

RACE RIOT SHAPED CAREER

In 1906 there were race riots in Atlanta. From the White's neat, 8-room house, contrasting with the rest of the rundown neighborhood, young White saw a mob turned back by gun-fire. He wrote later that then, at the age of 13, he fully realized he was a

"I look like a white man and can pass for a white man," he said once, "but there is nothing that makes me want to. My sympathies are those of a black man."

He is said to have shown marked ability at his studies as a youth. He entered Atlanta University and received his A. B. degree there in 1916. Two years later, he went to New York and to the NAACP job.

During the next 30 years he was to travel 2 million miles in the interest of his race, investigating 41 lynchings and 8 race riots. He also brought hundreds of legal battles over civil rights and liberties to the courts.

WATCHED FATE OF LEGISLATION

He was a steady occupant of a seat in the Senate and House galleries when there were debates on legislation affecting the Negro. He fought for anti-lynching bills and watched from a gallery seat Senate filibusters which sidetracked them.

On July 2, 1937, he was awarded the NAACP's Spingarn medal for his services on behalf of that legislation. The presentation was made by the late Frank Murphy, then Governor of Michigan, at the organization's 28th annual conference in Detroit.

In 1949 there was a filibuster in the Senate over civil rights legislation. It resulted in a wordy dispute with J. Howard McGrath, then Senator from Rhode Island. in a Capitol corridor. The basis was a NAACP letter to its branch presidents in which Senator McGrath was accused of "turning tail before the Dixiecrats." Senator admitted using some strong lan-guage and charged Mr. White with attacking not his enemies but his friends.

Mr. White also attacked the late Senator Taft, Republican, of Ohio.

PRESSURE FOR CAUSE

All this was part of his policy of militant action and constant pressure to advance his

His political activities began when he was appointed a delegate to the Second Pan-African Congress, held in Europe in 1921. When Franklin Roosevelt became President, Mr. White was appointed a member of the Advisory Council for the Government of the Virgin Islands but resigned after a year.

Among the many positions he held were these: Member of the board of the New York State Training School for Boys, chairman, in 1935, of a Harlem low-cost housing project; member, in 1938, of the Governor's Commission on the Constitutional Convention of New York.

In 1939, he received an honorary doctor of laws degree from Howard University.

ACTIVE DURING WAR

During World War II, he fought for the breakdown of segregation of Negroes in the military services and for equal job rights in war materials factories.

Early in his career he turned to writing to advance his cause. He wrote Fire in the Flint, published in 1924, which tells the story of a Negro doctor in Georgia. It has been published in a half-dozen countries

March 24

On the publication of his second novel Flight in 1926, he received a Guggenheim Award and spent 1927 and 1928 in France. There he worked on a study of lynching, published in 1929 under the title Rope and Faggot. His autobiography A Man Called White, appeared in 1948.

He has also written for magazines and

newspapers.

In 1922 he married Leah Gladys Powell of Ithaca, N. Y. They had a daughter, Jane, an actress, and a son, Walter Carl Darrow, and were divorced in June, 1949. The next month he married Poppy Cannon, a white woman and magazine writer.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 24, 19551 WALTER WHITE

It was given to Walter White to enter and experience much of the promised land to which he led his people. As a boy in Atlanta, Ga., he knew at first hand the horror of race rioting and the ugliness of a lynch mob. He lived through racial discrimination in housing and schooling and But before his death the pattern recreation. of race relations in the United States had undergone a tremendous transformation. Violence against the Negro had virtually disappeared from the South. And segregation in public facilities had been declared by the courts of the land to be in contravention of the Constitution.

As executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Walter White played a dynamic part in effecting this change. And as a man, Nordic in appearance and predominantly of Caucasian ancestry, who chose freely to identify himself as a Negro, he played a dramatic part in helping his fellow Americans to understand the folly of race prejudice. He gave his life to a heroic cause now well on its way to triumph.

Growing Ranks of the Aged Pose Grave Social Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article which appeared in the New York Times of February 21, 1955. It is the first in a series of 5 articles written by Edith Evans Asbury on the problems of the aging:

GROWING RANKS OF THE AGED POSE GRAVE SOCIAL PROBLEM

(First of five articles on the problems of the aging)

(By Edith Evans Asbury)

Modern American society, with its emphasis on industrialization and the glorification of youth, has swung so far from the veneration of age characteristic of ancient cultures that a crucial situation has developed.

Thanks to medical science, larger and larger numbers of men and women survive long past the Biblical "3 score and 10."

For a great many men and women in their 70's, 80's and 90's, the "gift" of longer life is more a punishment than a blessing. They pay for it in physical and mental suf-Their families, incomes strained to the breaking point by the financial burden, hearts wrung by the slow physical and men-tal crumbling of a beloved parent or grandparent, also pay heavily. And the enormous drain on public funds threatens to strike deep into the taxpayer's pocket.

One in every twelve persons in the United States is over 65 years old. In New York City the ratio is 1 in 11. One million of the city's 8 million are past 60.

Fifty percent of those admitted to mental hospitals in the New York area last year were over 60 years old. Thousands of chronically ill aged crowd the city's hospitals. Hundreds of these are in general hospitals using facilities far more expensive than they require, because they were in-tended for the short-term care of the acutely

Social workers and other specialists have been observing and discussing the rising proportion of the aged in our population for the last 10 years. The problems created by it are so urgent now that alarm is spreading far beyond professional welfare circles.

In Washington, Congress appropriated \$180 million last summer to encourage construction of hospitals and other medical facilities for the chronically ill aged.

A report on the care of the chronically ill

aged throughout the Nation is being prepared at the direction of the conference of State governors, to be presented at its next annual meeting at Chicago in August.

The resolution calling for the report, adopted by the governors at their 1954 con-

vention, says:

"Increased life expectancy should provide more meaningful rewards than mere prolongation of life itself. Our older citizens are entitled, in their advancing years, both to healthful living and to opportunities for useful and satisfying activity

Governor Harriman appointed Philip M. Kaiser last month to be a special assistant to handle problems concerning the aged and

STATE BILLS OFFER AID

Bills proposing to provide more housing for the aged, stimulate golden age clubs, remove antiage legislation and promote jobs for workers over 45 are before the State legislature. They were introduced January 24 by Senator Thomas C. Desmond, chairman of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging.

In New York City, numerous means of coping with problems created by our aging population are being considered and set up by city departments and private welfare agen-

Dr. Basil C. MacLean, commissioner of the department of hospitals, wants to convert two city hospitals on Welfare Island into nursing homes for the infirm aged. They are the old metropolitan and city hospitals, which will be vacated when new hospitals being constructed to replace them are com-

A survey is being made of chronically ill patients in all the city hospitals to ascer-tain how many of them do not require ex-

pensive hospital care.

The department of hospitals also has asked the budget director for additional inspectors to keep tabs on the city's commercial nursing homes, for which it adopted a more stringent code of standards last fall.

Commissioner Henry L. McCarthy of the department of welfare wants to establish 'homesteads" for aged men and women on Ellis Island, which was recently abandoned as an immigration station.

Additional day-care centers to provide recreational activities for the aged who still live in their own homes are being sought by the welfare department.

The city health department wants to establish counseling centers for the aged offering service similar to that given for the last 3 years on an experimental basis in the Kipps Bay area of Manhattan and recently extended to East Harlem. Private agencies, too, are mobilizing to remedy the current situation and prevent its getting worse. HEALTH COUNCIL STUDIES

The Welfare and Health Council is conducting a series of institutes to study ways of improving proprietary nursing home care. To bridge the gap between crowded institutions for the aged and the rising aged population, private nursing homes have opened rapidly in the last 10 years. New York City now has 100, some of which have been harshly criticized as being more interested in profits than in giving adequate sympathetic care to their patients.

An information service about nursing homes is about to be opened by the Welfare and Health Council. It will provide information about facilities, type of service, and

The Community Service Society, whose director of services for the aged, Miss Ollie Randall, is also national president of the Gerontological Society, is embarked on a \$225,000 survey of the aged financed by a grant made last month by the Rockefeller Foundation.

On the surface, the distressing aspects of the latter years of today's aging men and women would appear to be the result of medical science's success in keeping so many people alive so long. Because of miracle drugs, antibiotics, the virtual elimination of many childhood diseases, the drastic reduction in infant and maternal deaths, modern sanitation, and dietary knowledge, millions now live much longer than they would have a generation ago. Even after chronic illness afflicts them, modern medical treatment keeps them alive much longer than was possible formerly.

Closer examination and deeper thinking

reveals equally significant reasons for the physical, mental, and financial hardships so often incurred as the result of longevity.

At what age does a person become old? A witty answer is that an old person is anyone 10 years older than you are. For retirement purposes, the answer is usually 65, frequently 60 sometimes 55, though rarely 70. Statisticians lean to 65, but use 60, too, as the boundary between middle and old age. Employment advertisements often set a celling at the age of 40, and commonly drop it to 35 or 30 years. We all know persons who seem young at 80 and others who seem old

WHERE IS THE DIVIDING LINE?

The impossibility of setting a precise year at which old age begins, or defining exactly what old age is, is a basic factor in the situation that has developed.

A companion factor contributing to the predicament of the older person is the attitude of our energetic, young, production-minded American culture that the 60-yearold, no matter how alert mentally and physically, is no longer a fit wage-earner, and is therefore useless.

Psychiatrists, physicians, psychologists, and social workers believe that much of the long-term mental and physical illness of the aged could have been prevented.

They argue, citing convincing evidence, that older men and women, demoralized by society's tacit scorn, break down mentally or physically, or both.

Men forced to retire while they are still able and eager to work, women deprived of their previous importance as wife, mother, and homemaker, feel relegated to the bottom of the social structure. Reduction in income and standard of living deepen the misery of empty days and lonely nights. Normal lessening of vigor and occasional illness, aggravated by frustration and fear, become more serious than need be and often the oldsters lapse into chronic physical or mental illness through sheer despair, these experts sav.

Practical minded business and government administrators as well as theorizing "do gooders" are convinced of the truth of this argument. For financial as well as for humanitarian reasons, they are banded together to devise ways of keeping older men and women happier and healthier longer.

Some ways have been found and are being put into effect. Actual dollar and cents savings, as well as gains in human health, dignity, and happiness, have been achieved.

Those preoccupied with the problems of aging consider their present progress a mere finger in the dike against which population statistics press fiercely.
Since 1900 the number of persons over 65

has quadrupled. During the same period, the United States population in general merely doubled. The number of persons 45 to 64 tripled, however, indicating that the proportion of older persons will continue to swell.

Many now happily unaware of darker aspects of the increased span of life probably will live past 65 and for many years there-after. And there will be a great many more others over 65 than there are now, with whom they must share whatever blessings or misfortunes old age brings.

Care Inadequate for the Sick Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article which appeared in the New York Times of February 22, 1955. It is the second of a series of five articles Written by Edith Evans Asbury on the problems of the aging:

CARE INADEQUATE FOR THE SICK AGED-MOST INSTITUTIONS ACCEPTING THEM WERE NOT DESIGNED FOR THAT PURPOSE-PROBLEM IS INTENSIFYING-INCREASED LONGEVITY ADDS TO BURDENS CAUSED BY SENILITY AND CHRONIC ILLNESS

(By Ruth Evans Asbury)

Thousands of New York's aged already are mentally or physically ill and live in insti-tutions. More than half of these ailing aged are supported at public expense.

Two city infirmaries, a city nursing home, 11 State mental hospitals, and 100 commercially run nursing homes house and care for the aging ill from this area. Additional hundreds are being cared for in 91 homes for the aged operated by religious and philanthropic organizations. Nobody, including the city's commissioner of hospitals, knows how many chronically ill aged men and Women languish in general and voluntary hospital beds, not because they need expen-Sive care, but because there is no place to send them.

Most of the havens in which these men and women have found refuge for their declining years were not designed to handle their problems.

Bird S. Coler Infirmary, a 1,920-bed institution on Welfare Island, is an exception. One of the most modern and best equipped facilities in the Nation, it was planned to meet today's needs of the infirm aged.

was completed 21/2 years ago, and already is filled nearly to capacity.

Creedmore Hospital, for the mentally ill, on the other hand, was designed to accommodate a higher proportion of younger and ambulatory patients than it now has. it opened as a separate institution in 1935 only 28 percent of the patients in New York State mental hospitals were senile. Today this group constitutes 36 percent of the inmates of State hospitals.

Because most of Creedmoor's aging patients are bedfast or have limited mobility, they cannot, for instance, go to centrally located dining rooms in other buildings.

Replanning of food service for patients who cannot climb stairs, or even leave their beds-and some of the very old have to be spoon-fed like babies-is just one example of the adoption required at Creedmoor.

HOMES FOR AGED EVOLVING

Similar changes, usually at great expense, have become necessary in homes for the Originally planned as rest and retiremen places for ambulatory, and sometimes healthy, oldsters, many of these homes are gradually evolving into infirmaries or hos-

There are two major reasons for the evolution. First, their original inhabitants lived for many years after entering, became chronically ill, and continued to survive for many more years. Secondly, men and women enter homes for the aged now at the age of 75 or 80, usually for health reasons.

A generation ago, the average age at admission to a home for the aged was 60 or 65, and the reason was usually a need for

shelter and food.

Nowadays, men and women in their sixties have the wherewithal to buy food and shelter in their own communities, thanks to social security, old-age assistance, pensions, and the like. And they show an overwhelming preference for remaining independent, and outside an institution, as long as possible.

The old idea that retired men and women romp joyously into homes for aged, or sunny colonies in Florida to rest and relax after years of happy anticipation, has been dis-proved by recent surveys. They want to stay in their own homes in their own neighborhoods, near friends and relatives, regardless of the rigors of climate or penury

Eventually, because of the increased life span, illness and enfeeblement overtake many of the aging, and they have to enter some kind of institution when they can no longer take care of themselves.

When aging men and women begin to deteriorate they are prey to a variety of diseases, and sometimes suffer from more than one at the same time.

THE DISEASE OF SENILITY

One of the most distressing illnesses to befall the aged and their families is senility. Medical science has not found its cause or cure. It can last for many years, during which the patient gradually grows increasingly feeble physically and mentally, requiring more and more care. The cost, over a period of years, of providing for a severely senile relative is utterly beyond the means of the average family.

Mildly senile persons can remain with relatives if there is someone to keep an eye on them. They cannot be left alone for long. They are forgetful, may wander away, may turn on the gas to make coffee and forget to put a match to the gas. At this stage their medical needs are likely to be few.

New York's small families, usually living in small apartments, often with husband and wife both working, face a problem not to be underestimated even with mild senility. The situation is the more crtical if teen-agers in the family feel shamed by grandmother's behavior, or a daughter-inlaw resents the burden of caring for her.

As the disease progresses the senile person grows more forgetful, more vague, more childish. Physical and sanitation needs, as well as personality disturbances, become extremely difficult for the average family to cope with. At this point some kind of cus-todial care elsewhere is usually necessary to keep the rest of the family from being blown apart.

Senility, while it affects the mind, has physical, not mental, causes. In nontechnical language, it is the result of hardening of the arteries. The aging, thickening arteries permit less and less blood to flow to the brain, which becomes undernourished, starves, and fails.

The disease can occur in any person, regardless of how satisfying his occupation, physical health, mental, and emotional stability were during his active, mature years.

ALL GROUPS AFFECTED

All income groups are struck. Wealthy families can hire companions or nurses, and keep the patient at home when the disease becomes severe, or they can obtain suitable institutionalization-at great expense.

If the family is supported by welfare funds or demonstrably unable to pay for the care of the senile relative outside the home public agencies will assume all or part of the

The average, self-supporting, middle-income family, however, finds it virtually im-possible in New York City to solve the problem of long-term custodial care for a senile relative in a way commensurate with its pride and self-respect.

In a nursing home-if one can be found that is willing to take a senile patient-fees will be at least \$150 a month for bed, board, and nursing care alone. Medical treatment, when needed, will be billed separately.

Homes for the aged are extremely reluctant to accept senile patients, because of the more intensive, therefore more expensive, attention they require. Their financial resources are already strained to the breaking point by the unanticipated greater number of years their present population has survived, and by the resultant increase in chronic illness among them.

Another reason for the reluctance to accept a senile is that his childish behavior sometimes disturbs other patients.

By reducing their own standard of living, some middle-income families, at great financial hardship, manage to maintain a senile parent or grandparent. But the senile can survive for years. Usually, as things are now, the senile from the middle- and lower-income family eventually goes to a tax-supported institution, despite his family's financial sacrifices and pride.

Usually that institution is a mental hospital, to the further demoralization of the family and drain on the taxpayer.

STATE HOSPITALS OPPOSED

Many students of the problems of the aged believe that the majority of the senile do not belong in State hospitals for the mentally ill. They believe the care there is more expensive than need be for this type of patient.

According to State law, senile psychotics must be committed to a hospital for the mentally ill. Many welfare workers believe the law is sometimes loosely interpreted in order to commit nonpsychotic senile men and women because there is no place else to put

In the opinion of this group, the law should be rephrased to distinguish between psychotic and nonpsychotic senility. They advocate separate institutions, more like nursing homes than hospital for the senile.

If this were done, they argue, the senile's care would be less of a burden on the taxpayer, his last years could be spent more comfortably, and his descendants would be spared the stigma of mental illness.

Administrators of the State department of mental hygiene are outraged by the latter argument. They declare that no more stigma is attached to illness of the brain than to bodily illness.

Dr. James A. Brussel, assistant commissioner, insists that "no patient is in a State hospital for the mentally ill who is not mentally ill." "Our mental hospitals are so overcrowded now that we are hard pressed for space," Dr. Brussel declares.

"Don't you think we would be delighted to empty our beds of older people if they were not mentally ill?" Dr. Brussel demands. "Then we could reduce overcrowding and concentrate our efforts and facilities on the younger person who would receive more benefit from treatment and perhaps be cured."

A spotlight was thrown on the situation last December, when Supreme Court Justice Benjamin Brenner declared that he was sick and tired of sending old people to mental institutions simply because there is no place else to put them.

Referring to four elderly persons appearing before him for commitment, Justice Brenner said: "Since denial of custodial care and hospitalization to these people would probably result in their death, I find myself compelled to certify them as mentally ill."

Miss Ollie Randall, national president of the Gerontology Society, applauded the jurist's outburst as a welcome shock. It underscored a problem that deserves a high, if not the highest priority in the community—planning for old age, Miss Randall said.

Commissioner Brussel's retort is that after a thorough clinical study—"and you can be sure it was thorough"—all four of the persons to whom the jurist referred were found to be definitely very psychotic.

Miss Randall and scores of others, including physicians and psychiatrists as well as welfare workers, believe there is merit in drawing a sharper distinction between psychotic and nonpsychotic senility, and in providing separate facilities for them.

Even a distinct wing of a mental hospital, with a different name, which would appear on the death record handed down to his descendants, would be a humane step in the right direction, declares Justice Brenner. He also proposes that a new term, "helpless aged," be used in commitment proceedings.

No layman is qualified to diagnose psychosis. Qualified psychiatrists themselves may vary in their judgment as to when the borderline has been crossed from emotional disturbance and neurosis into psychosis.

To the untrained observer, mere erratic behavior may be deemed psychotic, or outward calm of a true psychotic may be mistaken as proof of normality.

PSYCHOSIS IS DEFINED

Dr. S. Bernard Wortis, professor of psychiatry and neurology at New York University College of Medicine and director of psychiatric and neurological services at University Hospital, New York University-Bellevue Medical Center, says there is no dispute about the exact definition of psychosis.

A psychotic, Dr. Wortis says, is an individual of normal intelligence in such a state of mind as to be unable to care for his own needs, unable to deal with the ordinary requirements of his normal environment, and devoid of insight into the consequences of his actions.

The city's psychiatrists base their decision on commital recommendations on whether the senile person has reached this state, Dr. Wortis says. He denies that they take into consideration any lack of other facilities for the patient's care outside a mental hospital.

The same definition, incidentally, almost applies to a baby. And, indeed, senile men and women revert to childishness as their disease progresses. As their memory falls, they forget acquired habits of self-control. This means dispering, constant change of clothing and bed linen, and sometimes resistance to being bathed and fed.

One of the most tragic sights imaginable is the wasted, feeble 90-year-old, a great-

grandmother, crying piteously in her bed for "Mamma, I want my mamma."

for, "Mamma, I want my mamma."

Not all the aged become senile. The percentage is small. However, the numbers are large, and are bound to increase as our aged population increases. Unless some answer is found to the problems posed by their need for specialized care, its expense will continue to engulf an evergrowing number of families, and the taxpayer.

Rise in Age Adds Burdens on Young

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article which appeared in the New York Times of February 23, 1955. It is the third in a series of five articles written by Edith Evans Asbury on the problems of the aging:

RISE IN AGED ADDS BURDENS ON YOUNG— LONGER SURVIVAL BEYOND POINT AT WHICH HEALTH BEGINS TO FAIL PILES UP MEDICAL BILLS—HOME CARE IS PROBLEM—CITY AND AGENCIES HERE PUSH PLAN TO KEEP THE FEELING OF "BELONGING" ALIVE IN ALL

(By Edith Evans Asbury)

The increase in the population of the aged is piling hugh medical bills on the younger wage earners and taxpayers.

Medical science has not only increased man's life expectancy, but it also has made it possible for him to survive longer after

his health begins to fail.

One in every 11 persons in New York City is over 65. Men of 65 have a life expectancy of 14 years, and women 17. At some time during the added later years, many, though by no means all, aging men and women acquire infirmities that slowly waste their minds, bodies, and financial resources.

The situation has developed so swiftly that the makeshift, emergency measures marshaled to cope with its medical aspects often cost more than necessary in terms of human dignity and money, in the opinion of experts concerned with the problems of the aging.

Many of the infirm aged, supported for years in hospitals and other institutions, could have remained healthier and happier longer, and at much less expense, if they had stayed longer in their own homes, these experts say.

In an effort to use funds as efficiently as possible, public and private welfare agencies have developed a plan for keeping the aged in their own homes as long as possible.

CARE FOR PAY IS LIMITED

Self-supporting families, too, can benefit from the procedure developed by these agencies for the care of the indigent aged. Unfortunately, facilities for this kind of care for the paying family are limited, and many who could benefit do not know about them.

But a beginning has been made. As awareness of the plan spreads, services on a fee basis will undoubtedly increase to meet the demand that is expected.

"Continuity of care" could be an overall name applied to the method devised by the welfare agencies for meeting, as humanely and economically as possible, the needs of the aged when they begin to fail in health.

The agencies have also developed a preventive program to combat the emotional and physical ravages of old age. This will be discussed in a subsequent article.

The system of continuity of care, while it has preventive aspects, is a remedial procedure. It was developed to cope with the rising medical costs of failing health brought on by the increased proportion of older men and women in our population.

In this city, there are a million residents over 60 years old. More than 700,000 of these are past 65. Seven and three-tenths percent of the men and women over 65 are supported

by the department of welfare.

Some of these elderly relief clients have good health, but are unable to find, or perform, work. The welfare department maintains them in their own homes, with relatives, or alone. If their health begins to decline, they receive medical treatment as needed at clinics, or from doctors sent to their homes.

Visiting nurses are also sent when needed. Visiting homemakers go to the home of the old person or couple, to assist with cleaning up, marketing, and planning.

MORALE OF AGED STRESSED

Keeping the older person in his own home, in his own community, among familiar sights and near friends, is far more beneficial to his morale than uprooting him and putting him into an institution, with its regimentation and lack of privacy.

The cost to the taxpayer is also a great deal less, according to Miss Charlotte Authier, director of the Bureau of Special Services of the Department of Welfare. Care outside the home, she says, ranges anywhere from

a minimum of \$3 a day to \$20.

The Weifare Department budget for a person living alone in his own home is \$110.42 a month, not including medical or nursing care, or other special health needs. Homemaker service averages \$10 a week, for 3 half days.

If an elderly welfare recipient is no longer able to remain at home because of need for continuous supervision, the department places him in a boarding home. Here, where, at the most, 4 older persons are quartered, a "foster mother" provides homelike conditions matching those from which her boarders came.

The oldster can still feel a part of a family, have a private room, go about the neighborhood, attend church, shop, and act as a part of the community. He is relieved of house-keeping responsibilities, although he can make his bed or putter around the house if he feels like it. When he is ill he can be served a tray in bed, and if he needs occasional medical attention a physician can be summoned.

FOUR HUNDRED HOMES FOR CITY CASES

Four hundred such boarding homes are utilized by the Department of Welfare at a cost of \$94.50 a month for a single room or \$89.50 for a shared room. "And we could use four or five hundred more such homes," Miss Authler says.

Some borderline seniles are placed by the department in these boarding homes, along with other kinds of ambulatory but infirm aged persons.

The oldsters whose infirmities require more attention than can be provided in a boarding home, is placed in a nursing home, a home for the aged, an infirmary or a hos-

pital, depending on his needs.

In a nursing home, he receives continuous nursing care and medical treatment as needed. Approximately 3,000 welfare clients receive this care in 70 proprietary nursing homes licensed by the department of hospitals. Rates range at costs ranging from \$150 to \$200 a month.

Those in need of custodial and medical care may be moved to a privately operated home for the aged equipped for this type of patient. The department uses 66 of these homes, paying fees ranging up to \$150 a

month, plus clothing and personal incidentals.

When the patient's illness progresses to the point where he needs more intensive medical treatment, the department moves him to infirmary accommodation. These include some of the homes for the aged and the publicly operated Bird S. Coler Infirmary on Welfare Island and Farm Colony on Staten Island. Here the cost averages \$6 a day, still well under the \$20 a day cost of beds in general hospitals.

The same type of continuity-of-care program is carried-out by Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant welfare agencies, other private welfare agencies, and by the social-service department of the department of hospitals. Homes for the aged, crowded to capacity, give the same service to prospective residents eligible for admission but still able to stay in their own homes.

MUCH CASEWORK IS NEEDED

Extensive knowledge of available facilities, intensive social casework with the individuals and families involved, and alert awareness of the whole field of problems connected with aging are required to carry out this program.

Perforce, the public and private welfare agencies have acquired the necessary information and skills, in order to deal effectively

with their own clientele.

Some of this expert knowledge, counseling, and skill is available also to self-supporting families. Religious and privately financed welfare agencies will, on request, supply it on a fee basis.

One commercial counseling service-Adult Counselors and Home Finders, at 33 Fifth Avenue-has been in business for 3 years to serve the paying public. It is operated by two former social workers who saw the need in the middle-income group for the same service they were giving the indigent,

and decided to provide it.

Homemakers for the aged in their own homes can be obtained in the metropolitan area from three commercial organizations. As can be inferred from their names, they Originally served families in a wide variety of emergencies, including those in which a young mother needed someone to care for her children while she was in the hospital, or just after her return with a new baby. three report an increasing demand, within the last year, for help for aging men and women.

The 3 are the Gotham Registry for Family Nurses, 100 West 72d Street; the Maternity Service Nurses Registry, 814 East 13th Street Brooklyn, and the Suburban Agency, 130 Leverich Street, Hempstead, L. I.

VISITING NURSE SERVICE HELPS

Visiting nurse service, too, can be obtained by the self-supporting family for its aged. It is available from the Visiting Nurse Service in Manhattan at 107 East 70th Street. This office also serves Queens and the Bronx. In Brooklyn there is an office at 138 South Oxford Street, and in Staten Island at 61 Stuyvesant Place.

Fifty percent of the Visiting Nurse Service's work is supplied free to those unable to Day. However, the agency also provides Service for those able to pay part or all of the Cost. Fees begin at \$3.50 for a 45-minute

A registered nurse will give the patient a bed bath, and treatments or injections ordered by a physician. The nurse will teach the family how to give the patient insulin for diabetes, and will work with both patient and family to help rehabilitate the victim of a stroke.

In addition to medical, nursing, and housekeeping help enabling the aging person to remain in his own home at much less than the cost of hospitalization, counseling is available to middle-income families as well as to the indigent.

This advice, based on knowledge of community facilities and techniques advisable for retaining and rehabilitating the mental and physical health of the aging, can be obtained on a fee basis from the voluntary family agencies and from the adult counselors and home finders mentioned above.

Families driven to the limit of endurance emotionally by an older member who is difficult to get along with, can get advice about various ways of handling the problem.

CASE OF GUILT-RIDDEN GIRL

Often the guilt-ridden daughter who can no longer bear to live in the same house with her domineering, but physically helpless mother or mother-in-law feels like a moral

The explanation may be that the older woman is irritable and demanding because she is demoralized and terrified by old age

and dependency.

Both women can be reassured by learning from expert counselors that they are not alone in their dilemma and that socially acceptable, economically feasible, and personally satisfactory solutions are possible.

These agencies offer counseling, too, to the bewildered older person unable to adjust to retirement, idleness, and income reduction, They may steer him toward new kinds of work more in keeping with his declining strength, part-time work at his acquired skill, or social activities and hobbies that will revive his interest in life and restore his pride in achievement.

Concrete evidence of the urgent need for more counseling and continuity of care is offered by the results of a study made of 95 aged patients at Goldwater Memorial Hos-

pital on Welfare Island.

The study, begun in 1953, is a joint project of the New York University-Bellevue Medical Center and the city department of hospitals, with financial aid from the New York Foundation. A similar survey under the same auspices is being made of the chronically ill in all the city's general hospitals, to determine how many of the patients do not belong in hospitals, and how they got there.

A recently published report of the survey the chronic disease and discharacterizes ability resulting from an aging population the Nation's No. 1 medical problem. Ninety percent of the group studied at Goldthe report says, had no medically justifiable reasons for continued hospitali-

zation.

Yet some of the 46 men and 49 women studied had been in Goldwater as long as 13 years. Unable to ascertain the exact cost of the lengthy hospitalization of the group, the report nevertheless declares that "an outlay of millions of dollars is directly in-

"In any event," the report says, "the cost of neglect is high and should be faced frankly. If we cannot act out of compassion and maturity, we will still have to act out of economic necessity."

Aids to Morale Needed for Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article which appeared in the New York Times of February 24, 1955. It is the fourth in a series of five articles written by Edith Evans Asbury on the problems of the aging:

AIDS TO MORALE NEEDED FOR AGED-AS OVER-65 POPULATION RISES, EXPERTS ARE CONCERNED OVER WAYS TO KEEP IT OCCUPIED

(By Edith Evans Asbury)

While public and private agencies seek frantically for means to cope with the soaring cost of illness among the aged population, they quake at the prospect of the future.

The over-65 population in the United States has quadrupled since 1900; the number of persons 45 to 64 years old has tripled. This middle age group is passing into the over-65 group at the rate of about 400,000 a

One need not be an Einstein to deduce from these statistics, and from the rate of speed at which medical science achieves new victories over disease, that the aged are destined to form a much larger proportion of the population than they do now.

Today, 1 in every 12 persons in the country

is over 65 years old, and the ratio in New York City is 1 in 11. It is estimated that by 1980 1 in 7 of the Nation's population will

be over 65.

It is true that a great many men and women live to a hearty, happy old age, and die with merciful speed. Many of our most distinguished figures in government, industry, arts, and sciences are way past 65 and still active.

Prime Minister Winston Churchill is 80. T. J. Watson, chairman of the International Business Machines Corp., is 81. Former Vice President Alben Barkley, who recently got himself elected to the United States Senate after an arduous campaign, is 77. Toscanini was still vigorously directing the N. B. C. Symphony Orchestra up to last April, when he retired at the age of 87.

Carl Sandburg is still turning out literary and scholarly masterpieces at 77. Grandma Moses, at 95, is still busy painting, an art she

took up when she was 78 years old. Former President Herbert Hoover, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Albert Einstein, and many, many others can be cited who continue to contribute their wisdom and skill to the Nation long after passing 65.

MANY WORKING AFTER 75

In many walks of life, men and women continue working after they reach the age of 65. It is estimated that 23 percent of those over 65 years old in the United States are employed and supporting another 7 percent who are their wives. Several hundred thousand past 75 are still working, usually for themselves (farmers, for instance) or at part-time jobs for others.

Experts concerned with the problems of the aged believe that many of the remaining 70 percent could be employed if it were not mandatory retirement practices. They believe much of the debilitating, expensive illness among older men and women can be prevented in the future, if steps are taken now to revise the attitude of society that decrees retirement at a chronological, rather than physiological age.

That a happy person is a healthy person is the thesis underlying this belief. Eliminate the cruelly scornful attitude of society toward older men and women, and their costly mental and physical deterioration will

be reduced sharply.

The United States, hewed out of a wilderness by young, vigorous men and women, built into industrial eminence by efficient production methods, glorifies youth and has little respect for those who do not contribute to the national economy. This attitude is accentuated by our culture's strong Puritan tradition, in which work has a unique value.

So long as its citizens are self-supporting members of the economy, they find the American way of life worth living, no matter how much of a struggle it is at times. fight for their jobs and advancement, they fight for their children, for the causes in which they believe, and for prestige, with whatever weapons are at hand. They refuse to acknowledge that they are old until confronted with irrefutable, shocking evidence.

VERDICT SHAKES MORALE

When the stunning verdict is forced upon them it staggers their morale. Unless some way can be found to rescue and preserve the older person's morale he will begin to deteriorate mentally and physically, in the opinion of physicians, psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, and Government administrators concerned today with problems of the aging.

Men forced to retire by their chronological age while they are still physiologically able, energetic women who have outlived their role as mothers and homemakers suffer keenly at being relegated to the shelf. Unless they can find some new means of bolstering their egos by activity and achievement, they wither away in the face of society's judgment that they are useless.

Expelled from the battlefield, where, during all their thinking years, they gloried in the challenge, they cower in a no-man's land between the army of fellows that has ostracized them, and death.

"We are wasting our most precious human resources, wisdom, by our present social attitude toward our aging population," declared Dr. Howard Rusk, chairman of the Department of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation of New York University-Bellevue Medical Center and associate editor of the New York Times.

"People are not born wise," Dr. Rusk says.
"They may be born brilliant, but wisdom comes only with experience, and experience comes only with time."

Distinguished members of his own profession furnish examples of the folly of arbitrary retirement because of age. As one of many similar cases, he cited the late Dr. Harvey Cushing, the first and one of the greatest neuro-surgeons, who was retired by Harvard University. Dr. Cushing promptly moved over to the Yale faculty, and continued teaching until he was 68.

JOBS HARD TO GET AFTER 40

The age barrier to employment begins to rear itself long before 65. Jobs are frequently advertised as offered only to applicants under 40. Sometimes the limit is placed at 35 or at 30.

"We have a terrible time persuading personnel managers to even interview workers over 40, no matter how well qualified those applicants are," says Mrs. Marguerite Coleman, supervisor of special placement service for the New York Employment Service.

The difficulty of finding employment for those over 60 is inordinately greater. Yet many could be placed, Mrs. Coleman says, if a larger staff could be assigned to the task. At present only four persons in the New York office serve the over-40 group, and they are able to handle only 10 percent of the applications.

"It is really a tragic business," Mrs. Coleman says.

The only other agency that offers special assistance to the older worker in finding full or part-time work in the city is the federation employment service, operated by the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

Many of the idle, older men and women, are perfectly capable, physically and mentally, of continuing full time at the same kind of work they always did, Mrs. Coleman says.

Others could work part time. For example, the New York office piaced a 70-year-old retired librarian in a 3-day-a-week post in the records department of a hospital. Retired bookkeepers are placed with small firms whose books need attention only 1 or 2 days a week. Retired teachers can be part-time tutors.

The employment service also operates a training class for older office workers. Here

women who were stenographers or secretaries before they were married can, now that they need to return to work, brush up on their typing and shorthand.

Not only does the employed older person save the taxpayers money by supporting himself, but he is a contributor to the national economy and is paying taxes.

national economy and is paying taxes.

During November, 1954, the most recent month for which statistics have been completed, 79,000 men and women filed new applications for employment throughout the State employment service. Of these, 22 percent were between 46 and 64 years old, and 2 percent were over 65. Already pending were applications from 93,000 men and women between 46 and 64, and 22,000 from persons over 65.

"Somebody has to support these people," Mrs. Coleman said. "The community cannot afford to have that many unproductive people."

Senator Thomas C. Desmond, chairman of the State joint legislative committee on the problems of the aging, has a bill before the legislature that would appropriate \$50,000 to be used for employment counseling for older workers. He has introduced it perennially, several times, and so far it has been defeated each year. He has also offered a measure that, if adopted, would remove anti-age legislation.

Pointing out that the life expectancy of a 65-year-old man is 14 years, and of a 65-year-old woman is 17 years. Senator Desmond asks: "What do we expect these forcibly retired people to do all that time, sit on their hands?"

Another bill introduced by Senator Desmond would provide paid recreation leaders to work with the aged. These leaders would help organize and direct "senior citizens clubs," "golden age clubs" and other recreational activities that would get the aged out of their lonely rooms more often and give them something to live for.

In the city, 14 day-care centers for older men and women are operated by the department of welfare. They are an important link in the department's "continuity of care" program designed to keep older relief clients in their own homes as long as possible.

NEW INTERESTS PROVIDED

Here, older men and women, widowed, lonely because most of their friends have died, can make new friends, develop hobbies, participate in study groups. New Yorkers from all walks of life attend these centers, which have libraries and workshops as well as lounges and meeting rooms.

Similar recreational programs for older men and women are offered in some churches, and some homes for the aged provide them for older people in the neighboring community.

Mère such centers should be established by churches, civic clubs, and various organizations, declares Harry A. Levine, director of the welfare department's centers.

Many churches and synagogues are open all day and could provide space for activities for older people, Mr. Levine says.

According to Commissioner McCarthy, the centers pay off in dollars-and-cents savings to the taxpayers, as well as in emotional benefits to the aging. He has asked the budget director for money to open additional centers, which, he says, "can cut down referrals to mental hospitals.

"We don't get mental breakdowns to the same degree among the aged if they are kept busy." Commissioner McCarthy declares.

The large number of widowed women among the aged poses a special problem. Women tend to outlive men, whether married or not.

The widowed women suffer as keenly from loss of status and feelings of futility as do men and women forcibly retired from employment outside the home.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN CITY

In smaller cities, and on farms, there is usually room in the home for a grandmother or aging aunt, and plenty of things for her to do around the house and in the community. In New York, with its small apartments and mobile population, this is less likely to be true.

Depressed at being crowded out of the general scheme, many of these women take solace in recollections of the past, when they were important. This group is especially in need of help, if mental breakdown is to be prevented.

As has been pointed out earlier, 30 percent of the over-65 population in the Nation are employed or supported by their husbands. Nearly all of the remaining 70 percent must subsist on sharply reduced incomes, whether the source be pension, annuity, social security or old-age asistance. Adjustment to a reduced standard of living intensifies all the other misfortunes of this group.

Despite the gloomy shadows thrown across their latter years, most old people manage to adjust to their hardships.

Assistance in making that adjustment is given at two adult counseling centers in Manhattan, operated jointly by the city departments of health and welfare, with a grant from the New York Foundation.

The centers are the outgrowth of a survey made in 1952 of 500 men and women over 60 living in the Yorkville-Kipps Bay area. The department of health, Cornell University Medical College, the New York Foundation and the Russell Sage Foundation arranged the study.

All income levels were represented by the 500, who were selected at random. Some lived in luxurious Park Avenue apartments, others in very poor homes on Second Avenue. The area covered was between 34th and 90th Streets, and between Fifth Avenue and the East River.

Some kind of counseling to plan for and adjust to old age was revealed as being one of the greatest needs of the aged.

As the result of the study, an experimental counseling center was established at 411 East 69th Street in 1953. A second center was opened early this year in East Harlem, at 312 East 109th Street.

At both centers the service is available to all the aged, regardless of income. It is rendered by a staff that includes a physician, psychiatrist, a public health nurse, social case worker and clinical psychologist.

Less than half the problems brought in by the troubled older men and women are related to health. But its sponsors believe that the expansion of the service would be one of the most effective preventive health measures possible.

"Their main, besetting problem is not health, but morale," says Dr. Theodore Rosenthal, Assistant Commissioner of the Health Department.

"And if you can keep old people occupied they keep out of hospitals. Mental health has an important effect on their physical health."

Europe Leads United States in Assisting Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article which appeared in the New York Times of February 25, 1955. It is the last article in a series of five written by Edith Evans Asbury on the problems of the aging:

EUROPE LEADS UNITED STATES IN ASSISTING AGED—OBSERVERS FINDS THIS COUNTRY SUFFERS BY A COMPARISON WITH ALD GIVEN ABROAD—RESPECT FOR OLD CITED—BUT RIS-ING PROPORTION OF THE ELDERLY IS CAUSING A BIG PROBLEM IN SOME AREAS

(By Edith Evans Asbury)

The proportion of the aged in the population is rising in Europe as well as in the United States.

In Great Britain 10.83 percent of the population are 65 years or older. In Germany 9.28 percent are over 65. The percentage in the United States is 8.118.

Both Germany and Britain had about the same percentage of over 65 population as this country in 1900. In Germany it was 4.88, Britain had 4.69, and the United States 4.05.

France, Sweden, and Norway had large number of aged in 1900, their percentages being 8,20, 8,37, and 7,90, respectively. Today in France 11,80 percent of the population are over 65, in Sweden 10,31, and in Norway 9,70.

The Europeans began planning for the welfare of the aged long before we did. That was partly because their populations have been aging gradually over a longer period. Also they showed concern earlier because older persons in those countries receive more deference from their families and the public.

UNITED STATES SUFFERS IN CONTRAST

A report on a tour made last summer to observe how the aged are cared for in Europe and Scandinavia has been made by Miss Ollie A. Randall, national president of the American Geronological Society. She said:

"We sensed above everything else a feeling that nothing was too good for the old people. It is something that we in this country have

not acquired to the same degree."

Miss Flora Fox, director of the Central

Miss Flora Fox, director of the Central Bureau for the Jewish Aged, who also made the tour said she was "deeply impressed by the acceptance of the aged as people and entitled to special housing. It puts to shame the meager efforts in this country," she added.

Government-sponsored retirement systems were well established in Germany and the Scandinavian countries when we established ours, largely patterned after theirs, in 1935.

Bismarck introduced social security in Germany in 1873. Britain established a noncontributory pension plan, involving a means test, in 1908. A contributory plan, without means test, was started in 1925.

In early times the Swedes, or rather their Viking forebears, solved the old-age problem by pushing their old folk over the nearest precipice. Today, their old-age pension system is so inclusive it covers every Swede at his 67th birthday, irrespective of financial status.

The King is excepted, but the Queen is not. She, being 67 this year, will receive the pention.

Government-subsidized low-rent housing planned especially for older couples, or for unmarried men and women, has also been constructed on a large scale in Germany and the Scandinavian countries.

OTHER GRANTS BESIDES MONEY

Besides money payments, some European countries provide other benefits for the retired aged. In France, some cities grant coal, milk, sugar, and other food allocations as well as hospitalization.

Denmark, in addition to subsidizing lowrent apartments that house 5 percent of the country's pensioners, pays rent subsidies to those living in other housing.

Sweden, too, either provides specially built low-rent housing, or rent subsidy to the aged pensioners.

With their entrenched systems and their experience in administering them, it might have been expected that those far-sighted countries would be better prepared than the United States to handle today's aging population.

The European countries are, however, as perplexed and bedeviled as the United States by the mounting costs of chronic illness among the aging. They are learning, as we are, that pensions are not the final answer for the aged. And in many of the countries the retirement insurance structures have suffered from devaluations, war-devastation and other blows to national economies.

As rapidly as possible, the European countries are making adjustments. There is a trend toward changing from fixed pensions to fiexible ones tied to the cost of living. The Scandinavian countries already pay cost-of-living pensions. That system is being considered by the Governments of England and Germany.

DOUBTS ON MANDATORY RETIRING

The medically increased span of life, with its lengthened period of retirement, and the higher incidence of chronic illness have resulted in Europe as here in a trend away from institutionalization. It is also raising doubts about the desirability of mandatory retirement.

In some of the European countries older men and women who prefer to continue working are spared the hardship of enforced idleness and reduced income that is suffered by many American men and women past the mandatory retirement age.

Older persons are encouraged to stay on the job in England and Denmark. They receive larger pensions as a reward for delaying retirement, because in those countries there are more jobs than there are workers to fill them.

A third of the men and women over 70 in Sweden are still working. In Germany those retired on social security are permitted to earn money, and the majority do.

In France, on the other hand, it is reported that it is the lifetime dream of nearly every state employee to retire on a pension as soon as possible—at 50 or 55. Frenchmen, perhaps, feel less of a call to prove their worth to society by continuing to work. Older men and women are an integral part of the family in France, commanding respect and often obelsance.

In Europe, as here, strenuous efforts are being made to keep ailing older persons in their own homes as long as possible, both for their own morale and to avoid higher cost of hospitalization.

Since Britain has socialized medicine, the aged are entitled to free medical care, including drugs and hospitalization. Homes for the aged are available, but about 95 percent of the aged maintain their own households or live with their children. This is approximately the same percentage as in the United States.

Officers of the National Assistance Board visit pensioners who need help, and the board contributes financially to voluntary agencies providing recreation, meals, or other services for the elderly in their own homes.

CLUBS ALSO OFFER SERVICES

More than 2,300 clubs, providing recreation, handicraft classes, and above all, companionship, are run by local groups affiliated with the National Old People's Welfare Committee, in which voluntary and statutory bodies are represented.

Mobile food services provide many old persons with hot meals in their homes.

Prosperous Sweden, which has not engaged in a war since 1814, provides handsomely for the aged. That country's national health program, effective this year, supplies hospital and medical care and free medicine for everyone, including the aged.

In addition, there are many state and municipal services for alling older persons. Visiting nurses and homemakers are sent without charge.

About 23,000 low-priced apartments and 210 modern houses for the aged with 8,800 beds, the bulk in single rooms, also have been built for Sweden's aged.

Less blessed with prosperity, Germany and France face a more severe problem. West Germany's own people have aged earlier, physiologically, because of the rigors of war. And the country has been flooded with large numbers of aging refugees from East Germany and the Balkans. Medical care, drugs, and hospitalization are free for Germans receiving pensions under the compulsory insurance system.

PROBLEM IS ACUTE IN FRANCE

France's problem is acute, because it has the oldest population in the world. The average age of the French is 35, compared with 30 in the United States. The percentage of men and women over 60 in France is 16.2 as against 0.9 in the United States. Many of France's aged are war widows.

As France also has had a high increase in the birth rate, she has a disproportionate number of persons either over 60 or recently born. This places a heavy burden upon persons in the producing years, whose numbers have been cut by the casualties of two wars.

So far the problem of an aging population has not arisen in the underdeveloped countries of Asia, but it is expected to develop there, too, within the next 20 years. The benefits of medical science that extend the life span are easily exportable. Already mortality rates in some of those countries have fallen sharply.

It may be that by the time their aged populations assumes larger proportions, the underdeveloped countries will be better prepared to grapple with the problem than were the United States and Europe.

For one thing, larger numbers of children in their traditionally larger families will also survive, thanks to medical science. Secondly, their predominantly agrarian society provides more space and opportunity for older men and women in the family.

And last, but not least, the Asian family pattern protects older men and women from the demoralization so often at the root of their dilemma in our modern, industrialized society.

Many of the so-called underdeveloped countries have preserved, along with other antiquated customs, the belief that a family includes not only parents and children, but grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins to the second and third generation.

These older members remain in the household, sharing in its work, its play, its poverty or prosperity, and its love.

Federal Participation in the School Lunch Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the following letter from Mr. Harvey K. Allen, of the bureau of school lunches, Board of Education of the City of New York, so that my colleagues may consider the remarks on the necessity of increased Federal participation in the school-lunch program:

BOARD OF EDUCATION
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.
BUREAU OF SCHOOL LUNCHES.
Brooklyn, N. Y., March 21, 1955.

Hon. Francis E. Dorn,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DORN: For the past several years the Federal appropriation for the national school-lunch program has remained unchanged. During the same period, however, the number of children in the program has increased greatly, and so, of course, has the cost of serving a school lunch. The Federal aid has had to be spread more and more thinly, with the result that the rate of Federal assistance per lunch has steadily declined. In consequence, the States and local communities, already hard pressed to meet the heavy costs of constructing and operating new schools, have been obliged to bear the entire increase in the cost of the school-lunch program.

Claims of the Secretary of Agriculture have led some Members of Congress to believe that donations of surplus commodities and the special school milk funds provided by the Agriculture Act of 1954 make an increase in the school-lunch appropriation unnecessary. The facts, however, do not support these claims. On the contrary, the testimony adduced in the recent hearings of the House Subcommittee on Agriculture Appropriations by public witnesses provides ample evidence of the compelling need for an increase of at least \$25 million in the Federal school-lunch appropriations for 1956.

There is a strong move now under way to obtain a substantially larger school-lunch appropriation than the \$84 million authorized for the current year. It is proposed that the additional funds be provided either by increasing the school-lunch appropriation or by requiring that a portion of the customs receipts available to the Secretary of Agriculture be apportioned among the States as cash assistance to be expended under the provisions of the National School Lunch Act of 1946. This proposal has the special merit of being equally beneficial to consumers and producers of agricultural products. Not only would it provide urgently needed additional funds to expand the national school-lunch program, but it would also promote the domestic consumption of agricultural com-

modities of all kinds.

On behalf of New York City parents and their children, may I urge that you join other interested Members of Congress in vigorously seeking an increase in Federal cash assistance for school lunches by whatever method appears to be most suitable and feasible.

Please accept this renewed assurance of my high esteem, and believe me.

Sincerely yours,

HARVEY K. ALLEN.

Our Defense Policy-Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article in two parts entitled "Mission for the Army: The Winning of World War III," which appeared in the February 1955, issue of the Army Journal.

Herewith is part I:
Mission for the Army: the Winning of
World War III

(This article is the product of discussion and study by a number of soldiers whose interest in their profession goes far beyond their daily duty. Its purpose is to suggest a program of action that the Government of the United States can profitably delegate to the United States Army in the interest of national security. It is also designed to reassure those few soldiers who have expressed concern about the future of their profession. We believe this article shows them that the Army is and must continue to be a dominant military force.)

We must recognize the creeping aggression that we call the cold war for what it is; world war III. If world war IV—the nuclear and thermonuclear war—comes it will be because of our failure to meet and defeat the present Soviet challenge,

We believe it demonstrable that United States concentration on preparing for thermonuclear war has weakened our power to resist creeping aggression. Our reluctance to face up to the fact that we can be destroyed piecemeal as well as in one overpowering assault threatens us with defeat in world war III.

In the next few paragraphs we "brief" some evidence that shows how our preoccupation with war with a "big bang" has limited the execution of plans and operations that will protect us from defeat in world war III.

Our reliance on nuclear weapons and strategic air-delivery systems has been a clear signal to the Communists that our real preparations are for a final showdown and that we are largely unprepared to stop limited aggression.

Our success in building military strength in Europe has given the Communists the opportunity to move in Asia. Communist success in Asia may mean the eventual encirclement of Europe via the Middle East and the isolation of Europe from the United States. "The road to London lies through Peiping," Lenin said many years ago. That road may also lead to Washington.

The inhibitions and frustrations of the Korean war should not paralyze us into inaction. Asia is the active theater of world war III, and such phrases as "the wrong war in the wrong place" and "we should never let our armies become bogged down on the mainland of Asia" will not change this situation. We do not necessarily have to let the enemy choose the battlefield, but we do have to counter his moves directly or indirectly, and up to now our only indirect counter has been the threat of massive retaliation—which he considers a massive bluff on our part.

We must face up to the fact that creeping aggression is military aggression as well as internal subversion and propaganda. Greece, Korea, and Indochina make that clear. The ultimate aims of subversion and propaganda are to pave the way for armed aggression. Indeed, we have that from the mouth of a key Communist spokesman who, at a policy conference in Peiping in 1949, said: "Armed struggle can, and must, be the main form in the people's liberation struggles in many colonial and semicolonial countries. But this does not mean that armed struggle does not need the coordination of other forms of the struggle."

In a brilliant analysis in this magazine last month Lt. Col. Robert B. Rigg demonstrated that the "parallel between tactical patterns and growth of the Vist Minh and of the Red Chinese in the Chinese civil war is so precise that even the circumstances of today's truce predict tomorrow's trouble."

"Today's truce predicts tomorrow's trouble"—that phrase is a clear warning that

we must take steps to stop aggression in Asia—or lose world war III.

THE ARMY: DECISIVE ARM IN WAR

Unlike the Air Force, the Army cannot concentrate on one kind of warfare. National security requires the Army to prepare to fight in all kinds: general and limited, conventional and thermonuclear.

It is not a downgrading or belittling of the Army's vital roles in Europe or in an atomic war to say that the Communist bid for Asia is an important and significant challenge to the Army. In the words of the latest edition of FM 100-5, "The continued possibility of such limited wars requires the maintenance in being of Army forces fully organized, trained and equipped for combat, and at the same time possessing a capacity for strategic mobility."

Thus the Army must build an alternate military force capable of checking creeping aggression in the era of nuclear parity. If such an army is not created and maintained we will be postponing the ultimate decision to times and places and means of the Soviet's own choosing. If we do create such forces and win world war III, world war IV may never happen. The stakes are high.

To win world war III we must overcome inhibitions that now chain us. It has generally been concluded that a military deployment capable of coping with nibbling aggression would result in an undesirable dispersion of United States forces in a thin line around the Soviet periphery. The task is frequently presented as impossible. The specter of unlimited Communist manpower is always raised whenever the recurrent issue of confronting Communist aggression in Asia arises. The fact that the monolithic Soviet bloc can exploit the advantages of its interior lines position is also advanced to explain why nothing can be done to check the Red tide.

It would be the height of military folly, of course, to try to contain the Soviet orbit by dispersing a thin line of men around the Red periphery. Even the original containment policy recognized this fallacy in recommending the creation of selected positions of strength. However, in the implementation of the containment policy few such positions were created.

The geographic realities of Asia belie the interior lines advantage which the Communists reputedly possess. Asia is a whole series of vast terrain compartments, communication between which is far more difficult by land than it is by sea. By exploiting sea and air power the free world, partciularly the United States, has a great capability to concentrate at a particular point on the rim of Asia. In terms of effective manpower, the Communist hordes do not enjoy the over-whelming numerical superiority commonly attributed to them. Even unlimited manpower must be trained and must be supervised by skilled noncoms and officers. These requirements set a very real limit on the amount of men the Communists can place on the field. Difficulties of supply and of communications further reduce the effective forces which the Communists can support in any one area. Neither the Russian nor the Chinese Communists have demonstrated a capacity or a desire to conduct two military campaigns simultaneously.

The cards are not completely stacked against us. We should not avoid fighting a limited war just because it happens to be in Asia, particularly if it could be advantageous to us. The decision to fight in Korea was an immense gain for the free world. A limited victory in Korea, one that resulted in a peace involving a withdrawal of Chinese Communist support from the Viet Minh, would have been even more useful.

The Communist challenge in Asia can be met and frustrated if the United States, in concert with its Asiatic allies, devises a

method and creates forces for defeating overt aggression. Taking into regard the strategic situation in Asia, land forces of moderate size, of high tactical mobility and capable of using air and naval support, could effectively block Communist aggression.

This aspect of the problem is receiving recognition outside the Government. In a study, The Requirements of Deterrence, prepared at Princeton University's Center of Internal Studies, William W. Kaufmann concludes: "If we are to reduce our dangerous dependence on massive retaliation and the instrumentality of SAC, we must strengthen the other arms of the services. The most obvious need is the ground forces. * The tactical air forces probably suffer from undernourishment as well."

To check Communist expansion in Asia we must have military forces and a strategy for their employment. Simultaneously we must help these countries counter Communist subversion and internal insurrection. These efforts must be designed to march in harness or both may fail.

Territorial conquest by communism has never occurred without the application of force despite the illusion that the military goal of conquest can be attained by propaganda and other nonviolent pressures. illusion has led us to give more consideration to economic and technical assistance than to creating and maintaining the military shield which will alone insure the success of our assistance programs. Communist strategic planners have never believed that they can win their aims without ultimate resort to military action. If the Communist strategy of the future is consistent with that of the past, subversion will be only a prelude to the ultimate use of force.

We must therefore be prepared to check overt aggression as well as subversive infil-If it can be demonstrated that it is possible to stop limited aggression by limited wars without an extraordinary drain on our resources, the security position of the entire free world will be enhanced.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Korean War we began in earnest to train free Asians to defend themselves. The most striking illustration of this program was in Korea, where some 20 divisions were organized and The cost of maintaining these forces into the indefinite future runs into hundreds of millions of dollars a year. The strain of keeping so many men under arms is too much for Korea itself. Thus, considerable additional economic assistance is necessary. An effort to create equivalent forces in all the threatened countries of Southeast Asia would be stupendous and expensive. This has been recognized and the trend now is toward placing limitations on the size of indigenous forces that are supported by us. Massive retaliation is supposed to take up the slack. It has been advocated that we should build up constabulary type forces designed primarily to maintain border security and assure internal control against Communist agents. Such a counterswing of the pendulum, however, would not solve the problem. Security forces, comparable to those maintained in Korea prior to 1950, would not be able to take the shock of overt aggression.

A compromise provides the solution. If, in each threatened country, a few suitably organized divisions are formed, the nucleus of resistance to external attack would be on hand. These divisions could also serve to train an indigenous reserve force to be called

up in the event of hostilities.

Two or three indigenous divisions by themselves would not be able to check the Communist forces that could be pitted against any country of southeast Asia. But if they could be rapidly reinforced by mobile United States task forces situated within the general area, they should be adequate to

withstand the early Communist concentration. The necessity of providing such reinforcement was stated by President Eisenhower in a published letter to Secretary Wilson on January 5, 1955:

"To provide for meeting lesser hostile action-such as local aggression not broadened by the intervention of a major aggressor's forces-growing reliance can be placed upon the forces now being built and strengthened in many areas of the free world. But because this reliance cannot be complete, and because our own vital interests, collective security, and pledged faith might well be involved, there remain certain contigencies for which the United States should be ready with mobile forces to help indigenous troops deter local aggression, direct or indirect."

Mobile forces organized and regionally can provide a demonstrable capahility to defend the threatened areas Ilnited States and allied forces already exist in the Korea-Japan area. Elements of similar task forces are already on hand in various parts of Southeast Asia. Additional United States Army divisions, located perhaps in the Philippines, could provide the deterrent force needed for Southeast Asia. Subsequently, a comparable force could be organized for the Middle East to assure protection to that exposed region.

These task forces could be designed to use atomic weapons, even though under certain circumstances the weapons themselves might not be used. Whether or not atomic weapons were used, we should devise a concept for meeting aggression on a limited basis without invoking general war, but without precluding limited retaliation against the source of the aggression. In general, we should seek to limit the area of the conflict without necessarily limiting the means we use to check aggression. Some will object that any employment of atomic weapons in a limited war will necessarily bring about a general nuclear war. According to this view, an aggressor will widen the conflict if defeat seems inevitable. The logic of this argument does not stand up in the thermonuclear age. It implies that a loss of face resulting from a setback to limited aggression would be less acceptable to Communist leaders than the nuclear destruction of their own countries. Communist rulers probably have just as much interest in preventing a general nuclear war as do the leaders of the West. Whatever limitations may be imposed, we must be able to defeat the aggressor and every effort must be made to save the victim country from utter ruin. If these general principles are adopted, this concept would be given support by the free peoples of Asia. A few of the countries located along the arc stretching from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Japan might be able to develop forces in excess of their immediate needs and also make a contribution to the mobile U. N. task forces established to deter aggression in the various threatened regions.

THE ARMY'S PARAMOUNT BOLE

Although these task forces will comprise elements of all the services, the Army's contribution would be paramount. This confirms the axiom suggested by Raymond Aron that "regular armies have no substitute as instruments of the cold war." When the army adopts the blocking of creeping expansion as a basic mission, it can take the many practical steps. Many of the problems we ran into in Korea resulted from our efforts to remake Korea into a Western European or American type of theater of combat. The engineer effort required in Korea was prodigious, but was it all necessary? It is possible to fight and fight well in Asia without all the impedimenta and logistical detail to which we have become accustomed. This squares with the growing conviction that atomic weapons will demand an army able to

live in austerity.

Certain of Field Marshal Montgomery's recommendations for an army required to fight a general nuclear war are quite in line with what we need to fight limited wars in Asia. Let's check off some of them.

"Armies must develop a more lively and opportunity type of battle leader than exists present, in both junior and senior ranks. Such a leader must have the imagination, the daring, and the resources to seize fleeting local opportunities; he must be trained to act independently and immediately within the framework of a general plan, rather than on precise and detailed orders or only after reference to a superior.

"Land forces must become less dependent on roads and more capable of cross-country movement.

"The supply system of land armies must be streamlined. They must become much less dependent on fixed lines of supply such as roads and rallways.

"Armies need a simple line of supply based on an airlift. Today, when supply lines are cut by enemy action, armies cease to operate efficiently. The system of the future should provide air supply to forward maintenance areas from base depots many miles to the rear, and well dispersed.

"The airlift from base depots to forward maintenance areas must be by some type of vertical lift aircraft, which can take off and land vertically, and which fly at a fast speed like an ordinary aircraft in level flight.

"There is clearly a tremendous future for vertical lift aircraft, and it must be exploited for the benefit of land forces."

The Army must have the new, light weapons that are easy to handle and effective in Asian combat. In setting requirements for equipment, transport, ordnance, and supply, the Army must continue to stress simplicity. and lightness. Every item of equipment should be designed to make it easier to train indigenous troops to use it. Services and facilities which are desirable but not necessary for fighting effectiveness must be eliminated. In training we must stress the adverse terrain and weather conditions which are encountered in most Asian areas. Only an army with the highest standards of proficiency, discipline, and general military effectiveness can stop creeping aggression.

There is no room in this discussion for comment on tactics. It is well to observe, however, that many valuable objective lessons can be gleaned from our experiences in Greece, Korea, the Burma campaign of World War II, British operations against the Communists in Malaya, and the long conflict in Indochina.

Our Defense Policy-Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include part II of the article entitled "Mission for the Army: The Winning of World War III," which appeared in the February 1955 issue of the Army Journal:

A highly important part of this total concept for stopping creeping aggression—and winning world war III—is the example, guidance, and leadership the United States can give the free nations with whom it is working. It is important that soldiers assigned to MAAG missions always be carefully selected and trained for their task. Proficiency in the language of the country is necessary and the intellectual ability to acquire an insight into the real motivations of the people of the country is desirable. Highly trained, knowledgeable men assigned to MAAG missions do much more than merely give advice on military matters. They can contribute to activities that will stabilize the internal affairs of the country and thus make it less susceptible to Communist subversion and propaganda. But the most important task of these cadres will be in training military leaders.

The Communists have made headway in Asia because they long ago recognized the importance of selecting and training men capable of organizing revolutionary armies.
As Lenin once expressed it, "We see innumerable examples of how the better organized, more class-conscious, and better armed minority forces its will upon the majority and vanquishes it." Because Communist warfare cannot be treated in isolated pockets, a new approach to the problem of leadership training in the threatened countries of Asia is essential. The United States Army will have vast numbers of potential indigenous leaders passing through its training establishments, and thus it can play an important role in developing men capable of coping with a wide array of Communist maneuvers. This training must not be satisfied solely with technical proficiency (how many Chinese fighting against us in Korea were trained in United States operated schools?); it must also be designed to build a mental bridge between America and Asia.

Our experience in Korea is most revealing here. We had little success in building effective Korean military units until we were able to concentrate on creating a strong corps of Korean officers and noncommissioned officers. Success in this activity can in time overcome failures in other activities for intelligent, knowledgeable indigenous leadership will support our objectives not only within their own military forces but within the whole government. For the best of these United States trained leaders will almost invariably become important governmental officials.

In short, the infinitely complex and difficult task of our MAAG missions cannot be overstressed. It is an important task that demands the best efforts of our Army leadership. The Army has the competence to perform it—providing it receives the full support of our entire Government leadership.

THE SUMMING UP

The power vacuum in Asia can be filled only by the United States Army. If it is given the task, military strategy will truly serve diplomacy. Once we demonstrate that we have a powerful and effective alternate to nuclear war, communism will be thrown on the defensive and many of the fears and tensions which now fret the free world alliance will disappear.

The problem is both a political and a military one. The absence of effective, flexible free world military forces in Asia makes Communist subversion easier. The Communist threat has military, social, and economic facets. The closest coordination will have to be effected between civilian agencies coping with the social and economic challenge of communism and the military men assigned to develop means, including indigenous forces, to close the door against "local wars."

Our Korean experience has demonstrated that Asian nations will welcome United States participation in the defense of their independence. Collective security for Asia is possible when it becomes evident that we are prepared to put appropriate military flesh on the bare bones of any political commitments we may make.

The designation of the Department of the Army as the executive agency for the Government for developing the military answer to local aggression would be a forward step. Responsibility for planning and action in the cold war must be clearly fixed. Of all the services, only the Army is capable of combating creeping aggression. Occupation duty in Japan and Germany, experience of its constabulary in Germany, anti-Communist campaigns in Greece, the war in Korea, and farflung MAAG missions have given the Army a large reservoir of experienced men who are able to develop a program against creeping expansion.

Such a military program demands a more vigorous defense effort than is currently planned. We must also face the reality of the conflict which is now being fought to our disadvantage and make military preparations that will not only stop creeping aggression but will also be an insurance policy against the holocaust of thermonuclear war. The Army's immediate duty is to furnish information which will be a basis for public understanding of the issues involved. When our citizens understand why creeping aggression must be stopped, they will make provision for an army adequate to discharge this mission.

The point of view represented in this article has some differences from that expressed in the state of the Union message: "The forthcoming military budget * * * emphasizes modern airpower in the Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps. * * * It provides for reduction of forces in certain categories and their expansion in others, to fit them into the military realities of our time."

Closely related to the Army's ability to check creeping expansion is the proposed plan to enlarge and invigorate the Ready Reserve forces. This desirable objective is to be attained in part by means of funds made available by a big reduction in the Army's standing forces. Presumably the forces to be cut are "in excess of the Nation's immediate needs." If we are to maintain the balanced and flexible Armed Forces required to block creeping aggression, the decision to cut down active forces in order to build up the Reserves merits the closest scrutiny. Reserve program should be designed to fulfill military needs beyond those of meeting creeping aggression now and the initial tasks of a possible general war. For the first purpose the United States presently lacks adequate means in terms of ready Army divisions, and the cuts will only enlarge this critical deficiency. As for the second point, most expert military opinion agrees that more is to be gained by having an adequate Regular force ready when hostilities begin than to depend on "trained" Reserves.

A policy which does not recognize the danger of limited aggression or will force the Army hastily to improvise combat formations if called upon to fight (Korea, June 1950) is not sound policy. It does not fit into the military realities of our time. Creeping agression must be checkmated as rapidly as nuclear attack if it is to be checked at all.

Finally, this is not an argument for cutting down the Strategic Air Force. On the contrary, it is a plea for SAC plus the forces we need to stop creeping aggression. Nor is it an argument for lessening the Army's vital interests in Europe and elsewhere. It is a challenge and a plan for meeting communism wherever it threatens. It can assure victory in world war III and very possibly make world war IV unnecessary.

The Port of Baltimore—A Truly Outstanding Magazine Report by the Baltimore Sunday Sun on the Second Busiest Port in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest magazine-publishing efforts I have seen in a long time was accomplished recently by one of our Baltimore daily newspapers, the Baltimore Sun, in its Sunday magazine of January 9. The entire issue of this "metrogravure" section was devoted to the great port of Baltimore, and it was, as I said, a truly outstanding job.

It described in remarkable photographs and interesting, comprehensive fact-filled special articles the history, the work and the workers of the port of Baltimore, and did so in such a way that the true scope and impressive magnitude of our great port were finally and dramatically brought home to even the most casual reader.

While all of us in Baltimore know thoroughly well that our port is, as Miss Helen Delich described it in 1 of the 5 outstanding feature articles she wrote for the Sun magazine "the heart and the lifeblood of the city of Baltimore." the facts as they are developed in this excellent special report give a rounded picture of Baltimore's port which impressed every one familiar with the story. And for those who are not already aware of Baltimore's position as second most active port in the Nation and of the great advantages it provides for shippers, the Sun magazine tells a startling and convincing story.

Because of these attributes, many of the articles in the Sun magazine of January 9, deserve to be placed in the Congressional Record for the attention of all of those citizens and officials of the Nation interested in maritime matters.

I only wish it were possible to incorporate in the RECORD some of the great photographs also contained in the Sun magazine, particularly the fine shots of the port and of its workers, taken by A. Aubrey Bodine and Hans Mark, the Baltimore Sun magazine's photographers. Unfortunately, that is not possible. But I do hope that those shipper and maritime executives who find themselves newly impressed by the advantages of Baltimore's port as a result of reading some of these articles in the Congres-SIONAL RECORD will arrange to see and read the magazine in which they appeared originally, for the cold type of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD cannot begin to reflect the dramatic effect of the magazine itself.

For myself, I want to congratulate the Baltimore Sunday Sun, its editors, and advertising staff for the excellent job they combined together to accomplish in putting out this outstanding magazine, and also all of those staff members who had any part in preparing the magazine. Miss Helen Delich, who regularly reports marine news for the Sun papers, and is one of the best maritime reporters in the Nation, deserves special praise for the five articles in the magazine which carry her byline.

Every article and every photograph in the section are excellent, from the opening article by Richard K. Tucker entitled "Baltimore's Giant—Our Port Sprawls Along 40 Miles of Patapsco River Shoreline," to the historical piece by Miss Delich at the end entitled "Baltimore's Growth as Port Began in 1706," which traces the port's days from clipper ships, through steamboat service, and the ever-changing years of the past century as Baltimore's port, at the beginning of the atomic age, prepares for new improvements and the challenge of tomorrow.

The Port of Baltimore, No. 2—Colorful Article, "Baltimore's Giant," by Richard K. Tucker, in Special Baltimore Sunday Sun Magazine, Recreates the Atmosphere of a Great Port

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the first article in the Baltimore Sunday Sun magazine of January 9 devoted to the Port of Baltimore captures the scene, the color, and atmosphere of the giant which is a port named Baltimore, which, as Richard K. Tucker wrote it, "sprawls along 40 miles of Patapsco tidewater shoreline, fed by all the seas of the world. He is sometimes untidy, sometimes rough, but he is rich."

Under unanimous consent of the House, I include the text of that article, as follows:

BALTIMORE'S GIANT—OUR PORT SPRAWLS
ALONG 40 MILES OF PATAPSCO RIVER SHORE-LINE

(By Richard K. Tucker)

Sometimes, in an early morning fog, the glant lies misty and half hidden. At first there is only the gray-green of the water, the flash of a light, the warning sound of a bell.

Then, beyond the thin curl of foam at the bow, beyond the stolid white seabird that perches on the close red channel marker, the giant rises slowly, and sprawls against the sky and shakes the smoky mist from his limbs.

He has visitors today, as every day; visitors from Japan and Malaya and the South China Sea; from Africa and the Mediterranean; from the storied Gulf of Persia and the ancient waterways of northern Europe.

The giant who feeds on saltwater does not rise sparkling and clean-limbed to greet them. He shows them what they need. He shows great black smokestacks, huge gray elevators, weathered buildings. He shows soot and black tar and rust and a jumbled, crowded shoreline where dirty weeds sometimes struggle for survival. He smells of chemicals and fertillzer.

But he is also fragrant with spices from the Indies and with freshly roasted coffee. If he churns smoke at one point, he pours bright golden streams of wheat at another.

With one great rusty arm he operates a mammoth junk yard, and with another builds the newest and biggest oil tankers afloat. While dirty weeds may tangle one leg, a national shrine green with well-kept grass surrounds another.

There is the harsh clank and crash of freight-car couplings as the giant comes to life; and the groan of winches and the savage roar of faster machinery.

But there is also the soft sound of a concertina, and there are the songs of the Italian, the Greek, the Frenchman; and the quiet Mohammedan rites of a Turk thousands of miles from the mosques of home.

The giant is a port named Baltimore. He sprawls along 40 miles of Patapsco tidewater shoreline, fed by all the seas of the world. He is sometimes untidy, sometimes rough, but he is rich.

He greets no movie stars arriving from Paris. Except when they need him in dire emergency, no luxury liners seek his aid. The fancy ships with the names of queens sometimes come to him only once—to die in a scrap yard.

He greets men who work. And he greets instead of perfumed ladies in mink, great cargoes of ore, oil, chemicals and lumber. He gives back coal and wheat and machinery, a tractor for a field in France, an automobile for an executive in Venezuela. He also gives weapons for the survival of freedom.

In the evening, as the men walk from the great ships into a tangle of water-front streets, the city sees the dusky Lascar, the quiet Oriental, the Frenchman in his beret, the sturdy, pink-cheeked Scandinavian, the Englishman whose ancestors may have sailed with Drake.

More often it sees the sailor from Maine or California, or the young man from Nebraska who never smelled sea water until he was 20 years old.

Where do they come from, these sailormen whose uniforms range from sweaters and berets, to navy blue, to dungarees, to gray flannel suits? Or that skipper in sturdy dark wool and gold watch chain, looking not unlike a Peoria railroad man?

Well, they are in from Mombasa, Lulea, La Guaira, Karachi, Demarara, Tarafa, Lobito, Izmir, Mena al Ahmadi and Las Piedras.

Or they may have sailed from Oran, Bangkok, Calcutta, Cebu, Liverpool, or Halifax. Or, maybe, just from Houston, Tex.

Some have drunk sake in Yokohoma, or sat in the teahouses of Osaka a few weeks ago; they have tasted the wines of Marseilles and the pastas of Italy, and heard temple bells in Malaya. Or maybe the last time ashore was Chester, Pa.

When they have had their beer, and their steaks, and danced with a girl or two, or maybe only after they have been to the YMCA, or the union hall, they will go back to the ships, and back to the sea.

But the giant port is more than sailors from faraway places with strange-sounding names. It is the husky muscle of the long-shoreman who perhaps never travels beyond Highlandtown; the sweat of the man who makes steel at Sparrows Point, and the man who builds great ships.

It is the chemist in his laboratory, the shipping executive in his uptown suite; the trucker, the railroad man, the Coast Guardsman, the customs man.

It is the tugboat man on the sturdy little boat with a name like Elmer or Justine, and the man who operates a piledriver with the unlikely name of Mary. It is the pilot waving farewell as he drops off a ship into a small boat after his trip up from the Capes, and the fireboat man pouring streams of water from big brass nozzles on red boats called Torrent and Cataract.

Sometimes it is grim-faced men in police boats grappling for a body beneath the gray surface of tides that suck and whirl around old bulkheads.

To some, it is the boatman from Virginia or the Eastern Shore, tied up along Pratt Street, with oysters in December and water-melons in July. Or, nearby, the trim ships that are whiter than gulls, unloading bananas from Central America.

The giant that feeds on sait water, and on coal and iron ore and oil, has something for everyone. Although he would cost more than \$400 million to recreate tomorrow, he keeps growing. His work is never done.

He is always busy—but sometimes in the dusk of a summer's day the giant relaxes and watches the gay lights of an excursion boat headed for the bay. Sometimes at noon he pauses to chuckle at the joke of a dockhand, and sometimes of an evening he dreams a little to the sound of a Spanish guitar.

And, always, he carries bright flags in his hands and wears white scabirds on his shoulders.

The Port of Baltimore, No. 3—Baltimore
Sunday Sun Magazine Article "The
Port is the Lifeblood of the City," by
Miss Helen Delich, Tells What Baltimore's Port Means to Baltimore, to
Maryland, and the Nation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the first of five outstanding articles under the byline of Miss Helen Delich in the Baltimore Sunday Sun magazine of January 9 devoted to the port of Baltimore tell how the port "accounts for the biggest wedge of Baltimore's economic pie."

The port is responsible for the employment of 90,000 persons in the Baltimore metropolitan area and, indirectly, for the employment of an estimated 400,000 throughout the State.

She reports.

About 40,000 of these people earn their daily bread at jobs connected with the movement of ships and cargoes—longshoremen, shipyard workers, tugboat operators, lighterage men, chandlers, agents, and surveyers. The other thousands work in chemical plants which are here because the port supplies their raw materials; for the railroads, whose 500 acres of Baltimore yards serve the port; in steel mills, served by the ore plers; in tire plants, such as one in Cumberland, which depends upon Baltimore to supply its East Indian rubber. * *

Indirectly dependent on the port are, for example, the canneries of the State; they use tin that comes to Baltimore factories from Bolivia. Soft-drink producers depend upon Puerto Rican sugar for their pop—and upon Portuguese cork to line the bottle caps.

The full text of this article is as follows:

THE PORT IS THE LIFEBLOOD OF THE CITY—
IT GIVES JOBS TO 90,000 HERE, INDIRECTLY TO
400.000 OVER THE STATE

(By Helen Delich)

The port of Baltimore is the heart and the lifeblood of the city of Baltimore.

The second busiest port in America, it is the thing that has made Baltimore the Nation's sixth largest city. To it, from world ports, come ships laden with the thousand raw materials that feed mills, furnaces, and factories. From it the ships sail away with American goods, American grain and coal, for the markets of the world.

The business of the port accounts for the biggest wedge of Baltimore's economic pie. Almost 70 cents of every dollar spent in Baltimore can be traced back to port activityand so can 60 cents of every dollar spent in the State of Maryland. The industries dependent upon the port spend a little more than 25 percent of the State's buying income every year. That is about \$325 mil-

Those figures do not include the ocean freight revenue to steamship lines, which, in turn, is distributed here, or the rail and truck freight income, or the wages of ships' crews, or the amount gained through the

manufacture of the items.

What makes the port big business? It's copra from the Philippines, raw sugar from Cuba. It's iron ore from Liberia, chrome from Turkey, potash from Spain, perch fillets from Germany. It's a mountain of manufactured items ranging from Japanese binoculars to Calcutta cloth to English sports cars. It's the shipping out of the wealth of America's farms and forests and minesand of Baltimore's factories, too.

Tied up in it though they are, an amazing number of Baltimoreans are unaware of the magnitude and the importance of the port. They do not realize, for example, that the is the city's biggest single industry. They think of it, rather, as a few banana boats tied up along Pratt Street, or an occasional rusting freighter glimpsed beneath

the Bay Bridge.

A few boats? Some 400 ships move up the Patapsco every month to unload car-goes along the Baltimore waterfront—a waterfront which is 40 miles long and contains 270 berths, capable of handling everything from a Chesapeake bugeye to a 63,000ton ore carrier.

It includes such facilities as four giant ore discharging piers, which supply steel mills in Youngstown and Chicago as well as in Baltimore; grain elevators which can hold 12 million bushels of midwestern and Canadian grain until ships come to carry it to such places as Yugoslavia and Germany and India; three intricate automatic coal piers that load coal for the free world and the vast industries that the port built in Baltimore.

These industries include the Nation's largest copper refinery, its largest alcohol plant, its largest tidewater steel mill, its largest straw hat manufacturer-and a dozen other operations that demand superlatives to describe their size and scope.

But one of the adjectives that port ex-perts like to use is "diversification," and indeed the industries supplied by the port are nothing if not diversified. Television set manufacturers are on the list; so are soap factories, umbrella makers, broom plants, tin decorating establishments, spice packagers, oil refineries.

In terms of people, that adds up. The port is responsible for the employment of 90,000 persons in the Baltimore metropolitan area and, indirectly, for the employment of an estimated 400,000 throughout the State.

About 40,000 of these people earn their daily bread at jobs connected with the movement of ships and cargoes-longshoremen, shipyard workers, tugboat operators, lighterage men, chandlers, agents and surveyors. The other thousands work in chemical plants which are here because the port supplies their raw materials for the railroads, whose 500 acres of Baltimore yards serve the port; in steel mills, served by the ore piers; in tire plants, such as one in Cumberland, which depends upon Baltimore to supply its East Indian rubber.

And that Cumberland plant, significantly, exports finished tires through the port, typifying the two-way aspect of the traffic. pump manufacturer in Salisbury exports pumps, too, and a leading paper straw producer in Prince Georges County ships all over the Caribbean through Baltimore. Countless more examples could be drawn from about the State.

For instance, paints, manufactured spices, portable electric tools, military equipment, automobiles, sulfuric acid, glass steel switch boxes and covers, oak lumber, scrap brass and scrap iron, electrical insulators-all these things are exported.

Indirectly dependent on the port are, for example, the canneries of the State; they use tin that comes to Baltimore can factories from Bolivia. Soft dring producers depend upon Puerto Rican sugar for their popand upon Portuguese cork to line the bottle caps, which, to add another link to the chain, are made in a Baltimore factory.

So the port of Baltimore, a reality because of one of the world's greatest natural harbors, is more than a few graceful ships glimpsed during a Sunday drive. It is a web of railroads, fleets of trucks, a forest of smokestacks, a growing city with 1 million

Without the port, Baltimore probably would be about the size of Frostburg, Md.

The Port of Baltimore, No. 4-Labor Peace, Rail Facilities, Frequent Sailings Win Favor for the Port, According to Reports From New York, Chicago, and Pittsburgh Field Offices

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include in the REC-ORD another of the outstanding articles contained in the special Baltimore Sunday Sun magazine of January 9, devoted to the port of Baltimore. This article. entitled "Seeing Ourselves As Others See Us," contains a factual appraisal by officials of the port of Baltimore's field offices in Pittsburgh, New York, and Chicago on the factors which impress shippers in the Midwest with the port of Baltimore's tremendous advantages over other ports.

The field office officials were instructed to "please omit the booster stuff" and provide the facts as seen by "outside interests who have no local ax to grind or no local sentimentality." The result-and this is true of every article in the Sunday Sun magazine on the portis an impressive story of Baltimore's maritime position.

The full text of the article is as fol-

SEFING OURSELVES AS OTHERS SEE US-LABOR PEACE, RAIL FACILITIES, FREQUENT SAILINGS WIN FAVOR FOR THE PORT

What does the Midwest shipper think about the port of Baltimore?

To get the answer, the association of commerce asked its three port of Baltimore field offices, located in New York, Chicago, and Pittsburgh, to sound out interior shippers, on an entirely objective basis.

"Please omit the booster stuff," the assoclation told its field-office managers. we want is a factual appraisal of the port from outside interests, who have no local ax to grind or no local sentimentality."

The three field offices, as well as solicitation in Washington and nearby areas, are operated as a part of the port-promotion program of the association's export and import bureau

That bureau is a direct descendant of the export and import board of trade formed here in 1919 to promote the port in the long-range planning program for Baltimore's economic development which was set up following World War I.

In the 35 years since, the port work has had only four directors—the late William M. Brittain, G. H. Pouder, Joseph L. Stanton, and the present director, Stacey Bender, Jr. The late Austin McLanshan was the first chairman of the port program, and the late Van Lear Black was the first chairman of its finance committee.

PITTSBURGH

"I tried to give it the hard-boiled approach," said Harry R. Capps of the Pittsburgh office, "and made a close check with some of the larger shippers in this teeming Pittsburgh-Cleveland area. These included new shipper accounts we have secured in the last year or two, as well as some of the older ones.

"Undoubtedly the first and foremost rea-son prominent traffic men are turning to the port of Baltimore is the wonderful labor

record that we have established.

"They tell me it would now be downright silly to trust some of the other North Atlantic ports, which seem to be always on strike, with the responsibility that is in-volved in the handling of a large export order. They know full well that a prolonged port tieup spells disaster for any company whose cargo is involved.

"The next most important reason for an obvious trend toward Baltimore by the export traffic managers is the practical one of savings in freight rates from the Pennsylvania and Ohio territories. While these savings have been in effect a long time, some of the larger shippers are just beginning to pay attention to them as competition becomes tighter.

'I am told that even though the freightrate saving does not in many cases reflect a greater profit for the shipper, it does tend to make a satisfied customer when the freight-

rate saving is turned back to the consignee. "Another thing I want to stress is the shippers' feeling that the honest, friendly, cooperative services rendered by the Baltimore forwarders are unparalleled. This has proved to be a factor in many cases. There are no hidden charges and every case is open and aboveboard.

"The ability to load directly from opentop cars to the vessel at Baltimore's piers, with the absolute minimum of damage, another important point out here. To this I might add that our shippers have noticed the sharp absence of pilferage in Baltimore as compared to some competing ports.

While it may sound like an overstatement. I have been told by some shippers recently that the only reason the port of Baltimore was not used in all cases was due to circumstances beyond the shipper's control.

"All this, of course, does not mean that we can take anything for granted. We have our work cut out in this vital territory, which is a natural for the port of Baltimore. The squeeze of competition is growing all the time. However, we were in on the ground floor in Pittsburgh and that has counted for

NEW YORK

"Up here on the opposition's grounds," reported Charles C. Rock from the New York office, "and in a place where so much ship-per control is located, it has been a tough job to combat the New York fixation.

have had to sell the Baltimore port efficiency and economy idea hard, and to try to get it into the minds of management's new

cost consciousness.

"The idea that labor is on the port of Baltimore team has been the biggest factor here in gaining confidence for our port's handling of New York-controlled cargoes. There has been plenty of skepticism to overcome in this field, too, with the port labor troubles here still fresh in everybody's mind.

"Many New York traffic managers now tell me that the port of Baltimore is their choice because it offers savings that cannot be found at any other port on the eastern seaboard.

"One traffic manager stated a few days ago that the considerable savings experienced by his company since diverting cargo to Baltimore are so compelling that they cannot do otherwise than continue.

"He gave me the following rundown of Baltimore's port advantages, as he sees them: "1. Direct loading of cargo from railroad

cars to ships' holds.

"2. Excellent geographical location of the port, with freight differentials giving savings of 60 cents per ton or more.

"3. Absence of cartage charges within the

port, and heavy lift charges.

"4. Free dockage for ships calling at Baltimore, affording shippers assurance of frequent and dependable steamship service.

"5. Efficiency in cargo handling, which eliminates unreasonable handling costs and

possibility of damage.

"6. Availability of three trunkline railroads and a terminal railroad, affording expeditious and dependable freight service to and from the interior.

"I guess the majority opinion in the New York area, in respect to use of the port of Baltimore, can be summed up in our stable labor force and the above-listed advantages. Together they spell 'economy.' These two factors form the most attractive asset which our port has to advertise."

CHICAGO

"Increased steamship sailings from Baltlmore, both by the long-established lines and those which recently have entered the port, represent the strongest appeal to shippers in this area," said A. LeRoy Johnson of the Chicago office.

"Don't let's forget that the impressive increase in the production of semi-finished and manufactured products within the greater Baltimore region, for which worldwide markets exist, has played a large part in bringing these increased sailings to the port, and making it profitable for ships to call at Baltimore to handle shipments of these home territory industries.

"The resulting increased sailings and services have importantly heightened the interest in Baltimore of central western shippers, to whom sailing frequency is a vital consideration.

"I am trying to say that the industrial expansion in the port of Baltimore and its surrounding region in recent years has been a major key factor in augmenting the export and import tonnages being handled through our port for the account of international traders in the Central West territory.

"I checked back on our sailing schedules for 1946, when this office was established, and compared them with current 1954 schedules. The contrast was amazing. This, after all, is the best evidence of the reaction of shippers and receivers of foreign cargo to Baltimore's overall port promotion. Port steamship service is the magic word out here.

I should like to mention the pool-car operations now offered between the Midwest and the port of Baltimore, some of which use our port exclusively, as well as the growing list of freight forwarders. Somebody has to create the offerings of cargo and the railroads and forwarders are key factors in

that job. The old word-of-mouth method has contributed immensely to the Baltimore port job in this territory.

While Baltimore did not actually ploneer in the establishment of field offices for port promotion, only a very few were in existence when Baltimore's were opened. Subsequently, there has been a great rush in this direction. Chicago offices now include New Orleans, New York, Mobile, Charleston, Portland (Oreg.), San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Hampton Roads.

In addition to day-to-day solicitation of cargo, both general and bulk, the offices function as information centers on Baltimore. The association credits them with producing 500,000 tons of new port cargo in 1953 and predicts as much or more in 1954 when the figures are in.

However, the association does not like to make too many claims in this respect. The work of the offices is naturally confidential, for competitive reasons, and it is therefore difficult to give a satisfactory picture of

In any case, the field offices keep the port up to concert pitch.

The Port of Baltimore, No. 5—Baltimore
Offers Midwest Shippers Savings Running as High as 8 Cents per 100 Pounds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the background of Baltimore's advantages as a port also explains why some other port cities are carring on a relentless drive to break the freight differential which favors Baltimore.

The following article Lower Freight Rates a Port Advantage, by Helen Delich, traces the development of Baltimore's special shipping advantages as "the most western of the eastern seaports, and the most southern of the northern ports, and the most northern of the southern outlets to the Atlantic Ocean," and is another of the excellent reports on Baltimor'e port contained in the Baltimore Sunday Sun magazine of January 9:

LOWER FREIGHT RATES A PORT ADVANTAGE— BALTIMORE OPFERS MIDWEST SHIPPERS SAV-INGS RUNNING AS HIGH AS 8 CENTS PER 100 POUNDS

(By Helen Delich)

The port of Baltimore is often described as the most western of the eastern seaports, the most southern of the northern ports, and the most northern of the southern outlets to the Atlantic Ocean.

At other times it is referred to as "the port for Pittsburgh," and "the port of Akron," and the port of other industrial centers in the Midwest, because it is the closest port to them and handles the majority of their ore imports and their heavy steel and machinery exports.

Because of its location in relation to the Midwest, this port has been able to offer cheaper freight rates on all commodities that are both exported and imported. Some of the rates are from 1 to 8 cents per 100 pounds cheaper on general-cargo items than Philadelphia or New York can quote. And on bulk cargoes, the freight rates are 20 to 60 cents a ton cheaper through Baltimore.

In the highly competitive picture today, every cent saved is important to a traffic manager, so the port of Baltimore means more to him than ever.

For example, this port, as compared to Philadelphia, represents a saving of at least \$2,000 in freight rates alone on 10,000 tons of manganese ore moving to Pittsburgh, or \$3,000 if it is going to Marietta, Ohio.

Fifty carloads of tinplate can be exported from Steubenville, Ohio, with a \$500 saving on freight rates if handled through Baltimore instead of Philadelphia, and a \$2,000 saving over New York.

This does not take into consideration the money saved through more efficient long-shore operations and faster turnaround of white

It is no wonder, therefore, that the rival ports want to take this important asset away from Baltimore and are fighting harder now than at any time since 1877, when the present lower freight rates first went into effect.

The most recent step to break the differential was inaugurated by Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania Rallroad about 3 years ago on import iron ore moving to 17 points west of Pittsburgh. Philadelphia's victory inspired Boston and New York to seek the same rates.

The case now is in the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission, with Baltimore not only defending itself against New York and Boston, but also trying to have the ICC remove the parity from Philadelphia and recreate the differential between this port and that one.

The principal fear in Baltimore waterfront circles is that once a break is made in the freight-rate differential, more will follow until the entire differential collapses.

Actually the equalization of the import iron ore rate with Philadelphia has already made a difference in the movement of that commodity through this port for considerable tonnage bound for the Midwest has passed through Philadelphia since parity became effective.

The only other loss this port has suffered on its differential concerns ex-lake grain (grain moved from the Midwest across the Great Lakes by boat and then shipped to the Atlantic Ocean by railroad for export).

For many years Baltimore shared the lowest rate on this particular grain only with Philadelphia, but finally Albany, New York, Boston, and Portland succeeded in having the difference of one-half cent per 100 bushels removed. Although the ex-lake grain rate is not considered too important to the port tonnagewise, the principle of a dent in the differential is of the utmost importance.

For this reason, many local businesses and industries have united to help fight the import iron ore case before the ICC.

As G. H. Pouder, executive vice president of the Baltimore Association of Commerce, says:

"No more vital issue confronts the port of Baltimore than the preservation of its differential freight-rate structure. Based on our primary port asset of location, it is a basic advantage which through the years has been of immense importance in building and sustaining the business of the harbor.

"Rival ports have launched attack after attack on this rate pattern in the last half century, but the Interstate Commerce Commission has always reaffirmed its validity and the attacks falled. Our competitors consider this a very julcy morsel.

"They are now gathering their forces for another major effort, one phase of which is the current ore case, and Baltimore is fighting back with all of its resources. Our economic future will be profoundly influenced by the results.

"The preservation of our port rate advantages should enlist the interest of every citizen and the support of all fields of business as well as of the city and State. It

calls for our best skills and most concen-

Maintenance of the freight rate differential on foreign-trade cargo is considered of particular importance now that the St. Lawrence Seaway is to become a reality in 6 or more years. At that time, 27-foot-draft oceangoing ships will be able to sail into the Midwest from which Baltimore now draws quantities of its commerce.

Ships going all the way into the Midwestern ports will take several weeks longer than if discharging in Baltimore, but this factor alone is not expected to particularly deter shippers of bulk items like grain and

Therefore, local port interests are concentrating on general-cargo movements, particularly on exports because their producers can be contacted so easily and emphasis placed on the money-saving use of the port

The seaway may help Baltimore in another way-by making shippers more conscious of cheaper costs once they use a seaway port; they may be shocked at the difference between New York and the budding Midwest "ocean" ports. Therefore, they will search for the cheapest North Atlantic port during the winter months when the seaway will be frozen over. Naturally, Baltimore will rank high in consideration because its overall costs already are cheaper than New York's.

Actually, the seaway's effects are so uncertain that no experts will hazard a prediction. Some persons believe that the increased foreign trade of the Nation on the whole will provide enough business for all ports, and so none will feel any detrimental

effects of the inland waterway.

The construction of the seaway doubly emphasizes the importance of maintaining the freight differential, which can be traced back to 1869, when the railroads granted a 10-cent advantage to Baltimore due to its proximity to the West. The next year this was reduced to 5 cents per 100 pounds of grain.

In 1876 the railroads decided to adopt a tariff based upon the relative distance of the Atlantic ports from western points, rather than base the rates upon those of New York The 13 percent advantage to Baltimore and 10 percent to Philadelphia from Chicago lasted only 6 weeks; then a rate war was begun by the New York railroads.

Prospects of bankruptcy within a few months resulted in the differential rate agreement of April 5, 1877, between the trunkline railroads themselves. On eastbound freight to Baltimore, there was a differential of 3 cents on all classes, and on westbound freight a differential of 8 cents on the first 2 classes and 3 cents on the

others.

Along with the struggle to maintain the hold on midwestern business, local port interests are watching the expansion of southern ports as the industrial boom in the South broadens, calling for more waterfront facilities in the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, and along the gulf coast. Because southern rail rates are cheaper, some ports there already have the same freight rates to the Midwest as Baltimore on certain commodi-

The leading local interests are also alert to the widespread promotion programs which New York, Hampton Roads, and Philadelphia are engaged in.

These combined pressures upon the port, Maryland's most important asset, have resulted in the city and State supplying funds for an up-to-date study of port needs.

This survey is expected to call for the establishment of a Port Authority of Maryland, with the legislation being introduced in the current session of the general assembly.

In the meantime, the local interests are rallying to obtain deeper channels into the port to accommodate the mammoth ore carriers and tankers being constructed around the world, and fighting to widen and deepen the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. Congress has authorized the latter project, but has not yet provided funds.

When these channel changes are completed Baltimore will have two unbeatable connections to the Atlantic Ocean-an asset no other North American port can claim.

The Port of Baltimore, No. 6-Helen Delich Article in Baltimore Sunday Sun Magazine Tells About Baltimore's Longshoremen "Noted for Fast, Efficient Work"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, longshoring is one of Baltimore's biggest industries. It is also a hazardous occupation. In the Baltimore Sunday Sun Magazine of January 9, Helen Delich reports on the methods used by Baltimore's stevedores-that is, waterfront employers-and longshoremen to give Baltimore's port such an outstanding international reputation for efficiency of loading and unloading operations.

This article represents the findings of one of the outstanding maritime correspondents in the country into a calm and peaceful field of management-labor relations in Baltimore which, in some areas of the country, is extremely controversial, explosive, and unstable. The text of the article is as follows:

NOTED FOR FAST, EFFICIENT WORK-BALTIMORE SYSTEM OF OPERATING IS TERMED IDEAL FOR ALL PORTS

(By Helen Delich)

The port of Baltimore's international reputation for no corruption, no wildcat strikes, and no constant work stoppages, but for efficient, fast cargo handling is credited to its

longshoremen and stevedores.

The 3,400 longshoremen and 20 stevedores have done their job here so well that favorable word is broadcast throughout the world by steamship executives and such groups as the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Subcommittee investigating waterfront rackets, the New York Anticrime Commission the Waterfront Commission of New York.

In fact, these groups, after considerable study of the subject, look upon the Baltimore system as the ideal one for all ports.

The activities of the Baltimore longshoremen caused the Senate subcommittee to say it "was favorably impressed with the Baltimore system and its apparent benefits. Its chief advantage seems to be that it gives the stevedore-employer-a direct voice in the selection of his employee, while at the same time providing a system where integrity and efficiency among the men are encouraged, recognized, and rewarded.

"Conscientious members of the labor force appear to have substantial job security, and the system has eliminated the goons and racketeers, as well as the incompetent loafers, who are so much in evidence elsewhere."

Testimony presented to the Senators described the Baltimore longshoreman as hard-

working, a family man, a homeowner, and one proud to bring home a pay envelope every week. His family and home traits were held to be among the principal reasons he towers far above the New York longshoreman and is not interested in conniving and racketeering.

Most persons erroneously use the words stevedore and longshoreman interchangeably. The stevedore is the employer, the owner of the company. The longshoreman is

the workingman.

The longshoreman's occupation is listed by insurance companies as the most hazardous in the Nation, but still many sons follow in their father's footsteps. The men range in age from 17 to 75. Some of the older ones decline to stop working even though a pension system has been worked out between the International Longshoremen's Association and the Steamship Trade Association.

In Baltimore, three-fourths of the longshoremen are Negroes; the rest are principally of Polish and Irish extraction. All

work under a system of gangs.

Sixteen men form the basic gang. Headed by a gang carrier, the others are a deckman, 2 winchmen, 8 hold men, and 4 wharfingers. The same men compose the same gang year in and year out.

The gang carrier is the leader of the group; he has been given that position because the 15 men under him signed a paper petitioning that he be. Their request has to be approved

at a general union meeting.

The deckman signals the winchmen, who operate the mechanical winches that lift and lower cargo. The safety of the men in the hold and on the dock depends on the deckman's accurate signaling; a wrong move by him could plant tons of cargo right on top of a man. The hold men hold and discharge the pallets inside the vessel's cargo holds, and the wharfingers perform the same task on the pier.

On certain cargoes, designated in the contract, a gang must get extra men. Some of the extras belong to no gang at all, while some are members of gangs not working on

that particular day.

The longshoreman's work is sporadic. He may go days without a job because

shipping is slow, and then he may work hours a day for several days in a row. Every morning he goes to the union hall

with the rest of his gang, hoping that his gang carrier's name will be called out, for that means at least 4 hours' work that day. However, he is seldom certain when he leaves home whether it will be.

Often, under the present method of operation, his gang is placed "on the hill" told to stand by--the evening before by a stevedore, but that doesn't guarantee him work the next morning-the ship may fail

to arrive or bad weather may prevent work. Even though it is "on the hill," the gang has to go to the union hall the next morning for confirmation of the order for that Sometimes it loses the opportunity of working for another stevedore by standing by for one whose ship didn't show up.

Perhaps the standby gang will only begin working at 1 p. m. that day for the original stevedore, which means it will have around the union hall 5 hours until the ship was ready.

In 1954, out of 3,200 men who had more than 700 hours of work, 1,800 put in more than 1,200 hours or averaged 30 hours or more a week.

The hiring of longshoremen in Baltimore by the gang system dates back to 1913, when the ILA was first formed. The Polish longshoremen who formed the majority of the water-front labor at that time inaugurated this system by selecting certain men they wanted to lead them.

Most of the time a gang works for the same company, which has first choice on that gang. However, when that stevedore doesn't have any work the gang works elsewhere, or it may split up and work as extra men with other gangs.

But as soon as the original steamship line has work again, it uses its priority and takes its gangs back. The company port captain calls up the union hall, designates the gang by giving the name of the carrier, the number of tractor drivers and usually their names, and the number of extra men needed.

The union delegates pass on the orders over loudspeakers in the hall by calling, "Phillip's gang, pier 8, Port Covington, United States Lines"; "Eady's gang, pier 6, Locust Point, Ramsay, Scarlett with four extra men; tractor drivers Sam, Jones, and Petey"; "Bender, pier 5, Port Covington, Robert C. Herd"; "Hurd, with eight extra men, Sparrows Point High Pier, for Rukert Terminals."

Gang Carrier Steve Phillip has been longshoring for about 30 years, Howard Eady for 28 years, and Harm Hurd for 50 years, specializing in steel. William Bender, after 50 years, is breaking his son in as a deckman in his gang. Then there are "Big Jeep," "Little Jeep," S. O. Thomas and Gus Price. Altogether there are 137 gangs in the port-32 belonging to local 829, the white local, and 105 to local 858, the Negro local.

Not all longshoremen are engaged in the actual loading and discharging of cargo on ships, and not all belong to gangs.

These exceptions include the foremen, who help supervise the gangs for the companies; the checks and tally men, who count the goods going on and off the ships; the stowage planners, who lay out the cargo plans; the gearmen, who take care of all the equipment in the shantles; the carpenters, who build bins in grain ships and short heavy pieces of machinery in position in the holds; and the line handlers, who help dock and undock ships.

Then there are the specialized gangs engaged only in the trimming of grain and coal in ships' holds, and those used in clean-

holds and ships.

Each longshoreman in Baltimore is issued number by which he works and which is engraved on a brass check, which must be shown whenever he goes to work and gets paid. This prevents a man from assuming 2 or 3 names and working under them for several companies—as the longshoremen in New York have been doing. Also, he cannot draw unemployment compensation under one name while working under a different one.

Hurd and Bender can both remember when a longshoreman's wage was about 25 cents

Today the wage is \$2.35 an hour, with pension and welfare benefits.

The wages and the number of hours for which a man is paid are the same all along the North Atlantic coast, so Baltimore is no worse or better off on these issues.

As for the excellence of their work, the

local longshoremen are said to be able to handle general cargo nearly three times as fast as others, even though bulk cargo is

supposed to be their real field.

One stevedore executive recently remarked that in New York the longshoremen move only 14 tons of cargo an hour, compared to 40 tons an hour of the same type cargo in Baltimore.

The excellence of the work continuity in Baltimore speaks for itself from the records. In 1953, New York had 152 wildcat strikestypical of that port. The 1954 record was

not far behind.

Philadelphia has averaged three port tieups annually in the last several years.

An unwritten agreement between union and management here helps prevent pilferage on a major scale. The union does not condone it any more than does the steamship agent or owner or railroad at whose terminal the ships dock and the cargo is worked. In fact, in several instances locally, the union leaders have permitted stevedores

to refuse to work a gang because of stealing. Usually the other men in the gang then force the return of the goods.

But in New York pilferage takes place on a grand scale.

Both management and labor also are credited for the healthy local situation along these salient points:

1. The local longshore leaders—August Idzik, William Haile, Stephen Mach, John Barry, Mickey Hughes, Tom Wilkerson, Andy Lutz, and Edward Jones-have refused to follow the racketeering pattern of New York.

2. The longshoremen have perpetuated the long-established stability by refusing to strike.

3. A longshoreman can work only by turning in a brass check number designated by the Steamship Trade, and almost all payments are by check.

4. Truck drivers and their helpers are permitted to do their own loading and unloading, and call for assistance only when needed. This caused the Senate committee to say: "Baltimare is free of the vicious extortions of the public loaders."

5. The use of union halls for hiring men here eliminates the dock payoffs that existed in New York previously, and the expensive (paid for indirectly by the shipper) Waterfront Commission hiring halls, the present rule-of-the-day in that racket-ridden port.

A close alliance has always existed between the union and the steamship trade to which most of the employers belong, as well as the few other companies which negotiate individual contracts with the ILA.

The Steamship Trade Association of Baltimore is composed of steamship agents, maintenance concerns, stevedoring companies, watchmen and ship ceilers. That organization acts as the management and makes all the contracts with labor for them. Ten other companies negotiate privately with the union, following the pattern set by the STA.

It is a combination of all these circumstances, with the longshoremen serving as the hub, that has given Baltimore its place as the second busiest port in the country, along with labor stability and efficiency.

Actually, longshoring-the lifeblood of the port—is one of Baltimore's biggest industries. As many men are engaged directly in it as are employed by the Baltimore Transit Co., or are engaged in shipbuilding, repairing and scrapping.

The Port of Baltimore, No. 7-Baltimore Sunday Sun Magazine Picture Story Tells of Port's Preeminence in Building, Repairing, Scrapping Ships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, in another of the excellent illustrated stories of Baltimore's great port in the Baltimore Sunday Sun magazine of January 9, the article We Build Ships, Repair Them, Scrap Them, by Helen Delich, reports on Baltimore's preeminence in these three fields. From the Revolutionary War until the present day, Baltimore's shipyards have been vital to the Nation's defense in turning out the vessels which have been the backbone of our merchant marine, as well as many naval combat ships.

The Nation's first steam tanker, the world's first submarine, 49 ships used in World War I, and the largest number from any one port-609-were built for

World War II, at Baltimore's facilities.

Miss Delich tells this story, and also the story of the great ships scrapped at Baltimore, in the article which follows: WE BUILD SHIPS, REPAIR THEM, SCRAP THEM-

BALTIMORE TODAY IS A WORLD CENTER OF ALL THREE OF THESE ACTIVITIES

(By Helen Delich)

Maryland has been a shipbuilding center ever since the colonists found abundant stands of virgin timber to use in building wooden vessels and copper ore for sheathing the bottoms. Oxford and Grays Inn Creek were among the Chesapeake Bay towns that vied with Fells Point to produce the best

As the industry gradually concentrated in the Baltimore area, repair yards sprang up, and later dismantling facilities, so that today Baltimore is a world center of all three of these activities.

From their earliest beginnings, Baltimore shipbuilding and repair yards have achieved countless firsts to establish all kinds of worldwide records—for total tonnage produced, for new types of ships, for largest ships and for fastest ships.

Baltimore led the Nation in construction from the mid-18th century through the Civil War, and as recently as 1953 the Sparrows Point yard led the world in the production of new ships, delivering 10 with a total dead-

weight tonnage of 216,138.

Shipbuilding in Maryland was begun on Kent Island, in 1634, by Capt. William Claiborne, who needed pinnaces and shallops for his bay trading activities. In 1662 it was begun at Baltimore by Abraham Clark, who settled in the area of Fells Point. But it was not until nearly 80 years later, when William Fell became interested in shipping. that there was planted the real seed of timore-World Shipbuilding Center."

Fells Point was ideal for producing log canoes, brigs, brigantines, and barkentines, for yellow pine and oak could easily be brought from the Carolinas and Georgia by water and Maryland itself had white oak, locust, and red cedar. The State's numerous iron works supplied metal for guns and ship parts. Also Baltimore was easily accessible to the linseed-oil manufacturers and the cordage and naval stores suppliers.

The pride of workmanship has been evident throughout the entire 200 years of major shipbuilding-since 1752, when the brig Philip and James became the first square-

rigger to be built here.

"Maryland started out right and it has been on the right path ever since as far as shipbuilding is concerned," says an interna-tional maritime executive. "The people engaged in the industry in this area seem to have a natural talent and the inclination to produce a superior job.

"Only the most skilled immigrants and shipyard workers seem to come here.'

Baltimore's shipbuilding reputation first came from the rakish topsail schooner that was developed in the last quarter of the 18th century and that was a big factor in the outcome of the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. During the Revolution 248 vessels, most of them built at Fells Point, sailed from Baltimore, and in 1812 Baltimore produced 126 speedy privateers.

In 1832 the renowned Ann McKim marked the end of the Baltimore clipper age and the advent of the clipper ships—the principal difference between the two types is that the latter were bigger; they could carry more

than 600 tons of cargo.

The California gold rush motivated Baltimore yards to produce clipper ships still more rapidly; the most famous of these were the Scaman and Scaman's Bride. Then came

the Mary Whitridge, which completed a trip

to Liverpool in 13 days 7 hours.

With the outbreak of the Civil War shipbuilding dwindled. However, ship repairboth foreign oceangoing vessels and domestic paddle-wheelers-mounted in importance. Columbia Iron Works was founded. Its \$375,000 graving dock, large enough to accommodate a ship 470 feet long, was a far cry from the screw dock erected in 1828 on Mr. Ramsay's wharf.

Three large Navy craft—the gunboat Petrel and cruisers Montgomery and Detroit-were built there, as was the Nation's

first steam tanker, the Maverick.

But the Columbia yard went into receivership in 1899. A group of prominent Bal-timoreans formed the Baltimore Shipbuilding & Drydock Co., in an effort to save the port's reputation and finish the leftover construction on the ways. When that company, in turn, was forced into receivership in 1904, century-old William Skinner firm bought it and combined the two properties.

During this period the world's first submarine, the Argonaut, was built at the foot of Federal Hill, a rival commercial shipyard at Sparrows Point was progressing, and the United States Coast Guard selected Curtis Bay as the site of its only shipbuilding yard.

While it was owned by the Maryland Steel Co., Sparrows Point's most spectacular achievement was constructing the floating drydock Dewey-500 feet long, 99 feet wide, and 30 feet deep-for the Navy in 1905. The Dewey was towed 13,000 miles to the Philippine Islands in what was described as the greatest feat ever attempted up to that time in transoceanic navigation.

Most of the ships built around Baltimore before World War I were Navy destroyers and ferry boats. By the time the United States was involved in the war, Bethlehem Steel had brought Sparrows Point. It contributed 49 ships for World War I use.

With passage of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act calling for a strong American-flag fleet. the local yards were expanding and modernizing just in time to supply 609 major -the largest number from any one port-to help win World War II. Of these. 101 were specialized types, ranging from troop transports to team combat vessels, built at Sparrows Point. The 508 others were Libertys, Victorys, and LST's, built at the Bethlehem yard at Fairfield.

This outstanding record of production was achieved by J. M. (Jack) Willis, who has launched more than 1,000 ships and is considered the Nation's foremost shipbuilder. At present he is general manager in charge of shipyards for Bethlehem in the Baltimore

district.

Sparrows Point produced the world's first supertanker in 1948, the 18,000-ton World Peace, and in 1953 established a world record for overall production. Now it is preparing to construct three 32,000-ton tankers—each of these larger than the total registered tonnage of this port a century ago.

Each of these mammoth ships will provide about 850,000 man-hours of employment for shipyard workers and 1,700,000 more in supply industries. Today when a ship is built at Sparrows Point, the entire Nation is in-

volved in its production.

It takes about 5 months from the time a keel is laid for a ship to reach the launching stage. Even before the keel-laying mold loft workers and patternmakers have laid out the templates and made life-size wooden patterns of every section of the vessel.

And at the launching only the vessel's outer steel structure and 10 percent of her engines and insides go down the ways. Tugs tow the powerless hull to the fitting-out dock where her engines, turbines, electrical wiring, furnishings, and navigational gear are installed during another 5-month period.

Both the construction and repair yards here get some foreign-flag work, but this

Nation's higher standard of living and naturally higher costs tend to route foreign owners to yards where labor is cheaper.

The port's two principal repair yards are Maryland Drydock and Bethlehem-Key Highway, whose keen rivalry has built them up to the topmost level of ability and now induces many ships to come to Baltimore in ballast just for their repairs.

Smaller local yards are General Ship Re-pair, Baltimore Marine Works, Chesapeake Marine Railway, and Booz Bros., the last named still operating under the name it started with nearly a century ago.

In 1922 Maryland Drydock replaced the 2year-old Globe Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. During the last war, this yard performed endless mammoth conversions for the Navy and Maritime Commission on all types of vessels, repaired tankers with half of their sides torpedoed out. Later, it converted five 12,000ton general-cargo carriers into Great Lakes ore ships.

Recently, Maryland became the first commercial yard to be awarded a contract for applying a special type of plastic coating (saran) to all tank surfaces of a gasoline-

carrying tanker.

Under the supervision of President George H. French, Maryland Drydock is countering the general downward trend in ship repairing by resorting to industrial production in order to keep its skilled workmen and yard shops busy. It is producing things for power, petroleum, and chemical industries.

The Key Highway yard grew out of the old Skinner yard, which followed its predecessor into receivership and was bought by Bethlehem from the Baltimore Drydock and

Shipbuilding Co.

Now Key Highway-which initiated the construction of Great Lakes ore carriers outside the Lakes-is experimenting for Maritime Administration to see whether the World War II Liberty can be transformed into a desirable fast ship.

At the present time, both major yards are dependent somewhat on the emergency repair and conversion of Government ships to help keep their facilities and drydocks-10 are available in this port-in operation and to prevent their skilled men from turning to other crafts. Because it takes at least years for a man to become a top-scale, skilled shipyard worker, the yards feel they cannot afford to lose many.

The scrapping of ships is related to the

building of them and, surprisingly, requires special knowledge. The scrapping must be done piece by piece in reverse procedure from shipbuilding. All of the interior fix-tures are removed and then gradually the vessel is cut down, deckhouse by deckhouse, and on down to the keel plates.

Boston Metals Co. and the Patapsco Scrap Corp. are Baltimore's scrapping yards. Smaller ones have folded up because of the

sharp drop in scrap steel prices.

Started in 1904 by Morris Shapiro, a young immigrant who could hardly afford to feed himself when he started to gather junk iron and sell it, Boston Metals has destroyed almost as many famous ships as the local shipyards have built or repaired.

The vessels which ultimately helped make Mr. Shapiro into a multimillionaire and racetrack owner include the Kron Prinz Wilhelm II, George Washington, and Kron Prinzessin Cecillie, the aircraft carriers Wake Island, Attu, and Reprisal, and the Pennsylvania.

In 1925 this yard won international acclaim for Baltimore by being the only one to make a bid to scrap 200 War Shipping Board vessels, at a price of \$1,370,000.

Patapsco Scrap was created by Bethlehem after World War II on the old Fairfield building site, and has demolished many destroyers and old cruisers, along with ferryboats and merchant ships, including the liner Veendam. The 3 shipyard industries, which at their peak employed about 80,000 people in this area, now are down to about 5,000. The building and repair yards particularly are arguing for an American merchant marine to help preserve their own status as well as that of the Nation.

of the Nation.

The firmly believe that American-fiag ships—built in Baltimore or any other port—are vital as the Nation's fourth arm of defense, besides being paramount to United

States industry.

And new construction naturally would make more old ships available for the scrap yards and conversion into new steel for the modern craft.

The Port of Baltimore, No. 8-The Fascination of Baltimore's Great Port to Those Who Watch Its Teeming Activities

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, in putting together the excellent magazine of January 9 devoted to the port of Baltimore, the Sunday Sun included a curious camera feature devoted to interviews with various Marylanders who were asked "What do you find most interesting about the port?"

These answers, I think, go far toward demonstrating the fascinating attraction which the port of Baltimore holds for all of us in Baltimore and for our friends in neighboring communities. They speak of the romance of the place, the excitement, and the interesting atmosphere. One Baltimorean sums up the magnitude of the port's commerce with the provocative question, "Who eats all the bananas that come in?"

These thumbnail impressions of a great port and of its tremendously varied sounds, sights, smells, and activities

CURIOUS CAMERA

Question: "What do you find most interesting about the port?"

Mr. Norman Ruckert, Jr., Catonsville, Md.: "I've been around the port for 24 years and every job is different; that's what makes it interesting. That's also what keeps men around the water. I've done everything from crating firebrick to grinding and bagging fish scrap."

Mrs. Irene Spatafore, 7445 Edsworth Road: "The big boats are fascinating. I never realized they were so huge until I went down to Pratt Street. There is a certain romance about foreign ships, and the passing thought of traveling to foreign ports upon them."
Mr. Willis B. Hedges, Essex, Md.: "I find

the great variety of commodities that enter the port of Baltimore most interesting. I'm around the water every day and have seen chestnuts from Turkey, broom corn from Greece, and horseradish from Germany. Every ship brings some strange cargo."

Mrs. Mable Altmeyer, 7507 Lange Street: "The unloading of boats is probably the most interesting thing. There's so much activity that you think of ants swarming over a box, each carrying away his share. It also amazes me to think who eats all the bananas that come in."

Mr. Charles C. Schroeder, 1615 North Milton Avenue: "The most interesting sight is the large ships arriving so low in the water that their Plimsoll marks are on the water-That means the ships are loaded to capacity and there'll be lots of work for everyone connected with the port."

The Port of Baltimore, No. 9-Some Figures on Baltimore Exports and Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the Baltimore Sunday Sun, in pictures and text, told the exciting and impressive story of Baltimore's great port in its metrogravure magazine section of January 9. As impressive as anything in that magazine were the somewhat dry but convincing statistics on the port's commerce reported in the following article, Some Figures:

SOME FIGURES

The value of exports handled through Baltimore annually has increased 215 times since 1790, the first year for which complete statistics are available.

The 1790 exports were valued at \$2,027,-000; they included 223,062 bushels of wheat, 127,234 barrels of flour, 5,533 barrels of bread and thousands of pounds of tobacco.

The 1953 exports were worth \$430 million; these included 70,773,693 bushels of grain and 1,486,127 tons of coal. The remainder were fertilizer and chemicals, steel and heavy machinery, and general cargo.

The total foreign tonnage of 21,420,300 shipped from this port in 1953 was valued

at \$913,400,000.

Other interesting old figures contained in various historical sources show that in 1689, when Joppa was a leading Maryland port 25,000 hogsheads of tobacco were transported to England. Tobacco was the most important commodity this State exported until 1750, when grain began entering the picture.

In 1761 Baltimore's tobacco shipments were valued at £140,000, and all the other

exports at £80,000.

In 1799, as the third commercial port of the country, Baltimore saw its exports rise to a value of \$16,610,000. Imports had not yet become a prime factor in the picture.

Through the years, the value of cargo increased along with tonnage. In 1853 the total tonnage was 262,685; of this, 143,596 was ex-

ports and the remainder imports.

The 1873 tonnage jumped to 411,161 in exports and 397,167 in imports. By 1877 the value of the port's foreign commerce was \$62,025,641-a rise from \$17,381,591 since

In 1883 imports overtook exports, with 795,524 tons, compared to 662,542. within a decade the total foreign tonnage had risen nearly fourfold to 4,607,176 as Baltimore expanded industrially and its ties spread to more corners of the world.

The 1913 total foreign tonnage of 5,408,544 was valued at \$149,369,677; in 1923, 6,620,691 tons were valued at \$185,272,267; in 1933, 3,634,878 at \$71,516,060; in 1943, 4,202,742 tons at \$902,254,000.

The port's record tonnage was made in 1947, when it led the Nation with 24,611,490, most of which was coal. The value of that

huge quantity, however, was only \$737,631,-998, because of the low value attached to the bulk coal.

The value of an average ton of exports last ear was \$89, compared to \$29 for the average ton of imports. About half of the imports were ores, which have a low value.

In 1860 the value of a ton of imports had

teen \$47 and of exports \$50.

Baltimore's lead as a grain-exporting port for many years is further emphasized by the fact that in 1879, nearly 60,000,000 bushels were shipped out of here to foreign points. This figure is only 10,773,693 bushels less than the port's total in 1953.

The Port of Baltimore, No. 10-Helen Delich Tells How Baltimore's Fine Natural Harbor Gave It Ascendancy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the final article in the Baltimore Sunday Sun magazine of January 9 devoted to the port of Baltimore is another in the fine series written for this section by Helen Delich, and portrays the historical development of the port from the time when Capt. John Smith first visited the Patapsco, which he called the River Bolus.

A great port long before that day in September 1814 when our national anthem was inspired by the defense of Fort McHenry, Baltimore's growth as a port began, as this article reports, in 1706, with steamboat service beginning in 1813.

How the people of Baltimore, the railroads, the merchant leaders, and men of vision down through the years joined in building up the port of Baltimore to its present position of leadership, is told in this article, as follows:

BALTIMORE'S GROWTH AS PORT BEGAN IN 1706-OUR FINE NATURAL HARBOR GAVE US ASCENDANCY OVER ALL RIVALS IN THIS AREA (By Helen Delich)

Five ports once flourished simultaneously within the boundaries of what is now the port of Baltimore.

Humphreys Creek, Whetstone Point, Jones Town, Baltimore Town and the town of Fells Point-all within a 4-mile radius-competed with one another for trade during the early 18th century.

Then there were also the old, established ports of Annapolis on the Severn River and Joppa on the small, winding Bush River.

The trade of all these small colonial ports

was exclusively with England.

Ironically, Baltimore Town, which because of its extremely shallow harbor was engaged in less actual shipping than any of its rival ports, was destined to absorb its four closest neighbors, prosper far beyond the others and two and a half centuries later rank as a major factor in world commerce.

The history of the port of Baltimore begins with Capt. John Smith, the first white man to set foot on the shores of the Patapsco, or River Bolus, as he named it. One of his souvenirs was said to have been a sample of red iron ore, which was plentiful on the virgin shores; that ore one day was to become the area's largest import.

Midway in the 17th century, David Jones was among the few white settlers along

the Patapsco River. He built in the area later called Jones Town. And Thomas Cole obtained a warrant for 550 acres which he called Coles Harbor. Sixty-one years later part of that land was designated Baltimore Town.

However, most of the activity of that period was taking place elsewhere in Maryland: the Ark and Dove had landed the first real Maryland settlers at St. Marys.

Joppa Town and Humphreys Creek-the latter near the present Sparrows Point-were made ports of entry in 1683. But the broader and deeper Patapsco soon proved to be a better natural harbor than the silting-in Bush River, and trade moved down to it.

Whetstone Point, now known as Locust Point, was officially recognized as a second port in 1706. Because the first two attempts-one in Dorchester County and the other near Joppa-to honor Lord Baltimore by naming a town after him had failed, his name was selected in 1729 when the General Assembly provided \$600 to buy 60 acres on the north side of the Patapsco in Baltimore County and named it Baltimore Town.

In the beginning, Baltimore Town served chiefly as an industrial site; the shipping centers were Jones Town, Gwynns Falls and the newly founded Fells Point, For in 1730 William Fell, a ship carpenter, arrived from England, built a home at the foot of Lancaster Street and opened a store. long, however, he began building bay craft.

With every farm put to producing tobacco, the earliest exports from the area consisted

principally of this product.

Ships with imported cargoes provided the earliest stores by anchoring out in the harbor and advertising their wares along the shores by word of mouth.

Baltimore Town mushroomed to 113 acres by merging with Jones Town in 1745, the same year Irish-born Drs. John and Henry Stevenson settled in the area.

At that time, there was a shipyard on Jones Falls at the location Mercy Hospital now occupies.

While his brother Henry established the Nation's first smallpox hospital here, Dr. John Stevenson abandoned medicine and concentrated on the port's trade potentials. He foresaw the value of the Patapsco River branches, and he inaugurated grain exporting and brick importing.

He persuaded some of his Irish friends to send a ship here in 1750 for a cargo of wheat. The venture resulted in a handsome profit and a new trade had started-the first of the big bulk movements for which the port was to become famous.

Finally some Baltimoreans owned vessels and could begin trading elsewhere than in England. The West Indies and other Colonial seaboard cities received most of the early

Just before the Revolutionary War, Fells Point was absorbed by Baltimore Town. Because this port was never blockaded by the British, a considerable amount of Annapolis' trade was diverted here permanently, and Baltimoreans were able to build and produce ships to help fight the war.

Afterward-the events came within a few years of each other-John O'Donnell bought and established Canton, nine port wardens were appointed to ascertain the depth and course of the channel, the first marine-insurance company boomed, wealth Baltimoreans formed the Charitable Marine Society to provide a rest home for their hardy seamen, and in 1797 Baltimore was incorporated as a city.

Soon after the advent of the famous Baltimore clippers the United States again went to war with Great Britain. Baltimore's greatest moment in this conflict came September 14, 1814, when Francis Scott Key was inspired to write the Star-Spangled Banner by the British bombardment of Fort McHenry.

Some historians believe that the Baltimore clippers can be credited to a great extent with the defeat of the British on the seas, for over half of the American-used ships were constructed here.

While the War of 1812 was in progress the first steamboat to operate out of Baltimorethe Chesapeake-inaugurated a service to Frenchtown. That was in 1813. A few years later the Weems Line placed five side-wheelers in service.

After the war Baltimore spent time re establishing its trade routes. Then, in 1827, the railroad train Tom Thumb was invented as a defense for this port against the Erie Canal and other proposed canals leading from the West to rival eastern seaports. Baltimoreans felt that they had to have a real connection to the West or they would lose their trade of coffee, grain, and tobacco.

In 1828 a company was formed to make a screw dock-the first version of a floating drydock-for the repairing of ships' bottoms here; this was erected on Mr. Ramsay's wharf. The Canton Co. was formed by Peter Cooper to build up the eastern adjunct to Baltimore.

The lack of cargo space in the Baltimore clippers resulted in an innovation in these sleek, fast vessels, and the Ann McKim was established in the China trade. She is said to have been the last of the Baltimore clippers and the first of the clipper ships, which had cargo space as well as speed. Some Baltimore clippers were sent to South America to help those countries free themselves.

For the next three decades Baltimore, New York, and New Orleans vied for first position in the Nation for overall tonnage handled

across the piers.

In 1840 the Baltimore Steam Packet Line, more popularly known as the Old Bay Line, began operating down Chesapeake Bay; today it is the only overnight steamboat line in the Nation. In 1854 the Merchants & Miners Transportation Co. started a coastwise service that was popular until the be-ginning of World War II.

The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was developing the Locust Point terminals by this time as an outlet for its western freight.

Channel depths and widths became extremely important when the larger steam vessels came into use. Although some dredging around the wharves had been going on for decades and a main channel 12 feet deep had been dredged from the inner basin past Fort McHenry, it was not until 1858 that deep-draft vessels could enter the harbor.

The first Federal Government channel authorization, granted in 1836, did not become a reality until 1866, when work was started on the Craighill Channel; it was enlarged to 24-foot depth and 250-foot width at a cost

of \$400,000.

The famous cigar ship of Ross and Thomas Winans was built in 1858, at a \$2 million

Next, the port became embroiled in the Civil War, with trade coming to a virtual standstill. The armor for the Monitor was forged at the Abbott Iron Works in Canton.

It was several years after the Civil War ended before Baltimore's trade approached its normal activity. However, in the meantime the Union Railroad had built tracks from Relay to the Canton waterfront, because the Northern Central was never able to complete its Canton extension.

The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, not satisfied with operating marine terminals, purchased three wooden propeller ships for use in ocean trade. But these ships could not compete with foreign lines, and soon the B. & O. negotiated with the North German Lloyd to bring its ships into Locust Point. Other foreign lines started regular routes to Baltimore, and this once again became a big port.

In 1873, the Pennsylvania Railroad bought the controlling stock of the Northern Central, and thus began its association with Baltimore in the Canton area.

Baltimore's standing as a principal grain and flour exporting center was regained in the 1870's, when the B. & O. and the Union Grain Elevator Co. constructed grain elevators.

Sugar was lost as an import when four local refineries went bankrupt in 1879, and did not become a major factor again until 1922.

In 1887, the Maryand Steel Co. located at Sparrows Point, began the importation of iron ore from Cuba.

In the 1880's, the cruisers Montgomery and Detroit were built at the Columbia Iron Works, located between Fort McHenry and the B. & O.'s Locust Point. The first marine hospital for seamen was established in Wyman's Park, and the city replaced the port wardens with a harbor board.

By this time immigrants began pouring in through Baltimore at the rate of nearly 50,000 a year, to reach a total of 1,542,000

Ferries and small bridges connected the various sections of the harbor; the channel was deepened to 30 feet, and the first submarine, the Argonaut, was built here.

At the turn of the 20th century, the Pennsylvania Railroad built piers 6 and 7 in Canton, and the Western Maryland Railway-which had stretched westward to West Virginia and Pennsylvania—began building up Port Covington to extend its railroad across the seas.

Passenger lines connected Baltimore with many foreign lands, steamers sailed out of here for all of the Chesapeake Bay tributaries and other United States seaports.

By the time this Nation was involved in World War I, the Bethlehem Steel Co. had purchased the Sparrows Point plant, the three railroads were building modern coal piers, and the Western Maryland had set the pace for a multimillion bushel grain elevator, to be followed by the other two railroads.

The port flourished during the war, helping to supply the Armed Forces abroad and also

building large ships.

Development Act was passed The Port in 1920, with \$50 million made available. The only major user of this loan has been the Western Maryland Railway, which built the port's most modern general cargo facilities at Port Covington in 1928.

Also between the two World Wars, the Canton Railroad constructed its pier 11 and later leased it to the Pennsylvania, and the Pennsylvania built pier 1. The Maryland Drydock Co. bought out the 2-year-old Globe Shipbuilding & Drydock Co., and the Bethlehem interests absorbed several small uptown shipyards. These two together have given Baltimore the reputation of having the best ship repairing facilities in the Nation.

The Export and Import Board of Trade was established to stimulate commercial growth of the port, and Rukert Terminals Corp. became an important factor as the port's independent operation.

The port's leading export in 1934 was scrap metal to Japan. Now truck freight was beginning to change the complexion of port operation.

And then for the first 10 months of World War II this port was virtually starving because the military would not send any freight through here.

Loud and hungry wails reversed this situation, and before long the piers were jammed with cargoes of all types. This port led the Nation in shipbuilding, with 542 vessels turned out by the Bethlehem interests at Fairfield and Sparrows Point. All of the re-pair yards were busy working on torpedoed tankers and freighters. New industries sprang up.

Right after peace returned, 11 Liberty ships loaded with heavy equipment-turbogenerators, dam sluices, blast-furnace partssailed out of Baltimore for Russia.

Shipbuilding dropped to almost nothing, and soon foreign-flag ships once again began taking over most of the cargoes in and out of the port.

A survey of the port's needs was made by an outside engineering firm in 1949. As a result, the Port of Baltimore Commission was inaugurated and various facilities have been modernized.

In 1953 the Bethlehem-Sparrows Point Shipyard led the world in production, and Baltimore led in ore importation and grain exportation.

And now, at the beginning of the atomic age, the port of Baltimore is undergoing another survey, with discussion centering on improved general cargo facilities and a port authority.

A Cuban View of Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE A. DONDERO

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include therein an excerpt from the writings of Dr. Emeterio S. Santovenia, a Cuban historian, giving his views regarding Abraham Lincoln.

Dr. Emeterio S. Santovenia was born at Pinar del Rio, Cuba, May 23, 1899. He served as Presidential secretary, 1934; senator, 1940-48; Minister of State 1943-44; since March 1952, president of the Agricultural and Industrial Development Bank of Cuba; has been for several years vice president of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History; author of innumerable books. the majority of which are on historical questions. He is the only author who has published three books in Spanish on Lincoln: Lincoln, Buenos Aires, 1948; Lincoln en Marti, Habana, 1948; Lincoln, El Precursor de la Buena Vecindad, Habana, 1951.

These facts should be of more than ordinary interest to all Americans. The publication of his books in the Spanish language will do much to spread the life. character, and public service of one of the world's great men. It will have a happy and beneficial effect in cementing the ties of friendship among the Latin American countries and the United States.

The excerpts follow:

LINCOLN IN MARTI: A CUBAN VIEW OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

(By Emeterio S. Santovenia, with an introduction by Manual Pedro González)

INTRODUCTION

In 1953 this Hispanic world commemorated the first centennial of the birth of José Marti (January 28, 1853). The celebration culminated in an international Congress of Martian Writers held in Habana from February 20 through the 27th, which was attended by writers and scholars from the United States, from all Latin America, and from France and Spain. There is hardly a newspaper or literary magazine or an aca-demic center of higher culture throughout the Hispanic world that in one way or another did not contribute to the solemnity of that event. Even the Senate of the United States, the Department of State, and the august New York Times took notice of the occasion and paid tribute to the greatness of José Martí, frail little man of genius.

The sad paradox—for all our years of good-neighbor policy and all the millions spent in fostering cultural relations with Latin America—is that before January 28, 1953, probably no more than a small fraction of 1 percent of the population of the United States had ever heard or read the name of José Martí or knew who he was.

The almost universal ignorance prevailing in the United States about Marti is all the more inexcusable—and regrettable—because he was born less than a hundred miles from the shores of Florida and spent the last 15 years of his life in the United States. Furthermore, he contributed in various ways to the cultural development of that country and became the most sagacious foreign interpreter of North American intellectual life toward the end of the century. American cultures, both Anglo-Saxon and Hispanic, had in him a brilliant interpreter and the strongest link between them that has appeared so far. Both are profoundly indebted to him.

José Marti was born in Havana, Cuba, on January 28, 1853, of Spanish parentage. His activities in behalf of the independence of the island were manifest at an early age and at 17 he was sentenced to 6 years of hard labor in the quarries near Havana. After he had served part of the sentence, the penalty was commuted to exile in Spain.

In spite of great hardships Marti completed his academic training in Spain and received his diplomas of licenciado in philosophy and also in law. He settled in Mexico City in 1875 and remained there until the revolt of Porfirio Diaz against the liberal government forced him into exile. From Mexico he went to Guatemala, where he taught literature and philosophy, but again a despotic rule drove him from his home.

An amnesty proclaimed by the Spanish crown permitted Marti to return to his fatherland; but revolutionary activities soon brought him to the attention of the authorities, and in 1879 he was again exiled to Spain. He escaped to France and after a few days in Paris sailed for New York, where he arrived in January 1880. After a short stay in Venezuela in the same year, he returned to New York and, except for short trips to Mexico, Central America, Santo Domingo, and Jamaica, he lived there until 1895, when he left for Cuba. On May 19 of that year, he was killed in hattle

During the decade and a half that Marti lived in the United States, he worked off and on as bookkeeper, translator, teacher, editorial writer for the New York Sun, and consul of Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. Until 1892 he was a regular contributor to the most important newspapers of Spanish America, especially to La Nación of Buenos Aires. His articles about life in the United States made this country better known in Latin America than it had ever been before or has been since. At the same time he was a sort of cultural ambassador at large and a spiritual symbol of the other America in New York.

The most exhausting of all his enterprises was the founding and directing of the Cuban Hevolutionary Party. Into this organization he brought the Cubans living in exile and scattered all over the Atlantic coast from Key West to Boston, and in the Caribbean countries. Over a period of years of patient waiting and preparation, he educated Cuban residents in the United States to the point where they ardently desired independence for Cuba. He kept the patriotic fires burning and instilled hope in the hearts of Cuban patriots in Cuba and abroad.

Because everything he wrote was inspired by deep sympathy and tenderness, coupled

with a boundless love of humanity, because in the apostolic crusade that was his life he proved himself to be always pure and disinterested and wise, Marti has become one of the most beloved heroes of Latin America. In the United States, on the other hand, he is practically unknown despite the fact that he interpreted and spread abroad its culture and extolled the merits and virtures of its great men and institutions.

The author of Lincoln in Marti, Emeterio S. Santovenia, is one of the most prominent historians of Cuba today. He is both a seri-ous scholar and a prolific writer. The list of his publications is impressive, containing as it does more than 80 titles, most of them His intellectual curiosity transcends the field of historical studies and the national boundaries of Cuba. In addition, he is a lawyer by profession and has been an active figure in the political life of his country. For a time he was a member of the senate and later secretary of state. He is one of the few men in Cuba today who came out of the corrupting game of politics clean and enjoying the esteem of honest people. Santovenia has long presided over the National Academy of History, a position that attests the high regard in which he is held by his colleagues.

Abraham Lincoln has been the subject of Dr. Santovenia's intellectual pursuits for many years and the theme of several of his most ambitious works. The same year in which the Spanish edition of the present volume appeared in Habana (1948), he published in Argentina a voluminous biography of the Great Emancipator. A third volume entitled "Lincoln, Precursor of the Good Neighbor Policy," was published in Habana in 1951. José Marti excepted, no other historical figure has held Dr. Santovenia's prolonged and deep interest as Lincoln has.

In the following pages the reader will find ample evidence of the author's devotion to these two heroes. There is a great deal in common between them in spite of their many differences in idiosyncrasy, genius, and achievement. Both men epitomize and, to a large extent, symbolize the very best of their respective peoples and cultures. Both are—Marti even more than Lincoln—infinitely superior to the aggregate mass of their social environments. They represent the sum total of the finest intellectual and moral qualities to be found in the Spanish as well as in the Anglo-Saxon peoples. Emerson would have called them "representative men."

This small volume is not one of Dr. Santovenia's more ambitious studies of either Lincoln or Marti, but it is the only one in which he has brought them together, interweaving their respective lives and ideologies. In it the reader will encounter a Lincoln as seen through the idealizing eyes of Marti—and those of Dr. Santovenia. The author has inevitably blended his own ideas and interpretations of Lincoln with those of Marti. In fact, the fusion is so complete at times that the reader is not always certain whether the ideas expressed are those of Dr. Santovenia or of Marti. It is clear, however, that in such cases the two are in complete agreement, and Dr. Santovenia's carefully planned use of quotation marks prevents any confusion as to Marti's exact words when they are

Writing as he did for a public familiar with the life and historical role of both Lincoln and Marti, the author in his original Spanish text doubtless assumed more knowledge of Marti than exists among the readers of this English translation. Also, in stressing the similarities of the two men, he has tended to ignore their great divergencies, but this is intrinsic in his thesis—the divergencies could be taken for granted; the similarities have never been stated, and so may rightly be stressed. It is believed, therefore, that the North American reader will find his con-

ception of Lincoln enriched by the combined views of these two distinguished Cubans. He will realize that Lincoln belongs not only to the United States but to the Spanish-American world as well, that he has been an inspiration far beyond the borders of his own country, and that the idealization here presented may well be a valuable counterbalance to the factuality of today's scholarship.

Since Marti was a devoted admirer of Lincoln, it is surprising that he never wrote an extensive study of him. Perhaps, as Dr. Santovenia suggests, he was too immersed in the spirit of Lincoln and revered him too much to write a lengthy essay on him as he did on so many American public figures of the time. Nevertheless, in the dozens of direct references and allusions to him to be found scattered all through Marti's writings, we have indisputable proof of his veneration for the Emancipator. The author's difficult task has been to present a coherent account of Lincoln based on Marti's statements and passing remarks written on different occasions during a long literary career. The integration of these fragmentary conclusions or passing references into a coherent study has been the author's purpose throughout. More than his own views on the subject, he has been interested in presenting Marti's, and he had subordinated his own ideas and his great erudition to the design-and the desire-of making known Marti's opinion of the great leader.

Professor Fogelquist has given us a careful and accurate translation of a book that is far from easy to render into English. Without betraying the original, he has endeavored to present Marti's and Dr. Santovenia's ideas and style in a correct and precise version which at no time detracts from the merits of the Spanish text.

Manuel Pedro González.

MAY 1953

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The study of the lives of Abraham Lincoln and José Marti has been one of my habitual pursuits for many years. Through my investigations I have learned that Marti had a profound knowledge of the life and work of Lincoln. This conclusion has led me to another, equally important: Each of these eminent men, morally of the same lineage, resembled the other in intelligence, temperament, personality, fair-mindedness, and charity. What is more, Marti had yearnings, disappointments, sufferings, and readiness for useful sacrifice similar to those which have made Lincoln stand out in space and time.

It will be readily apparent why I have chosen the title which the present pages bear: "Lincoln in Marti. Marti admired the fine qualities of Lincoln's character, and it was his fondest aspiration to be like him. This goal he indeed attained. Lincoln occupied a place of eminence among all the men of universal greatness who entered into Marti's faith. And this preference had a very close relationship with the fact that Marti combined within himself qualities similar to those which Lincoln cherished and which he placed at the service of human betterment.

Marti did not produce a single extensive work on Lincoln, a notable difference from what he accomplished with respect to some of the contemporaries of the Great Emancipator. The reason may have been that Lincoln's example was already a part of the faith whereby he lived, for the life of Lincoln was rooted in that of Marti. But he mentioned him and referred to him so repeatedly and so eloquently that what he said touched on every phase of Lincoln's life. It inspired him particularly in times of stress and when he was engaged in creative activity. With a paragraph from here and a phrase from there, with what I have drawn from an essay or

gleaned from a journalistic note, throughout Marti's extensive works, I have put together what I am so bold as to consider a new historical sketch of Lincoln-one that we owe to José Marti.

In addition to gathering the many quotations from Marti's works, my task has consisted in arranging and adapting them. have used each quotation because of its application to some aspect of Lincoln's life or to events that occurred after his death.

EMETERIO S. SANTOVENIA.

Habana, 1948.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES .- The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim re-port of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44. SECTION 182b. SAME: ILLUS-TRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS .- No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

- 1. Arrangement of the daily Record .- The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.
- 2. Type and style.—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the Congressional Record, in 71/2-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 61/2-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will mentions be permitted. These reunusual indentions be permitted. These re-strictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.
- 3. Return of manuscript.-When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. Tabular matter.-The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following

5. Proof furnished .- Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. Notation of withheld remarks .- If manuscript or proofs have not been time for publication in the proceedings, the - addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the

printing of the RECORD.

7. Thirty-day limit.-The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Appendix to daily Record.-When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a news-paper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been

previously printed.

10. Official reporters.—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place

in the proceedings.

11. Estimate of cost.-No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. Illustrations .- Pursuant to section 182b. title 44, United States Code (as shown above). requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. Corrections .- The permanent Recoap is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided further, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shal' be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the pessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at \$1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Opposition to Closing of Army and Navy Hospital at Hot Springs, Ark.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN L. McCLELLAN

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 25, 1955

Mr. McCLEILAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "A Hospital Fights To Survive," written by Claude A. Brown, published in the Arkansas Democrat, of Little Rock, on Sunday, March 13, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A Hospital Fights To Survive

(By Claude A. Brown)

Without legislation or Government expenditure, Hot Springs' Army and Navy Hospital could be transferred immediately from the Defense Department to the Veterans' Administration.

This transfer, which is the fervent hope of all those interested in the rehabilitation institution that overlooks the Nation's oldest spa, would accomplish two things:

1. It would prevent the closing of the general medical and surgical hospital and its subsequent deterioration through lack of use; and

2. It would offer greatly needed physical medicine and rehabilitation facilities, as well as facilities for research of chronic organic disorders so essential to the Veterans' Administration program.

In addition, it would prevent a great psychological loss to Hot Springs, since the hospital's abandonment might create in the public mind the impression that the Government considered the thermal waters of no therapeutic value. It would destroy the faith sustained for more than a century by thousands of health seekers who annually visit this famous medical center.

In October 1953, the Defense Department ordered the hospital closed. Loud protests by Arkansas managed to get this order canceled. But last January, the Defense Department again issued the closing order—and declared that the hospital must be closed by June 30 this year.

Protests were again made by Governors Cherry and Faubus, Congressmen, veterans' organizations, and leading citizens. But the Defense Department insisted that the hospital, which was built 72 years ago, must be shut down as an economy measure.

Congressmen then turned to the Veterans' Administration and prevailed upon them to take over the plant. A medical team from the VA central and area offices came to the hospital early in February to conduct a

The writer of this article was formerly a national field representative of the American Legion, and as part of his job he visited 45 Veterans' Administration hospitals in 14 States and Puerto Rico. In this writer's opinion, no VA hospital has facilities that are better for physical medicine and rehabili-

tation than the Army and Navy Hospital in Hot Springs.

After much research, this writer has found that by virtue of investments over the years, the Veterans' Administration already has a great financial interest in this hospital.

This plant, which consists of 59 buildings, is valued at \$20 million. Of that figure, the Veterans' Administration is responsible for at least one-fifth, or 4 million. Chiefly through the legislative efforts of the American Legion, the Rogers hospital-construction bill No. 234 was passed by Congress in 1929, which gave \$1,050,000 of the Veterans' Administration appropriation to the Army and Navy Hospital for rebuilding.

From 1933 to 1950, the VA spent \$3 million for the care of veterans in that hospital at rates that varied from \$3.75 to \$10.50 a bed

In this writer's opinion, there are many reasons why it would be desirable and practical for the VA to take over the Army and Navy Hospital. This article is an attempt to point up these reasons and to trace the history of the Army and Navy Hospital, one of the oldest in the Nation.

By transferring the Army and Navy Hospital to the Veterans' Administration, 412 general medical and surgical beds would be ready for occupancy at once, affecting a savings of more than \$22,000 per bed, according to the price the Veterans' Administration now pays for the construction of new hospitals.

On January 1 of this year, the Veterans' Administration had about 110,000 beds in 163 hospitals, classified as follows: Tubercular, 15,217; neuropsychiatric, 56,711; neurological, 3,929; and general medical and surgical, 34,128. An additional 16,775 domiciliary patients were in VA homes set up for that purpose.

The 34,128 general medical and surgical and 16,775 domiciliary beds total 50,903 now available for more than 21 million veterans of World War I, World War II, and Korea. This is only one-fourth of 1 percent of the war veterans entitled to Government hospital care when beds are available.

Although the hospital has been designated as Army and Navy, its supervision is directly under the Army Surgeon General. For more than 67 years, many high-ranking Army officers, including Gen. John J. Pershing, have occupied rooms in officers' quarters, utilizing separate dining and bathhouse facilities. Under Veterans' Administration procedure, all patients would be accepted on a common basis, without distinction as to race, class, or rank.

Adequate VA hospital facilities exist in Little Rock and Fayetteville for emergency and acutely ill veterans, since the turnover of beds is about 20 days for each patient. A VA medical center at Hot Springs could provide, however, greatly needed beds for chronic patients requiring extensive physical medicine and rehabilitation and relieve other hospitals of patients who require prolonged hospital care.

The proposed transfer would be a mutually agreeable procedure, requiring no legislation. There are numerous precedents for such action. The new 500-bed Navy hospital completed in Houston, Tex.—one of the few completely air-conditioned installations—was turned over by the Navy to the Veterans' Administration even before it was opened. In San Juan, Puerto Rico, the

San Patricio, a 200-bed naval hospital, is being operated by the Veterans' Administration subject to return to the Defense Department in the event of hostilities.

Many military installations, such as the Kennedy Hospital, Memphis, Thayer Hospital, Nashville, Tenn., and Winter Hospital, Topeka, Kans., are included in the 163 hospitals and domiciliary homes now under the jurisdiction of the Veterans' Administration. In the event of national emergency any of the Veterans' Administration facilities are subject to transfer to the Defense Department.

In view of the existing problem of treating chronic patients who require prolonged hospital and domiciliary care, continued operation of the Army and Navy Hospital by the Veterans' Administration would be an investment in national defense,

The most vital need filled by the hospital transfer, however, would be the establishment of an outstanding medical center for physical medicine and rehabilitation. This relatively new program, which is gaining momentum as an essential adjunct to surgery, could make history in Hot Springs. Through physiotherapy, muscles and nerves are stimulated following surgery, eliminating bed sores and blood clots during convalescence. Hydrotherapy, from radioactive thermal springs, is applied in therapeutic pools, in conjunction with whirlpool, hot and cold alternating needle showers, sun bathing, and medicinal water baths. These treatments concern the patient's entire body rather than specific parts afflicted by diseases or injuries.

Army and Navy became a polio treatment center in December 1943, when an epidemic of infantile paralysis struck Army camps. More than 1,000 patients received treatment, and several classes for physiotherapists were trained to apply the Elizabeth Kenny method of nerve and muscle stimulation. The hospital maintains a thermal pool. Wheelchair patients are lowered into this pool so that their limbs may be manipulated under warm water by aides.

More than 275 former patients have formed thte Army-Navy Hospital Polio Veterans' Association, comprising service men and women from all 48 States, and are making vigorous protests against closing the hospital. Miss Frances Hallfrisch, of Flint, Mich., association founder, is a former therapist at the Army and Navy.

Another paramount service that could be provided at Hot Springs is research study of chronic organic diseases. Prior to World War II, there was no adequate research program in VA hospitals. At present, \$385,892 is being spent annually for 617 specialists and clinical assistants in VA general medical and surgical hospitals. None of these hospitals has more varied nor greater volume of medical data for clinical studies than the Army and Navy Hospital.

There are more than 4,000 volumes in the medical library comprising the most complete collection of medical data on rheumatism and orthopedic disorders in existence.

The hospital likewise has research facilities for study and treatment of various forms of arthritis, neuritis, genito-urinary diseases, chronic metallic poisoning, skin infections; certain metabolic disorders such as gout, diabetes, nephritis, and chronic gastrointestinal ailments, hepatitis, dysentery,

stomach ulcers, cancer, and other organic diseases requiring extensive treatment.

There are seven VA paraplegic centers to provide intensive physiotherapy for the completely paralyzed war veterans. One of these centers is the Kennedy Hospital, Memphis, where 250 of these patients have filled the wards to maximum capacity. Since the Kennedy Hospital lacks permanent treatment facilities, a new paraplegic center could be established at the Hot Springs hospital for new patients requiring complete physical medicine service, and for outpatients re-quiring temporary treatments.

Most of the paralyzed patients are nonservice connected, drawing \$135.45 monthly pensions except when hospitalized. Those whose paralysis resulted from misconduct receive no monetary benefits, hence require

continuous hospital care.

More than 11,000 deep and skin cancer treatments by X-ray and radium were provided during a single year by the staff in Hot Springs. Army and Navy is 1 of 3 Army hospitals in the Nation with comparable facilitles for such treatments.

There is a woman's ward, now being used for maternity cases, which would provide adequate beds for women veterans with maximum privacy. Under regulations, wom-en veterans are entitled to non-service hospitalization in private hospitals at Government expense if VA beds are not available.

When the Eastman Hotel was old for \$510,000 to the Defense Department in 1942, the Army and Navy hospital was filled to overcapacity with more than 1,000 patients. There were 2,000 Veterans' Administration applications for hospitalization on the waiting list. At considerable expense, an enclosed overhead ramp was erected to connect with the hospital. Three firewalls were constructed, dividing the structure, and airtight barriers were placed in corridors to close automatically in case of fire. The building, renovated throughout, was made highly fire resistant.

After hostilities ended in World War II and Korea, the Eastman annex ceased to be essential for hospital operation. Its chief function now is to provide low-cost housing for personnel, auxiliary services, canteen, recreation, and quarters for retired officers and enlisted men as pay patients for short periods. Under Veterans' Administration management, the annex could be put to proper domiciliary use, and would become a

needed adjunct to the hospital.

No domiciliary homes are within 500 miles. The nearest are at Wadsof Hot Springs. The nearest are at Wads-worth, Kans.; Biloxi, Miss.; Temple, Tex.; Mountain Home, Tenn., and Wood, Wis, Veterans seeking domiciliary care must be able to walk, must require minimum institutional care, and have no gainful employment. Under the occupational therapy program, many of the members train themselves in furniture repairing, plastic and woodcraft, shoe repairing, rug making, and other crafts and become gainfully self-employed. Some qualify as employees in these homes, and thereby reduce the overhead cost of domiciliary service.

Hot Springs has as high a percentage of professional medical talent as any city of comparable size in the Nation. Despite a shortage of VA medical personnel, adequate consultant and attending specialist service would be available. Operation under the dean's committee of the University of Arkansas Medical School as is provided for VA hospitals in Little Rock and North Little Rock would present no problem, since Hot Springs is only 57 miles from Little Rock.

The hospital personnel at present comprises 300 civilian and military employees. Adequate housing for staff personnel is available, which is not the case in some new VA installations. It is likely that house-keeping quarters for staff personnel in the Eastman annex would prove an incentive to recruit employees.

Therefore, it would appear that the Veterans' Administration has a vested right and an opportunity to acquire by transfer, at no cost, a modern, completely equipped hospital plant for 412 patients and 300 domiciliary patients. It would require more than \$20 million and 2 years' construction to replace this facility.

The Safeguarding of Political Liberty and Social Justice in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, March 25, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, on March 20, 1955, Mr. William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, made a very incisive and compelling address before the annual convention of Americans for Democratic Action.

This speech by Mr. Schnitzler should be widely read. It should be read by every Member of Congress.

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, SECRETARY-TREASURER, AMERICAN FEDERA-TION OF LABOR. BEFORE THE AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION CONVENTION, SHORE-HAM HOTEL, MARCH 20, 1955

Except for the season, there is very little in the atmosphere of Washington today to stimulate or to inspire the advocates of democratic action. The political forces entrenched here are deaf to your resolutions and hostile to your philosophy. The executive branch is now but a countinghouse, and the budget a baffle against the expansion of human rights and the attainment of practical human goals.

The situation illustrates the old rule, which says that the richer the prize, the harder is the struggle and the more determined the opposition. If your goals are limited, your opinions safe, your principles flexible and your program meager, success is cheap and easy-but then the game is scarcely worth the candle. As a matter of national policy, this approach is known as dynamic conservatism. Reduced to more basic English, it means getting nowhere fast and is characterized by an apparent shortage of burning public issues. It may serve to create an illusion of security and of effective government, which can last just so long as our national store of luck holds out against the mounting pressure of problems unmet, decisions avoided, and needs unfilled-after that, the deluge.

But if, on the other hand, you have higher goals and bolder projects in mind, the odds increase in like degree. You become con-troversial, and therefore unpopular in important circles. The timid depart, when the wolves begin to howl. The spirit and endurance are tried by long periods of frustration, sustained only by the conviction that the future is on your side-that the trials of today are a necessary prelude to the gains of tomorrow.

The experience of the trade union movement bears witness to the resistance that stands in the way of social and economic progress. The protection and encourage-

ment of the interests of business and the institution of private profit are accomplished as a matter of routine by the courts, legis-lators and public officials of the land, and are regarded as an altogether proper function of government. But the achievement of a fair distribution of the fruits of labor, and the protection of the standards of labor, are arduous and endless tasks-and are constantly assailed as an interference with natural law.

Each modest gain that we have madewhether the elimination of child labor and the exploitation of women, the 40-hour week. decent health and safety conditions or reasonable wage scales-came only as the product of years of agitation and organization, demonstrations of protest on the part of multitudes, and personal sacrifice on the part of individuals.

If the timing of these gains had been left to the discretion of such leaders and great brains as those who hold the reins of government today, they would never have been achieved, and our children would still go down to the mill or the pit, instead of to the school or the playground for the day. The arguments, expert opinions, and responsible judgments which they now employ in opposition to the dollar-and-a-quarter minimum wage, negotiated employment guarantles, aid to education, and other proposals for the benefit of the many, are the same arguments that were used against the enactment of child labor laws, the first public schools, the 40-cent minimum wage, and the first negotiated wage increase. When they tell us that such measures are economically unsound, will disturb the confidence of investors, impose a ruinous burden upon industry, destroy individual ini-tiative and sap the moral fiber, we can truthfully say that this is where we came in. We have heard it all before.

Time and experience have shown that we were right in our advocacy of these reforms, and that the best brains of big business were totally wrong. The Nation is far better off today because the efforts of organized labor succeeded in some degree than it would be had the viewpoint of our opposition prevailed. And I believe that we are still right today, and that they are just as wrong as they were 50 years ago.

In the struggle for human betterment, there is no sharp dividing line between economic and political affairs. One conditions the other. The same forces, arguments and pressures are arrayed in opposition, right across the board. In your own efforts to advance a progressive program in the spheres of local, State and national government, I am sure that you have found attached to your task many of the same

conditions that we encounter.

If the going seems particularly difficult to you today, and the headway slight, let yourselves be reminded that the price you seek is a priceless one-worth any challenge and any effort. That prize is the attainment of a truly liberal society, in which all men can live together in peace, security, and freedom, with an equal opportunity to develop their skills, talents and ideas to their fullest capacities-using their government neither as an instrument of repression nor of mere bookkeeping, but as a legitimate means for the attainment of their mutual ends.

Such a society requires a government which concerns itself actively with the problems and needs of human beings as well as of corporations, and which is most concerned about those whose problems and needs are greatest. It seeks the broadest expansion, rather than the narrowest interpretation, of the rights of individuals. Any resemblance between such a government and the present administration is, of course, purely rhetor-

It is during just such times as these when your counsel is least appreciated and the things that you stand for are most coldly rejected by the powers-that-be—that the activities, the energies and the enthusiasm of liberal organizations such as your own are most sorely needed, if the ideals that once made this Nation the best hope on earth are to be kept alive. When those ideals are abandoned by public officialdom, the people themselves must accept the burden of their defense. If groups like your own do not take up that burden, you may be sure that no one else will.

be sure that no one else will.

This is no imaginary danger. The official guardianship of our liberties is in the hands of men who seem to be far more anxious for convictions than for fair trials, far more interested in compiling an impressive total of victims than in due process, far more concerned about headlines than about the caliber of their witnesses or the reputations of the innocent. The Department of Justice today devotes its talents to the discovery of loopholes in the Bill of Rights, to the narrowest possible construction of our civil liberties, and to the invention of new ways to get around the protections of the constitution. Such progress has been made along this line that the attorney general now offers the startling argument that due process of law is a privilege reserved only to indicted criminals, and that those whose reputations and livelihoods are wrecked on the unproven word of a phantom informer have no rights of redress in law.

If the defense of our liberties and our security is in the hands of men such as these, then who will defend us from the defenders? This I do know-when the shield of the Bill of Rights is stolen from the guiltiest criminal it is stolen in like degree from every citizen. When railroading by accusation is accepted as an adequate legal substitute for concrete evidence and proofwhen those who make use of their constitutional rights are denied the right to sell second-hand planos, to operate an insurance agency, to work in a plant, or are subjected to other arbitrary penalties and discriminations-then few of us are entirely safe unless we remain all alone, without a telephone. Idle gossip and irresponsible slander be-

come as damning as guilt itself.

In the eyes of the administration's lawyers, the Bill of Rights is apparently viewed as a limitation upon, rather than an expression of, our civil liberties. It is argued that one's reputation or employment do not fall Within the strict letter of those rights which are specifically spelled out in the Constitu-I am not a lawyer, but I would suggest to the Attorney General an occasional reference, for guidance as to the spirit of the law, to the ninth amendment, which states as follows: "The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disperse others retained by the people." Is the "pursuit of happiness," free from snares and entrapments engineered by an arbitrary bureaucracy, no longer one of the rights "retained by the people"?

Aside from the injury to civil liberties, there is the very real danger that the obvious blunders, inequities, and political vices inherent in the administration's approach to the security problem may serve to discredit the entire cause of security and thereby contribute unwittingly to the ends of America's enemies. To be truly effective, a security program must be scrupulous, fair, and honest—not only for the sake of civil liberties, but for the sake of its own and of the Nation's strength and integrity.

At this stage in your history you have, no doubt, grown inured to most of the tired epithets that come your way, seeking to brand you in the public eye as "leftwingers," "radicals," or "Socialists." Those terms have been directed at the trade-union movement for generations, and have long since ceased to disturb us. I do not believe that anyone who tries to find any substantial degree of real leftism or socialism among our

printers, plumbers, potters, bricklayers, and boilermakers can remain very much impressed by the accuracy of such labels.

Besides, the history of progress in this country indicates that the gap between left and right can be measured more readily by the calendar than by the violence of the debate on any given day. Time makes believers of the most hardened skeptics. The main difference between the liberal and the conservative seems to be that the liberal endeavors to keep ahead of the times, while the conservative eventually catches up with the times long after the issue has been settled over his strenuous protests.

A good case in point may be found in the current efforts of the American Bar Association to gain admission for lawyers into the old-age and survivors insurance system. The only reason why they are not in the system already, of course, is because of the hitherto bitter opposition of the bar association. As recently as last year, when the program was extended to other groups, social security was still, in the eyes of the stately members of the bar, a diabolical plot to undermine our liberties, and they would have none of it. This year, apparently, some sober second thoughts have finally begun to penetrate and they have decided to have a slice of that Socialist ple after all.

This is one contribution at least that we can credit to the Eisenhower administration. By clutching this old New Deal reform to their bosom, the Republicans have at last endowed it with the virtue of orthodox respectability. There are still a few such as Manion and others who subsist on the vague fears of the tired businessman, who continue to raise an occasional cry of alarm against social security—but then that is their profession and I would be the last person to take the bread out of the mouths even of those in the doomster trade.

There is another unwitting service that can be credited to this administration. By subjecting it to the test, they have shaken the credibility of one of the most treasured myths of the old guard—the legend of the big-business man as a superman and the ultimate savior of government.

We have been exposed to the ex-boss of General Motors as Secretary of Defense for some time now, and if his performance in this capacity has shown anything remarkable, it is a pair of size 14 feet of clay. Another big brain from business has presided over the Department of Commerce for many months with results not visible to the naked eye, except for an occasional jurisdictional raid on the Labor Department. His attitude on those occasions leads one to the conclusion that he serves on the Cabinet as Boston's protest against the 20th century.

As for the pride of the M. A. Hanna Co., Secretary Humphrey, his zeal as the guardian of the Nation's Treasury is exceeded only by his eagerness to distribute largess to his big-business admirers, their corporations and stockholders. If you believe that there is some inconsistency there and that people with low incomes should be cut in on any benefits or incentives that are being passed out, then you are just irresponsible, political, and silly.

I cannot help but wonder how the M. A. Hanna Co. could have survived the type of management that the Treasury now enjoysone that is so loose in its distribution of special favors to the wealthy that it not only gave away billions on purpose but threw in another billion by mistake, by allowing corporations to deduct the same expenses twice. I doubt if any old-line New Dealers would have been guilty of such a blunder. We hear a great deal of fine talk about statesmanship and responsibility and the importance of balancing the budget, but when the sums are totaled up we find that, once again, the rich got the gravy and they gave the deficit to the poor. If this is the way that businessmen govern our

affairs, then I can only say: "Bring back the bureaucrats and politicians."

We sometimes hear it said today that there is a shortage of good political issues. I do not believe this. Under an administration that does nothing for the general public interest without seeking to divert it in some way into the channels of private profit, there can be a shortage of issues only among those who believe that nothing should be done. If you have a positive program to offer as an alternative to both inaction and reaction, there will always be plenty of genuine public issues.

Labor, as you know, is moving surely in the direction of unity. We intend to use the added strength thus engendered for no selfish purpose, but for the enhancement of the general welfare, in the cause of social, economic, and political progress. In approaching the great issues of the day, labor will endeavor to exert all of the influence that is due it as the representative of millions of workers and their families whose interests are affected by the outcome of those issues. A united trade-union movement will function, not as an instrument of "bossism" in any sense, but as the only instrument through which it is possible for the workers of America to bring their just and proper share of the weight to bear upon the scales of political and economic decision.

In approaching the next elections we expect to play the game hard, but we shall play it straight. We shall not emulate the tactics of the smear artists and the professional poisonmongers employed so loosely by the leaders of the Old Guard.

But we do intend to exercise our right to place responsibility directly at the door where it properly belongs. In a sound and healthy democratic order, no individual is entitled to the privilege of blind support or to immunity from public criticism. We, at least, shall never extend that privilege or that immunity.

We have absolutely no desire or intent to injure, to degrade, or to detract in any way from the personal popularity or good repute of the present occupant of the White House, for we deplore the slanders that were circulated by many of the members of his own party about previous occupants of the White House. We are concerned, and vitally concerned, with the content of the policies and programs that issue from the White House, and we intend to speak our minds fully and freely on that score.

I have no interest at all in the personal life or habits of anyone in public office. A President who is willing to stand up and fight for, as well as to talk about, the rights and interests of the people when the occasion demands it would draw nothing but praise from me, though he played golf, pool, or poker from sun to sun. I am interested in where his convictions and his policies are, and not his person.

And when he speaks in a liberal or humanitarian vein I want to see if his budget is in line with what he says before reaching any final judgment—for the road to perdition is paved with pious statements and good intentions.

If it is to survive at all, the cause of human progress must be served, not only at home, but abroad as well. The trade-union movement is endeavoring to live up to that responsibility. Through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and through our participation in and support of the International Labor Organization, we are trying to extend to ordinary people everywhere the means with which to attain their legitimate aspirations by democratic means. We are engaged at close quarters with the forces of Communist tyranny in the battle to determine who shall lead the workers of the world.

That battle is in a crucial phase today. The Soviet Union has fully realized something that our own Government has almost totally ignored—the importance of the International Labor Organization as an avenue to the minds and loyalties of the plain people of the world, whose attitudes, in the long run, will count for far more than the friendship of kings, generals, diplomats, and foreign ministers. The Soviet Union has now gained admission into the ILO and is endeavoring to frustrate its campaign against slave labor, and to pervert its important operations to the service of its own ends. only enlightened way in which we can respond to this challenge is to expand and to make more meaningful our own role in the work of the organization. This requires a far greater degree of public understanding and appreciation of the work of the ILO than now exists. The ADA, as well as other liberal groups, can do a great deal to help us bring this about.

The liberal movement in this country, like our trade union movement, has been plagued by disunity. I hope that in the months to come you will direct yourselves to the task of laying the necessary groundwork for success, by working to bring about a greater measure of unity of purpose and action among all of those who are in agreement with your principles and your program. Only then can you hope to center the attention of the public upon the needs that require attention and the shortcomings that demand reform, and to create the kind of an atmosphere in which, once again, social prog-

ress is posible.

Integration in the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JAMES O. EASTLAND

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, March 25, 1955

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article which was published in the Indianola (Miss.) Enterprise on Thursday, March 17, 1955, which included a letter by Mr. T. M. Pitts, mayor of Indianola, Miss. The letter is an answer to a magazine article which recently appeared in Look magazine, which was written by Mr. Hodding Carter, editor of a newspaper at Greenville, Miss.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAYOR PITTS PROTESTS CARTER ARTICLE IN RECENT LOOK MAGAZINE IN LETTER

In a letter to Lawrence K. Grossman, of Look magazine, Mayor T. M. Pitts cites some facts which failed to appear in the article which recently appeared in the widely circulated magazine.

culated magazine.
The letter is as follows:

"Reading Mr. Hodding Carter's article in the March 22 issue of Look magazine, A Wave of Terror Threatens the South, is like starting in the middle of a book. The wave of terror which followed the War Between the States is perhaps the reason the South is now opposed to integration of the races."

"With the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, the best friend the South had in those days, little men came into power and there followed the darkest pages in American history this section has ever known, the reconstruction period. Able and honest men in governmental positions were replaced by irresponsible, thieving rascals, renegates from the North who used the Negroes of the South to further their ends. With the backing of a friendly Congress, a subservient Federal Court, and the bayonets of the Federal troops, conditions reached the state where white people were unable to secure justice in any court. They were afraid to walk the streets, even in the daytime, for fear of being attacked, robbed, or killed.

"A similar situation threatens today. Little men are now in power; there is a subservient Federal Court; only an order need be given to have Federal troops in our midst. Carpetbaggers and scalawags, with the aid of such organizations as the NAACP, could soon have the reconstruction period in full operation again.

"Perhaps this introduction explains why the South, and especially Mississippi, became alarmed when the Supreme Court handed the decision on integration last year. It was evident that concerted action would be needed in order that all legal courses be used.

So was born the Citizen's Council.

"Mr. Carter is letting his imagination run wild when he compares the purpose of the council with the Ku Kiux Kian of 1920. The purpose of the citizens' council includes preserving separation of white and colored races, working out problems on a local or State level without interference of outside agitative groups, and obtaining these ends through legal measures and court actions. One of the purposes of the council is to prevent such hot-headed action as Mr. Carter attributed to some fictitious town marshal.

"Economic pressure to the extent that Mr. Carter infers has not been used. Our local Negro physician is still carrying on his practice in the county hospital. Credit has not been denied where credit was due and there have been no mortgages foreclosed as a punishment for opinions. The Federal Government has already practiced more economic pressure than the citizens' council ever had in mind. Accepted labor-union practices of using strikes, boycotts, or goon squads, to put their ideas over have not been used by the citizens' councils.

"In order to understand the man, Hodding Carter, a little better I would recommend that you read his autobiography, Where Main Street Meets the River. This book is well written and very interesting, but it leaves the reader with no doubt that Mr. Carter has been a knight in shining armor, crusading for this or that, or criticizing someone all his life. As a result he has achieved fame and fortune. To me he is a fanatical demagog with an egotistical and arrogant bearing. He has set himself up as an interpreter of conditions in the South and in so doing resorts to misstatements and twisting of facts.

"You can see in this article that Mr. Carter is attempting to aline the Jews and Catholics against the citizens' council. Our local chapter has both Jews and Catholics as members. One of the most surprised persons to read that the citizens' councils were against Catholicism was a young stenographer in the council office, herself a Catholic. The council does not hold any ill will toward any individual regardless of race, creed, or color, so long as there is no advocation of integration or mongrelization of the races.

"I should like to call to Mr. Carter's attention that it is against the law and customs in Mississippi to stage mixed athletic events. If the people desire to stage such events they should first get the law changed instead of letting Mr. Carter or some promoter take the law into his own hands.

"Mr. Carter was misinformed regarding the program of the meeting of the Sons and Daughters of the Knights of Tabor. The primary purpose of this organization is to take care of the sick in their membership and to maintain a hospital at Mound Bayou, supported by their membership dues.

"The local chapter of this organization asked me as mayor of Indianola to give the address of welcome. When I saw listed on their program "Modern Youth and Present Day Education." I told them I would not welcome any group where racial agitation was discussed or advocated. In conference with their State officers, Mayor Green, from Mound Bayou, the superintendent of colored schools. Hollandale, a member from Greenville whose name I cannot recall, Mr. Arthur B. Clark, Sr., and I were assured that the subject in question had nothing to do with the recent Supreme Court ruling. This organization was not told that they could not meet in Indianola but that they would not be welcomed by the mayor if their program was to foster racial discord. I gave the welcome address and I understand they had a successful meeting. We shall be glad to have them return whenever they wish.

March 25

"It seems to be all right for organized and well-financed racial agitating groups to operate in Mississippl, but when the white people of the South form a counter organization it is all wrong. The South, Mississippi in particular, is determined not to have a modern reconstruction period where the NAACP and kindred organizations force their will

upon the people.

"Our crusading knight in shiping armor from Greenville is still raking in the cash from this crusade. The Citizens' Councils are passing laws to protect the interest of the people of Mississippi and the South. Both sides are happy at present.

"T. M. Pirrs, "Mayor of Indianola."

Playing Politics With Value of the Dollar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JOHN J. WILLIAMS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 25, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the Appendix of the Record an article appearing in the March 19 issue of the Magazine of Wall Street entitled "Playing Politics With Value of the Dollar." This article was written by Mr. McLellan Smith, Washington correspondent for the Delaware State News, of Dover, Del., and a frequent contributor to nationally circulated financial and business periodicals.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PLAYING POLITICS WITH VALUE OF THE DOLLAR (By McLellan Smith)

When President Eisenhower labeled the Democrat-inspired proposal to cut income taxes as "some kind of height of fiscal irresponsibility," he was not indulging in the rhetoric of partisan political attack.

An examination of the surrounding circumstances, including the facts of national fiscal life, the country's debt position—and not forgetting the partisan motivation—shows that the President's term was more descriptive than condemnatory.

As of March 1 we had a dollar worth 52.1 cents (1926=100) and were moving toward a balanced budget. Last year the dollar was worth 50 cents as the budget deficit was around \$2 billion higher than now. There is a direct relationship between budget deficits and the value of the dollar; when the

former is high, the dollar moves downward, when the deficit is low, the dollar buys more.

The politically inspired \$20 slash for everyone, effective next January 1, would have meant that receipts would be slashed by \$2.4 billion in a single year, about \$800 million of which would be clipped from fiscal 1956 receipts. Further, it would have removed around 5 million individuals from the Federal income-tax rolls, making them parasites except for their payments of excise levies and indirect tax payments through their purchases of goods and services from tax-paying industries—all of which include their Federal taxes in the prices of those goods or services.

Wisely, President Eisenhower has proposed no further tax cuts until they can be justified by reductions in spending and increased revenue derived from the Nation's economic growth. This economic growth seems reasonably assured, although not at the many economists deem necessary. Reductions in spending appear to be remote as Congress prepares to hike the cost of the Federal civilian payroll, give substantial pay boosts to the Armed Forces, and is confronted with a not-so-cold war in Asia which may flare up white heat at any moment.

THREAT IN PREMATURE TAX CUT

The politically inspired tax slash is in direct opposition to the administration's successful efforts of the past 2 years to reduce deficit financing in an approach to a balanced budget. Such cuts impose a direct threat to the welfare of everyone—rich and poor alike. It could only bring about inflation, an evil which has left a trail of wrecked nations in the pages of history,

In brief, the cut would be nothing more than the individual lending to himself. And, in making the loan to himself, he would become responsible for principal and interest. For example, for every \$20 the taxpayer does not pay into the Treasury, the Government would have to borrow a like amount. This would cause a further imbalance of the budget and hike the public debt. public debt mounts and the budget gets further out of kilter, the value of the dollar moves downward, the cost of living moves up. We have inflation. Thus the \$20 slash would hurt those who can least afford it. Inflation hits the little people much harder than it hits the rich.

Let's take a brief look at what budget deficits do to the value of the dollar. The estimated budget deficit for fiscal 1955, which ends next June 30, is \$4.5 billion. As the current fiscal year opened, the dollar had a purchasing power slightly in excess of 50 cents (1926=100). As the year wore along, the dollar inched up. When the fiscal 1956 budget went to Congress last January, the dollar had moved close to 51 cents. When it was fully understood that the estimated deficit for fiscal 1956 was \$2.5 billion, an almost 50 percent decline from the current year, the dollar moved up to 52.1 cents as of March 1.

Reverse the situation, that is, through a premature tax cut, bring about a larger budget deficit, and the dollar will start cellarward again. And any ill-advised cut could very well bring the 1956 budget deficit up by several billions more and project a 1957 budget deficit quite out of hand.

Here's how it could happen.

A \$20 slash-or its equivalent-would de-Prive the Treasury of \$2.3 billion in a single year, \$800 million of which would be whittled from fiscal 1956 revenue. The Armed Forces are slated for \$750 million in pay hikes beginning July 1. Half the impact of this will be on fiscal 1956 disbursements. Congress now proposes to raise the civilian payrolls by approximately \$900 million annually, half of which would be chargeable to fiscal 1956. Add the three items-tax cut, Armed Forces pay increases, and increased civilian Payroll—they come to \$1.625 billion, swelling the 1956 budget deficit from \$2.4 billion to slightly more than \$4 billion.

MORE DOLLAR DEPRECIATIONS

There is no absolutely accurate way to pro ject fiscal 1957, first full year in which the Treasury would feel the total impact of new cuts. However, with fiscal 1956 as a base, and assuming that revenues in 1957 will be approximately at fiscal 1956 levels, we see an even greater budget deficit, a larger public debt and more inflation, and a further depreciated dollar.

Still using fiscal 1956 and its \$2.4 billion budget deficit as a base, and assuming that fiscal 1957 revenues are at the fiscal 1956 level, we find as follows:

	Billions
Revenue lost through \$20 slas	h \$2.300
Increased civilian payroll	.900
Increased Armed Forces pay	

To be remembered, Congress is months away from the end of the current session, It is considering increased appropriations for highways, for educational facilities, and for public-works projects. Next year is an election year. All of these may be hiked-high-

Budget deficit ____ 3.950

ways, education, and public works. hikes will be politically motivated, but their effect on the budget imbalance will be just as bad as if they were spiritually inspired. These 3 may tote up to another \$400 million-not tabulated or accounted for here.

Why is the proposed \$20 cut-or any cut like it-contrary to the public interest?

The answer is not too complicated. cut would reverse the successful trend of the administration during the last 2 years in reducing deficits and working toward a bal-anced budget. The 1953 fiscal deficit was nearly \$9.5 billion, while the projected deficit for fiscal 1954 inched close to \$10 billion.

ADMINISTRATIVE TAX CUTS

Planned spending for fiscal 1954 was slashed by more than \$10 billion, reducing the 1954 deficit by \$6 billion. This moved two-thirds of the way toward a balanced budget. Hard on the heels of this accomplishment, the administration, with the help of Congress, cut taxes by \$7.4 billion. The administration envisages other tax cuts, but only at such times as it can see them justified by lowered spending and increased revenue from an economic growth which would broaden the tax base.

In his last state of the Union message, President Eisenhower said, "I am hopeful that such tax reductions can be made next but only if the economic growth of the Nation and spending cuts justified such reduction. Cuts at the present time, without indication of where substitute revenue will come from-except through borrowingare nothing more than irresponsible gestures, patently designed to have its effect at the 1956 ballot box.

Here are some of the fiscal facts of life and of the present administration:

Last year's \$7.4-billion tax cut helped the "little people" more than it helped those in the higher brackets. In brief, the cut amounted to around 10 percent for the small taxpayer, around 2 percent for the wealthy. There was a \$1-billion cut in excise levies on goods in everyday use, and the so-called little people reaped most of the advantage.

WHEN TAX CUTS ARE CONSTRUCTIVE

The tax slashes of a year ago promoted the investment of more money in plant equipment and tools. Investments of this type create jobs. Not to be overlooked is the resultant increased confidence in Government as it moves toward the balanced budget. And bear in mind, as the budget imbalance moves down the value of the dollar moves up.

Several weeks ago the Bureau of Labor Statistics released its report on the cost-ofliving index for the month of January. That report revealed that the dollar has stopped its downward trend. Will the dollar move up or down in value with relation to food, clothing, and shelter? There are two potential answers-maintain our present tax structure, and the trend will be unward. kick the tax structure in the teeth with unwarranted slashes, and the trend will be reversed.

In the words of Treasury Secretary Humphrey, "Inflation, rampant for the past several years, has been checked. The cost of living has not increased now for over 2 years as compared with the fact that it almost doubled in the 15 previous years. This has been worth billions of dollars to millions of Americans. This checking of inflation has protected * * * the full value of savings * and savings in insurance policies and pension funds."

It would not be amiss to have a brief survey of things the administration has done in the past 2 years to effect savings for the taxpayer. In fiscal 1953, the Federal civil payroll, set by the previous administration, stood at \$9.9 billion. President Eisenhower moved into the White House in January of that year, consequently he could slash only the fiscal 1954 civilian payroll. This he did, bringing it down \$400 million to \$9.5 billion. In the current fiscal year it is estimated at \$9.3 billion, another \$200 million saving.

COMPARISON OF GOVERNMENT COSTS

When this administration came in, it cost \$173 a year to clothe a soldier. This year the cost is down to \$159, a \$16 saving per man; or, on the cost of Government doing business, around \$48 million a year. This has been brought about through efficient, business-like methods in purchasing, not through any lowering of the quality of the soldier's apparel. Similar savings have been effected in Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps.

Elsewhere in the military picture, despite the 20-percent increased cost of fighting aircraft and other attendant increased costs. the Defense Establishment, working under the direction of the President has kept many costs down. In fiscal 1953, and President Eisenhower took office in January of that year, it cost around \$60,000 to train a fighter pilot. That cost has not risen one dime.

Through General Services Administration (GSA), the Government's overall purchasing agency, annual savings, through centralized buying, now runs close to \$700 million a year. It would be possible to fill far more pages than are available here, simply cataloging the annual savings effected through businesslike procedure, as compared with political expediency, in Federal spending.

The Late John W. Davis

SPEECH

HON, CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, a disagreeable task faces me at this time. The ticker has just announced the death of John W. Davis, in a hospital at Charleston, S. C., from a sudden attack of pneumonia

Mr. Davis, one of West Virginia's best known citizens and one of the Nation's outstanding legal minds, it will be recalled, served West Virginia and the particular district I have the honor to represent at the present time in the Congress of the United States, from 1910 until some time in 1913, when the late President Woodrow Wilson appointed him Solicitor General of the United States, in which capacity he served with great brilliance.

Mr. Davis, it will be recalled, was the Democratic nominee for President in 1924. He will also be remembered in more recent days—and I am sure some-body else will want to pay tribute to him for this service—as representing the State of South Carolina in the recent case in the United States Supreme Court on the question of segregation. May I say that it is unfortunate that this matter was just now brought to my attention, because I know there are many of his friends who served with him years ago in Government who would want to pay tribute to him.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members who desire to do so may have the privilege of extending their remarks on the death of John W. Davis at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

The Brooklyn Eagle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, March 25, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial published in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of March 19, 1955, dealing with the passing of the Brooklyn Eagle.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE EAGLE IS SILENCED

The 114-year-old Brooklyn Eagle is the latest victim of an attempt to make labor conditions apply uniformly within an area or an industry without allowance for the individual company's financial ability to meet them.

Although the Eagle was the only daily newspaper in the largest community in America (nearly 3 million residents), it was no match either in size or resources for the seven metropolitan giants across the river in Manhattan. Still, the American Newspaper Guild, representing the paper's news and business office employees, insisted that the Eagle should match the wage pattern set by the Manhattan dailies. In support of that demand, it struck the Eagle 7 weeks ago.

Now the paper's publisher, Frank D. Schroth, has bowed to the inevitable and shut the paper down, throwing 630 people out of work and leaving Brooklyn without a major daily specializing in local coverage.

The passing of the Eagle is tragic, we feel, not only for its effects upon its employees and the community it served but because it follows an ominous trend. We have seen the trend develop in other industries, such as steel and automobiles, where a powerful union imposes the same conditions upon

marginal producers as upon industry leaders. If the marginal producer falls by the way-side, it's tust too bad.

We cannot see what labor has to gain by encouraging the trend toward monopoly situations which must inevitably require Government controls as onerous to labor as to management,

Federal Security Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 25, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, recently the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, a most respected and responsible organization, issued a statement dealing with the Federal security program.

The statement is so cogent and so compelling that I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Washington, D. C., March 15.—The arithmetic of the Federal security program, showing that in at least 9 out of 10 cases Government workers had been suspended on groundless charges, were cited today by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in testimony urging a total reexamination of the Federal loyalty-security program.

the Federal loyalty-security program.

Appearing before the Subcommittee on Reorganization of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, Judge David A. Rose, of Boston, chairman of the league's civil-rights committee, reported that a survey made by his organization pointed up the unnecessary hardship and heartache resulting from current security procedures.

These could be avoided, he said, if regulations were revised so that it would not be mandatory to suspend an employee against whom formal charges are filed until his case is adjudicated.

He also expressed the opinion that security officers were guilty of passing the buck instead of properly evaluating security cases. Stricter training and qualifications for such officials are needed, he said.

Judge Rose's testimony was in support of Senate Resolution 21 which calls for establishment of a bipartisan commission of Congressmen, administration leaders, and private citizens to review completely the Federal loyalty-security program. He told the subcommittee, of which Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democrat, of Minnesota, is chairman, that "disquiet over the operation of the program makes an independent reexamination almost imperative."

The jurist recited the details of a survey made by ADL among 8 Washington law firms which, he said, have handled more than 450 security cases under the Truman and Eisenhower directives.

"The most striking finding is that these lawyers won more than 90 percent of the cases," he testified. "In other words, in 9 cases out of 10, the formal charges brought by the Government against an employee proved to be groundless. This arithmetic reveals some of the unnecessary hardship and heartache of the security program, because the present policy and practice are that the employee against whom charges are filed must first be suspended.

"In the overwhelming majority of cases, if past experience is a guide, he will ulti-

mately be reinstated with back pay. But that will take an average of 6 months. * * * Meanwhile, the employee will have been severed from his job. A wall of suspicion will have been erected between him and his neighbor and his fellow employees. Demoralization will have set it. Reinstatement with back pay cannot completely undo the damage wrought by the practice of suspending first and hearing afterward."

Judge Rose said there was justification and need for a Federal security program. However, he recommended a workable standard to replace the current principle that a government worker's continued employment must be, as required by the Eisenhower Executive order, "clearly consistent with the interests of national security." He quoted the "unanimous opinion" of the lawyers interviewed by ADL that the existing principle "places too severe a burden on the Government employee."

His criticism of security officers was that "they have failed to stop a thin or hollow case in its tracks, but have preferred to let the issue go to a hearing board for determination.

"We expect a district attorney to have the decency and sense of duty to refuse to take a case to court if it is too thin. We expect a judge to toss out a case without letting it go to the jury if thte evidence has raised no real issue of fact. We should expect no less of security officers," Judge Rose said.

He recommended that security officers be held responsible for passing along "untenable charges" that a preliminary examination or face-to-face meeting with the employee would have exploded.

Changes in the security program which were announced last week by Attorney General Brownell were characterized by Judge Rose as improvements which did not go far enough to remedy "existing injustices and hardships."

"Any security program which confuses honest dissent with disloyalty inflicts grave injustice on loyal Americans and impedes rather than advances the basic objective of protecting the American Government from its external and internal enemies," he said.

Can Small Business Prosper?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 25, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an excellent address entitled "Can Small Business Prosper?" delivered by John W. Douglas, president of the Republic Foil & Metal Mills, Inc., of Danbury, Conn., before the Harvard Business School Club, at Hartford, Conn., on February 16, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAN SMALL BUSINESS PROSPER? INTRODUCTION

Mr. Patten and gentlemen, under any circumstances it would be a pleasure to meet with you here this evening. However, this is a very special occasion for me since I have always dreamt that I, a Yale man, might have a captive Harvard audience. Of course, the dream did not contemplate discussing

such a dry subject as small business; nevertheless, any port in a storm.

The Small Business Act of 1953 defines a small business as one which is independently owned and operated and which is not dominant in its field of operation. This seems to be as good a definition as any I have seen. I will direct my remarks, however, to typical small industrial corporations as differentiated from partnerships, distributors, and merchandisers whose problems are often substantially different from those of manufacturers.

As a preface to my remarks, I wish to emphasize that I have no ax to grind and advocate no special favors. In short, my objective is the discussion of the broad aspects of industrial problems as they relate to small manufacturers rather than special problems of specific divisions of our economy.

My qualifications-such as they are-for tackling this assignment are primarily derived from practical experience gained in organizing a small aluminum foil rolling mill in 1945 in a highly competitive field and guiding it through a maze of pitfalls until today it is a successful company which enjoys an enviable reputation for quality and service, a steady record of earnings and a sound financial position although producing less than 5 percent of our national output and employing approximately 125 persons.

Our company is typical of thousands who

purchase semifabricated products from suppliers and then compete with these same suppliers in the further processing and sale of fabricated items: I assume, therefore, that our problems are representative to a greater or lesser degree of those of other manufacturers who fit into this broad industrial classification.

It is a well-established fact that the commencement of a business is a hazardous undertaking and at best the chances against success are great. I have often been asked what motivated me to raise a sizable sum of money and start a manufacturing enterprise in the face of such heavy odds. Quite frankly, there were times when I wondered this myself. However, most of us have forgotten that in the afterglow of World War II, the future promised a great big beautiful world of comparatively low taxes and real incentive to risk money. These horizons have since become so shrouded in fog as to discourage the employment of pioneering initiative and risk capital in new manufacturing enterprises. It is this condition which so alarms me and must be corrected if we are to enjoy a sound competitive economic growth.

COMPETITION WITH BIG CORPORATIONS

It is popular to attribute a large share of the blame for small companies' problems to big business monopolies. This is a favorite explanation because it has undeniable political and emotional appeal. However, it has been my experience that the vast majority of large corporations are responsible organizations staffed by able and experienced executives who clearly understand that their selfish interests—if you will—lie in the growth of a healthy competitive economy.

From time to time, there are instances of large corporations exercising their power to destroy small companies either by design or chance. There are also instances of the employment of unethical and irresponsible practices by small companies. Until the Judgment Day, no segment of our industry ever be entirely free from wrongdoing will nor will the degree of bigness or smallness ever establish a just measure of responsibility and the right to do business. Certainly, determination as to whether a corporation constitutes a monopoly should be based upon its record in meeting its obligation to its industry and the public and not upon its size alone.

While mass producers display marked superiority in certain phases of industrial pro-

duction and merchandising, small compa-? taxation. Let us sincerely hope that the nies often offer services, quality, and prices which their large competitors cannot hope to meet. Consequently, the various segments of our industrial society have their own important niches and under normal conditions live together profitably.

THE EFFECTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES ON SMALL CORPORATIONS

Where should the principal blame rest for the spreading stagnation of small corporations and the abnormal rash of mergers and acquisitions which are throwing our economy out of balance? The evidence points clearly to Federal policies, laws, and regulations. would be foolish to state that the Government has created this condition by design. However, the planning of the very economists, tax experts, and politicians who claim to champion the rights of the little man, has fostered big government, big business, and big labor unions, who in turn make natural, if quarrelsome, bedfellows.

The Government's basic responsibility is to make equitable laws and to police them. However, commencing in 1933, the Government passed a series of regulations relative to matters normally considered to be within the province of private industry. These regulations disturbed the equilibrium and in turn led to more Government tinkering. They also afforded opportunities for pressure groups, including industries and corporations, to promote their self-interests which further aggravated the condition. Needless to say, World War II served to compound the confusion which the administration did little to unsnarl in the following years.

The result of this policy has been the creation of an unhealthy and unnatural business climate. On top of this condition, the sharply increased tax burdens struck at the very foundations of small business.

THE EXCESS-PROFITS TAX

Taxes, of necessity, attained enormous heights during World War II and remained a sufficiently high level during 1946 through 1949 to discourage the adequate siphoning of risk capital to new manufacturing enterprises. However, it was the reenactment of the excess-profits tax following the start of the Korean war in 1950 which dealt new, small, and marginal corporations a staggering blow. This act was levied at the rate of 30 percent on all corporate earnings in excess of 83 percent of base-period earnings where the base period was the 3 most profitable years for the 4-year period, 1946-49. Special provisions were included to give recognition to new enterprises and the needs of certain others to whom the overall formulas could not be applied. Unfortunately, in most instances, the so-called relief provisions afforded little or no relief.

During World War II, the principles of this form of taxation were demonstrated to be unsound and discriminatory and to work undue hardships on small and growing corporations. Yet within 5 years of its original expiration, the political appeal of the magical misnomer "excess profits" heavily outweighed this knowledge on the part of the administration, Members of Congress, and Government tax advisers. Once passed. Congressmen wept crocodile tears and vigorously concurred to the injustice of the tax. However, it was this tax which was extended 6 months beyond its original expiration date at the insistence of the Secretary of the Treasury in the same breath in which he it "an iniquity as well as an inequity."

Mark Twain is credited with the observation that everyone complains about the weather but no one does anything about it. This seems to have been a reasonable description of Washington's approach to excessprofits legislation. Volumes of testimony and numerous congressional reports have now built an ironclad cause against this form of

Government has at last learned a lesson.

THE EFFECTS OF ACCELERATED DEPRECIATION

Along with the excess-profits-tax provisions and an increase in the taxable base, the Revenue Act of 1950 made provision for accelerated depreciation of facilities constructed or installed to promote defense production through investment of private capital. This amortization was made effective through the issuance of certificates of necessity which permit a company to amortize various percentages of a new facility over a 5-year period instead of over its normal useful life. underlying principle behind certificates of necessity is to expand private industry's productive capacity to meet mobilization goals while holding Government ownership of defense facilities to a minimum. While this objective is undeniably sound, certificates, in many instances, have permitted companies to build facilities applicable for peacetime use on cheap tax dollars. As the law now reads, at the end of the 5-year grace period, these corporations will be penalized by higher taxes because of the accelerated amortization. However, pressures are already mounting in Washington to grant these beneficiaries extended tax relief or additional certificates of necessity for facilities which would normally be built without need for special tax benefits. This can be detected in the growing tendency to stretch the definition of facilities to promote national defense-a broad description under any circumstances.

Below are listed the dollars of certificates authorized 1950 through 1954:

1950 (November-December) _	1, 353, 525, 000
1951	11, 433, 867, 000
1952	12, 639, 496, 000
1953	4, 807, 211, 000
1954	. 1, 823, 877, 000

The total has tapered sharply since the peak in 1952. However, the volume remains considerable.

In addition to defense certificates of necessity, the Government is offering tax amortization certificates to companies who build in labor-surplus areas. This dangerous plan presents endless opportunities for political wirepulling and can compound regional and corporate injustices. It is an intrusion upon State and local rights which will do nothing to bolster the prestige of the Federal Government.

THE DUAL STANDARD OF TAXATION AND ITS RESULTS

The net effect of special tax benefits has been the establishment of a dual standard of taxation-one often applying to large, well-established corporations, the other to new and small companies.

This condition can lead to very serious results. For example, for the past 4 years, some integrated producers of basic raw materials have enjoyed tax rates as much as 20 percent below those of competitors, who, of necessity, may also be customers. The tax advantages and other incentives offered by the Government to increase basic production now tend to discourage new companies from entering competition unless sharp price increases are assured. However, such price increases on basic materials might enable established producers to lower prices of finished products, thereby driving their nonintegrated competitors out of business. Thus the Government has created a Frankenstein monster which presents a real challenge to industry.

THE 1954 TAX ACT

During the 1954 session, Congress introduced several tax reforms, the most important of which are referred to herewith.

1. The law permits more rapid depreciation of assets acquired during 1954 and thereafter and allows more area of choice in computing depreciation of all assets. These provisions will be of considerable aid to growth corporations.

2. Dividend credit provisions take out some of the sting of double taxation and improve the climate for investment capital.

3. Liberalized treatment is provided for net losses, organization, research, and development expenses, accumulation of surplus and

reserves for estimated expenses.

4. The law tightened provisions relating to acquisitions of net-loss companies and closed certain other loopholes. Perhaps this section of the act was inspired by the following advertisement which appeared in the March 6, 1953, edition of the Wall Street Journal:

"Wanted, to buy profit-making corporation, by corporation with \$600,000 tax loss; existing management retained. Write full particulars to Box A-178, the Wall Street Journal."

Whereas these changes are noteworthy steps in the right direction, they are not the final answer. Small business is forced to rely to a very major extent upon retained earnings and depreciation allowances for its capital needs, since the floating of new security issues and borrowing proves very diffi-Under the circumstances, excessive cult. taxation can become a prime weapon of destruction.

Let us look at how lethal that weapon has proved to be since 1950. During the 3-year period of 1951 through 1953, the working capital of all manufacturing companies increased approximately \$6,300,000,000. However, while companies having assets of \$100 million or more added to their working capital by more than \$5 billion, the working capital of those having assets of less than \$1 million shrank by \$550 million. While total assets of manufacturing corporations increased by \$25 billion, assets declined among those having total assets of less than \$1 million. Earned surplus and surplus reserves of all manufacturers increased approximately \$9 billion. Yet those of an asset size of less than \$1 million increased by only \$27 million.

The serious decline in the fortunes of small business can be reversed only through broad tax relief granted promptly. In spite of steadily mounting inflation, the \$25,000 surtax base has remained unchanged since 1950 and is now of inconsequential assistance to any except the smallest companies. Assuming this principle of taxation to be sound, a substantial increase in the surtax base is long overdue and would afford wide relief without discrimination against any group. However, no segment of our corporate economy can absorb 52 percent taxes indefinitely. The administration should not fall in 1956 to make good on its 1952 pledges to reduce corporate taxes.

UNIONS AND SMALL BUSINESS

Another matter which is of grave concern to small business is the rapid trend toward industrywide wage bargaining on a national scale. Nearly all businessmen recognize and accept the fact that unions occupy a vitally important position in our economy. However, investors, the public, and workers have every right to expect the same legal protection against irresponsible, unbridled and monopolistic union practices as they now have against such practices on the part of corporations. Yet very few legal restrictions have been placed upon union activities nor are they subject to the antitrust laws applicable to business.

It goes without saying that mass production groups such as automobiles and basic steel can pay workers more than less mechanized producers. It is equally true that large, well established, and prosperous industries are in a position to pay rates and fringe benefits which might well destroy new and small corporations or marginal producers. However, in spite of the economic facts and democratic principles involved, unions are pressing for labor bargaining on a national scale using industry-crippling strikes as their weapon to club key producers into submission. We need only turn to Europe to see the disastrous results of nationwide politically dominated wage agreements. Government well knows the consequences of unbridled power in the hands of any group. We have every right to expect congressional action to place proper restrictions upon the activities of this segment of our economy.

THE TARIFF AND SMALL BUSINESS

The problems relating to the tariff are highly complex and controversial. Proponents and critics are equally emphatic in their opinions depending upon the effects of international trade upon their interests. We do not have time here to debate the pros and cons of this issue. However, it is worth noting that heavy industry which once was the champion of protection, can now, in many instances, be counted among the strongest supporters of reduced tariffs while industries which have heavy labor costs per sales dollar, including most small businesses, oppose tariff reduction.

It is most unfortunate and may prove very costly that tariff agreements have become an international bargaining medium on the part of the State Department whose past record indicates a certain lack of Yankee shrewdness, ingenuity, and hard-headedness. I feel sure that foreign friendship cannot be bought by gifts and favors. Nor do I believe that industries and corporations should be used as pawns to international agreements. confident that tariff reductions which unduly injure any segment of our domestic economy will be contrary to the best interests of the United States.

Finally, I have noted proposals on the part responsible Government officials to the effect that industries and corporations injured by tariff reductions should be granted special subsidies or tax concessions. represents bureaucratic muddling at it confused worst and doesn't warrant intelligent argument beyond the observation that it typifies the kind of Government thinking which really frightens business.

THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Before closing, I wish to mention the Small Business Administration, which was established by act of Congress in July 1953 to assume not only the functions of the de-funct Small Defense Plants Administration and the Reconstruction Finance Corp., but also to offer a broad scope of Government assistance to small business. Whereas I have had no contact with this group, I suspect that Government agencies of this type serve more of a political than a practical purpose. It is my understanding that to date the Small Business Administration has not justified the substantial appropriation allotted for its operation. Whether it will be reconstituted upon its termination date of June 30, 1955, remains doubtful.

Basically, small business must stand on its own feet. Companies which are undercapitalized, lack sound management experience and engineering ability, or enter a marginal field of endeavor should not look to the Government for special favors. is no law which forces a company to start in business. There should be no undue protection against self-inflicted failure.

To summarize, our national economy can be compared to an expensive watch. Tinkering harms its timing, and its value will ultimately be destroyed unless it is repaired by an expert and then permitted to operate smoothly without undue disturbance.

The Government has been tinkering with business for more than 20 years, until we have lost our balance and our sense of values. The time is long overdue for a complete overhaul of tax and other laws for the purpose of reducing inequities and restoring proper balances. This goal can be achieved only by the substitution of vigorous leader-

ship for the jigsaw approach of the past. Such leadership would replenish the confidence needed to encourage risk capital and permit the prosperous growth of small corporations. Washington holds the key to the future.

Destroy Yalta and You Destroy the Possibility of a Free Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, printed below is a letter from a friend which might well have been captioned: "Political Pygmies: Destroy Yalta and You Destroy the Possibility of a Free Poland."

In it, American-born, Americanreared George Otlowski, president of the American Publishing Co., of Perth Amboy, N. J., cautions those who had no ideas for victory and who became political giants with their hindsight when the war was won, to study the implications involved in vitiating the Yalta accords. The letter follows:

AMERICAN PUBLISHING CO., INC., Perth Amboy, N. J., March 22, 1955. Hon, ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: For the longest time, in and out of Congress, much was made of the supposed insidiousness of Yalta. There were many Congressmen who used this agreement as a catch-all phrase to get votes in Polish-American districts.

The so-called secret agreements at Yalta were supposed to have sold Poland and the Eastern European countries down the river to communism.

Many Congressmen rode this political horse until it was exhausted the other day by the public revelation of the Yalta agreement.

This so-called secret and insidious document reveals nothing else but the sincere and honest efforts of Roosevelt and Churchill to try to establish a free and independent Poland at Yalta. The fact that Stalin agreed to this document, and after it was signed threw it in a Red barbage can, does not detract from the high purpose of the instrument itself.

If Poland is ever to be free, its freedom will rest upon the Yalta agreement. Destroy Yalta and you destroy the possibility of a free Poland. It's as simple as that. This is what you must tell the Congressmen who used the Yalta agreement as a political subterfuge to try to fool the American people that this agreement was a sellout.

For years these Congressmen were having a good time on a political hayride, mouthing and hollering about this "sellout of democratic countries." Tell them that this was cheap political trickery that has come to its own end now.

They based appeals to the Polish-American voters upon this trickery. Tell them that that will no longer work. These Americans are politically mature and they cannot be fooled by the insinuations that were made about Yalta. The Yalta document can now be read by all.

The Yalta agreement as revealed merely covered four essential points:

1. Russia's entry into the war against

2. Dismemberment and control of Ger-

many.
3. The establishment of a free and independent Poland.

4. The formation of the United Nations.

The fact that the Russian Government never lived up to this agreement does not detract from its high purpose even when it is viewed today, and even though it has been perverted and scuttled by the Communists.

The political pygmies who were quiet during the war and who had no ideas for victory became the political giants with their hind-sight after the war was won as to what should have been done at Yalta. After the war, these same political pygmies would have the American people believe that the war was won, that the Nazi and Japanese war machines were crushed by a series of mistakes, instead of the great leadership that won the war—the leadership represented by Roose-velt and Churchill.

Tell these political pygmies of doom to go back to their holes to fight their small fights, to raise their soiled standards with squabbling and bickering among lesser people—lesser people than Americans, who by their nature have always set their sights for bigger tasks in the full light of the sun. Tell these political pygmies that they have squeezed the Yalta sponge dry. The record now speaks for itself.

America must constantly remind the Russian Government of the promises that they made at Yalta and it must insist that the Russian Government keep these promises to reestablish freedom in Eastern Europe.

Yalta is the instrument by which a free and independent Poland must be resurrected.

The freedom and independence of Eastern Europe rests with Yalta. The free world must be constantly reminded of this and our State Department must constantly strive to have Russia live up to the real and full meaning of Yalta.

Sincerely,

George Otlowski, Publisher, Glos Narodu, American Citizen, Polish American Weekly.

Burley Tobacco Acreage Allotments and Marketing Quotas

SPEECH

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4951) directing a redetermination of the national marketing quota for burley tobacco for the 1955-56 marketing year, and for other purposes.

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Chairman, for sometime—in fact, since its inception—we have been very proud, indeed, of our tobacco problem. It has worked well because the growers have been willing and anxious to follow the recommendations of the Department as to production. They have acreage allotments and marketing quotas. They have at all times in the burley tobacco, flue-cured tobacco, and dark fired type governed themselves according to the marketing quotas and acreage allotments in line with the recommendations of the Department and because they have kept their supply in line with the needs, the program has

worked well. But for the past several years the production of burley tobacco per acre has increased tremendously. The farmers, by very careful planning and following the advice of experts, have increased their yield. We find that last year, in the fall, when the Department of Agriculture estimated the supply of burley tobacco, they were wrong by a considerable percent. They estimated that we would have a production of approximately 582 million pounds, but when the crop was sold it was actually 670 million pounds. So we find that we now have a carryover of a $3\frac{1}{2}$ -year supply.

Mr. PERKINS. What is the normal

supply?

Mr. ABBITT. Heretofore, before now, the normal supply was 2.6 years; but we find now that the disappearance is not nearly as much as over the 5-year period. Due to our good doctor friends, our ladies, and perhaps some others, not as much tobacco is being consumed now as in the past.

Mr. BURNSIDE. Mr. Chairman, will

the gentleman yield?

Mr. ABBITT. I yield to the gentleman

from West Virginia.

Mr. BURNSIDE. Is it not true that at this time there are 3.5 years' usings based on current levels of disappearance according to the Department of Agriculture 1954 statement—Commodity Stabilization Service, Tobacco Division—which would be seven-tenths of a year above desired level, or 2.8 years.

Mr. ABBITT. That is if you went by the old disappearance formula, but if you go by the true disappearance formula, the actual disappearance formula, you have far more than that on hand. What we have to do is face realities.

Mr. BURNSIDE. The gentleman will recognize that according to the statement of the Department of Agriculture at this time there is seven-tenths of a year's supply on hand?

Mr. ABBITT. Is the gentleman saying that we should not have any reduc-

tion in our tobacco quota?

Mr. BURNSIDE. No. I am basing it on the statement that the Department

of Agriculture has put out.

Mr. ABBITT. I do not controvert what the gentleman says. I would like to know whether he says we should have any reduction?

Mr. BURNSIDE. Yes; I agree with the reduction. As a matter of fact, I agree with every recommendation that the eight State committee reported, but they do not recommend getting under seventenths or six-tenths.

Mr. ABBITT. The gentleman was in favor of increasing the minimum to 1 acre and introduced a bill to that effect.

Mr. BURNSIDE. At one time, that is

Mr. ABBITT. Does the gentleman think that is wrong?

Mr. BURNSIDE. I would like to see it at 1 acre because our small farmers have so little to live on, but we have to face facts.

Mr. ABBITT. I wish we could have $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres or more. What I am saying here is that if we want to continue any program, if we want to have a burley-

tobacco program, if we believe in a farm program, we have to have this bill, in my opinion.

It does a number of things. We find that in the burley-tobacco sections, as well as possibly some other sections, more tobacco is being raised by the farmers than they were allotted. When they sell this excess tobacco, they pay under the present law a 50-percent penalty, but they get credit in their history and in establishing future allotments for this excessive tobacco. So, the Department at the beginning of the year, when they found out that they had underestimated the supply, held meetings in the burleytobacco section and tried to ascertain what could be done to improve the program. They held two such meetings. Then word came to our subcommittee that something needed to be done for the tobacco program. We called a meeting of our subcommittee and called the Department officials down, and they made five recommendations.

One was that the act be amended to permit the Department to make a redetermination of the allotments for 1955. Under the present law, once the allotment has been announced, it cannot be cut. So, if we are to have a redetermination, we have got to have this act, and apparently everybody agrees that we have to have a redetermination if we are going to keep our program.

In addition to that, they recommended that the penalty on excess tobacco be raised from 50 percent to 75 percent. That is in this bill, and apparently everybody agrees on that.

They also recommended that no longer could any excess tobacco harvested be counted in future history. This bill takes care of that, and apparently everybody agrees on those three features.

Now, the controversial provision was explained by our able chairman, who knows the tobacco program so well. In the burley-type program we have minimum allotments. The minimum is seven-tenths of an acre. That means a vast number of growers, when the others take cuts, cannot take any. The Department pointed out to us that this was one of the big problems, and it was suggested by a number of people-as a matter of fact, the majority of those who testified—that we eliminate the minimum acreage-allotment provision. As a matter of compromise, this bill drops the minimum acreage from seventenths of an acre to five-tenths, and that is the controversy.

Now, in addition to that, here is the crux of the matter as I see it. This bill provides that if it goes into law, after the Secretary makes a redetermination of the allotment and after the new allotment has been announced—and, by the way, the bill also limits it to 25 percent—after the allotment has been announced, then the growers are given the privilege and opportunity of voting as to whether or not they will accept the allotment as announced by the Secretary, and with one exception all of the growers that appeared before our subcommittee approved that proposal.

I hope that you will save our tobacco program and go along with the commit-

tee on this bill.

H. R. 12

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM S. HILL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, after our Easter recess the House will have before it for consideration H. R. 12, a bill reported out of the Committee on Agriculture, which would rescind the action of the 83d Congress wherein a system of sliding-scale parity was written into the Agriculture Act of 1949, as amended.

The reasons advanced by the majority committee report for taking this action are based on the relatively low level of farm income. Farm costs remain high.

The inconsistency in the reasoning of the majority report accompanying H. R. 12 should be obvious. The restoration of the 90 percent of parity, as H. R. 12 seeks to do, would perpetuate the situation which has led to present difficulties.

No system of supports for agricultural products can operate successfully without accompanying controls. The higher the support the more rigid the controls. We have already seen this type of support program sag of its own weight. Diminishing returns to the farmer, mounting surpluses and continued high cost of food to the consumer have been to a large extent due to the present pricesupport programs.

It is my opinion, Mr. Speaker, that the answer lies not in continued high rigid supports, but in better distribution and merchandising of our farm products to the consuming public which provides the farmer his fair share of the cost of his product without Federal subsidies. A better job of selling can help the farmer. Rigid supports mean rigid production controls and the little farmer is all too often forced to reduce his operation to one of unsound economic practice. The sliding scale of supports adopted last year may not be the complete or final answer, but does it make sense to discard it before it has even had a chance to operate for one crop season?

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert an editorial on this subject from the New York Times of March 13, entitled "Farm Surpluses":

FARM SURPLUSES

The magnitude of the problem faced by Washington in dealing with farm surpluses is revealed in the latest figures on Governmentowned farm products. At the end of 1954 the Government held title to some \$4,230,000,000 worth of farm surplus food and fiber and was incurring a daily bill of \$700,000 to store them. Moreover, there was almost \$3 bil-lion outstanding in farm product loans. Thus more than \$7 billion in Federal funds was committed to the farm price support program and this figure represented an increase of \$1,500,000,000 in 1 year. Put another way, each American had a \$44.50 stake in the farm problem by the end of last year.

The present administration has made

strenuous efforts to reduce the staggering surplus inventory, but so far has been able to dispose of only relatively small amounts. The Government's disposal program has been slowed by the necessity to avoid depressing farm product prices in the world market since this would alienate friendly nations

who must sell their own agricultural products abroad. An attempt is being made to open and to develop new markets for our surpluses, but this at best is a difficult, longrange project. Meanwhile, it is anticipated that the Government will have to take over many of the agricultural products on which it has granted loans, and that its total investment will run to \$9 billion before any leveling off begins.

Clearly, farm surpluses remain one of our major domestic problems. Lower price supports becoming effective this year and increased Government disposal activities should tend to check our mounting storage of crops. However, it is plain that the farm support program will burden the American taxpayer for years to come.

Is There Adequate Medical Training in the United States?

SPEECH OF

HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, when I first came to Congress in 1951, the Korean war was at high tide and one of the first disappointments many of my constituents experienced was their inability, through me, to use the good offices of the House of Representatives to help gain admission for their sons and daughters to out-of-State medical or dental schools. New Jersey had neither. It does now. Therein lies the tale of this talk: "Is there adequate medical training in the United States?" I suggest that my colleagues read the following and judge for themselves:

IS THERE ADEQUATE MEDICAL TRAINING IN THE UNITED STATES?

I. HOW MANY MEDICAL SCHOOLS ARE THERE IN THE UNITED STATES?

1. There are 74 approved medical schools and 6 approved schools of basic medical sciences in the United States, including 1 approved medical school in Puerto Rico.

II. HOW MANY STUDENTS ARE THEY TRAINING?

- 1. Twenty-seven thousand six hundred and five students were enrolled in the country's medical schools and 438 students in schools of basic sciences in 1953-54, making a total of 28,043 persons now preparing to fill the Nation's need for doctors.
- 2. Six thousand eight hundred and sixteen students graduated from medical schools in the United States during the year ending June 30, 1954. However, it is estimated that about 4,000 doctors are lost each year through death and retirement, so that the actual net increase of doctors was only 2,816. III. HOW MANY APPLICATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO MEDICAL SCHOOLS ARE RECEIVED?

1. Fourteen thousand six hundred and seventy-eight individuals applied for admission to American medical schools for the college year of 1953-54.

(a) Forty-three percent of these appli-cants came from 6 States (New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas, Illinois, and California).

(b) Applicants from the following 7 States (Delaware, Maine, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Wyoming) represented only 1.4 percent of all persons submitting applications for admission to our medical schools.

(a) Among these 7 States there is only 1 approved medical school-in Vermont,

2. In contrast, a total of 20,000 individuals applied for admission to American medical schools during the college year 1951-52. This drop in the number of applications reflects three things:

(a) The increasing cost of medical school tuition is pricing thousands of potential medical school students out of the market. (New York University recently raised its medical school tuition to \$1,000 a year.)

(b) The end of eligibility under the GI

bill of rights.

(c) A general feeling among college graduates that it is just too tough to get into medical schools.

IV. HOW MANY OF THESE APPLICANTS WERE ACCEPTED?

- 1. Fifty-three percent of the 14,678 applicants, 7,489, were admitted as freshmen to the medical colleges in the United States in 1953-54.
- (a) 41 percent of all first-year students in 1953-54 in the United States came from the 6 States listed above (New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas, Illinois, and California) in which are situated 36 percent of the approved medical schools.
- V. WHAT ARE THE DIFFICULTIES ABOUT GAINING ADMISSION TO OUR MEDICAL SCHOOLS?

1. Large numbers of qualified applicants are unable to gain admittance to any medical college in this country because of geographical restrictions.

(a) Thirty-eight percent of the State and municipally owned medical colleges (15 out of 39) restrict enrollment of 1st-year stu-dents to residents of the State in which the school is located.

(b) Twenty-three schools limit the number of out-of-State residents to less than 10 percent of the positions in the entering class. (c) Only 22 schools admit out-of-State

residents in numbers equal to more than 50 percent of the positions in the entering

All but one of these schools is privately supported.

2. As a result of these geographical restric-tions, some medical schools are forced to take nearly everyone who applies, while others can accept only 1 out of every 10 or 15 applicants.

(a) The State medical schools, because of their restrictions against out-of-State students, have fewer applicants than the private medical schools.

(b) Thirty-six percent of all applications (17,434 of 48,586) were made to the 22 schools admitting out-of-State residents to more than 50 percent of the positions in the entering class

(c) Of the 7,489 freshmen admitted to our medical schools in 1953-54, 1,889, or 25 percent of the total, were admitted to these 22

schools.

3. The basic barrier to increasing the number of physicians is actually the limited capacity of our medical schools. This means that the proportion of students who enter medical school has remained almost constant for the past 20 years, whereas the pro-portion who receive a college education has more than quadrupled, and the proportion entering engineering has increased sixfold.

VI. HAS THE NUMBER OF MEDICAL SCHOOL GRAD-UATES INCREASED TO CORRESPOND WITH THE INCREASE IN POPULATION IN THE UNITED

STATES? No.

1. In 1910, there were 4.440 medical school graduates when the United States population was about 92 million.

2. In 1954, there were 6,816 medical school graduates when the estimated population was 160,927,000.

3. In other words, since 1910 the population has increased 75 percent, yet the annual number of medical school graduates has only increased 54.5 percent.

4. Based on the generally accepted ratio of one active doctor for every 750 people, our

net rise in population in 1954 demanded a net increase of 3,333 new doctors, yet our actual net increase of new doctors was only 2,816 in 1954, a deficit of 517 in 1 year alone, excluding any consideration of the existing shortage of some 20,000 doctors.

VII. HOW MANY DOCTORS ARE IN PRACTICE IN THE UNITED STATES?

1. As of December 31, 1953, the total number of physicians in the continental United States was 218,522. This includes: 156,333 engaged in private practice; 6,677 in full-time research and teaching and physicians employed by insurance companies, industries, and health departments; 29,161 interns, residents in hospitals, and physicians engaged in hospital administration; 17,040 in Government services; 9,311 retired or not in practice.

VIII, HOW MANY MORE DOCTORS DO WE NEED TO BRING THE REGIONS OF THE NATION WITH THE LOWEST RATIOS OF PHYSICIANS TO POPULA-TION UP TO THE CURRENT AVERAGE FOR THE NATION?

1. The report made in 1952 by the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation stated that in 1960, in order to bring the regions of the Nation with the present lowest ratios of physicians to population up to the current average for the Nation, it would require 22,000 aditional physicians over and above the predicted supply for that year.

(a) This means that between 1952 (when this estimate was made) and 1960 our existing medical schools must train about 2,750 more physicians per year (or roughly 50-percent more medical-school graduates per year than are currently being graduated yearly in order to have these additional 22,000 badly needed physicians in 1960.

IX. HOW MANY MORE DOCTORS WILL WE NEED BY 1960 FOR REASONABLY COMPREHENSIVE MEDI-CAL CARE FOR THE WHOLE CIVILIAN POPULA-TION?

- 1. The report of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, made in 1952, stated that by 1960, the United States will need 30,000 additional physicians over and above the predicted supply for that Year for reasonably comprehensive medical care to the whole civilian population, for the pressing needs of public-health services, industrial medicine, mental and tuberculosis staffs, faculties of medical schools and schools of public health, and to meet all the requirements of the Armed Forces at present mobilization levels. This estimate, however, would still leave the physician-population ratio for the country as a whole well below that which prevails in some sections of the country today.
- M. HOW MANY MORE DOCTORS WOULD WE NEED BY 1960 FOR THE WHOLE NATION TO HAVE THE SAME PHYSICIAN POPULATION RATIO OF NEW ENGLAND AND THE CENTRAL ATLANTIC STATES?
- 1. The report of the President's Commission on the health needs of the Nation, made in 1952, stated that in 1960, in order to bring all regions of the United States up to the average physician-population ratio of New England and the Central Atlantic States, it would require 45,000 additional physicians over and above the predicted supply for that year.

(a) This means that between 1952 (when this estimate was made) and 1960 our existing medical schools must train about 5.625 more physicians per year (or roughly twice as many more medical school graduates per year) than are currently being graduated yearly in order to have these additional 45.000 badly needed physicians in 1960.

MI. HOW MUCH MONEY DO DOCTORS EARN YEAR-LY IN THE UNITED STATES?

1. In 1949 (latest figures available), United States doctors (excluding interns and fulltime teachers) averaged \$11,058 net. General Practitioners of all ages averaged \$8,835.

- 2. In 1950, the average physician earned \$11,538.
- 3. In 1951, the average physician earned \$12,518.
- 4. Among full specialists in independent practice in 1949, the fields in which the largest incomes were made are the following:

Aver	rage net
inco	me, 1949
Neurological surgery	\$28,628
Pathology	22, 284
Gynecology	19, 283
Orthopedic surgery	18,809
Roentgenology-radiology	18, 540
General surgery	17, 765
Obstetrics and gynecology	17, 102
Neurology and psychiatry	16, 476
Urology	16, 370
Cardiology	15, 589

5. Among salaried full specialists in 1949, the fields in which the largest incomes were made are the following:

	erage net ome, 1949
Roentgenology-radiologyPathology	. 11,745
Multiple specialtiesOphthalmology-otolaryngology	. 10,644
Anesthesia Orthopedic surgery	10,034
General surgery	9, 233
Physical medicine	

XII. WHICH ARE THE LARGEST MEDICAL SCHOOLS
IN THE UNITED STATES?

The first 10 medical schools with the largest enrollments for 1953-54 are:

	State	Enroll- ment	Grad- uates
1. University of Tennessee 2. University of Michigan 3. University of Illinois 4. Jafferson Medical College 5. University of Texas, Galveston 6. Indiana University School of Medicine 7. Ohio State University College of Medicine 8. State University of New York, New York City 9. Northwestern University 10. Harvard Medical School	Michigan Illinois Pennsylvania Texas Indiana Ohio New York	750 728 667 666 599 575 575 575 573 533 531	159 155 169 163 132 139 136 131 134

XIII. HOW MANY NEW MEDICAL SCHOOLS HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED IN THE LAST 20 YEARS IN THE UNITED STATES?

- 1. Only five medical schools have been established since 1935:
- (a) Medical College of Alabama, division of University of Alabama, Birmingham, Ala., established 1943;
- (b) Southwestern Medical Foundation, Dallas, Tex., established 1943, which became a branch of the University of Texas on September 1, 1949, and changed its name to the Southwestern Medical School of the University of Texas.
- (c) University of Washington School of Medicine, Seattle, Wash., established in 1946;
- (d) University of California at Los Angeles, established in 1951, will admit its fourth class in 1954;
- (e) University of Miami School of Medicine, established 1952, will admit its third year class in 1954, and plans to have all 4 years in operation by the fall of 1955.
- 2. There were 1,136 students enrolled in these five medical schools for the year 1953-54. There were only a total of 227 graduates in the year ending June 30, 1954, from the Medical College of Alabama, Southwestern Medical School, and the University of Washington School of Medicine. The University of California at Los Angeles Medical School and the University of Miami School of Medicine have not as yet graduated any medical students.

KIV. ARE ANY NEW MEDICAL SCHOOLS BEING PLANNED?

- 1. If medical-school development plans, as outlined in the Journal of the American Medical Association of September 11, 1954, are carried through, four 4-year medical schools will be added. These new schools would be:
- (a) The Albert Einstein College of Medicine at Yeshiva University anticipates that progress on construction will be sufficiently rapid to permit admission of a first-year class in 1955.
- (b) The University of Florida at Gainesville has received a \$5 million appropriation from the 1953 legislature to develop the medical-science building that will constitute the first unit of the college of medicine. Ac-

cording to current planning, the school will admit its first class in 1956.

- (c) A new medical school—Seton Hall College of Medicine and Dentistry—has just been incorporated in New Jersey. It is hoped that the new college will be ready to accept students for the fall of 1955. This new college will be at the Jersey City Medical Center.
- (d) University of Kentucky's board of trustees has sanctioned the establishment of a medical school in Lexington to cost about \$25 million. This will not get underway constructionwise until about July 1, 1955.
- XV. ARE ANY 2-YEAR SCHOOLS PLANNING TO EX-PAND TO 4-YEAR MEDICAL SCHOOLS?
- The following 2-year schools have plans to expand to 4 years:
- (a) The University of Mississippi is completing the construction program of its new hospital and medical-school building at Jackson. It is anticipated that the first regular third-year class will be registered in the fall of 1955.
- (b) The legislature of Missouri has appropriated \$13,500,000 for the building program now underway at the University of Missouri, and it is hoped that the developmental program will permit the 1953-54 entering class to continue on into its third year of training at the University of Missouri.
- (c) At West Virginia University, planning for their new medical center continues, but no definite date has as yet been advanced for registration of the first third-year class.
- (d) In North Dakota, the legislature has directed that the school of medicine admit a third-year class by 1955, and that a full 4-year program be in operation by 1956.
- It is impossible to predict the number of students who will graduate from these new 4-year schools and the 2-year schools planning to expand to 4-year schools in the next 6 years. For example, the University of Florida at Gainesville will only enroll 50 freshmen. This means a first graduating class of only about 45 doctors. By 1960, when it is estimated we will need at least 22,000 doctors over and above the predicted supply of new doctors graduating each year (about 6,800), most of these schools will have been able to turn out only 1 graduating class toward meeting this deficit.

XVI. HOW MUCH MONEY DO MEDICAL SCHOOLS SPEND EACH YEAR FOR TRAINING NEW DOCTORS?

1. Estimated funds available to our medical schools in 1954-55 totaled \$148,645,201.

Budgeted funds and appropri-\$93, 408, 312 ations_ Funds for miscellaneous proj-4,978,812 ects Research grants from outside 43, 383, 666 agencies_____ Teaching grants from outside agencies_____ 6, 874, 411

Total_____ 148, 645, 201

2. The \$93-million estimated basic budgets of the medical schools represent an average budget of about \$1,167,604 for each of the 80 schools if the money were evenly distributed.

(a) Thirty-eight schools report 1954-55 budgets of over a million dollars; six of the 4-year schools report budgets of less than \$500,000, with one such school having a budget of less than \$400,000.

3. Of the \$93-million estimated basic budgets of the medical schools, about \$18,-182,000, or only 19.5 percent, of the budgets is provided by students' tuition.

XVII. WHAT ARE THE MEDICAL SCHOOLS SPENDING FOR CONSTRUCTION?

1. An estimated \$110,013,846 is budgeted for capital expenditures at the present time for construction and equipment of basic medical science, hospital and clinic, dormitory and other facilities.

(a) During 1953 projects of this nature totaling \$64,115,574 were completed.

- 2. In 1947-48 medical schools estimated a need of about \$330 million for construction of facilities over and above operating-fund needs and research-fund needs. All but 4 schools out of 79 reported a need for additional or improved space.
- 3. The Journal of the American Medical Association of September 11, 1954, states: "Medical schools indicate that large sums are still needed for construction of new buildings, remodeling and modernization of existing facilities, and the purchase and installment of new permanent equipment." XVIII. HAVE THE COSTS OF EDUCATING A DOCTOR INCREASED?
- 1. The average cost of educating one doctor has increased more than 100 percent in the last 20 years, and is estimated today at more than \$13,000. Epoch-making advances in scientific knowledge in the past few decades have made the essential curricula for a medical student much more complicated and costly, as well as a steadily rising cost of living due to inflation.

XIX. HAVE THE TUITION FEES INCREASED FOR MEDICAL STUDENTS?

1. Tuition fees for resident students have increased 62 percent since 1940, and tuition fees for nonresident students have increased 76 percent during the same period. However, they pay only about one-fifth of the cost; and the fees cannot be raised without seriously narrowing the groups from which our future doctors can come.

Average tuition fees for resident students:

1940-41_____ \$391 633 1954-55_____ Average tuition fees for nonresident stu-

MX. WHAT IS THE COST TO A STUDENT FOR A MEDICAL EDUCATION?

1953-54_____

1. The average annual expenditure by a student for 1 year of medical school 1953-54 was \$2,380, a total of about \$9,520 for the entire undergraduate period. included tuition, special fees, equipment, books, and essential living costs.

2. Minimum costs reported averaged approximately \$1,690 per year, or \$6,760 for the entire 4 years.

3. Of the \$3,000 to \$4,500 a year it costs the medical school to educate him, the medical student pays \$600 to \$900 a year in tuition, or about one-fifth of the cost.

XXI. IS THERE A SHORTAGE OF QUALIFIED PER-SONNEL TO FILL TEACHING POSITIONS IN MEDICAL SCHOOLS? TO FILL INTERNSHIPS? TO FILL RESIDENCIES?

1. Yes. Out of 80 schools, for the year 1954-55, there were 258 vacant full-time positions. Of these 258 vacancies, 107 were in basic medical science faculties and 151 were in clinical departments.

2. In 1954, 22 percent of the 10,542 available internships in 844 hospitals were unfilled. This shortage of more than 2,000 interns is a serious crippler of hospital services throughout the county since interns are the backbone of emergency and routine medical services in many hospitals. This shortage poses a serious threat to good patient

3. In 1954, 21 percent of the residency appointments in the various medical specialties were not filled. Of 23,630 approved residencies in internal medicine, surgery, obstretics, pediatrics, etc., 5,011 were not taken. The resident, who takes an average of 2 years training in a specialty after completed his internship, is a valuable and

key part of any hospital staff.
4. The New York Times reports that in their 1952 nationwide survey it was found that "45 percent (of the Nation's medical schools) find it difficult to get a sufficient number of qualified faculty members.'

XXII. ARE THERE SHORTAGES OF NURSES, AUXIL-IARY NURSING WORKERS AND TECHNICIANS?

- 1. Yes. According to latest available figures taken from the 1952 report of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, it is estimated that the shortage of nurses for this country as a whole in 1960 may exceed 50,000.
- (a) In 1951, about 27,000 nurses graduated from 3-year programs and less than 2,000 from 4- or 5-year programs which lead to a college degree. The expected supply of nurses in 1960 will not meet the increased demands of new hospitals and expanding community health services, nor will it make up present deficiencies.
- (b) In public hearings before the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, community leaders pleaded for more nurses to staff their essential health services. Hospital administrators testified to large numbers of wards closed because they cannot obtain nurses to staff the beds. Mental and tuberculosis hospitals need more nurses, public health units are begging for them, industrial health programs suffer for want of them. Nursing schools and nursing education suffer from a lack of qualified teachers.
- 2. There are almost 300,000 auxiliary nursing workers in hospitals, and perhaps another 100,000 elsewhere. The need in 1960 for these workers is estimated at more than 450.000.
- (a) Most auxiliary workers receive poor training. This training should be developed and intensified so that these workers can take over routine housekeeping and bedside tasks to release the graduate nurses to use the special skills in which they have been trained.
- 3. The technician shortage is a serious bottleneck in the provision of medical service. Hospitals in the United States recently reported about 18,000 vacant positions workers in 7 major fields allied to medicine (1. e., laboratory technicians, therapists of all kinds, X-ray technicians, hospital administrators, clinical psychologists, etc.), and an expected need for 35,000 additional workers in these allied fields in another 5 years.

The opening of new hospitals and the increasing demand for more comprehensive medical services will aggravate these deficiencies

4. President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message to Congress on January 7, 1955, stated as one of his medical recommendations: "To reduce the gaps in medical service, I shall propose: New measures to facilitate construction of needed health facilities and help reduce shortages of trained health personnel."

XXIII. DO OUR MEDICAL SCHOOLS NEED FINANCIAL SUPPORT?

1. In a nationwide survey conducted by the New York Times in 1952 it was found that "30 percent of the Nation's medical schools report that they are unable to get sufficient funds to meet their operating budgets."

2. Brig. Gen. James S. Simmons, the late dean of the Harvard School of Public Health, states that the Nation's 10 schools of public health are in a precarious financial position with student tuition fees paying less than 10 percent of the cost of training these students. "The financial plight of these 10 public-health schools is such that their total output of specialists is now only one-fifth of the number needed to operate the Nation's peacetime health program."

3. The medical colleges absorb approximately 30 percent of the total budgets of the universities of which they are a part, although they enroll only 10 percent of the total university population. "Many university trustees are wondering whether they can afford their medical schools," said a recent statement of the National Fund for Medical Education.

4. In 1948, as the result of surveys compiled through the American Medical Association, the Surgeon General's Office and the Association of American Medical Colleges, the National Fund for Medical Education states that the Nation's medical schools had a deficit of \$10 million and that by 1955 the deficit will probably be \$20 million.

(a) The Surgeon General's committee goes even further and states that \$30 million additional was needed (in 1948) in annual income to adequately perform the existing functions of our 79 medical schools, over and above the \$10 million yearly needed to compensate for existing annual deficits actually on the books in red ink.

(b) None of the foregoing takes construction needs into consideration. In 1947-48 medical schools estimated a need of about \$330 million for construction of facilities. over and above operating-fund needs and research-fund needs. All but 4 schools out of 79 reported a need for additional or improved space.

5. Medical-school budgets have already been trimmed to a point where any further reduction would endanger the quality of the product; that is, of medical teaching and research, and eventually of medical practice and medical care. Faculty time per student today is already 7 percent lower than it was 10 years ago; some schools have had to reduce teaching staffs to bare minimums. Current deficits now make it difficult to retain capable faculty members and make needed additions to the faculties impossible to consider.

XXIV. WHAT IS THE MEDICAL PROFESSION DOING TO HELP ITSELF FINANCIALLY IN THE MATTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING?

1. The National Fund for Medical Education was founded in 1949 as a central fundraising agency for the Nation's medical schools. From its inception until July 1954, the fund distributed \$6,941,056 to the medical schools. Of this amount, roughly, 45 percent, or a little over \$3 million, was raised by the American Medical Education Foundation (an arm of the American Medical Association).

(a) The \$6,941,056 expenditure by the National Fund for Medical Education represents a per annum average allotment of a little more than \$1 million since the establishment of the fund. This contrasts with the goal of the national fund, which is to provide the medical schools of the Nation with funds approximating \$10 million annually to aid in meeting the operational cost of their educational programs and to the annual deficits of our medical schools Which is estimated to be between \$10 million and \$30 million.

2. This \$10 yearly goal of the national fund includes no funds for construction, research, or scholarships. In January 1954 a sum of \$154,296,214 was requested for the construction of research facilities alone by medical schools, hospitals, and institutions throughout the United States from the National Institutes of Health, United States Public Health Service, Bethesda, Md.

XXV. HOW DOES EXPENDITURE FOR MEDICAL EDUCATION COMPARE WITH MONEY SPENT ELSEWHERE BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE?

1. In contrast to the \$93,408,312 to be spent for medical education in the academic year 1954-55, the American public spent approximately in 1953; \$5,310,000,000 for tobacco products and smoking supplies; \$377 million for parimutuel net receipts; \$105,960,000 for makeup bases, face powder, and lipsticks; \$96 million for face creams.

Mr. Speaker, we in New Jersey are no strangers to the problem of adequate medical training as my opening remarks and certain research data cited below indicate.

In 1951, during my first term in Congress, I sent letters to every medical school in the United States and Canada on behalf of my constituents and their aspiring young men and women. Letters of regret from the deans of those schools said, in effect, "sorry, we're filled," or, "as our medical school is State controlled We are obliged to accommodate our own cititzens first; sorry."

Data concerning medical or dental schools in New Jersey shows no dental schools in being up to 1954. The first dental school is reported to have been established in December 1954 in Jersey

City by Seton Hall University.

According to the New Jersey History Committee's Outline History of New Jersey, a rival medical society to the New Jersey Medical Society established in 1790 a school at Elizabethtown which was closed in 1807. In addition to this, Queens College, later Rutgers, permitted a school to be opened in New Brunswick, under its charter. This school was attended mostly by New York students and in 1811, when the New York Legislature refused to license its graduates, it closed.

The American Medical Association Directory, 1950, lists the following medical schools as having operated in New Jersey until 1891 when all of their charters Were revoked-why, is not disclosed: Hygieo-Therapeutic College, Bergen Heights; Medical and Surgical College of the State of New Jersey, organized 1838; Livingstone University, Haddonfield; Central University of Medicine and Science, Jersey City.

Then came the 20th century with its three wars. Each stepped up the need for medical and dental doctors and operatives-World War I, World War II, and Korea. In December 1954 Seton Hall University, of New Jersey, established a medical and dental school, open to all, in Jersey City.

In America, we are reared with the spirit of standing on our own feet, to hold our own. As one of the first of the Original Three States to join the Union in 1787, it is fitting and proper that with its new medical and dental school, the State of New Jersey, at long last, can take its place in the ranks of those who can more adequately look after their own, and others, too, if need be.

The below cited article of January 15. 1955, from local New Jersey sources, tells more on this score, and adds, I think, information for the benefit of the House on the question. "Is there adequate medical training in the United States?"

DEAN OF MEDICINE NAMED FOR SETON MEDICAL SCHOOL.

South Orange.-A long-awaited announcement was forthcoming this week when the identity of the dean of medicine in the Seton Hall College of Medicine and Dentistry was announced by Seton Hall University's president, Msgr. John L. McNulty.

Heading up the medical side of New Jersey's first college of medicine and dentistry will be Dr. Charles L. Brown, presently dean of the Hahnemann Medical College, Phila-

The dean of the dental school, according to previous announcement, has also been selected and he is expected to be named in the near future.

Dr. Brown's resignation at Hahnemann will be effective July 1. Prior to that time, he will act as consultant for the Seton Hall

College of Medicine.

Monsignor McNulty identified Dr. Brown as "a man with an unbroken span of over 20 years' experience in medical education with some of the best medical schools in the country. He has," Monsignor McNulty continued, "demonstrated an organizing and administrative ability that could be equaled by few and that has gained for him national recognition as an authority in medical education."

The Seton Hall president said that Dr. Brown will begin right away the determination of admission policy and procedures; the formulation of curricula; the screening of candidates for faculty appointment; and the overall pattern of organization for the Seton Hall College of Medicine.

The new dean will also represent the Seton Hall College of Medicine in consultations on the transformation of the 16-story clinical building in Jersey City Medical Center into a medical education unit with classrooms, laboratories, conference rooms, and library facilities. He plans to take up residence in

Jersey City after July 1.

Dr. Brown received his bachelor of science degree from the University of Oklahoma in 1919 and his doctorate in medicine from the same school in 1921. In 1923 he joined the faculty of the Harvard University Medical School as an instructor in pathology. He participated in a teaching fellowship and served as an instructor in internal medicine at Harvard until 1928 when he joined the faculty of the University of Michigan Medical School as an associate professor of medicine.

In 1935, he left Michigan to become head of the department of medicine at the Temple University Medical School in Philadelphia.

His association with Hahnemann Medical College began in 1946 when he was appointed dean. In 1948 he assumed additional duties as head of the division and the department of medicine at Hahnemann.

Correlative with his experience as a medical educator, Dr. Brown has held many hospital positions. He has been resident pathologist at the Children's Hospital, Boston; chief of the department of medicine, Phila-

delphia General Hospital, and head of the department of medicine, Hahnemann Hos-

pital.

Dr. Brown is a fellow of the American College of Physicians, and a diplomate of the American Board of Internal Medicine. He is a former president of the Philadelphia County Medical Society and received the Strittmatter award from that organization in 1951. In the same year he received an honorary doctor of law degree from Temple University.

As dean of the Seton Hall College of Medicine, Dr. Brown will retain the position of chief consultant in internal medicine to the Chief Medical Director of the Veterans' Ad-

ministration in Washington.

He has contributed many scientific papers to the journals of the profession and is a member of the editorial board of the J. B. Lippincott Publishing Co. He is currently engaged in writing a textbook on medical

treatment in general practice.

The Seton Hall College of Medicine and Dentistry, New Jersey's first, was incorporated on August 6 last year. On August 11 ceremonies marking the formal establish-ment were held in the Medical Center and attended by public officials and prominent educators and professional men. The new medical-dental college received its charter from the State board of education on November 17, and a formal lease for the use of the clinical building was signed by the college on December 11, 1954.

Burley Tobacco Acreage Allotments and Marketing Quotas

SPEECH

HON. M. G. BURNSIDE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4951) directing a redetermination of the national marketing quota for burley tobacco for the 1955-56 marketing year, and for other purposes.

Mr. BURNSIDE. Mr. Chairman, later shall introduce an amendment that will take care of part of the trouble that we are faced with here.

I have here with me at this time the recommendations from all of the tobacco leaders of the United States. They did not make one single iota of recommendation to cut to five-tenths. They have made some very good recommendations. I want to read them. They are splendid recommendations which come from the leaders of all the tobacco growers of the United States.

This is to the Secretary of Agriculture:

The Eight State Burley Tobacco Committee recommends and respectfully requests you to recommend to the Congress that legislation to be enacted-

A. To discourage production of excess

1. Provide that production of nonquota tobacco shall not give any entitlement to a

2. Provide that excess production by an allotment producer shall result in a penalty of allotment reduction in an amount equal

to the excess production in a prior year.

3. Provide for a civil penalty that will constituteI want to compliment the gentleman for the statements he made a few moments ago. This will do something toward correcting the type of things he wants to see corrected.

Provide for a civil penalty that will constitute a more effective deterrent to excess production.

One of the reasons why we are in this trouble, this serious trouble, is that a few people started taking over excessive amounts of acreage in the last few years by paying the penalty. The farmers realized that so they are increasing the penalty, as is indicated further on in this statement.

a. Increase the penalty on marketing excess tobacco to 75 percent of the previous year's average market price.

That is a very good suggestion.

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURNSIDE. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. FORRESTER. I would like to ask the gentleman what would be the case if the penalty were 100 percent?

Mr. BURNSIDE. It would be even better.

Mr. FORRESTER. What would that do toward solving the excess-tobacco problem?

Mr. BURNSIDE. It would keep them from taking the penalty for a few years and then going on and producing a large acreage.

Mr. FORRESTER. But would that not materially reduced this surplus tobacco of which the gentleman is speaking?

Mr. BURNSIDE. It would do this. Each year we found a few people dropping tobacco. It would take care of part of it in that way. This is not the whole answer. I will give some other suggestions to take care of the situation,

To improve measurement by statutory provision for it with standards and penalties clearly defined.

One of the troubles we had was actually having overacreage by the old methods, and by improper methods of checking.

Require aerial surveys annually.

That is another way to check it, to see that they will not overproduce.

Eliminate tolerance in calculations of acreage.

That is another way to cut down on it, to eliminate tolerances in calculations of acreage.

Provide for criminal punishment as a misdemeanor of not more than 1 year or not more than \$10,000 or both for willful inaccurate measurement, making the penalty cover the Government employee only.

To amend title 7, United States Code Annotated, section 1315, to establish a minimum allotment of 10 percent rather than 25 percent of the cropland.

This is another way we can cut down this excess. I know some cases where a fellow will plant in his backyard, have a half acre in his backyard in a city or town or village. He is certainly no farmer, but he has been sponging on the farmers. So that, too, will cut down on this acreage.

To provide that whenever there is an increase in quota, the increase shall be shared

only by those having taken a decrease in quota in a prior year until all decreases have been restored. As far as the foreseeable future is concerned, this would benefit only those growers who have taken curtailments within the past two crop years, but, in any event, every segment of the industry ought to recognize that restoration of cuts should be shared only by those who have suffered cuts until original quotas have been fully restored.

To authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to redetermine and set marketing quotas for 1955.

This is respectfully submitted by the Eight-State Burley Tobacco Committee, and is signed by John M. Barry, chairman

Mr. Chairman, I call attention to this fact, which many of you do not realize, that 1,850 farmers, that is, five-tenths of 1 percent of them, produced 27,500 acres of tobacco. That is more acreage than the gentleman from Ohio has in the entire State of Ohio. That is more acreage than the gentleman from Virginia has in his entire acreage. That is more acreage than the gentleman from North Carolina has in his entire acreage, just in that five-tenths of 1 percent of the tobacco farmers about as many acres as all of these States put together.

Listen to these figures. They are startling when you start to look into them, when you start crying about these big tobacco farmers that have over 100 acres, when we are worrying about five-tenths, so a man can buy his food and his clothes.

From 20 to 50 acres, there are 400 of them, and that is only one-tenth in percentage of the tobacco farmers, and they produce 14,000 acres, more than the entire State of Ohio, more than the entire State of West Virginia, and many of the other States like Georgia, Arkansas, and all those thrown in together.

Three one-thousandths, mind you, produce 1,500 acres of tobacco. One farmer with about 350 acres, 9 other farmers with over 100 acres of tobacco. And then we cry crocodile tears about some of these big boys.

I want to tell you this: It is not their tenants they are worrying about, because in the last few years—and I have gone through the tobacco country for a number of years—they have been consolidating and telling their tenants to go find a job somewhere else in some city. They have been concentrating these acreages.

I am reading from the official tobacco report that I got from Mr. WATTS.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURNSIDE. I yield.

Mr. COOLEY. The gentleman made a statement that there were 1,000 farmers in America farming 100 acres of burley tobacco.

Mr. BURNSIDE. No; if I made that statement it is in error.

Mr. COOLEY. That is what the gentleman said. I have it right here on this paper.

Mr. BURNSIDE. There are 1,850 tobacco farmers, five-tenths of 1 percent of the farmers, that produced 27,550 acres.

Mr. COOLEY. The gentleman said there were 1,000 farmers who had 100 acres of burley tobacco each. Mr. BURNSIDE. If I said that, I am mistaken. But I did say this, and I will repeat it again if the gentleman will permit me to go on. I will explain it to you again and I am glad to go over it because I want the Members of Congress to know what is happening under this law.

Mr. COOLEY. Will not the gentleman yield for a correction? According to the paper which has been handed to me, there are only 10 in the United States.

Mr. BURNSIDE. I will go back over it and I will state further that if I made a mistake, I will be glad for it to be corrected. I will give you this information. One tobacco farmer produced about 350 acres. Then 9, I think I used the figure 9, others which represents only three one-thousandths of the tobacco farmers who produced 1,500 acres of tobacco. That is the statement I thought I made.

Mr. COOLEY. I know the gentleman wants to be fair. Do you not know that no one man cultivates that tobacco, but that it is divided among the tenant farmers and this would be putting the tenant farmerers out on the road.

Mr. BURNSIDE. If the gentleman will wait just a moment, I will explain that situation. You know and I know that due to new methods, they have been reducing the number of tenant farmers and sending the others to the cities. I know it because I have seen it. I have seen it happen over and over again.

Mr. COOLEY. How many acres of tobacco do you think one man can cultivate and harvest?

Mr. BURNSIDE. At least 8 or 9 acres. Mr. COOLEY. Well, then, they must be better in West Virginia than they are down in North Carolina.

Mr. BURNSIDE. They are much better because of these modern methods. As a matter of fact, they have a new method of catching the tobacco bugs which produce the worms. They are using a sonic method to catch the tobacco bugs. You know that and I know that. That was a source of great trouble a few years ago to the tobacco farmers and required a tremendous amount of labor.

But let us go on with these questions. Here is the problem that we are facing. I want to read to you a telegram which I received from the tobacco farmers of West Virginia:

March 21, 1955, the burley tobacco growers of West Virginia are opposed to reducing minimum allotments below seven-tenths of an acre. We fear that program will be voted out in referendum if minimum is reduced. Red-card tobacco creation surplus. Your support requested.

All of you in the other tobacco programs do not want to see it voted out, and they tell me positively they are going to vote it out. They have met this week and they say they are going to vote it out.

This telegram is signed by Clayton Stanley, secretary of the West Virginia Burley Tobacco Grower's Association. I want to say, the gentleman who signed it produces 1.4 acres and he will be cut, and he knows it is necessary to keep from cutting the lower producing farmer. Why? Because they would have these mountain farmers, as you have had the other small farmers, living on less than \$300 per year.

About Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the New Era, of Reading, Pa., which is the official publication of Conference of Eastern Pennsylvania Central Labor Unions, AFL:

ABOUT TAXES

Could you use a \$20 tax cut?

The Republicans say you are irresponsible for answering "Yes," even though stockholders got theirs last year in the omnibus taxrevision bill.

What makes a \$20 cut for workers irresponsible when a more liberal reduction for stock-

holders was not irresponsible?

Marriner Eccles, former Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, says that an extra \$20 in every consumer's hands would go a long way toward a healthy growth of our economy.

Eccles believes it would help the little fellow by stimulating economic consumption and thus creating more jobs to make more

goods to fill up the shelves.

Unfortunately, the Republican philosophy is that things are in good shape just as long as big business makes money, stockholders are well taken care of, and unemployment is maintained at a normal rate of between three and five million.

And make no mistake about this—despite his deceptive smile and flowery speeches, President Eisenhower is just as guilty as the rest of his party for penalizing the "little guy" to maintain prosperity for the big campaign contributors on top of the heap.

It's about time that the President is forced to accept his responsibility. And even more important—it's about time the daily press of America instructs its reporters in Washington to ask the same sharp questions they used to put to President Truman and Roosevelt. The days of pussyfooting and sheltering of President Eisenhower should now end and truth in reporting once more should return to the "free press."

The truth in this tax issue is that Democrats actually beat President Eisenhower to the punch by insisting the people get a break his year—instead of next year—as the President

dent planned.

Wrapped up in the picture, of course, is the time-honored trickle-down theory on which the Republican actionaries hold a patent. It is a variation of the Charles "Bird Dog" Wilson theme that what's good for General Motors is good for the country.

Workers are supposed to look up to the big brass of the Republican regime and bask in the benevolence of their paternalistic rule, thankful to grab the crumbs thrown them

under the table.

It is interesting to note that while the administration boasts of the Nation's good economic health, the Republican barometer of prosperity, namely the stock market, has plummeted sharply in the past week just because a couple of Senators asked a few questions in public about market operations.

True, this decline could be caused by any number of factors, but it gives support to the theory that administration economic and fiscal policies have enhanced the role of manipulators and speculators at the expense of the great mass of workers.

From where we sit, and viewing present trends from a perspective of the great GOP depression, it makes much more sense to give a \$20 tax relief to a consumer who will spend it than to reserve such a tax relief for stockholders who will gamble with it.

History is on the side of those asking for the \$20 tax cut to stimulate consumer spending. President Eisenhower and his administration would do well not to ignore this precedent.

"Simplified" Income Tax Forms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER NORBLAD

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial by Mr. Elmer Price, in the Lincoln County (Oreg.) Leader:

"SIMPLIFIED" INCOME TAX FORMS

A low, sullen murmur of desperation is

spre: ling cross country.

It is rising from citizens who have carefully digested the phrase: "After reading these instructions you should be able to prepare your own return," and spent futile hours grappling with the new "simplified" income-tax forms.

Despite all the propaganda regarding their simplicity, the new tax forms seem to many to be far more complicated (if that is possible) and more exasperating than any in the past.

From every section of the country this

criticism is being heard.

And all of this, too, after so-called experts spent months working out an incometax return which they finally described as so simple and easy that any moron could handle it.

Someone the other day had what is probably a good suggestion: it was an amendment to the tax laws which would require every Member of Congress to prepare his own return without any outside help whatsoever, and that every other year, his wife be required to take over the job—without help.

While undoubtedly many in Congress do make out their own returns, most of them are as incapable as you and I of understanding all of the malarky and legal phraseology which get into such things. It might help the situation as quickly as anything we can think of at the present.

The Late John W. Davis

SPEECH

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, speaking for myself and the Members of the West Virginia delegation and I am sure every living West Virginian, I should like to say that we deeply appreciate the very fine remarks of the distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Tuck].

Mr. Speaker, at this time I ask permission to revise and extend my remarks, because there is very much more that I

would like to say in tribute to one of the greatest West Virginians, and certainly one of the outstanding Americans of the past century.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it

is so ordered.

There is no objection.

Burley Tobacco Acreage Allotment and Marketing Quo'

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4951) directing a redetermination of the national marketing quota for burley tobacco for the 1955-56 marketing year, and for other purposes.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of

words.

Mr. Chairman, you will recall that some 2 or 3 days ago this same question came up under suspension of the rules of the House for action, which was refused. So my colleague from West Virginia and the gentleman from Ohio who has just addressed you and others who are interested in the distribution of allotment acreage of burley tobacco really have a problem. It was enough of a problem to prevent the suspension of the rules. Now we are here trying to improve it in the form of an adjustment, in the form of an amendment. I understand that the gentleman from Tennessee will follow the amendment of the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BURNSIDE] should it lose, with another amendment proposing to fix the minimum acreage at six-tenths of an acre.

There was no reason why there could not have been, and I thought there was to be, a compromise here so that this floor fight could have been avoided. Now, if we cannot have seven-tenths of an acre minimum base, then we will be willing to take six-tenths, since the argument is that we have to have a reduction and it must apply to all categories in the burley field. We feel that the seven-tenths existing minimum is the deadline below which no reduction should be made, because these little fellows, let me say to you, my colleagues, are the fellows that have been struggling along with this small allotment.

Let me remind you that today no State in the Union is in worse economic condition than the State of West Virginia. In our State the big industry is coal, and it is practically dead. We have no income, and you are proposing to reduce the income of some 2,000 or 3,000, maybe 2,400, small tobacco growers in this same area where the Government is already feeding 75 percent of the people with surplus food.

Nothing should be done that would further reduce the income of the peo-

ple in that section.

IN WASHINGTON OFFICE ADDRESS: Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. [Streets northwest unless otherwise stated] Vice President, Richard Nixon Aiken, George D., Vt_____Carroll Arms. Allott, Gordon, Colo_____Anderson, Clinton P., 6 Wesley Circle. Barkley, Alben W., Ky_____ The Woodner. Beall, J. Glenn, Md_____ The Mayflower Bennett, Wallace F., Utah__ Bennett, Wallace F., Utah... Bible, Alan, Nev.... Bricker, John W., Ohio.... The Mayflower. Bridges, Styles, N. H..... Bush, Prescott, Conn... Butler, John Marshall, Md. Byrd, Harry Flood, Va.... The Shoreham. Clements, Earle C., Ky____2800 Woodley Rd. Cotton, Norris, N. H_____ Curtis, Carl T., Nebr____ Daniel, Price, Tex______ Dirksen, Everett M., IU____ Douglas, Paul H., IU____ Duff, James H., Pa_____ Dworshak, Henry C., Idaho. Eastland, James O., Miss___5101 Macomb St. Ellender, Allen J., La____ Ervin, Samuel J., Jr., N. C__ Flanders, Ralph E., Vt____ Frear, J. Allen, Jr., Del____ Fulbright, J. William, Ark__ George, Walter F., Ga_____The Mayflower. Goldwater, Barry M., Ariz__Gore, Albert, Tenn_____ Green, Theodore Francis, University Club. Hayden, Carl, Ariz____ Hennings, Thomas C., Jr., Hickenlooper, Bourke B., 5511 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Iowa. Hill, Lister, Ala______ Holland, Spessard L., Fla__Sheraton-Park Hruska, Roman L., Nebr ... Humphrey, Hubert H., Minn. Ives, Irving M., N. Y Jackson, Henry M., Wash__ Jenner, William E., Ind____ Johnson, Lyndon B., Tex__ Johnston, Olin D., S. C____ Kefauver, Estes, Tenn.....4848 Upton St. Kennedy, John F., Mass..... Kerr, Robert S., Okla...... Kilgore, Harley M., W. Va...3834 Macomb St. Knowland, William F., Calif. Kuchel, Thomas H., Calif__ Langer, William, N. Dak___The Roosevelt. Lehman, Herbert H., N. Y_Sheraton-Park Long, Russell B., La ... McCarthy, Joseph R., Wis_ McClellan, John L., Ark_ McNamara, Pat, Mich_ Magnuson, Warren G., The Shoreham. Maione, George W., Nev....The Mayflower. Mansfield, Mike, Mont..... Martin, Edward, Pa...... Martin, Thomas E., Iowa... Millikin, Eugene D., Colo... Monroney, A. S. Mike, Okla. Morse, Wayne. Oreg_____5020 Lowell: Mundt, Karl E., S. Dak___The Capitol ____5020 Lowell St.

Murray, James E., Mont ... The Shoreham.

O'Mahoney, Joseph C., Sheraton-Park

Neely, Matthew M., W. Va ... Neuberger, Richard L.

Oreg.

SENATORS WITH RESIDENCES

Robertson, A. Willis, Va___ Russell, Richard B., Ga.

Saltonstall, Leverett, Mass_2320 Tracy Pl. Schoeppel, Andrew F.,

Scott, W. Kerr, N. C.____ Smathers, George A., Fla__ Smith, H. Alexander, N. J__Sheraton-Park

Smith, Margaret Chase, (Mrs.), Maine.

Sparkman, John J., Ala___4920 Upton St. Stennis, John. Miss____ Symington, Stuart, Mo____

Thurmond, Strom, S. C Thye, Edward J., Minn ...

Watkins, Arthur V., Utah... Welker, Herman, Idaho....4823 Tilden St. Wiley, Alexander, Wis....2122 Mass. Ave. Williams, John J., Del.....

Young, Milton R., N. Dak__Quebec House So.

OFFICERS OF THE SENATE

-Felton M. Johnston. Chief Clerk—Emery L. Frazier. Sergeant at Arms—Joseph C. Duke. Secretary for the Majority—Robert G. Baker. Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice. Chaplain-Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D.

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

Messrs. Ellender (chairman), Johnston of South Carolina, Holland, Anderson, Eastland, Clements, Humphrey, Scott, Alken, Young, Thye, Hickenlooper, Mundt, Williams, and Schoeppel.

Committee on Appropriations

Messrs. Hayden (chairman), Russell, Chavez, Ellender, Hill, Kilgore, McClellan, Robertson, Magnuson, Holland, Stennis, Clements, Bridges, Saltonstall, Young, Know-land, Thye, McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Dworshak, Dirksen, and Potter.

Committee on Armed Services

Messrs. Russell (chairman), Byrd, Johnson of Texas, Kefauver, Stennis, Symington, Jackson, Ervin, Bridges, Saltonstall, Flanders, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Case of South Dakota, Duff, and Welker.

Committee on Banking and Currency

Messrs. Fulbright (chairman), Robertson, Sparkman, Frear, Douglas, Lehman, Mon-roney, Capehart, Bricker, Ives, Bennett, Bush, Beall, Payne, and Morse.

Committee on the District of Columbia

Messrs. Neely (chairman), Gore, Bible, Mc-Namara, Beall, Hruska, Case of New Jersey, Allott, and Morse.

Committee on Finance

Messrs. Byrd (chairman), George, Kerr, Frear, Long, Smathers, Johnson of Texas, Barkley, Millikin, Martin of Pennsylvania, Williams, Flanders, Malone, Carlson, and Bennett.

Committee on Foreign Relations

Messrs. George (chairman), Green, Fulbright, Sparkman, Humphrey, Mansfield, Barkley, Wiley, Smith of New Jersey, Hicken-looper, Langer, Knowland, Alken, Capehart, and Morse.

Committee on Government Operations

Messrs. McClellan (chairman), Jackson, Kennedy, Symington, Ervin, Humphrey, Thurmond, McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Cotton, Bender, and Martin

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Messrs. Murray (chairman), Anderson, Long, Jackson, O'Mahoney, Scott, Bible, Neu-berger, Millikin, Malone, Watkins, Dworshak, Kuchel, Barrett, and Goldwater.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Messrs. Magnuson (chairman), Pastore, Monroney. Smathers, Daniel, Ervin, Bible,

Thurmond, Bricker, Schoeppel, Butler, Potter, Duff, Purtell, and Payne.

Committee on the Judiciary

Messrs. Kilgore (chairman), Eastland, Kefauver, Johnston of South Carolina, Hennings, McClellan, Daniel, O'Mahoney, Wiley, Langer, Jenner, Watkins, Dirksen, Welker, and Butler.

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Messrs, Hill (chairman), Murray, Neely, Douglas, Lehman, Kennedy, McNamara, Smith of New Jersey, Ives, Purtell, Gold-water, Bender, and Allott.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

Messrs. Johnston of South Carolina (chairman), Neely, Pastore, Monroney, Hennings, Scott, Neuberger, Carlson, Jenner, Langer, Curtis, Martin of Iowa, and Case of New Jersey.

Committee on Public Works

Messrs. Chavez (chairman), Kerr. Gore. Symington, Thurmond, McNamara, Neuberger, Martin of Pennsylvania, Case of South Dakota, Bush, Kuchel, Cotton, and

Committee on Rules and Administration

Messrs. Green (chairman), Hayden, Hennings, Gore, Mansfield, Jenner, Barrett, Mc-Carthy, and Curtis.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel

Sheraton-Park, Washington, D. C. Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.

Mr. Justice Reed, of Lentucky, the Mayflower. Mr. Justice Frankfurter, of Massachusetts, 3018 Dumbarton Ave.

Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 3701 Connecticut Ave.

Mr. Justice Burton, of Ohio, the Dodge. Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut

Ave. Mr. Justice Minton, of Indiana, the Methodist

Building.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Clerk—Harold B. Willey, 3214 N. Wakefield St., Arlington, Va. Deputy Clerk—Reginald C. Dilli, 1329 Hem-

lock St. Deputy Clerk-Hugh W. Barr, 4701 Connecti-

cut Ave.

Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin RoadReporter—Walter Wyatt, 1702 Kalmia Rd.
Librarian—Helen Newman, 126 3d St. SE.

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS

JUSTICES ASSIGNED TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frank-furter. Maine, New Hampshire, Massachu-setts, Rhode Island, Puerto Rico.

Second fudicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frank-furter (temporary appointment). Vermont. Connecticut, New York.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Burton, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Virgin

Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina. Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black-Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louise.

siana, Texas, Canal Zone.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Reed-Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, Tennessee. Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Min-ton. Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark.
Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota,
Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Arkansas.
Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas.
Washington, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, California, Nevada, Arizona, Alaska, Hawaii.
Tanth sudicial circuit. Mr. bustice Clark.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark-Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Kansas, Oklahoma,

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE Committee on Agriculture

Messrs Cooley (chairman), Poage, Grant, Gathings, McMillan, Abernethy, Albert, Abbitt, Polk, Thompson of Texas, Jones of Missouri, Watts, Hagen, Johnson of Wisconsin, Anfuso, Bass of Tennessee, Mrs. Knutson Messrs. Jennings, Matthews, Hope, August H. Andresen, Hill, Hoeven, Simpson of Illinois, Dague, Harvey, Lovre, Belcher, McIntire, Williams of New York, King of Pennsylvania, Harrison of Nebraska, Laird, Dixon, Mrs. Farrington, Messrs. Bartlett, and Fernos-Isern.

Committee on Appropriations

Messrs. Cannon (chairman), Mahon, Shep-Messrs. Cannon (chairman), Mahon, Sheppard, Thomas, Kirwan, Norrell, Whitten, Andrews, Rooney, Gary, Fogarty, Sikes, Fernandez. Preston, Passman, Rabaut, Yates, Marshall, Riley, Sleminski, Evins, Lanham, Denne, Shelley, Boland, Magnuson, Natcher, Flood, Denton, Murray of Illinois, Taber, Wigglesworth, Jensen, H. Carl Andersen, Horan, Canfield, Fenton, Phillips, Scrivner, Coudert, Clevenger, Wilson of Indiana, Davis of Wisconsin, James, Ford, Miller of Maryland, Vursell, Hand, Ostertag, and Bow.

Committee on Armed Services

Messrs. Vinson (chairman), Brooks of Lou-lsiana, Kilday, Durham, Rivers, Philbin, Hébert, Winstead, Price, Fisher, Hardy, Green of Pennsylvania, Doyle, Wickersham, Miller of California, Bennett of Fiorida, Holtzman, Mollohan, Lankford, Huddleston, Short, Arends, Cole, Johnson of California, Gavin, Norblad, Van Zandt, Patterson, Cunning-ham, Bates, Hess, Nelson, Devereux, O'Kon-ski, Beay Wilson of California, Osmers, Mrs. ski, Bray, Wilson of California, Osmers, Mrs. Farrington, Messrs. Bartlett, and Fernos-Isern.

Committee on Banking and Currency

Messrs. Spence (chairman), Brown of Georgia, Patman, Rains, Multer, Addonizio, Barrett, O'Hara of Illinois, Mrs. Buchanan, Mrs. Sullivan, Messrs. Fountain, Reuss, Mrs. Griffiths, Messrs. Ashley, Vanik, Davidson, Bell, Wolcott, Gamble, Talle, Kilburn, Mc-Donough, Widnall, Betts, Mumma, McVey, Hiestand, Nicholson, Oliver P. Bolton, and Bass of New Hampshire.

Committee on the District of Columbia

Messrs. McMillan (chairman), Harris, Abernethy, Smith of Virginia, Klein, Teague of Texas, Davis of Georgia, Morrison, Dawson of Illinois, Williams of Mississippi, Steed, Wier, Jones of North Carolina, Rutherford, Simpson of Illinois, O'Hara of Minnesota, Talle, Miller of Nebraska, Auchincloss, Allen California, Kearns, Patterson, Gubser, Broyhill, and Hyde.

Committee on Education and Labor

Messrs. Barden (chairman), Kelley Messrs. Barden (chairman), Kelley of Pennsylvania, Powell, Bailey, Perkins, Wier, Elliott, Landrum, Metcalf, Bowler, Chudoff, Mrs. Green of Oregon, Messrs. Roosevelt, Zelenko, McDowell, Thompson of New Jersey, Udall, McConnell, Gwinn, Smith of Kansas, Kearns, Velde, Hoffman of Michigan, Bosch, Holt, Rhodes of Arizona, Wainwright, Freinghuysen, Coon, and Fjare.

Committee on Foreign Affairs

Messrs, Richards (chairman), Gordon, Morgan, Carnahan, Chatham, Zablocki, Bur-leson, Hays of Arkansas, Mrs. Kelly of New York, Messrs. Dodd, Hays of Ohio, Donovan, Jarman, Byrd, Selden, Pilcher, Williams of New Jersey, Chiperfield, Vorys, Mrs. Frances P. Bolton, Messrs. Smith of Wisconsin, Merrow, Judd, Fulton, Jackson, LeCompte, Radwan, Morano, Mrs. Church, Messrs. Adair, Prouty, and Bentley.

Committee on Government Operations

Messrs. Dawson of Illinois (chairman), Hollfield, McCormack, Chudoff, Brooks of Texas, Holtzman, Mollohan, Fountain, Hardy, Blatnik, Jones of Alabama, Garmatz, Moss, Kilgore, Fascell, Mrs. Griffiths, Messrs. Reuss, Hore Hoffman of Michigan, Riehlman, Mrs. Har-den, Messrs. Brownson, Meader, Brown of Ohio, Lipscomb, Reece of Tennessee, Younger, Knox, Krueger, Jonas, and Minshall.

Committee on House Administration

Messrs, Burleson (chairman), Byrd, Friedel, Anhmore, Hays of Ohlo, Jones of Missouri, Rhodes of Pennsylvania, Lesinski, Smith of Missouri, Thomas Miskissippi, Dowdy, Long, Alexander, Thompton of New Jersey, ——, LeCompte, Morano, Schenck, Carrigg, Harrison of Nebraska, Corbett, Bennett of Michigan, Hillings, Oliver P. Bolton, Lipscomb, and Halleck.

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Mossrs. Engle (chairman), Aspinall, O'Brien of New York, Rogers of Texas, Mrs. Pfost, Messrs. Haley, Shuford, Powell, Ed-mondson, Metcalf, Christopher, Slak, Udall, mondson, Metcail, Christopher, Sisk, Udali, Diggs, Rutherford, Mrs. Green of Oregon, Messrs. Miller of Nebraska, Saylor, Wharton, Berry, Dawson of Utah, Westland, Pillion, Young, Hosmer, Rhodes of Arizona, Budge, Chenoweth, Utt, Mrs. Farrington, Messrs. Bartlett and Fernós-Isern.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Messrs, Priest (chairman), Harris, Klein, Granahan, Carlyle, Williams of Mississippi, Mack of Illinois, Roberts, Moulder, Stagg Dollinger, Rogers of Texas, Dies, Friedel, Flynt, Macdonald, Hayworth, Wolverton, Hinshaw, O'Hara of Minnesota, Hale, Dolliver, Heselton, Bennett of Michigan, Hoffman of Illinois, Beamer, Springer, Bush, Schenck, Carrigg, and Derounian.

Committee on the Judiciary

Messrs. Celler (chairman), Walter, Lane, Feighan, Chelf, Willis, Frazier, Rodino, Jones of North Carolina, Forrester, Rogers of Colo-rado, Donohue, Fine, Brooks of Texas, Tuck, Ashmore, Quigley, Boyle, Reed of Illinois, Keating, McCulloch, Miss Thompson of Mich-igan, Messrs. Hillings, Crumpacker, Miller of New York, Taylor, Burdick, Curtis of Massachusetts, Robsion of Kentucky, Hyde, Poff, and Scott.

Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries

Cederberg, Baumhart, Chase, --, Bartlett. Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

Messrs. Murray of Tennessee (chairman), Morrison, Davis of Georgia, Rhodes of Penn-sylvania, Lesinski, Dowdy, Alexander, Moss, Robeson of Virginia, Mrs. Pfost, Messrs. Pascell, Tumulty, Kilgore, Holifield, Rees of Kansas, Corbett, Mrs. St. George, Mr. Gross, Mrs. Harden, Messrs. Cretella, Gubser, Broyhill, Cederberg, Henderson, and Johansen.

Committee on Public Works

Messrs. Buckley (chairman), Fallon, Davis of Tennessee, Blatnik, Jones of Alabama, Dempsey, Smith of Mississippi, Machrowicz, Kluczynski, Steed, Thompson of Louisiana, Gentry, Burnside, Mrs. Blitch, Messrs. Wright, Hull, Gray, Clark, Rogers of Florida, Don-dero, McGregor, Auchincloss, Mack of Wash-ington, Scudder, George, Becker, Scherer, Withrow, Cramer, Baldwin, Schwengel, Alger, Bush, and Nicholson.

Committee on Rules

Messrs, Smith of Virginia (chairman), Colmer, Madden, Delaney, Trimble, Thornberry, Bolling, O'Neill, Allen of Illinois, Brown of Ohlo, Ellsworth, and Latham.

Committee on Un-American Activities Messrs. Walter (chairman), Moulder, Doyle. Frazier, Willis, Velde, Kearney, Jackson, and

Committee on Veterans' Affairs

Messrs. Teague of Texas (chairman), Dorn of South Carolina, Mrs. Kee, Mcssrs. Long, Byrne of Pennsylvania, Edmondson, Boykin, Aspinall, O'Brien of New York, Shuford, Christopher, Diggs, Sisk, Haley, Mrs. Rogers of Massachusetts, Messrs. Kear-ney, Ayres, Adair, Fino, Weaver, Avery, Thomson of Wyoming, Siler, and Teague of California.

Committee on Ways and Means

Messrs. Cooper (chairman), Dingell, Mills, Gregory, Forand, Eberharter, King of California, O'Brien of Illinois, Boggs, Keogh, Harrison of Virginia, Karsten, Herlong, McCarthy, Ikard, Reed of New York, Jenkins, Simpson of Pennsylvania, Kean, Mason, Holmes, Byrnes of Wisconsin, Sadlak, Baker, and Crutis of Missouri and Curtis of Missouri.

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT (United States Court House, 3d and Constitution Ave.)

Office Residence Chief Judge telephone telephone Harold M. Stephens, Washington 1, D. C. Adams 4-6420 Sterling 3-5700 Circuit Judges

Henry White Edgerton, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3-5700 Emerson 3-6017 Wilbur K. Miller, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3–5700 North 7–81 E. Barrett Prettyman, Washington 1, D. C. North 7-8109

Sterling 3-5700 Oliver 2-3263 David L. Bazelon, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3-5700 Emerson 2-0544

Charles Fahy, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3-5700 Emerson C. C. George T. Washington, Washington 1, D. C. Adams 2-6327

John A. Danaher, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3–5700 District 7–4704 Walter M. Bastian, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3-5700

COURT OF CUSTOMS AND PATENT APPEALS

(Internal Revenue Building. Phone National 8-4696)

Chief Judge-Finis J. Garrett, of Tennessee, 3550 Springland Lane.

Judge-Ambrose O'Connell, of New York, Hunting Towers, Alexandria, Va. Judge—Noble J. Johnson, of Indiana, 4318

Warren St.

warren St.
Judge—Eugene Worley, of Texas, 4745 32d St.
North, Arlington, Va.
Judge—William P. Cole, Jr., of Maryland, 100
West University Parkway, Baltimore, Md.
Judge—Joseph R. Jackson (retired), of New York, Westchester Apts.

THE UNITED STATES COURT OF CLAIMS (Pennsylvania Ave. and 17th St. Phone, District 7-0642)

Chief Judge-Marvin Jones, of Texas, 1500 Massachusetts Ave.
Judge—Benjamin H. Littleton, of Tennessee,

1868 Columbia Road.

Judge-Samuel E. Whitaker, of Tennessee,

4921 Quebec St.
Judge—J. Warren Madden, of Pennsylvania,
300 East Broad St., Falls Church, Va.
Judge—Don. N. Laramore, of Washington,
4912 Brookway Road, Sumner, Md.

EMERGENCY COURT OF APPEALS Washington 1, D. C.

Washington 1, D. C.
Chief Judge—Albert B. Maris, Philadelphia
7, Pa. (United States Circuit Judge for the
Third Circuit.)
Judge—Calvert Magruder, Boston 9, Mass.
(Chief Judge, United States Court of Appeals for the First Circuit.)
Judge—Thomas F. McAllister, Grand Rapids,
Mich. (United States Circuit Judge for
the Sixth Circuit.)
Judge—Walter C. Lindley, Danville, Ill.
(United States Circuit Judge for the
Seventh Circuit.)

Seventh Circuit.)
Judge—Bolitha J. Laws, Washington, D. C.
(Chief Judge, United States District Court for the District of Columbia.)

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGES District of Columbia (Washington 1, D. C.) Chief Judge Bolitha J. Laws Judges

Edward M. Curran F. Dickinson Letts Edward A. Tamm Charles F. McLaughlin Burnita S. Matthews James W. Morris David A. Pine
Matthew F. McGuire
Henry A. Schweinhaut James R. Kirkland
Alexander Holtzoff
Luther W. Youngdahl
Joseph C. McCarraghy

UNITED STATES COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS

(United States Court of Military Appeals Building, 5th and E Sts. NW.)

Phone, Liberty	9-0100
Chief Judge	Robert E. Quinn
	George W. Latimer
Judge	Paul W. Brosman
Commissioner	Richard L. Tedrow
Clerk	Alfred C. Proulx

REPRESENTATIVES WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building
Office Address: House Office Building, Washington, D. C. [Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]
Speaker, Sam Rayburn Abbitt, Watkins M., Va
Abbitt, Watkins M., Va Abernethy, Thos. G., Miss_6278 29th St. Adair, E. Ross, Ind3971 Langley Ct., Apt. 596-B
Addonizio, Hugh J., N. J Albert, Carl, Okla Alexander, Hugh Q., N. C
Alger, Bruce, TexAllen John J. Jr. Calit
Alger, Bruce, Tex
Andrews, George W., Ald3108 Cathedral
Anfuso, Victor L., N. Y Arends, Leslie C., Ill4815 Dexter St.
Anfuso, Victor L., N. Y
Auchincloss, James C., N. J. 113 S. Lee St.,
Alexandria, Va. Avery, William H., Kans Ayres, William H., Ohio
Bailey, Cleveland M., W. Va.
Bailey, Cleveland M., W. Va. Baker, Howard H., Tenn Baldwin, John F., Jr., Calif.
Barden, Graham A., N. C. 2737 Devonshire Pl. Barrett, William A., Pa
Bass, Perkins, N. H
Bates, William H., Mass
Baumhart, A. D., Jr., Ohio_ Beamer, John V., Ind110 Maryland Ave. NE.
Becker, Frank J., N. Y1727 Mass. Ave. Belcher, Page, Okla Bell, John J., Tex
Bennett, Charles E., Fla1530 38th St. SE. Bennett, John B., Mich7304 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md.
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich2720 Terrace Road SE,
Betts, Jackson E., Ohio
Blatnik, John A., Minn Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga Boggs, Hale, La Boland, Edward P., Mass
Boland, Edward P., Mass Bolling, Richard, Mo
Bolton, Frances P., Ohio2301 Wyo. Ave. Bolton, Oliver P., Ohio
Boland, Edward P., Mass Bolling, Richard, Mo Bolton, Frances P., Ohio2301 Wyo. Ave. Bolton, Oliver P., Ohio Bonner, Herbert C., N. CThe Dorchester Bosch, Albert H., N. Y Bow, Frank T., Ohio4301 Mass. Ave. Bowler, James B. Ill
Bow, Frank T., Ohio4301 Mass. Ave. Bowler, James B., Ill
Bowler, James B., III
Brooks, Jack B., Tex
Brown, Clarence J., Ohio_Alban Towers
Brooks, Jack B., Tex. Brooks, Overton, La4413 46th St. Brown, Clarence J., Ohio. Alban Towers Brown, Paul, Ga
Didyilli, out In Yannana
Buchanan, Vera, Pa Buckley, Charles A., N. Y Budge, Hamer H., Idaho
Burdick, Usher L., N. Dak Burleson, Omar, Tex2737 Devonshire Pl.
Burnside, M. G., W. Va
Bush, Alvin R., Pa Bvrd, Robert C., W. Va
Byrnes, James A., Pa
Canfield, Gordon, N. J Cannon, Clarence, Mo
Cannon, Clarence, Mo The Washington Carnahan, A. S. J., Mo
Carrigg, Joseph L., Pa Cederberg, Elford A., Mich_
Carnahan, A. S. J., Mo Carrigg, Joseph L., Pa Cederberg, Elford A., Mich_ Celler, Emanuel, N. Y The Mayflower Chase, Jackson B., Nebr
Chatham, Thurmond, N. 02
Chelf, Frank, Ky Chenoweth, J. Edgar, Colo_

Chiperfield, Robert B., III1713 House Office
Christopher, George H.,
Church, Marguerite Stitt, 2122 Mass. Ave.
Clark, Frank M., PaThe Jefferson Cole, W. Sterling, N. Y1610 44th St. Colmer, William M., MissCooley, Harold D., N. CThe Dorchester
Colmer, William M., Miss Cooley, Harold D., N. CThe Dorchester
Cooper, Jere, TennThe Washington
Corbett, Robert J., Pa Coudert, F. R., Jr., N. Y
Cooper, Jcre, TennThe Washington Corbett, Robert J., PaCoudert, F. R., Jr., N. Y_Cramer, William C., Fla454 Tindall St. Cretella, Albert W., Conn
Crumpacker, Shepard J., Jr., Ind. Cunningham, Paul, Iowa
Curtis, Laurence, Mass3314 O St. Curtis, Thomas B., Mo
Dague, Paul B., Pa Davidson, Irwin D., N. Y
Davis, Clifford, Tenn4611 Butter- worth Pl.
Davis, Glenn R., Wis2550 South Joyce, Arlington, Va.
Davis, James C., Ga Dawson, William A., Utah Dawson, William L., Ill
Dawson, William L., Ill Deane, Charles B., N. C
Deane, Charles B., N. C Delaney, James J., N. Y Dempsey, John J., N. Mex. 2500 Q St. Denton, Winfield K., Ind.
Derounian, Steven B., N. Y.
Devereux, James P. S., Md. Dies, Martin, Tex Diggs, Charles C., Jr., Mich. The Congressional
Dingell, John D., Mich Dixon, Henry Aldous, Utah_
Dodd Thomas J., Conn
Dollinger, Isidore, N. Y Dolliver, James I., Iowa3752 Jocelyn St. Dondero, George A., Mich-The Continental
Donohue, Harold D., Mass_ Donovan, James G., N. Y Dorn, Francis E., N. Y
Dorn. W. J. Bryan, S. C.
Dowdy, John, Tex
Durham, Carl T., N. CThe Lee House
Eberharter, Herman P., Pa. 3101 4th St. N., Arlington, Va.
Edmondson, Ed, Okla Elliott, Carl, Ala Ellsworth, Harris, Oreg4301 Mass. Ave.
Engle, Clair, Calif3840 Lorcom Lane Arlington, Va. Evins, Joe L., Tenn5044 Klingle St.
Fallon, George H., Md
Fascell, Dante B., Fla Feighan, Michael A., Ohio-
Feighan, Michael A., Ohio- Fenton, Ivor D., Pa-3725 Macomb St. Fernandez, A. M., N. Mex 200 C St. SE. Fine, Sidney A., N. Y
Fino, Paul A., N. YCalvert-Woodley
Fine, Staney A., N. Y Fino, Paul A., N. Y
Flynt, John J., Jr., Ga Fogarty, John E., R. I3627 Chesapeake
St. Forand, Aime J., R. I4108 Dresden St.,
Kensington, Md. Ford, Gerald R., Jr., Mich514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Forrester, E. L., Ga
N. J. Friedel, Samuel N., Md Fulton, James G., Pa
Gamble, Ralph A., N. Y
Garmatz, Edward A., Md Gary, J. Vaughan, Va Gathings F. C. Ark 6377 31st Pl.
Gathings, E. C., Ark6377 31st Pl. Gavin, Leon H., Pa
George, Myron V., Kans3801 Rodman St. Gordon, Thomas S., Ill

```
Granahan, William T., Pa...
Grant, George M., Ala.....4801 Conn. Ave.
Gray, Kenneth J., Ill.....
Green, Edith, Oreg......
Green, William J., Jr., Pa...
Gregory, Noble J., Ky.....2401 Calvert St.
Griffiths, Martha W., Mich.
Gross, H. R., Iowa.......
Gubser, Charles S., Calif...
Gwinn, Ralph W., N. Y.....
Harrison, Burr P., Va ..... 4519 So. 34th St.,
                                             Arlington, Va.
Harrison, Robert D., Nebr ...
Harvey, Ralph, Ind _____110 Maryland
                                            Ave. NE.
314 2d St. SE.
Hays, Brooks, Ark.
Hays, Wayne L., Ohio____The Woodner
Hayworth, Don. Mich _____ Hébert, F. Edward, La ____ 104 Cockrell St.,
Alexandria, Va.
Henderson, John E., Ohio_125 Marthas Rd.,
                                            Alexandria, Va.
Herlong, A. S., Jr., Fla-
Heselton, John W., Mass...
Hess, William E., Ohio....
Hiestand, Edgar W., Calif...
Hill, William S., Colo....
                                            -110 Maryland
                                            Ave. NE.
Hillings, Patrick J., Calif ...
Hinshaw, Carl, Calif-----
Hoeven, Charles B., Iowa-2108 Suitland
Hoffman, Clare E., Mich. Methodist Bldg.
Hoffman, Richard W., Ill.
Holineld, Chet, Calif.
Holmes, Hal, Wash.
Holt, Joe, Calif.
Holtzman, Lester, N. Y.
Hope, Clifford R., Kans ... 3541 Brandywine
Horan, Walt, Wash.
Ala.
Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo_____
Hyde, DeWitt S., Md_____
Ikard, Frank, Tex ....
Jackson, Donald L., Calif...

James, Benjamin F., Pa....200 C St. SE.

Jarman, John, Okla.....

Jenkins, Thomas A., Ohio...The Mayflower

Jennings, W. Pat, Va.....

Jensen, Ben F., Iowa......The Washing-
Johansen, August E., Mich.
Johnson, Leroy, Calif _____630 North Caro-
                                            lina Ave. SE.
                                            _3316 Pope St. SE.
Johnson, Lester R., Wis-
Jonas, Charles Raper, N. C.

Jones, Paul C., Mo.____3613 Greenway
                                             Pl., Alexandria,
                                             Va.
Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala___
Jones, Woodrow W., N. C__
Judd. Walter H., Minn___3083 Ordway St.
Karsten, Frank M., Mo____
Kean, Robert W., N. J____2435 Kalorama
Road
```

Laird, Melvin R., Wis	Pilcher, J. L., Ga
Landrum, Phil M., Ga	Pillion, John R., N. Y
Lane, Thomas J., Mass	Pillion, John R., N. Y Poage, W. R., Tex230
Lanham, Henderson, Ga	Pl.
Lankford, Richard E., Md	Poff, Richard H., Va
Latham, Henry J., N. Y	Polk, James G., Ohio
LeCompte, Karl M., Iowa_Sheraton-Park	Powell, Adam C., Jr., N. Y.
Lesinski, John, Jr., Mich	Preston, Prince H., Jr., Ga.
Lipscomb, Glenard P., Calif.	Price, Melvin, Ill.
Lorg, George S., La Lovre, Harold O., S. Dak1605 Sherwood	Priest, J. Percy, TennTh Prouty, Winston L., Vt
Road, Silver	
Spring, Md.	Quigley, James M., Pa
	Rabaut, Louis C., Mich
McCarthy, Eugene J., Minn_419 Raymond St.,	Radwan, Edmund P., N. Y.
Chevy Chase, Md.	Rains, Albert, Ala
McConnell, Samuel K., Jr.,	Ray, John H., N. Y
Pa.	Rayburn, Sam, Tex
McCormack, John W., Mass_The Washington	Reece, B. Carroll, Tenn
McCulloch, Wm. M., OhioWestchester Apts.	Reed, Chauncey W., 14200
McDonough, G. L., Calif	Md
McDowell, Harris B., Jr., Del.	Reed, Daniel A., N. YTh
McGregor, J. Harry, Ohio The Westchester	Rees, Edward H., Kans180
McIntire, Clifford G.,	Reuss, Henry S., Wis275
Maine	Rhodes, George M., Pa180
McMillan, John L., S. C 1201 S. Barton St.,	St.
Arlington, Va.	Rhodes, John J., Ariz
McVey, William E., III 3130 Wisconsin	Richards, James P., S. C
Ave.	Riehlman, R. Walter, N. Y.321
The state of the s	Riley, John J., S. C
Macdonal 1, Torbert H.,	Rivers, L. Mendel, S. C
Mass.	Roberts, Kenneth A., Ala_454
Machrowicz, Thaddeus M., 812 Park Ave.,	Robeson, Edward J., Jr., Va.
Mich. Falls Church, Va.	Robsion, John M., Jr., Ky150
Mack, Peter F., Jr., Ill	Rodino, Peter W., Jr., N. J
Mack, Russell V., Wash	Rogers, Byron G., Colo
Madden, Ray J., Ind3250 T St. SE.	Rogers, Edith Nourse, Mass_Th
Magnuson, Don, Wash	Rogers, Paul G., Fla
Mahon, George H., TexAlban Towers	Rogers, Walter, Tex
Mailliard, William S., Calif.	Rooney, John J., N. Y
Marshall, Fred, Minn	Roosevelt, James, Calif
Martin, Jos. W., Jr., MassThe Hay-Adams	Rutherford, J. T., Tex
Mason, Noah M., IllThe Baronet	
Matthews, D. R. (Billy),	Sadlak, Antoni N., Conn
Fla.	St. George, Katharine, N. Y.
Meader, George, Mich 3360 Tennyson St.	Saylor, John P., Pa
Merrow, Chester E., N. H	Schenck, Paul F., Ohio380
Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Ap
Miller, A. L., Nebr2801 East-West	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_Th
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West Miller, A. L., Nebr2801 East-West Highway, Chevy	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa
Chase, Md.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa
Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans233
Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans 233 Av
Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans233 Av Scudder, Hubert B., Calif_456
Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. 3708 Calvend Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensing-	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans23 Av Scudder, Hubert B., Calif_456 Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr.,
Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. 3708 Calvend Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensing-	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa
Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans233 Av Scudder, Hubert B., Calif454 Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463
Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif 2001 Conn. Ave. Miller, William E., N. Y 2001 Conn. Ave. Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2001 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H.,	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa
Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans238 Scudder, Hubert B., Calif454 Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. So. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif
Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, William E., N. Y 2001 Conn. Ave. Miller, William E., N. Y 2001 Conn. Ave. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2001 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn 2001	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, William E., N. Y. 2701 Conn. Ave. Mills, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morano, Thomas E., Pa. 4000	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa
Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, William E., N. Y 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. 2701 Conn. Ave. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La 4420 Dexter St.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif 2001 Conn. Ave. Miller, William E., N. Y 2011 Conn. Ave. Mills, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. 4420 Dexter St. Moss. John E., Jr., Calif 2011 Conn. Ave.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa
Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, William E., N. Y 2701 Conn. Ave. Mills, William E., Ohio. Mills, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moulder, Morgan M. Mo.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa
Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa
Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. 2701 Conn. Ave. Mills, William E., Ohio. Mills, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans233 Av. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif456 Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shufford, George A., N. C Sheminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa456 Simpson, Sid, Ill
Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y Multer, Abraham J., N. Y Murray, James C., Ill Murray, James C., Ill Murray, Tom, Tenn	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, PaScrivner, Errett P., Kans233 Scudder, Hubert B., Calif454 Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. So. Sheehan, Timothy P., IllShelley, John F., CalifSheppard, Harry R., CalifShort, Dewey, MoShuford, George A., N. CSh Sleminski, Alfred D., N. JSikes, Robert L. F., FlaSiler, Eugene, Ky_Simpson, Richard M., Pa_454 Simpson, Sid, Ill216 Sisk, B. F., Calif
Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y Multer, Abraham J., N. Y Murray, James C., Ill Murray, James C., Ill Murray, Tom, Tenn	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scodder, Hubert B., Calif Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C Sleminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa Signson, Richard M., Pa Sish, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E. Miss
Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. 2701 Conn. Ave. Mills, William E., Ohio. Mills, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Sheminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa Siles, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va 206 Scrivner Scrivner Smith, Howard W., Va 206 Scrivner Scrivner Smith, Howard W., Va 206 Scrivner Sc
Chase, Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Lane, Kensington, Md. 2701 Conn. Ave. Mills, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom. Tenn. Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C. Shieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa. 455 Simpson, Sid, Ill Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va 204 Ale
Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, Pa235 Scrivner, Errett P., Kans235 Av. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif456 Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. CSh Sleminski, Alfred D., N. J Siles, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa456 Simpson, Richard M., Pa516 Simpson, Richard M., P
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans
Chase, Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Lane, Kensington, Md. 2701 Conn. Ave. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom. Tenn. Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Nicholson, D. W., Mass. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norrell, W. F., Ark. 2301 Conn. Ave.	Schwengel, Fred, IowaScott, Hugh, Pa
Chase, Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Lane, Kensington, Md. 2701 Conn. Ave. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom. Tenn. Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Nicholson, D. W., Mass. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norrell, W. F., Ark. 2301 Conn. Ave.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C. Shieminski, Alfred D., N. J Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa Simpson, Sid, Ill Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va Smith, Lawrence H., Wis Th Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla
Chase, Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Lane, Kensington, Md. 2701 Conn. Ave. Mills, William E., N. Y. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom. Tenn. Stocker, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norrell, W. F., Ark. 2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. The Hamilton.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans 233 Av Scudder, Hubert B., Calif 454 Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill. Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo. Shuford, George A., N. C. Sh Sleminski, Alfred D., N. J. Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Sid, Ill. 210 Sisk, B. F., Calif 211 Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va 20 Ale Smith, Lawrence H., Wis Th Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sh Springer, William L., Ill. Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla. Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo.
Chase, Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Lane, Kensington, Md. 2701 Conn. Ave. Mills, William E., N. Y. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom. Tenn. Stocker, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norrell, W. F., Ark. 2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. The Hamilton.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Shentord, George A., N. C. Shieminski, Alfred D., N. J. Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa 454 Simpson, Richard M., Pa 455 Simpson, Richard M., Pa 456 Simpson, Richard M., Pa 456 Simpson, Richard M., Pa 457 Simpson, Sid, Ill Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Howard W., Va 204 Smith, Lawrence H., Wis Springer, William L., Ill Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Jova
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans 233 Av Scudder, Hubert B., Calif 456 Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill. Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C. Sheiminski, Alfred D., N. J. Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa 456 Simpson, Richard M., Pa 457 Simpso
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scott, Hugh, Pa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scott, Hugh, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Shentord, George A., N. C. Shieminski, Alfred D., N. J. Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa 454 Simpson, Sid, Ill Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va 204 Steed, Tom, Okla Stinger, William L., Ill Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Clarles M., Calif Teague, Clarles M., Calif Teague, Clarles M., Calif
Chase, Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Lane, Kensington, Md. 2701 Conn. Ave. Mills, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom. Tenn. Matcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Nicholson, D. W., Mass. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norrell, W. F., Ark. 2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. 2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. The Hamilton O'Hara, Barratt, Ill. The Congressional O'Hara, Joseph P., Minn. 2813 31st St. O'Konski, Alvin E., Wis. 4201 Mass. Ave. O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr., Mass. Osmers Frank C. Jr. N. J.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans. 233 Av Scudder, Hubert B., Calif 456 Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill. Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Shopt, Dewey, Mo. Shuford, George A., N. C. Sh Sleminski, Alfred D., N. J. Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Sid, Ill. 216 Sisk, B. F., Calif 216 Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va 206 Smith, Lawrence H., Wis Th Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sh Springer, William L., Ill. Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla. Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Olin E., Tex. 601 Thomas, Albert, Tex. 290
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom. Tenn. Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Nicholson, D. W., Mass. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norrell, W. F., Ark. 2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. O'Brien, Thomas J., Ill. The Hamilton O'Hara, Joseph P., Minn. 2813 31st St. O'Konski, Alvin E., Wis. 4201 Mass. Ave. O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr., Mass. Osmers, Frank C., Jr., N. J. Osmers, Frank C., Jr., N. J. Ostertag, Harold C., N. Y. 100 Maryland	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans 233 Av Scudder, Hubert B., Calif 456 Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill. Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C. Sheiminski, Alfred D., N. J. Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla. Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa 457 Simpson, Sid, Ill. Sisk, B. F., Calif Sikh, Howard W., Va 206 Simith, Lawrence H., Wis The Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sh Springer, William L., Ill. Staggers, Harley O., W. Va 5teed, Tom, Okla Steed, Tom, Okla Steed
Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans
Chase, Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Lane, Kensington, Md. 2701 Conn. Ave. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom. Tenn. Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Nicholson, D. W., Mass. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norrell, W. F., Ark. 2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. 2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Thomas J., Ill. The Hamilton O'Hara, Barratt, Ill. The Congressional O'Hara, Joseph P., Minn. 2813 31st St. O'Konski, Alvin E., Wis. 4201 Mass. Ave. O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr., Mass. Osmers, Frank C., Jr., N. J. Ostertag, Harold C., N. Y. 100 Maryland Ave. NE. Passman, Otto E., La. 117 Correll St. SE.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans. 233 Av Scudder, Hubert B., Calif. 456 Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. So. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill. Shelley, John F., Calif. Sheppard, Harry R., Calif. Short, Dewey, Mo. Shuford, George A., N. C. Sh Sleminski, Alfred D., N. J. Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla. Siler, Eugene, Ky. Simpson, Richard M., Pa. 456 Simpson, Richard M., Pa. 456 Simpson, Sid, Ill. Sisk, B. F., Calif. Smith, Frank E., Miss. Smith, Howard W., Va. 206 Smith, Lawrence H., Wis. Th Smith, Wint, Kans. Spence, Brent, Ky. Staggers, Harley O., W. Va. Steed, Tom, Okla. Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo. Taber, John, N. Y. Talle, Henry O., Iowa. Taylor, Dean P., N. Y. Teague, Olin E., Tex. 601 Thomas, Albert, Tex. 290 Thompson, Clark W., Tex. Sh Thompson, Ruth, Mich. Thompson, Trank, Jr., N. J. Thompson, Ruth, Mich.
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans Scaly-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill. Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo Shuford, George A., N. C. Shewing, India Company Siler, Eugene, Ky Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa 45 Simpson, Rid, Ill Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Howard W., Va 20 Ale Smith, Lawrence H., Wis Springer, William L., Ill Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla Steed, Tom, Okla Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Olin E., Tex Shompson, Frank, Jr., N. J Thompson, Clark W., Tex Shompson, Frank, Jr., N. J Thompson, Ruth, Mich Thompson, T. A., La 726 Ale
Chase, Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif Lane, Kensington, Md. 2701 Conn. Ave. Miller, William E., N. Y. 3708 Calvend Lane, Kensington, Md. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom. Tenn. Matcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Nicholson, D. W., Mass. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norrell, W. F., Ark. 2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. 2813 31st St. O'Brien, Thomas J., Ill. The Hamilton O'Hara, Joseph P., Minn. 2813 31st St. O'Konski, Alvin E., Wis. 4201 Mass, Ave. O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr., Mass. Osmers, Frank C., Jr., N. J. Ostertag, Harold C., N. Y. 100 Maryland Ave. NE. Pasterson, James T., Cons. Patterson, James T., Cons. Patterson, James T., Cons. Pelly Thomas M. Walter P. 117 Carroll St. SE.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans. 233 Av Scudder, Hubert B., Calif 456 Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill. Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Shopt, Dewey, Mo. Shuford, George A., N. C. Sh Sleminski, Alfred D., N. J. Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Sid, Ill. 216 Sisk, B. F., Calif 216 Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va 206 Smith, Lawrence H., Wis Th Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sh Springer, William L., Ill. Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla. Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Olin E., Tex. 601 Thompson, Frank, Jr., N. J Thompson, Ruth, Mich Thompson, Frank, Jr., N. J Thompson, Ruth, Mich Thompson, T. A., La 766 Thomson, E. Keith, Wyo
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md. 2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif 2001 Conn. Ave. Miller, William E., N. Y 2701 Conn. Ave. Miller, William E., Ohio. Mills, Wilbur D., Ark 2701 Conn. Ave. Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H., W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn. Morgan, Thomas E., Pa. Morrison, James H., La. 4420 Dexter St. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moss, John E., Jr., Calif. Moulder, Morgan M., Mo. Multer, Abraham J., N. Y. Mumma, Walter M., Pa. The Coronet Murray, James C., Ill. Murray, Tom. Tenn. Natcher, William H., Ky. 5108 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md. Nelson, Charles P., Maine. Norblad, Walter, Oreg. Norrell, W. F., Ark. 2301 Conn. Ave. O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y. O'Brien, Thomas J., Ill. The Hamilton O'Hara, Barratt, Ill. The Congressional O'Hara, Joseph P., Minn. 2813 31st St. O'Konski, Alvin E., Wis. 4201 Mass. Ave. O'Nelll, Thomas P., Jr., Mass. Osmers, Frank C., Jr., N. J. Ostertag, Harold C., N. Y. 100 Maryland Ave. NE. Passman, Otto E., La. Patterson, James T., Cons. Pelly, Thomas M., Wash. Perkins, Carl D. Kr. Passman, Otto E., La. 117 Carroll St. SE.	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans
Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans. 233 Av Scudder, Hubert B., Calif 456 Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 463 Ala. Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill. Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif Short, Dewey, Mo. Shuford, George A., N. C. Sh Sleminski, Alfred D., N. J. Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Sid, Ill. 216 Sisk, B. F., Calif 218 Smith, Frank E., Miss Smith, Howard W., Va 206 Smith, Howard W., Va 306 Smith, Lawrence H., Wis Th Smith, Wint, Kans Spence, Brent, Ky Sh Springer, William L., Ill. Staggers, Harley O., W. Va Steed, Tom, Okla 201 Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo 201 Taber, John, N. Y 201 Tague, Charles M., Calif 220 Thompson, Clark W., Tex Sh Thompson, Frank, Jr., N. J 201 Thompson, Thor C., Wash 201 Trimble, James W., Ark 201 Talle, Henry Ton C., Wash 201 Trimble, James W., Ark 201 Trimble, James W., Ark 201 Trimble, James W., Ark 201 Talle, Henry Ton C., Wash 201 Trimble, James W., Ark 201 Trimble, James W., Ark 201 Talle, Henry Ton C., Wash 201 Trimble, James W., Ark 201 Talle, Henry Ton C., Wash 201 Trimble, James W., Ark 201 Talle, Henry Ton C., Wash 201 Trimble, James W., Ark 201 Talle, Henry Ton C., Wash 201 Trimble, James W., Ark 201 Talle, Henry Ton C., Wash 201 Trimble, James W., Ark 201 Talle, Henry Ton C., Wash
Chase, Md. Miller, Edward T., Md	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa Scott, Hugh, Pa Scrivner, Errett P., Kans

Laird Malvin D Wie

COLIGACIONOLIMA ACCOMO	
ilcher, J. L., Ga	Tumulty, T. James, N. J
fillion John R. N. Y	Udall, Stewart L., Ariz
oage, W. R., Tex2309 Skyland Pl. SE.	Utt, James B., Calif
off, Richard H., Va	Vanik, Charles A., Ohio
olk, James G., Ohio	Van Pelt, William K., Wis Van Zandt, James E., PaThe Senate Courts
owell, Adam C., Jr., N. Y.	Velde, Harold H., Ill
reston, Prince H., Jr., Ga., rice, Melvin, IU	Vinson, Carl, Ga4 Primrose St.,
riest, J. Percy, TennThe Berkshire	Vorys, John M., Ohio2032 Belmont Rd.
routy, Winston L., Vt	Vursell, Charles W., Ill The Congres-
Quigley, James M., Pa	sional
labaut, Louis C., Mich	Wainwright, Stuyvesant,
Radwan, Edmund P., N. Y.	N. Y. Walter Francis F Da
tains, Albert, Ala tay, John H., N. Y	Walter, Francis E., Pa Watts, John C., Ky
layburn, Sam, Tex	Weaver, Phil, Nebr9408 Crosby Rd.,
deece, B. Carroll, Tenn	Silver Spring, Md.
teed, Chauncey W., 142009 Glen Ross Rd., Silver Spring,	Westland, Jack, Wash Wharton, J. Ernest, N. Y
Md.	Whitten, Jamie L., Miss 5804 Nebraska
teed, Daniel A., N. YThe Woodner	Ave.
dees, Edward H., Kans1801 16th St.	Wickersham, Victor, Okla
teuss, Henry S., Wis2750 32d St. Thodes, George M., Pa1809 Franklin	Widnall, William B., N. J Wier, Roy W., Minn
St. NE.	Wigglesworth, R. B., Mass3257 N. St.
Rhodes, John J., Ariz	Williams, Harrison L., Jr.,
Richards, James P., S. C Richlman, R. Walter, N. Y_3210 Wis, Ave.	N. J. Williams, John Bell, Miss1001 26th Road S.,
Riley, John J., S. C	Arlington, Va.
livers, L. Mendel, S. C	Williams, William R., N. Y. 1241 Pa. Ave. SE.
Roberts, Kenneth A., Ala_4545 Conn. Ave.	Willis, Edwin E., La
tobeson, Edward J., Jr., Va_ tobsion, John M., Jr., Ky1500 Delafield Pl.	Wilson, Earl, Ind
Rodino, Peter W., Jr., N. J	Calif.
logers, Byron G., Colo	Winstead, Arthur, Miss
togers, Edith Nourse, Mass_The Shoreham togers, Paul G., Fla	Withrow, Gardner R., Wis_ Wolcott, Jesse P., Mich3707 Thornapple
togers, Walter, Tex	St., Chevy Chase
Rooney, John J., N. Y	Wolverton, Charles A., N. J. 1336 HOB
Roosevelt, James, Calif	Wright, Jim, Tex
autherford, J. T., Tex	Yates, Sidney R., Ill.
t. George, Katharine, N.Y.	Young, Clifton (Cliff), Nev_3202 So. Stafford St., Arlington, Va.
Saylor, John P., Pa	Younger, J. Arthur, Calif_4545 Conn. Ave.
chenck, Paul F., Ohio3801 Conn. Ave.,	Zablocki, Clement J., Wis
Apt. 307 Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y
Apt. 307 scherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower schwengel, Fred, Iowa	
cherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower chwengel, Fred, Iowa	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE.
cherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower chwengel, Fred, Iowacott, Hugh, Pactrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska.
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowacott, Hugh, Pacott, Hugh, Pa2331 Cathedral icrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave.	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowacott, Hugh, Pacott, Hugh, Pa231 Cathedral icrivner, Errett P., Kans231 Cathedral Ave.	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii.
cherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower chwengel, Fred, Iowa cott, Hugh, Pa crivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. Scudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn.	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa cott, Hugh, Pa icrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. icudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. icely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. ielden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St.	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St.
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio_The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa cott, Hugh, Pa icrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. icudder, Hubert B., Calif4545 Conn. Ave. icely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. ielden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va.	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts.
cherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower chwengel, Fred, Iowa	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr.
cherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower chwengel, Fred, Iowa cott, Hugh, Pa2331 Cathedral Ave. crivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave. cleely-Brown, Horace, Jr., Conn. elden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va. cheehan, Timothy P., Ill_ cheehan, Timothy P., Ill_ cheehan, Harry R., Calif chort, Dewey, Mo	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D.,
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St Postmaster—H. H. Morris.
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio_ The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa cctt, Hugh, Pa	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE SENATE
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawati. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md.
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane.
cherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower chewengel, Fred, Iowa	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawati. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane. Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace.
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane. Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE.
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resment Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane. Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE.
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resment Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	DELEGATES Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawati. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE SENATE James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane. Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md.
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resment Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. Official reporters of debate Senate James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane. Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave.
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio. The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resment Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. Official reporters of debate Senate James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane. Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Prancis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave. HOUSE W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Ave. Roy L. Whitman, 4820 Linnean Ave. F. S. Milberg, 5032 Massachusetts Ave.
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawati. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
icherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower ichwengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawati. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
cherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower chewengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. Official reporters of debate Senate James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane. Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Prancis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave. HOUSE W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Ave. Roy L. Whitman, 4820 Linnean Ave. F. S. Milberg, 5032 Massachusetts Ave. E. B. Clark, 604 Bennington Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Frank E. Battaglia, 957 East-West Highway. Claude S. Scheckel, 6 East Blackthorne St., Chevy Chase, Md. Albert Schneider, 7516 14th St.
cherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower chewengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R
cherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower chewengel, Fred, Iowa	Delegates Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE. Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawaii. Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St. Officers of the House Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr. Doorkeeper—William M. Miller. Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St. Postmaster—H. H. Morris. Official reporters of debate Senate James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md. John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane. Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace. J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va. Prancis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St. Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave. HOUSE W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Ave. Roy L. Whitman, 4820 Linnean Ave. F. S. Milberg, 5032 Massachusetts Ave. E. B. Clark, 604 Bennington Dr., Silver Spring, Md. Frank E. Battaglia, 957 East-West Highway. Claude S. Scheckel, 6 East Blackthorne St., Chevy Chase, Md. Albert Schneider, 7516 14th St.

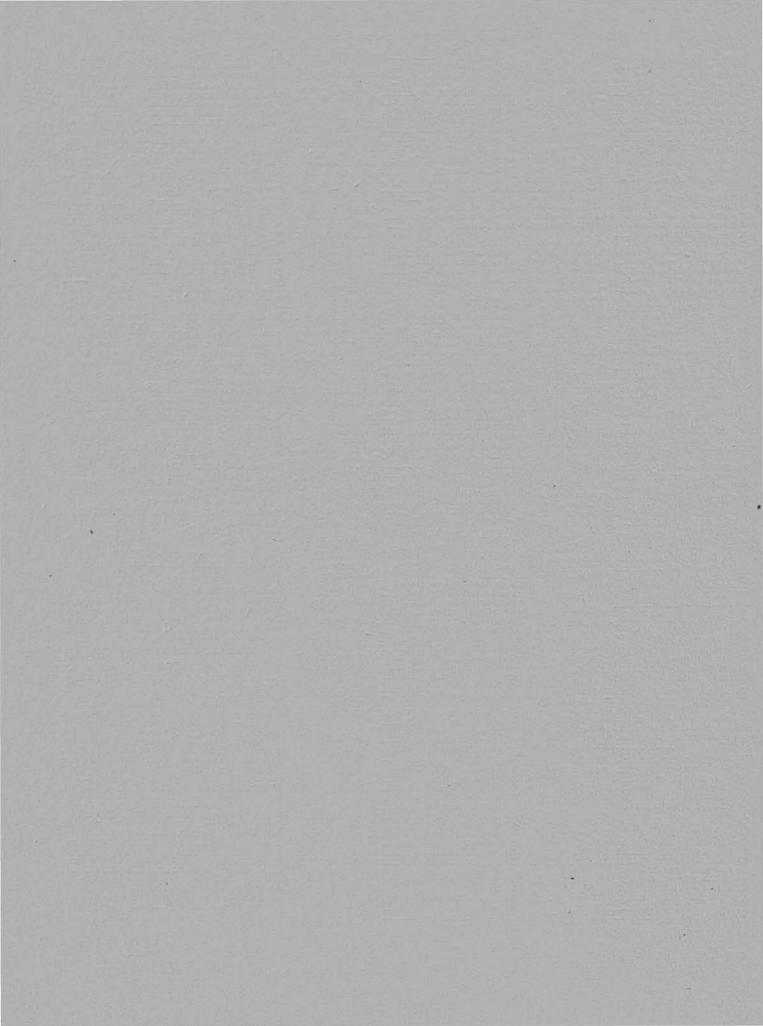
```
ulty, T. James, N. J___
 II, Stewart L., Ariz__
James B., Calif____
 lk, Charles A., Ohio.....
Pelt, William K., Wis...
Zandt, James E., Pa...The Senate Courts
 e, Harold H., Ill....
 on, Carl, Ga_____4 Primrose St.,
                                Chevy Chase, Md.
 rs, John M., Ohio_____2032 Belmont sell, Charles W., Ill____The Congres-
                                      sional
 nwright, Stuyvesant,
Y.
ter, Francis E., Pa____
ter, Francis L.,
John C., Ky______9408 Crosby Rd.,
ver, Phil, Nebr_____9408 Crosby Rd.,
Silver Spring, Md.
tland, Jack, Wash.....
rrton, J. Ernest, N. Y...
tten, Jamie L., Miss.... 5804 Nebraska
kersham, Victor, Okla-nall, William B., N. J-
 r, Roy W., Minn_____
glesworth, R. B., Mass_3257 N. St.
 iams, Harrison ..., Jr.,
 iams, John Bell, Miss__1001 26th Road S.,
 Arlington, Va.
 is, Edwin E., La____
on, Earl, Ind_____
 on, Robert C. (Bob),
 ulif.
 stead, Arthur, Miss....
hrow, Gardner R., Wis.
cott, Jesse P., Mich.....3707 Thornapple
verton, Charles A., N. J_1336 HOB
 ght, Jim, Tex___
 es, Sidney R., III__
 ng, Clifton (Cliff), Nev_3202 So, Stafford
                                      St., Arlington, Va.
 nger, J. Arthur, Calif_4545 Conn. Ave.
 locki, Clement J., Wis_-
nko, Herbert, N. Y____
                    DELEGATES
 lett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE.
 aska.
 ington, Mrs. Joseph
 . Hawaii.
          RESIDENT COMMISSIONER
 ós-Isern, A., P. R .____2210 R St.
          OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE
 k-Ralph R. Roberts.
k—Raiph R. Roberts.

eant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr.

rkeeper—William M. Miller.

plain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D.,

121 Montague St.
 master-H. H. Morris.
 OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE
                       SENATE
es W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy
hase, Md.
nase, Md.
n D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane,
gor Macpherson, 3111 44th St.
bert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace,
thester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE.
urles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St.,
rlington, Va.
rington, va.,
neis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St.,
holas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr.,
liver Spring, Md.
er L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St.,
ard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave.
                         HOUSE
```



Appendix

A National Highway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCIS CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous cosnent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address I made at the 53d annual convention of the American Road Builders, at New Orleans, La., on January 12, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROADS AT HAND AND ROADS AHEAD

Mr. Chairman, President Reindollar, President-elect Robertson, my colleagues of the Congress, and ladies and gentlemen, it is a privilege to be here to attend the 53d annual convention of this great organization and to participate in its deliberations. We may at this gathering point out some deficiencies in our highways, we may lament the slowness of progress in some respects, we may set our sights on new goals for national achievement, but the solid fact is that no other large nation on the face of the earth today has as many miles of good roads as the United States of America.

The credit for this must go in large measure to the enterprise and the resourcefulness of those who comprise the American Road Builders Association. You represent the individuals and the firms and the research institutions who comprise the American Roadbuilders Association. You who are here today represent those who have met the problems of highway construction and licked them. You bring to congressional hearings the lessons of experience. You show us how we may write into legislation practical ways to meet the ambitions of the American people. Your chairman, Mr. Steelman, was overgenerous in his introduction of me. Actually, any contribution that I may have made during the course of legislative consideration either of the Highway Act of 1954 or of some prior highway act when I was a Member of the House of Representatives and on the Appropriations Committee there or as a member of the Committee on Public Works and its Subcommittee on Roads before I became chairman during the last session-any contributions I may have made have been due to some suggestion that I got from somebody else, and in many instances from members of the American Road Bullders Association.

So, I say, you have shown us how to write into legislation practical ways to meet the ambitions and the needs of the American people. And it is a privilege to attend your 53d annual convention in New Orleans, one of the distinctive cities of America, and one of the great cities of the world.

The Public Works Committee of the Senate, as Senator Dennis Chavez, of New Mexico, so well said yesterday, is a nonpolitical committee. We have had the benefit of great leadership during my membership on that committee. During the first 2 years I was

in the Senate, Senator Chavez, himself, was the chairman of the committee. During the past 2 years Senator EDWARD MARTIN, of Pennsylvania, has been chairman. both great Americans and they have conducted the deliberations of the committee on a nonpolitical basis. We tried to find out what America needed in roadbuilding, what it needed in rivers and harbors development, and addressed our efforts to that end, regardless of any particular political implications that any action might have. Speaking here in behalf of what is now the minority membership of the Senate Committee on Public Works and the Committee on Roads, I want you to understand that I am sure the tasks of the coming year will be tackled in the same nonpartisan fashion. In acknowledging the help you have given in our congressional hearings, I want to express special thanks for the factual and informational data submitted by your executive vice president, Lt. Gen. Eugene Reybold, at the hearings of the Senate Committee on Public Roads in 1952 and of Bob Reindollar at the hearings of the Senate Public Works Subcommittee on Roads in 1954. I would be remiss if I did not, speaking to your organization, say "Thank you" to all of you.

And I would be remiss, also, if I did not tell you that throughout the congressional year, we have been helped by the aids of your organization. I understand they prefer to be kept in anonymity but, nevertheless, I really would like to mention all of their names. These aids of yours are in touch with the people on Capitol Hill and are always ready to supply us with the latest data on highway matters from the construction standpoint.

My topic for this morning is "Roads at Hand and Roads Ahead." Under the first part of it, I wish briefly to set forth the intent of Congress, as nearly as I know it, in the Federal Highway Act of 1954 with special reference to some new features in that legislation. Under the second part of the topic, "Roads Ahead," I shall review in brief detail the recommendations of the President's special committee, the report which General Clay presented to the President only yesterday. I sat in with other members of the roads committees on a preview of the report last Friday night.

First, then, "Roads at Hand"—the special features of the Federal Highway Act of 1954. This is the law under which Federal funds will be available for highway programs in the 2 fiscal years of 1956 and 1957, the first of which begins next July 1.

Foremost is the fact that this Act, for the first time in Federal highway legislation, makes available for highway purposes an amount in dollars substantially equal to the amount of revenue expected to be collected in the same period of time from the Federal tax on gasoline and lubricating oils. This does not include the revenue in excise taxes on automobiles or accessories which more nearly compare with the excise taxes on other articles one may purchase.

The total amount provided for the primary, secondary, urban, and interstate systems in this new act was \$875 million for each year compared with \$575 million per year in the prior biennium. That increase of \$300 million on a \$575 million base was a very substantial increase, over 52 percent in fact.

The amount of \$22½ million for forest highways, \$24 million, for forest roads and trails, \$12½ million for roads and trails in the national parks, \$11 million for parkways, \$10 million for Indian roads and trails, \$1 million for public-lands roads, and other amounts for the inter-American highway and for research and financing studies lifted the grand total so close to \$1 billion that the act was properly characterized by the President, as a billion-dollar road bill, or as your chairman here this morning perhaps more accurately describes it, a \$2 billion bill for the biennium.

We did something else, too, in dealing with these roads of Uncle Sam, the roads and highways in national forests, national parks, and national reservations. And these are given a little extra mention, because I think in the general thinking of highway systems we haven't realized the way in which those roads fit into the national system and the way also in which the roads in our parks and recreational areas in keeping with the suggestion that 50 percent of our traffic is for recreational purposes-those people who are out for recreational purposes will appreciate these recreational features of the highways as they drive along, but in many instances they are headed for one of the national playgrounds. And so what we do for the highways in those national playgrounds is important. Now, for the first time in this act, we propose to give the Federal Government itself as good a deal as we have been giving the States; that is, the right to count on the amount of money which the legislative hearings established was what was needed in a proper distribution of highway funds.

For many years, the biennial highway act has been made the basis for allotment to the States and has been regarded as a commitment so that the several State legislatures could count on those amounts and plan their revenue gathering and allocations accordingly. But, prior to the present, the figures for the national forests roads and trails—not highways but the roads and trails—and for the national parks and the Indian reservations have been only top limit authorizations and there has been a woeful lag in the actual appropriations.

Testimony taken in our Senate hearings last spring established that this lag in the 8 years from 1947 to 1954 for the National Park Service amounted to \$70 million-that is, that much was authorized that was not appropriated-and almost \$20 million for the Indian Bureau. We established that appropriations for the roads in the national parks were running at an average of about million a year against a standing authorization in the legislative act of \$10 million. The appropriation for the fiscal year 1951 for the National Park Service was \$21/2 million. That year, the park visitors exceeded 40 million people but the amount of money was less than it was in the thirties when the visitors were half as many. For fiscal 1953 and 1954 the appropriations for roads in the parks was in the \$4 million-class against the \$10 million in authorizations although park visitation the last few years has gone up to 45 million per year.

In this connection we developed some interesting figures on maintenance. I suppose these figures on maintenance might have other applications, too. But, it was costing the National Park Service \$1,571 per mile to maintain the old south approach

road in Yellowstone Park on the old bituminous surface against only \$202 on the new sections of bituminous. In the Shenandoah National Park, maintenance on the old bituminous sections was running \$1.443 per mile against \$163 on the new sections.

Our committee could not ignore the implications of such testimony. We decided that the Federal agencies responsible for maintaining the Government's own property should have the same assurance to count on the figures in the highway act that the States had on their partnership roads. So the Senate committee wrote into section 6 of the 1954 act contract authority for the amounts in the bill. The House conferees concurred in our action. And I might say that we did the unusual thing of making this provision applicable to the authorization of the current 1955 fiscal year as well as the blennium ahead of 1956 and 1957, so that today the Forest Service for its roads and trails fund, the Park Service for its roads and trails and parkways, and the Indian Service for its reservation roads now have this new authority, and each one is now engaged in programing roads which will permit them to make real progress in meeting their construction responsibilities. And, to a group which represents the road contractors, I suggest that you let the different agencies know that they now have contract authority to go ahead with the amounts described in the highway authorization act.

I have dwelt on this section of the bill a bit more, perhaps, than is proportionate to the total picture, because it has been a neglected one. We dld not feature it in our presentation to the Senate, and I doubt that many people throughout the industry have been fully aware of the significance of this establishment of this contract authority on these minor highway-fund allotments.

But, in the long sweep of highway planning, and I was particularly glad that Mr. Neill emphasized that in his remarks this morning, the roads and the highways of our national recreational grounds have great importance. The American people like to They head for those playgrounds. They travel thousands and thousands of miles to get there-and it is important that when they get there they find decent roads to travel. All the way that they travel they pay some gasoline-tax revenues, too, and of course, they create part of the traffic problem on the highways in getting there. Your appreciation of the Tetons in South Yellowstone can be marred considerably if you have to bounce around on pitted blacktop. And your vision of some spouting gesyer is not helped by viewing it through a cloud of gravel dust.

The big increase of funding, however, in the 1954 act was the stepup in the Federal-aid system—from \$550 million for the primary, secondary, and urban to \$700 million per year and in the interstate from a simple \$25 million to \$175 million—the two increases amounting to the \$300 million increases on the \$575 million base that has been previously mentioned.

These increases were not accomplished by accident. I, personally, had introduced a bill, S. 2859, a few days before the so-called administration bill was introduced in the House. My bill called for \$1 billion, \$2 million for each of the 2 fiscal years as compared with the \$887 million in the bill introduced and subsequently passed in the House of Representatives.

Now, I think I should say to this association that your spokesmen in their testimony before the House and again before the Senate said that the lesser amount was not adequate and I think I should say that your testimony helped to establish the increase which the Senate committee reported and which the Senate approved. In conference, some adjustments were made, but still the final total

was close to the billion dollar figure and justified the statements that Congress was providing a sum approximating the amount collected in Federal taxes on highway fuels—and that that represents an increase of approximately 50 percent over the prior biennium.

I may have stressed the figures involved more than you expected, but there is a special significance to them. It is this: that the amounts set up in the 1954 Highway Act for primary and secondary systems are the amounts which the President's Special Commission headed by General Clay now has adopted and proposes to use as the base for those purposes in the new program to be submitted to the Congress. Had the old base been continued in the last Congress, it is entirely possible that that would have been the base for the continuing regular primary and secondary systems in the Clay report. We set a new mark and that has been used as the new base.

One other feature of the 1954 act before I turn to "Roads Ahead." That is the provision for the interstate system. The interstate system and the urban system are, of course, really selected segments of the primary system. That is from the standpoint of physical construction.

The congressional committees were not insensible to the many witnesses we had who urged larger allocations for those highly expensive portions of the primary system—the high standard routes of particular importance in the national defense, often described as the strategic network, and the routes through or around cities, the urban system. Your organization pointed out the great importance of these roads. So did the representatives of the Association of State Highway Officials, the American Municipal Association, the American Automobile Association and many others.

And the committees responded. The House bill proposed stepping up from \$25 million to an even \$200 million. The Senate committee reported \$150 million, six times the previous amount. We settled on the midway figure of \$175 million, a 600 percent increase.

At the same time, we provided that the share of the Federal Government would be 60 percent as against 40 percent for the State contribution. Now, that was not with the thought of reducing the total amount of roads built but rather because we recognized the very practical problem that in most States the mileage on the interstate system is less than the mileage on the other system. A great many people live on the other systems, in the small towns and in the smaller cities and in the country. Each State high-way authority feels a great deal of pressure to complete their roads, too. When the people see a larger amount per mile put on the segments of the interstate system, which frequently are the better roads of the State. it makes it difficult for the State highway authorities to justify taking the larger amount that is necessary to meet the standards of construction for the interstate system and leave somebody's pet project neglected. And, so, in order to create a justification for the State highway authoritics to put some money in the interstate system, we proposed that 60-40 base. Now that principal has been recognized to an even greater degree in the recommendations the President's Advisory Committee. This discussion of the interstate system leads directly to the second part of the topic, "Roads Ahead."

In 1953 I had suggested that we have a joint congressional study of highway needs and highway financing. The House committee, however, had a study of its own under way. I believe that your organization testified at its hearings. Some of us felt, however, that we needed more than a general hearing

on highway construction, that we needed to have the benefit of detailed study by experts in the field of construction, design, financing and related subjects; that we needed to consider completing the systems and getting caught up with the growing demands. We felt we should not merely build today for what we see today but build so that when we got through with a project or route we would have met the needs that existed when we started and also the needs that had come into being during the period of construction.

So, the Senate wrote into the 1954 act this section incorporating the language I suggested, to which your chairman has alluded, section 13. I am going to read it—it is not very long:

"Sec. 13. The Secretary of Commerce is authorized and directed to make a comprehensive study of all phases of highway financing, including a study of the costs of completing the several systems of highways in the several States and of the progress and feasibility of toll roads with particular attention to the possible effects of such toll roads upon the Federal-aid highway programs, and coordination thereof, and to make a report of his findings including recommendations with respect to Federal participation in toll roads, to be submitted to the Congress not later than February 1, 1955: Provided, That not to exceed \$100,000 from funds available for administrative expenses shall be expended for the purposes of this section."

In his letter yesterday, formally presenting the report of the Special Advisory Committee to President Eisenhower, the chairman, Gen. Lucius Clay, wrote: "Early in 1955 the Bureau of Public Roads, pursuant to a directive of Congress (that is, sec. 13) will submit a comprehensive report on its current study of highway needs and financing. The estimates used by this committee (that is, the estimate used by the Clay committee) have been based upon preliminary tabulations of data by the Bureau, and hence no major inconsistencies are anticipated."

In other words, it is anticipated that the recommendations for roadbuilding in the reports of the Clay committee submitted yesterday will fit into the findings of need that will be submitted to the Congress in the report of the Bureau of Public Roads under the directive cited. And the fact that the Clay committee's recommendations grow out of the estimates of needs and costs made by the Bureau of Public Roads suggests, I think, the degree of support which the recommendations of the committee wil have from governmental sources, at least as to goals.

Now, the President's Advisory Committee's recommendations are buttressed also by their own hearings in the White House on October 7 and 8, 1954, and by the work of the Conference of Governors and their committee and by studies of an interagency committee representing the several Cabinet departments.

To the features of the committee's recommendations, I want to give a very brief outline:

First, from the data compiled by the Bureau under the study directed by section 13 of the 1954 act, the President's Advisory Committee estimates that \$101 billion would be required to complete all highway systems. Federal, State, and county and be current at the end of 10 years. I have heard some discussion and there is some confusion about the set of different figures, \$101 billion, \$50 billion, \$25 billion. The \$101 billion figures is the figure which the committee finds would be necessary to complete all the systems and be current at the end of 10 years,

Second. The Committee finds that if the present levels of expenditure were continued, \$47 billion of this \$101 billion would be provided, thus leaving a gap of \$54 billion. Now.

that \$47 billion would embrace a continuation of the present Federal aid program at the level cited in the 1954 act, plus the State and local, plus the existing toll authorities and whatever other programs are in the picture at the present time. Thus, \$47 billion of the \$101 billion would be provided by continuing the present program but that leaves a gap of \$54 billion. The Committee would concur in the recommendations of the governors' committee that the Federal Government provide 30 percent of this \$54 billion with States and local governments or road authorities taking the other 70 percent.

Third. The Clay Committee specifically recommends that the Federal Government take over and complete the presently designated national system of interstate highway system of approximately 38,000 miles at a cost of \$27 billion, of which the Federal Government would supply \$25 billion and others \$2 billion. In reality, this would be \$23 billion direct Federal and \$4 billion equally divided to handle urban connections, That is, \$23 billion for the general system would be provided directly by the Federal Government, \$4 billion of the \$27 billion was estimated as what would be required for the urban connections and that would be on a matching basis. That is where the \$2 billion out of the \$27 billion comes. Twenty-three billions dollars plus \$4 billion, the \$4 billion divided by 2 for Federal and local sharing.

Fourth. The Committee recommends that the Federal share of the interstate system be financed through bonds issued by a National Highway Corporation to be retired in 30 years, by annual appropriations of an amount equal to the proceeds from the gasoline tax and the revenue from the Federal tax on lubricating oils. This amount, the Commit-tee specifically states—and General Clay emphasized this in talking with us Friday night-this amount, the equivalent of the Federal tax on gasoline and the tax on lubricating oil, should be sufficient with the increase that they anticipate as the highways are constructed, should be sufficient to maintain the level of appropriations established in the 1954 Highway Act for the regular pri-mary and secondary aid systems, as well as \$75 million for the continuation of the urban system and adequate amounts for the public domain lands as well as to provide for the retirement of bonds in 30 years.

Fifth. The President's Committee further specifically proposes that the Federal Highway Corporation reimburse the States any seguments of the interstate system built to acceptable standards since 1947, whether free roads or toll, to the extent of the non-Federal participation; and that this reimbursement money be available for use by the State to build what might be called lieu roads elsewhere in the State on whatever part of the State's system State law might provide.

This reimbursement money, however, would be available only if the State was keeping up its regular matching program on other systems. That is, as it was explained to us, it would not be the intent that a State might sit back and say: "We'll take this money you are going to pay back to us and then ease up on our own appropriations." The State would have to keep up its regular matching program but if it did and if it had segments of the interstate system that were built to acceptable standards, Whether it was a continuation of a part of a toll system or a freeway, the State would get the reimbursement for that.

I might say further in explanation, General Clay pointed out that would not mean the discontinuance of the Federal aid or the discontinuance of the tolls. His Committee is suggesting that we accept those roads that are in being if they meet the standards of

the interstate system.

Thus, to treat all alike, the Federal Government through this Federal Highway Cor-

poration would stand ready to reimburse the States for the acceptable portions of the interstate system that it had built to acceptable standards since 1947, whether toll or free, and that that money paid for them would be available for the State to spend on building lieu roads. I use the term "lieu roads" because out in our State we have what we called lieu land. Sections 16 and 36 in each township of our State are dedicated as school lands but there were some sections which were homesteaded and taken up before that provision in the State enabling act was adopted. To make up for those, we set aside some other land and called it lieu lands. Well, these would be lieu roads. In place of the money that had been spent on the interstate system up to date the State would get back this money for building lieu roads. That is, would get back the non-Federal portion of the cost of the portion accepted for the interstate system.

Sixth. The Federal Government under this plan would provide 90 percent of the costs of rights-of-way on the interstate system and would use, or make available, its power of eminent domain to acquire rightsof-way if the State is lacking in such authority, that is, for the interstate system. Seventh. The interstate system would

be programed for completion in 10 years, that is by 1965, and designed to fully meet traffic needs of 1975 and constructed to last

through 1985-a 30-year life.

Eighth. The committee proposes—when I say committee, I mean the Clay committee the committee proposes that the bonds be subscribed to by the Treasury, if necessary, to a \$5 billion limit; but General Clay said that the committee was of the opinion, following their consultations with investment bankers, that the bonds would sell in the market; especially so if the long terms were offered at one-eighth percent over the regular governments and the short term at onequarter above.

Now, that is the picture as I understand it from hastily skimming through the preliminary draft of the committee's report and from the discussion General Clay had with members of the roads committees last Friday night. If some of you should have questions and if there is an opportunity for discussion later on, I'll be glad to answer them. if I can-but I think I have told you about all I know about it.

But, it is to be remembered that there are details that will have to be worked out in congressional hearings-and, as one of the speakers said yesterday, others may propose, but, in the final analysis, Congress disposes.

Personally, I agree with what Senator CHAVEZ and Congressmen Fallon and Mc-GREGOR have already said in suggesting that your roads committees in Congress will give a sympathetic hearing to this proposal or to any proposal to enable the country to meet increasing traffic demands. Deaths of 38,000 per year, many of them avoidable on properly designed highways are too many. That is over 100 every day of the year. And of course, the casualties of disabling and painful accidents are about four times that much. We must do all we can to meet the economic and humanitarian needs of modern travel.

I do see, I think, some hurdles that must be met by the President's Committee.

One big hurdle will be to demonstrate that the completion of the interstate system will not delay or interfere with the building of the badly needed roads on the primary, secondary, and urban systems that are not a part of the designated interstate routes.

There are two answers likely to be offered to this question: First, that relieving the States of matching on the interstate will release funds for construction of the other systems; second, that the reimbursement for funds already spent will make possible some "lieu" roads in some neglected sections.

These provisions are very important. In my State, for instance, we permit refunds of the State gasoline tax to farmers for the portion of their gas that is used off the highway-that is, in tractors for plowing, harvesting, etc., the nonhighway use. Now, in my State, that happens to amount to 29 percent of the revenue we receive in the State gasoline tax. You know and I know what the farmers would think about continuing the Federal gas tax at the 2-cent level which is not refundable in any degree if they thought the purpose was only to build a superhighway a hundred miles away. Or the residents of towns and cities not on the interstate route. It will be the job of Congress, I think, to write the provision for these "lieu" roads clearly into the legislation as well as to make clear that the funds otherwise released from matching on the interstate system will be used for completing other systems if public acceptance is to be won for this expediting of the interstate system.

Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention, in conclusion may I say again that it has been a privilege to talk with you on this subject of "Roads at Hand and Roads Ahead." You truly are a group of builders— "Roads at Hand and Roads roadbuilders. There is the whole thrill of America at its best in the tasks you under-

I'd like to leave with you these lines by Edwin Markham:

"We men of earth have here the stuff Of Paradise-we have enough. We need no other stones to build The Temple of the Unfulfilled-Here on the paths of every day, Here on the common, human way Is all the stuff the gods would take To build a Heaven, to mold and make New Edens. Ours the task sublime To build Eternity in Time."

And, so I salute you, the roadbuilders of America.

Invitations by Soviet Russia To Hold Conferences

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Dear Mr. Dulles," written by Father Ralph Gorman, C. P., and published in the Sign magazine for January 1955.

I completely agree with the suggestion in the editorial that the United States should never enter into any conference with the Soviet leaders in a defensive state of mind. We should always begin by asking them to explain the things which are wrong with Soviet policy in the satellite states, the slavelabor camps, and other areas where their policy of human slavery appears at its worst.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEAR MR. DULLES

No doubt you could call this an open letter, but I'd rather not, as I don't like the term. Usually an open letter is written by someone who has a grouch on about someone or something and puts it in the papers for everybody to read. I don't agree with everything you've done as Secretary of State, but in general I think you've done a very good job in very difficult circumstances.

I don't know how you feel about it, but you must be awfully tired of getting invitations from the Russians to have a conference. You know they're not sincere. You know they don't want to settle anything. They're just playing to the galleries. They're covering up their evil tracks. They want to sound off about how they're a great, peace-loving people, always willing to sit down at a con-ference table to settle all difficulties, and we're a bunch of warmongers bent on starting world war III.

You know even better than I do that, while Americans laugh off this propaganda, there are a lot of people who listen to it and believe it. Just as a few samples, there are the Bevanites in England, the neutralists in France, the left-wing Socialists in Italy, the followers of Nehru in India, some of the Social Democrats in Western Germany, and a lot of ordinary people everywhere. They a lot of ordinary people everywhere. They swallow it crude, just as the Reds spoon it

Now, I hope you won't think I'm being funny when I say you ought to go in for this conference business and in a big way. think you ought to come out for bigger and better conferences. Instead of sitting down there in Washington waiting for an invitation from the Reds, why not send them In fact, why not send them one every month or so? And when you send them the invitation, send one to all other nations so they'll all know how conference-minded you are. And release it to all the papers and news agencies so all the world will know how willing you are to sit down and talk to

Of course, you'll have to suggest something to talk about. Well, I can offer a lot of topics, and you can think up a great many

As a starter, why not offer to discuss what's happened to the three Baltic States-Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania? We still recognize them as independent democratic Republics, but we haven't heard anything about them lately.

And here are a few questions that ought to be raised. Are the satellite states really independent? Why do the Reds talk peace and then go out and shoot down our planes without warning and without provocation? What about the Siberian slave-labor camps where upward of ten to fifteen million prisoners are worked and frozen to death? might even ask whether the people of Russia want their present rulers, or are they all enslaved? If they want peace, why do the Russians build up such a terrific military establishment in aggressive weapons that the rest of the world has to leave peaceful pursuits and arm itself in self-defense?

I could go on and on, but why bother? You know the list of possible subjects better than I do.

I know the Russians won't accept your invitations. But that isn't the point. It really doesn't matter if they don't. We'll be stealing their propaganda fire away from them. We'll be putting them on the defense. be showing them up before the rest of the world. We'll be getting some good out of the U. N., which the Reds have almost taken over as a propaganda medium.

And think of all the fun we'd have in the bargain. I'd just love to hear the answers they'd give to such invitations. Maybe they wouldn't even answer, but I'd get a chuckle anyway thinking of the squirming they'd do.

So I conclude, Mr. Dulles, with the suggestion that you get right to work sending out the invitations. I think it might even be well to begin by announcing your complete conversion to the Red idea of bigger and better conferences. In fact, you might even declare that the new slogan for the State Department under your administration will be "Let's have a conference."

Sincerely yours,
FATHER RALPH GORMAN, C. P.

A Tribute to George Meany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to have entered in the RECORD an article appearing in the Catholic Standard of Friday, March 25, 1955. It announces the recipient of the annual Laetare medal awarded by the University of Notre Dame. It is most fitting that the award this year went to George Meany, president of the A. F. of L., and prospective president of the mergered A. F. of L. and CIO unions.

Those of us familiar with the honor attached to such an award cannot help but be assured that a most important segment of our national economy is under the leadership of a man who has achieved the peak of his profession.

The article follows:

UNION HEAD GEORGE MEANY IS LAETARE MEDAL WINNER

Notre Dame, Ind.-George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor, was named recipient of the University of Notre Dame's 1955 Laetare Medal.

Mr. Meany, who is slated to head the 15 million-member labor organization resulting from the all but assured merger of the F. of L. and the CIO, is the first labor leader to receive the annual award since it was first given in 1883.

The Lactare Medal is awarded each year to a man or woman whose genius has enobled the arts and sciences, illustrated the ideals of the church, and enriched the heritage of humanity. While the recipient is announced on Laetare Sunday—an occasion for joy in mid-Lent in the liturgy of the church-formal presentation of the medal is arranged for a time and place convenient to the win-

In announcing the choice of the veteran union AFL leader as 1955 Laetare medalist, Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, C. S. C., Notre Dame president, declared:

"For more than 20 years in which he has exercised local, State, and national leader-ship, George Meany has exemplified the ability and integrity of a labor statesman. He has opposed those who would debauch the dignity of the working man. With equal vigor he has combated those who would subvert America's free enterprise system. His substantial contributions to the welfare of workers, to the orderly development of trade unionism, and to the fostering of concord among employers and unions, while at the same time remaining steadfast in the tenets of his faith, have prompted the University of Notre Dame to confer upon him the highest honor within its power to bestow on a Catholic layman.

Mr. Meany, the son of a New York plumber and himself a plumber by trade, joins a

list of distinguished citizens who have received the Lactare medal. Jefferson Caf-fery, who recently retired as United States Ambassador to Egypt, received the award last year. Other recent recipients include Thomas E. Murray, member of the Atomic Energy Commission; actress Irene Dunne, and Gen. J. Lawton Collins, former Army Chief of Staff.

The 1955 medalist succeeded the late William Green as head of the AFL in 1952. One of the founders of the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in 1949, Mr. Meany came up through the ranks of the AFL plumbers' union and became president of the New York State Federation of Labor in 1934. During World War II he served for 3 years on the National War Labor Board.

In 1919, Mr. Meany married the former Eugenia A. McMahon. They have 3 daughters and 2 grandchildren. The Meany family live in Bethesda.

Country Music

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ARTHUR WINSTEAD

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. WINSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, on March 3 I introduced House Joint Resolution 245, which provides for the designation of the 26th day of May of each year, beginning with the year 1955, as National Country Music Day.

On May 26 of the past 2 years Jimmie Rodgers memorial celebrations were held at Meridian, Miss., in commemoration of the contribution made to country, hillbilly, and folk music by the late Jimmie Rodgers-known as the blue yodeler and America's singing brake-The date, May 26, has been man. chosen for the annual celebrations because it is the anniversary of his death.

Many thousand visitors have attended the past two celebrations and it is expected that all past attendance records will be broken this year.

Past programs have presented a long list of the Nation's top country, hillbilly and folk music singers and artists. Performers of equal ability and prominence are expected to participate in this year's celebration.

At the celebrations held in the past, prominent leaders in the entertainment, railroad, governmental, labor and political world have taken an active part. Governors White of Mississippi and Clement of Tennessee and other high State officials have actively joined in these celebrations. The feature speaker at last year's memorial celebration was Adlai E. Stevenson. Mr. W. P. Kennedy, Cleveland, Ohio, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, has taken a deep interest in these celebrations and has appeared on the program for the past 2 years. Other notables of the Nation's labor world have contributed much toward making the past celebrations events of unqualified success.

From all indications, this year's Jimmie Rodgers memorial celebration

promises to be even more successful than the two previous ones.

Mr. James H. Skewes, editor and publisher of the Meridian Star, together with capable members of his staff have played a great part in making these past events so successful.

Many of the people of the city of Meridian and the State of Mississippi are justifiably proud that the late Jimmie Rodgers was the inspiration of this annual celebration.

I think it was fitting, in recognition of his contribution to country, hillbilly and folk music that a statue was dedicated in Meridian, Miss., to the memory of its native son, James Charles Rodgers, on the 20th anniversary of his death, May 26, 1953. He was universally known as Jimmie Rodgers, the blue yodeler and America's singing brakeman. He was a pioneer in that type music that has built an industry out of hillbilly, or country music

At 14. Jimmie Rodgers became a railroad man, assistant foreman to his father. His first job was on a work train, but soon he had a regular run on the New Orleans & Northeastern, from Meridian to New Orleans. He had always wanted to sing, but lacked confidence. The railroad crews heartily enjoyed his rollicking ballads of the railroads, his plaintive crooning of plantation melodies, and the songs of hills and rivers. He was a railroad man-and a minstrel. During 1917 and 1918, Jimmie served his country by doing what was required of all railroad men, attending to his trainman's duties. The casualty of one of his best friends during World War I caused him to write his first composition, a sentimental song. From the first his railroad buddies liked the song and so did the young fellows in Meri-

In the spring of 1920 Jimmie Rodgers had a siege of pneumonia and for 3 months in the autumn of 1924, he struggled desperately to overcome tuberculosis. The following years, he and his Wife, Carrie Williamson Rodgers, fought against poverty and the ravages of tuberculosis. In May 1927, the Jimmie Rodgers Entertainers broadcast over a new radio station, WWNC, from Asheville, N. C. By strange coincidence the officials of a large recording company tuned in on the new station and hearing Jimmie Rodgers, they found a natural, His local popularity increased, but later he was truly discovered in Bristol, Tenn., by a Victor record scout, who was searching the hills for talent. Still battling tuberculosis, Jimmie Rodgers began a career that was fabulous even in the Phonograph industry. It is estimated that the blues yodel records sold over 5 million copies.

Jimmie Rodgers left a mark on all hillbilly music. He has been recognized for the simplicity of his accomplishments. His songs dealt with real problems. They came from the heart and the people responded.

Jimmie Rodgers' obituary in the Meridian Star stated that he was an honorary member of the Texas Rangers, a Mason, and a Shriner, but perhaps his

closest ties of friendship always cherished by him and frequently referred to in many of the songs of his original composition, were found within the ranks of the railroad men of the Meridian section with whom he served as railroad brakeman before entering upon his professional career, and from whom the active pallbearers were selected. The singing brakeman died in New York City where he had gone 3 weeks prior to his death to make recordings. Under the care of a fulltime nurse, he believed himself able to make further contributions to the development of country music in America.

The demands for hillbilly music have continued to multiply since Jimmie Rodgers made his first recording, and some state as much as fivefold since World War II. Ten years ago, if a hillbilly record sold 10,000 copies, it was a hit; today a 50,000 sale is mediocre. These tunes continue to come from the plains, the prairies, and the hills. Once a specialty product marketed mainly in the deep South, hillbilly music has a nationwide sales field. With the war, hillbilly, or country music, quickly came out of the hills. Many of our large training camps were in the South. The GI's who might never have been exposed to this music heard it constantly. They liked it—and brought the songs home with them. Postwar shifts in population helped spread it, and disc jockeys followed through and gave country music to a widening audience. It all tied in with a trend toward simpler songs-and nothing is simpler than country music.

Back in 1930 country singers started going highly commercial when Gene Autry's popularity began. Following him came a long procession of names, including Hank Williams, George Morgan, Red Foley, Ernest Tubb, Roy Acuff, Jimmy Wakely, Eddy Arnold, and others. The home of the Grand Ole Opry has become known as the Broadway of country music.

Roy Acuff has said:

If you aren's a country boy, you can't write or sing country music. It is simplicity of our songs, I guess. More than that, it is something in here—something in the heart.

The question has been asked: What kind of music is it? It has never been definitely named. Hillbilly or country music comes near. There are many who believe history will write it down as the true American music. Writers of this type music, like Fred Rose, say theirs is the music of a people who may not know the mathematics of a Wagnerian opera or a Brahms symphony, but they know what it is to hear the sound of songs like those that Jimmie Rodgers wrote and sang: Old Pal of My Heart, The Land of My Boyhood Dreams, Mississippi Moon, Waiting for a Train, and so on. These songs tell a story and touch the heart of country and city folks alike.

Mississippi can be truly called a musical State, if one judges by it singing folk, rather than by the number of its symphony orchestras. Living close to the soil, they have retained the lore, the customs, and the songs of their ancestors. The songs of the railroad, the riv-

er, and the field are a part of our heritage. Jimmie Rodgers helped to maintain that heritage, not only for the State of Mississippi but for all home-loving Americans.

My resolution is as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the 26th day of May of each year, begining with the year 1955 is hereby designated as National Country Music Day, in recognition of the contribution made to American music lore by the writers, singers, and players of country music.

The following is a clipping from the March 20, 1955, issue of the Meridian Star, Meridian, Miss., with reference to the coming Jimmie Rodgers Memorial Celebration:

IN AND ROUND MERIDIAN
(By C. H. Phillips)

The third annual observance of the Jimmie Rodgers memorial celebration in Meridian carries an appeal linked to the dreams and aspirations of millions of people in all the 48, well-evidenced by the attendance of many thousands of visitors in our town in 1953 and in 1954. There seems to be little or no doubt but that country music, in and of itself, expreseses the yearnings for peace and security so paramount now in the minds of America's teeming masses. So be it * * * In a literal sense, folk in our town have won, and sustained thus far, an achievement without a parallel in United States history. With the help of such folk and institutions as Ernest Tubb, Hank Snow, Ralph Peer, Roy Acuff, Jimmie Davis, Horace Logan, Louisiana Hayride, Grand Ole Opry, The Billboard, Country Song Roundup, Norm Silver, Cash Box, Pickin' and Singin', Bill Alexander and Steve Sholes and others of RCA-Victor, Governor Frank Clement of Tennessee, Governor Hugh White and Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin of Mississippi, Dan Collins, Adiai Stevenson of Illinois, Railroad Train-man President W. P. Kennedy, Minnie Pearl, Eddie Hill, Red Foley, Congressman ARTHUR WINSTEAD, Senators John Stennis and Jim EASTLAND, Congresman JAMIE WHITTEN, Jas H. Skewes, R. D. Hendon and his band, Hank Thompson, Hill and Range Songs. Meridian and Bigbee Railroad (The M & B donated the big engine honoring Rodgers on Tom Bailey drive), and hundreds of other artists, we have set a stage of permanence for tremendous American folk-song potential . . This column today expresses appreciation to all, for the contributions already made to this magnificent movement * * Likewise, it is proper that we here and now dedicate ourselves to an expression of thanks to Dizzy Dean and to Falstaff folk who are bringing him here as part of our coming observation which falls, as it were, on National Country Music Day, May 26, likewise the day in 1933 when America's great "Blue Yodeler" into immortality * * * Meridian passed folk, and those in all Mississippi, also will be interested to know, in re the coming show, that the Philip Morris people are going to give it every possible break. It may be that Tennessee Ernie will be a top-guest this year. But, in any event, we do know the Philip Morris folk, in the light of the truth that good will is the one asset competition can neither undersell nor destroy, are going to give national public plugs to celebration. Hence, once more, due thanks to Falstaff and to Philip Morris for assistance that will not be forgotten * * * In the premises, the 1955 program ought to set the final groundwork for a continued Jimmie Rodgers Memorial Celebration in national sense * * In the face of this national attention, it is our hope that we, in our town and in Mississippi, will live up to a tremendous bit of obligation. Let us make all of the coming visitors feel at home. And actually be at home. Informally, of course.

Metropolitan Opera

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following address by Rudolf Bing, general manager of the Metropolitan Opera Association, before the National Press Club of Washington, D. C., Friday, March 25, 1955:

Gentlemen, I feel greatly honored to have been asked to address members of the National Press Club in Washington, all the more as I understand that this distinction is usually reserved for statesmen, diplomats, and generals returning from battle. I presume that I may be counted in the last-named category, because I can assure you, gentlemen, that running an opera company is nothing less than a battle; a battle every day, a battle every hour, and a battle in particular whenever the annual budget comes up for discussion.

Since it is my privilege to have been entrusted with the destinies of the leading opera company in the United States, while both by background and by early experience I am a European, I must hasten to add that opera is an uphill fight anywhere in the world. I have often found in discussions with Americans that there is a widespread feeling that over there in Europe everything in the operatic field is just sweetness and light, no problems ever arise and the manager blissfully rests on a bed of roses.

A lovely pipedream, gentlemen, but I am afraid nothing more than that. Indeed, many of the most crucial problems of operatic life are as prevalent in Europe as they are here, although it is true that there are some specific and particularly difficult problems inherent in American operatic life which are either unknown to opera in Europe or, at least, known only to a much lesser degree. I will today attempt to outline some of these peculiarly American facets of operatic life and at the same time try to contrast them with the situation as it exists in countries such as Italy, Austria, Germany, and France.

Perhaps in trying to organize the vast material under review I should begin by dividing it into two basic problems which face any operatic manager: artistic and economic. Yet, no sooner have I said this than I feel tempted to withdraw it because it occurs to me how inextricably these two problems are interlinked. There is hardly any artistic problem that does not at the same time present an economic one and, on the other hand, there are few economic decisions made in any theater that are not somehow reflected in artistic results.

The extremely close interconnection between matters artistic and economic becomes evidence at once when we take a brief glance at the operatic picture across the United States. Here is what we see: One important and permanent company-the Metropolitan in New York-and even that one is permanent only in a relative way since we play in New York from mid-November to mid-April and then we go on tour until the end of May, which means that even the Metropolitan Opera is active only during 7 months of the year. The other opera companies in the United States play for much shorter periods than that: San Francisco and the recently revived Chicago opera for 5 to 7 weeks per year, the New York City Center for 2 short 5-week seasons in the spring and in the fall, a few other professional companies such as those in Cincinnati, San Antonio, New Orleans, and some others whose annual seasons rarely exceed half a dozen performances. To this we must add a couple of traveling companies and of course the large body of operatic activity in schools, colleges, and universities which, however—while extremely important in terms of the operatic future—are not pertinent to the subject of my present consideration which is largely devoted to the professional operatic activity.

Now, in what way does this overall picture, which as you will allow is by no means a luxurious one, highlight the interrelation between opera and money? Well, in a very simple way. Opera is by definition a moneylosing and therefore a noncommercial ven-I hear it often said that only in recent decades has the ever-increasing cost of production caused this disproportion between money taken in and money spent in an opera house. This, I submit, is entirely untrue. In fact, with very rare and almost freakish exceptions, opera has never paid its way and, as far as I can see, never will. It always amuses me when people ask whether by any chance I am for subsidy: I say I am amused because people who ask me that obviously try to make me skate on thin ice, since as foreigner in this country I ought not to discuss so controversial a subject as subsidy for the arts. However, I am perfectly willing to state my opinion on the question of subsidies: as far as opera is concerned, I can truthfully say that there has never been any kind of operatic activity of substantial proportions that has been able to exist without subsidies. How so? Very simply this way: if you produce something which costs \$15 to produce but all that you can get into your till by selling it is \$10 then you operate on a deficit and if you are able to continue operating somebody must make up for that deficit. And whoever does, subsidizes you. I claim, gentlemen, that the Metropolitan Opera of New York today is-and indeed always has been-subsidized; subsidized by its friends who are generous enough and love opera sufficiently up for these deficits. So you see, there is a very simple way of avoiding this allegedly ticklish question; for subsidy does not have to be Government subsidy.

On the other hand, one cannot deny that it is government subsidy that has kept operatic culture in Europe going for centuries and indeed that without it none of the great opera centers such as La Scala, the Vienna Staatsoper, Covent Garden, and all the others could exist. Let me quote a few examples. In West Germany alone there are today at least 50 opera houses in action, every single one of them subsidized either by the state or by the civic authorities or by a combination of the two, as for instance, to switch to Italy for a moment, the famous La Scala in Milan.

Just as a matter of further illustration, the west Berlin opera, subsidized by the senate of that city, draws an annual amount of a little over 4 million marks or approximately the equivalent of \$1 million, which, by the way, is almost exactly the amount the Scala Milan receives. Covent Garden in London, according to figures published by the Arts Council of Great Britain, receives an annual subsidy from the treasury which in American currency amounts to approximately \$700,000. Mind you, I have no intention of skating over that thin ice which I mentioned earlier and please do not think that I have come here to speak in behalf of government subsidy for opera in the United States. But one simply cannot avoid touching on this subject if one wishes to compare the operatio pictures in Europe and in America.

The Metropolitan Opera's operatic deficit for last season was about \$350,000. Of course, as you know, the Metropolitan in common

with every European opera house, enjoys tax exemption. Beyond the invaluable and indeed lifesaving exemption from the entertainment tax, the Metropolitan Opera Association has no kind of guaranteed subsidy: the only assistance we get, as I mentioned earlier, consists of donations by the public—individuals, organizations, and funds raised by groups allied with our company such as the Metropolitan Opera Guild and the Metropolitan's National Council.

A strange and often disheartening feature of our operatic picture lies in the fact that, while there is in the United States today an enormous wealth of operatic talent, there are so desperately few places where an opera singer can employ his or her talents. I go to Europe every summer and for many weeks, during which I do a great deal of traveling. I hear all kinds of singers both in perform-There are, of course, ance and in audition. still a respectable number of first-rate singers to be found in Europe who, growing up there, enjoy the inestimable benefit of a great tradition. But I do not mind stating that with very few exceptions everyone of them can be matched by an American talent. But where are those young American singers to test and develop their talents? What is the

answer to their quandary? I wish I knew. Within the present-day operatic picture here only a regrettably small number of them can make a living as professional performers in opera. True, television has offered a few additional possibilities, yet really not too many. Since as the mass medium par excellence television must at all times address itself to the greatest number, it has not as yet given to opera more than a cursory glance, for obviously opera is not as yet an attraction like Peter Pan that can deliver 60 million viewers in front of the television sets. Then there is an increasing number of more or less staged concert performances of opera, and this, in the absence of opera houses, is fine but again it is a stopgap, not a solution. It is certainly no solution for a young American singer who wants to be in opera but also must make a living. You can easily see that an occasional appearance in television opera and a few infrequent engagements to sing in a concert performance of opera are not enough by a long shot for a young singer to get along.
Of these singers, the Metropolitan can

absorb an exceedingly small number, especially since most of them, by definition, are beginners and the Metropolitan is really not a training ground where beginners can or should acquire their experience. Our stage ought to be reserved for mature artists but since, on the other hand, young singers can acquire artistic maturity only by performing before the public, in many parts, again and again, the question arises—where can they gain that experience? That question remains largely unanswered. In recent years, an increasing number of young American singers have found employment in Europe but of course chances there are limited toc. especially to foreigners. And then when those singers have spent a few years in an opera house, say in Germany, have gained the necessary experience, they come back to the United States and I am afraid 9 out of 10 will remain as unemployed as they were

If this looks like a rather discouraging picture for an ambitious American opera aspirant, this same picture—in which the absence of opera companies in this country is so prominent—in a curious fashion also aggravates the economic difficulties of the Metropolitan. Let me explain.

One of the reasons why the cost of running the Metropolitan is so high lies in the fact that we do have, and must have, a considerable number of what we call principal artists: in fact, we do have over 90 of them. Sometimes I am asked—why so many, especially when a tally at the end of the season quite

clearly shows that some of these singers do not appear in too many performances. The answer is simple. Whenever the curtain goes up in an opera house there must be two casts available: the one that sings and another one that doesn't sing but must be either in the theater or within quick reach, in case the singer of the first cast is suddenly ill or otherwise prevented from performing. It is easy enough to see that this is a heavy burden but one which, under present circumstances in the United States, cannot be avoided. This again is very different under European conditions. Let us say, for example, that I am in charge of the Berlin opera and that in the morning the tenor scheduled to sing that evening calls me up and assures me that he has a bad cold and cannot possibly sing tonight. Well, I go to the telephone, I will call my colleagues in the opera houses of Hamburg, Bremen, Leipzig. Dresden and a few others, all of which are less than an hour's flight away. In one of these I will find a tenor who knows the part, who is not busy tonight and who doesn't even have a coud. He will fly to Berlin. No need to elaborate on this further: any operatic manager who has this kind of reservoir within his reach does not need to have as full a company of solo singers as the Metropolitan.

Gentlemen, I am sure you will agree that I am making my point as regards the close interrelation between art and money in the opera house. The need to work with, as it were, both eyes constantly glued on the box office creates yet one more difficulty, and a very serious one at that. I am now referring to the choice of repertoire. Operatic publics everywhere are notoriously-and I add, depressingly-conservative, unenterprising and incurious. Most opera lovers love Only what they know by heart and one might almost say of them that unfamiliarity breeds contempt. All they ever want to hear are the Travlatas, the Aldas, the Carmens, and the Bohemes. What is a manager to do? If he knows what is good for him economically, he will bow to these rather narrowminded wishes of his audience, but if he does he will certainly betray his artistic misslon and in the long run his audiences will dry up at the roots. We all remember that that great perennial favorite, Carmen, was a flop when it first appeared on the Paris stage-and this is only one example. Nowhere does the battle between finances and art rage more bitterly than in the field of the repertoire. I personally have always felt that money should be the servant rather than the master of art, but maybe this is nothing more than an old-fashioned way of Wishful thinking. The fact remains that all too many of our artistic decisions today are dictated by material rather than by ideal consideration.

I must say it amuses me, although in a wry fashion, when I am blamed for presenting such unimaginative, old-fashioned programs to cities that the Metropolitan visits on its tour. What these critics do not know or, if they do know, conveniently choose to Overlook is that very often the local program is not chosen by the Metropolitan Opera management but rather by local committees, that the often staggering lack of adequate stage facilities prevents our putting the most important point—the stubborn conservatism of opera-going publics everywhere; it is only natural that any local committee or manager, faced with the inevitably enormous cost of importing the Metropolitan, must be eager to sell out the house which can be done With the standard works only-and let no one tell you differently. Our books are there to prove my case. We play certain cities where we can sell out such works as Carmen or Boheme to 10,000 people in one evening; yet when in some of these cities we played great but less well known works, such

as Mussorgsky's Borls Godunov or Verdi's La Forza del Destino, tickets went begging by the hundreds, not to say by the thousands.

This, may I suggest to you, is by far the worst aspect of this indissoluble marriage between art and finances. Once again, however, to be quite fair about it, I should add that this regrettable situation does by no means exist in this country alone. If anyone tells you that the operatic audiences of Milan, Paris or Vienna are only waiting to hear new works and are rushing to the box office whenever Stravinsky is performed, you can tell them-with my regards-that such is not What is the case is simply that a theater that has a guaranteed government subsidy has not only the possibility but indeed the obligation to present contemporary works and also the less popular works of the recognized masters.

Of course, gentlemen, an excellent point could be made for the thesis that despite all these overwhelming difficulties which our Government-unsubsidized opera life in this country has to face, we have not been doing too badly. I hear it often said by visitors from abroad that quite frequently one can see performances at the Metropolitan in a production and with a cast that could not be matched let alone be surpassed anywhere in the world today.

The topic of opera is a complex and complicated one. I hope I have given you some idea of the present operatic situation in the United States; if I have, you will agree with me that the field is strewn with question marks, and it would take more than an expert to find the answers.

Now in trying to sum up, maybe I should offer my own opinion as to how opera might develop in this country. If it is to develop at all, it must try to break out of its present isolation. Nothing can help opera except the playing of more operas, in more places, for more people. I often hear it said that the Metropolitan holds a rather monopolistic position today, and the usual implication is that we must be very proud of that. While the fact appears undeniable, I do not consider it any reason for pride or jubilation. If, within the next few decades, operatic culture in America could blossom to an extent where at least 10 or 12 important centers could have a permanent opera house where opera would be presented at least 6 months of every year, nobody would be happier about this than the management of the Metropolitan. How could this be done? It goes without saying that I am posing this question on the artistic level only. On that level I think one condition would be entirely indispensable and that is the creation and acceptance of local companies staffed by American talent without any reference to the singing roster of the Metropolitan Opera. It is very flattering to us that no professional company is ever willing to put on an opera performance without having at least one and preferably several names in the cast that can also be found in our programs. It is flattering but, may I add, it is also unsound. There are enough of the recognized great names about to go around and no real operatic culture can be built on an indifferent occasionally only half-amateur ensemble which is being embellished by putting some top star names into it, quite often, I understand, even without benefit of adequate rehearsals. This, I am afraid, is not the way to do it. If audiences are really fond of opera, they should be encouraged to enjoy a good performance even though no singer is in it whose face has ever graced the pages of a New York newspaper.

Here, I submit to you, is a field for important long-range education by the newspapers Discourage the star cult and encourage interest in young homegrown singers. Cities should learn to be proud if their young talent graduates to bigger cities and even-

tually arrives at one of the world's leading opera houses in New York. Today it is the other way around and the public will only come to hear the famous star from the Metropolitan—irrespective of whether he or she really still is a star.

Someone might say: "But how do you know that audiences could be found and educated in those cities?" I do not know. But neither does anybody know that they cannot be found until it has been tried. The millions of music lovers who listen to our broadcasts Saturday afternoons were not opera-minded say 20 years ago, before these broadcasts started. They did become opera lovers—at least lovers of the musical part of opera-by having opera offered to them, trying out that new experience, and in the end liking it. Radio, television, the ever-in-creasing number of fine operatic recordings, opera in colleges, opera in concerts-all that is fine and it certainly is beneficial to opera. Yet the real thing is a live opera in a real opera house equipped for the purpose of playing opera, not films-sung by a good ensemble to an audience which comes for art's sake rather than for just one more so-called

Interest in opera in the United States is great and, I believe, genuine. You have the singers, you have the orchestras, you have the production talent, and at least potentially there are enough young musicians around eager to become opera conductors if only there were any operas to conductors. To all of their problems and to the general problem of the future of opera in America there is only one answer: Opera must be spread across the country, there should be fine companies wherever sufficient audiences can be found or created and opera houses must be built for opera to thrive in. How this can be done I do not profess to know. That it should be done, I have no doubt.

Trinity River Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I desire to state that I have had a great amount of correspondence from California favoring a program which will save the taxpayers of our country untold millions of dollars in the construction and operation of the Trinity River project, should the same be authorized and constructed.

The Pacific Gas & Electric Co., now serving the greater part of the State of California, has submitted an offer to construct all of the power facilities and transmisson lines, and buy from the Federal Government falling water developed by the Trinity River project. Information I have received is that the power company would pay in the neighborhood of three and one-half million dollars per year for such falling water; also, they would be paying taxes which would be of great benefit to the local communities, the State, and Federal Governments.

I herewith submit a resolution from the Healdsburg Chamber of Commerce, which I ask be inserted with my remarks:

Whereas the board of directors of the Healdsburg Chamber of Crimmerce know that the Bureau of Reclamation has under study a plan to take water from the Trinity River by the building of tunnels; this water to be released into the Sacramento River and used for irrigation of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys; and

Whereas the board of directors of the Healdsburg Chamber of Commerce believed that a study should be made of the plan presented to the Bureau of Reclamation by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. in regard to the construction of power facilities in connection with this project: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the board of directors of the Healdsburg Chamber of Commerce go on record as favoring the construction of all power facilities in this project by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. of California, and urgently requests your support in this matter.

Respectfully submitted.

HEALDSBURG CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, GEROLD F. MILLER, President. MARGARET R. TOWLE,

Secretary-Manager.

Dated March 21, 1955.

Tabulation of Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, last year I sent out a questionnaire to every sixth voter registered in California's Fourth District, regardless of party affiliation. The response was so enthusiastic that I have again this year asked for voter opinions on matters of current interest. Twenty percent of the questionnaires have been returned, and they are still coming in.

I am very pleased with the interest shown by the voters of my district. It is, in my opinion, a reassuring example of representative government in action.

In the belief that other Members may be interested in the views expressed, I am inserting in the RECORD the following tabulation of replies:

	Yes	No	No opinion
1. Do you favor an increase in postage rates to reduce the operating deficit of the Post	Percent	Percent	Percent
Office Department?	67	31	
2. Do you favor lowering the voting age to 18?	35 75	64	
 Do you favor raising the present legal minimum hourly wage from 75 cents to 90 cents? To reduce the costly rapid turnover of military personnel, President Eisenhower has 	75	22	3
proposed pay raises and additional benefits for career servicemen. Do you approve? 5. Do you favor pay increases for Federal civil service and postal workers to bring their	76	21	2
wages in line with those paid by private industries? 6. After thorough study, a special commission recommends a substantial pay increase	76	21	1
for Federal judges and Members of Congress. Do you approve? 7. Do you believe a firm stand (backed by force if necessary) against further Communist	60	35	
aggression is our best approach to world peace? 8. The controversial Dixon-Yates contract permits private capital to construct power facilities to replace energy being withdrawn from TVA for atomic energy purposes, Should this contract be cancelled and the Federal Government assume the responsible to the contract of the co	85	10	
sibility with public funds? 9. H. R. 1 would extend the President's authority to enter into trade agreements for 3	34	56	10
years, with added authority to adjust tariffs. Do you favor enactment of this bill? 10. Do you favor further cuts in Federal taxes, even though this means an operating	66	25	
deficit and an increase in the national debt?	25	72	3

They Must Be Above Suspicion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include herewith an editorial entitled "They Must Be Above Suspicion," which appeared in the March 20, 1955, issue of the Messenger and Inquirer, of Owensboro, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

THEY MUST BE ABOVE SUSPICION

The President as the Chief Executive is responsible for the executive branch of the Government. Every department, every agency, every commission—unless otherwise defined by Congress—is an extension of his executive powers. Every employee is acting in his behalf, as his alternate.

Originally, this summation of the Execu-

Originally, this summation of the Executive was so true, that the President knew and could call by name almost every employee in his branch of government.

But as the country, and the Government grew, and more and more departments were created to carry out the executive powers, the President delegated them not to a handful he knew personally but through the heads of departments to tens of thousands he never heard of. Yet they still were in theory his alternates, they still carried out duties and responsibilities which are his.

Therefore, when the President set up procedures by which the loyalty of employees is evaluated, he was honor bound to give them fair hearings, but also he had to protect himself. For instance, he does not have to "continue in Government employment a person he reasonably suspects or else to reveal publicly the methods by which he detects disloyalty, and the names of any persons who may venture to assist him." That quotation is from an opinion of the Court of Appeals.

That opinion has been challenged in an appeal by Dr. John Punnett Peters, senior professor of medicine at Yale University, who was dismissed from a nonsensitive parttime Government job on the ground that there was reasonable doubt as to his loyalty. He asked for the right of confronting his accusers and the due process of law under protection of the fifth amendment.

The Supreme Court was split 4 to 4 on the decision quoted above. The Department of Justice is defending it on the ground that the right of the President to hire and dismiss Government employees is inherent in his constitutional powers and the judiclary cannot control them. The Peters decision will be a milestone in interpreting Presidential powers.

Cuts in Civil Defense Funds Ignore Facts of Atomic Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JAMES B. FRAZIER, JR.

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article by Charles Bartlett which appeared in the Chattanooga Times of March 27, 1955.

This article should be of interest to every Member of Congress for it startlingly reveals what little attention Congress has displayed in civil defense in this atomic age:

CUTS IN CIVIL DEPENSE FUNDS IGNORE FACTS OF ATOMIC AGE

(By Charles Bartlett)

WASHINGTON, March 26.—Startling information developed by Senator Estes Kefauver in recent hearings suggests that if enemy air attacks come one day, it may well prove considerably healthier to be a member of the armed services than a mere civilian.

The military is planning and preparing against that day of attack at the rate of about \$40 billion a year but the Federal civil defense effort is still a vague blueprint against which only \$247 million have been applied in the last 5 years.

These preparations and the requests for appropriations, instead of increasing with partisan demonstrations of the H-bomb, have declined steadily since President Eisenhower took office. This year he is asking Congress to provide civil defense with a mere \$59 million, less than any prior request in recent years, only one-tenth of the Truman request of 1952, and one-tenth of 1 percent of the total budgeted for national security in 1956.

FALLOUT NEW PROBLEMS

The President has reiterated repeatedly that civil defense is primarily a State and local problem but the March 1954 demonstration of the H-bomb with its evidence that 7,000 square miles around the target may be contaminated by radioactive fallout has convinced many that the problem is too great for the States to handle individually. The predominantly rural membership of State legislatures has shown no inclination to take the initiative and city and State officials have been hobbled in their efforts by a limited concept of the problems that atomic attack would present.

Val Peterson, the ex-Governor of Nebraska who is Civil Defense Administrator, stated the situation succinctly when he told Kerauver's subcommittee, "the people and the Government have not accepted the general concept that the Nation must live under the threat of atomic attack."

Mayor Joseph Clark, of Philadelphia, was more direct in declaring, "Public apathy and inadequate appropriations constitute a vicious circle which in my judgment only leadership from the President can break."

The military mind, focused on the stratagems of warfare, does not shift readily to the less venturous problem of civilian protection and to date the only representation that Peterson has been able to obtain in the Pentagon has been that provided by a single colonel on the staff of the Secretary of Defense. Kefauver's hearing brought forth proposals that Civilian Defense should rate a secretary with rank coequal to that of the Secretaries of the various armed services of at the very least an Assistant Secretary of Defense.

BANISHED TO MICHIGAN

Peterson has seen his organization banlahed by the frugal Budget Bureau to the limbo of Battle Creek, Mich., where exists the only office space that the Government would make available to it. From that distance the staff must maintain contact and pressure upon the various Government agencies whose voluntary assistance is essential to the planning program. Having thus impeded the agency by forcing a move that required the better part of 6 months and took it 600 miles out of its sphere of operations, the Budget Bureau turned the screws, tighter by cutting 30 percent from the 1956 budget.

This leaves the country in the peculiar position of providing its Air Force with billions of dollars to establish three aircraft warning rings at considerable distances from the continent while its civil defense is making no effective preparation for the evacuation of target areas when the alarm goes off.

Individual cities such as Mobile, Ala., have run evacuation tests which indicate that a city as big as Atlanta can be cleared of human beings in about 2 hours but there has been no Federal effort to develop an aid program that will assist the cities in bridge-widening and other construction to facilitate excess.

No one in the Federal Government appears to be facing squarely up to the facts that the roads out of some cities lead only to other target areas, that the fallout problem will require roadside shelters of enormous proportions, and that there must be some arrangements in the rural areas for accommodating the evacuees.

The theory of evacuation is a recent byproduct of the hydrogen bomb and complete answers to these complex problems cannot be expected immediately but civil defense thinking, as reflected in the Kefauver hearings, has gone little further than Peterson's blunt warning. "If you don't evacuate an area of complete blast, you're dead."

A loyal Republican Governor, Christian Herter, of Massachusetts, lamented to the Kefauver group that the governors of the States have not yet even been told how long they can expect to retain the services of local National Guard units after an attack. Peterson confirmed the uncertainty that exists on this subject by reporting that the National Guard is bitterly fighting all suggestions that it be adapted to a home guard in the event of a bombing. A swift summoning of the guard to armed service duties in these circumstances could make impossible the effective establishment of military law in emergency areas.

Whatever their responsibilities are to be in such a crisis, the National Guard units have not been provided even with the instruments which are the only means of detecting the lethal presence of radiation. An effort is being made to mass produce these counters at a reasonable price but in the meantime

no distribution is being made.

In the face of bombs capable of the complete destruction of areas up to 50 square miles, it might be assumed that advanced thinking was underway on the problem of the dispersal of industry. However, defense mobilizer Arthur Flemming advised the Kefauver subcommittee that there have been no developments beyond a single directive by the Secretary of Defense. "Dispersal is not going to be pursued vigorously," he warned "until the legislative branch unites with the executive branch in expressing their joint conviction that such a search must be undertaken and likewise unite in establishing the broad framework of policies within which such a search is to take place."

The legislative branch is as responsible as the executive for the sizable lag in civil defense planning. Kepauver's hearings on the Program this month were the first called by any Member of Congress on the subject since some were held by the Tennessee Senator in late 1951. There has been testimony before the appropriations subcommittee but this has been so little noted as to result in the elmination by Congress of 86 percent of the funds requested by the Budget Bureau for civil defense since 1951.

The Congress has not even succeeded in enacting legislation to establish its own prompt succession in the event that a majority of its membership is destroyed by enemy action. This possibility has not given rise to much concern in the National Legislature, which is still appropriating six times as much money for the Washington zoo as for the civil defense program of the District of Columbia.

The apathy to date has been general. It is possible that the American people may prove insensitive to atomic fears but it is equally possible that great fear and recriminations may sweep the country at some later date if the basic steps toward a defense of the civilian population are not taken soon.

Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a statement which I made last week during my appearance before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. My statement emphasizes the fact that present trade policies are contributing to growing unemployment in West Virginia and other industrial areas.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY HON. ROBERT C. BYRD, OF SIXTH DISTRICT OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. Chairman, although I was not a Member of Congress when you conducted hearings in 1950 on the subject of unemployment and its causes, I was very much interested in your investigation and followed closely the newspaper accounts of testimony presented at that time.

In 1950, I was a resident of Raleigh County, which, as you know, is perennially among the top five coal-producing counties of the State of West Virginia. Every resident of every coal community is only too well aware of any serious drop in production at the mines. The businessman sees it in dwindling receipts. The school teacher detects it soon enough when children are not getting proper nourishment, and the pastor of the church finds his income drastically reduced when the mines are not working regularly.

These are the tangible evidences of economic imbalance. Certainly no less distressing is the profound effect of business decline on the attitude and outlook of a people who, through the years, have been outstanding Americans and willing and industrious workers.

When I look back to that time 5 years ago, I must acknowledge that probably none of us in the mining region had any perception whatsoever of the long struggle that was ahead. While we were not braced for such an acute blow to our economy, we nevertheless were able to understand that certain dislocations are inevitable in a readjustment from a war to an era of peace. What is more—largely through the splendid efforts of the chairman of this committee—it was established beyond doubt that the impinge-

ment upon coal's markets was the product of a foreign-trade policy that had been designed and put into practice under circumstances that were entirely different from those existing in 1950. We naturally assumed that existing inequities would be quickly corrected, especially since the entire case was established without equivocation.

Mr. Chairman, your investigation proved beyond question that foreign residual oil was responsible for much of the unemployment in our part of the State and throughout the mining areas of West Virginia. I have heard it said since coming to Washington that, as a consequence of the bipartisan concurrence of the committee's members, proper action would have been taken by the Congress to place a quota restriction on residual oil imports after the issuance of your report, had it not been for the unforeseen developments in Korea.

As we all know, coal is necessary to make the steel which goes into tanks, airplanes, ships, ammunition, and all other implements of war, so it was only natural that the demand for this vital fuel would turn upward as soon as military operations were undertaken. Consequently, "work today" whistles were heard more often in our commanities, more of our miners returned to work, rall-roads called back scores of their men, and there was a general rise in business throughout our area.

Unfortunately, however, as the eyes of the Nation turned toward the Far East, more and more tankers from foreign countries were rushed into the ports along the Atlantic Seaboard carrying more and more oil to displace coal produced by American workers. Your committee had shown that a total of 75 million barrels of residual oil entered our markets in 1949 and that this foreign product was definitely injurious to the national econ-When these facts were presented to executives of the importing companies who appeared before your committee, they informed you that whatever realignment was necessary could be achieved through the voluntary restrictions of residual oil imports. Yet, as soon as Congress turned from the oil import issue in order to face the situation in Korea, those companies immediately undertook to accelerate importations, and by the end of 1950 a tabulation by the United States Bureau of Mines showed that 120 million barrels of foreign residual oil had entered our markets-an increase of 60 percent in a single year.

National coal production fell from a high of 613 million tons in 1947 to less than 400 million last year. Employment in the mines has been cut in half-dropping from 400,-000 men 6 years ago to no more than 200,000 now. Throughout the coal fields in my State, and of Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and all the other great producers, are idle tipples, idle railroad cars, deserted shafts, and mine after mine closed down. During the past 3 years, at least 150 commercial mines have closed in the State of West Virginia, idling thousands of miners. Add to these the thousands who depend on coal for a livelihoodrailroad workers, storekeepers, service station owners, and a host of others, and we begin to get some picture of a real depression in coal-producing areas.

I have been following these hearings closely, Mr. Chairman, and I realize that you have already received voluminous statistics in reference to unemployment and surplus commodity distribution in the State of West Virginia. Mr. Walter R. Thurmond, secretary of the Southern Coal Producers Association, who was the first witness when you opened hearings on March 7, is a resident of the district which I have the honor to represent. As you know, he is one of the best-informed coal men in the country. His lucid testimony included statewide tabulations that require no expansion on my part. George J. Titler, president of district No. 29

of the United Mine Workers of America, who also is a resident of my constituency, provided further evidence of the reasons for the depressed economy of our State, and Gov. William C. Marland also offered invaluable You have testimony to this committee. heard other West Virginians and, no doubt, additional representatives of government, industry, and labor from our State will appear later. I shall, therefore, refrain from imposing upon your time with the statistics which I have developed, except for some pertinent data reflecting conditions in my own district. I want to say at this time that the cooperation which I have received throughout my tenure in office from various State agencies has been excellent. I am especially indebted to the West Virginia Department of Mines, the Department of Employment Security, and to the West Virginia Chamber of Commerce.

Perhaps the most effective testimony which can be produced to depict the serious economic dilemma confronting us is shown in the number of persons who are receiving Government surplus commodities. In my four counties-Boone, Kanawha, Logan, and Raleigh, which have a population of 446,-466-there are a total of 85,829 men, women, and children for whom surplus commodities constitute the principal source of food supply. To me, Mr. Chairman, the fact that almost 20 percent of the entire population of our countles has been forced to qualify for this assistance is a serious indictment of

Government policy.

Of a certainty, there is no economic elixir that overnight would enable all of our breadwinners to get back on the job and earn their livelihood instead of having to depend upon Government food distribution programs. But we very definitely do know that a great proportion of our jobless men could be returned to work very quickly if only the Federal Government would enact a quota limitation on residual oil imports. Perhaps this formula may sound too simple for the skeptical to accept, but you and I know that many fuel markets would return to coal immediately if a sensible restriction on foreign oil were imposed. Give us a chance to get back some of the electric utility markets along our east coast, and you will see a lot of the mines right in my congressional district resume operations just as soon as they can be reactivated. will see the railroads calling back many of their operating crews, maintenance men, shop workers, and office employees. Our people who have had no income for many months will finally be able to again start buying clothing for themselves and their children, with the result that our merchants will be able to put their business establishments back on a normal operating basis. Needless to say, more coal production would also have an immediate beneficial effect on business in grocery stores and meat markets, and our whole economy would be stimulated.

Our people have had no respite from economic distress for many, many months. As I have said, we had naturally assumed that Congress would exercise its sworn duty to protect the jobs of American workers taking the necessary steps to stem the tide of foreign residual oil that has engulfed our rightful markets. Instead, however, the international oil companies have been permitted to make their own rules, and conditions in coal communities have steadily worsened. Let me read to you one para-graph from a report which I have received from the West Virginia Department of Employment Security:

"Employment in the Logan area slid from 20,300 to 17,700-2,600 or 13 percent from August 1953 to August 1954. The employment loss in the area's major industry, bituminous coal mining, has been underway for several years but the drop of 2,550 or 22

percent during the year was very severe. The 3,500 persons unemployed in August represented 16 percent of the labor force. Nearly all of the area's very substantial labor surplus has accumulated from layoffs in the coal industry. Due to the growth of the labor surplus, this area was classified by the United States Department of Labor as a group IV area in March 1953. With more than 16 percent of the area's labor force being unemployed, the area is currently classified in group IV-B (very substantial labor sur-

Last year, 25 mines in my district were closed down and many more cut back opera-

tions to 1, 2, or 3 days.

How our national administration can sit back and permit these conditions to continue is beyond my power of understanding. I want you to know, Mr. Chairman, that I am a firm believer in trade policies that permit and encourage the maximum interchange of goods, so long as there is no threat to the economy and security of the United States of America. When a foreign-trade program reacts to the disadvantage of domestic industry and labor, then comes the time for reappraisal and readjustment. Unfortunately, however, some international interests insist in pursuing a course that brings only disaster to certain industrial areas.

Coal is not the only industry which has been harmed by illogical trade policies. Advocates of all-out liberalization of our tariffs have actually stated that we should be willing to sacrifice segments of our glass and chemical industries if foreign nations are able to supply our markets at lower prices. Obviously, a country with modern industrial equipment and which pays to its workers only a small portion of the earnings of Americans is going to be able to keep its production costs far below United States levels. Like coal, chemicals and glass are vital to the national defense, and I insist that it is inimical to the security of this Nation to permit any of these vital industries to go downhill, particularly at this crucial period.

Last Wednesday, Adm. Arthur Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said that war could come about "almost any place,

any time."

So long as such a situation persists, it is incumbent upon this Government to use every means possible to protect our vital industries. But administration recommendations regarding our trade policy would, in fact, intensify the depressed conditions of many of these industries upon which we would have to depend in the event of an emergency. I have time and again asked the White House to arrange for me to see the President that I might be able to give him first-hand information of conditions in my district. Thus far the palace guard has shown no inclination to permit me an audience. Meanwhile, however, practically all of the Cabinet members have shuttled between their offices and Capitol Hill to plead the administration's case in the matter of further liberation of our tariff policies. When a Member of Congress takes up the problem of residual oil, he usually gets the standard administration answer: "It is true that foreign residual oil is depriving coal of an opportunity to enter certain markets in this country, but for diplomatic reasons any legislative restrictions are undesirable." tary of State Dulles, during hearings before the House Ways and Means Committee in January of this year, made the statement that Venezuela-from which most of the residual oil flooding the east coast originates-is one of the many countries not having any appreciable industry of their own which must export raw materials in order to prosper. I do not question the fact that by using our east coast as a dumping ground for residual oil, it has had a effervescent effect on Venezuela's prosperity; my contention is that it is a violation of the rights of

American citizens to take away their jobs for the sake of perpetuating an economic boom elsewhere in the world.

There are other aspects, too, of the damaging impact of foreign residual. Coal mining and railroading are as essential to the conduct of a mobilization program as are aircraft industries, munitions works, and shipbuilding. Coal mines and railroads cannot survive under a system which demands that they operate like a stop-and-go traffic lighton again, off again, on again, gone again, The caution light is now burning and, unless the rail and coal industries are given consideration in the immediate future, the red light may be on when this Nation's security is in jeopardy and these great basic industries are called upon once more to deliver the goods.

Mr. Chairman, I conclude my testimony with the hope that Congress will act to place a quota limitation on oil imports and to provide adequate protection for our basic domestic industries. I want you to know that the people of West Virginia are most appreciative of your efforts in the conduct of these hearings, which are doing so very much to bring to the attention of the American people and of the Congress itself the reason why there is so much unemployment in West Virginia and in other producing

areas today.

Paul V. McNutt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, Indiana lost one of its most outstanding native Hoosiers when former Gov. Paul V. McNutt passed away at New York last Thursday.

Paul V. McNutt revealed his outstanding ability and talents as a student and lawyer shortly after graduating from the Indiana University Law School. In 1917, a few years after graduation, he joined the law faculty at Indiana University. He became dean of the Indiana Law School in 1925 at the age of 34, the youngest dean ever to hold that position at the university. A few months after assuming this position, he entered the military service in World War I and rose up in the ranks until he became a major in the field artillery. He was an in-structor in an officers' training camp and then commanding officer of three, separate units of field artillery. While stationed at San Antonio, Tex., he met Miss Kathleen Timloat, whom he married in 1918. After the war he returned to Indiana University and there organized an American Legion in his home city. He was elected commander of his post and later State commander of the Department of Indiana. In 1928 Paul V. McNutt was elevated to the high post of national commander of the American Legion. As the national head of the American Legion, he traveled throughout the country and successfully initiated outstanding legislative Legion policies and accomplished more successful results for the World War I veteran than any other national commander up to that time. In 1932, primarily at the request

of the veterans of Indiana, Paul V. Mc-Nutt became a candidate for Governor. He was elected and in January 1933 took over the highest executive office in his home State. The depression was at its lowest ebb when he became Governor, but by reason of his great executive ability reorganized the State government, reduced taxes, and inaugurated fiscal policies which during his 4-year administration erased a \$7-million deficit and replaced it by a \$10-million surplus.

Paul V. McNutt was appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt as High Commissioner to the Philippines and served in this capacity from 1937 to 1939. In 1945 and 1946 he was appointed the first American Ambassador to the Philippines, after the islands gained their independence. It was Commissioner Mc-Nutt who lowered the American flag at the Philippines Independence Day ceremony in 1946. During World War II, Governor McNutt served as Federal Security Administrator, Director of Defense, Health, and Welfare Services, and Chairman of the War Manpower Commission. His services won him a Medal of Merit from President Harry S. Truman. In 1947 Governor McNutt again entered the practice of law in New York City and Washington. At the time of his death his firm enjoyed an extensive corporation practice.

Indiana is indeed proud of the outstanding accomplishments of Gov. Paul V. McNutt in the various capacities in which he served his State and Nation during his adult life. His host of friends, not only in Indiana but throughout the Nation and in the Philippine Islands, will

mourn his passing.

I wish to extend to his wife and daughter, Louise, my deepest sympathy in their hour of bereavement over the loss of a beloved husband and father.

Let Us Raise Minimum Wage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following communication I received from the Honorable Dennis J. Roberts, Governor, State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, urging action on legislation providing for an increase in the Federal minimum wage:

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND

Providence Plantations, Providence, March 16, 1955.

The Honorable Thomas J. Lane,

Chairman, Liaison Committee of the New England Congressional Delegation,

House Office Building.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lane: The New England Goverhor's Conference, which met in Boston,
March 15, 1955, asked me to make known to
you and the other New England Representatives the interest which the Governors have
in securing action raising the Federal mini-

mum wage as soon as possible. The New England Governors feel that action on this measure is important in strengthening the economy of New England and improving the region's competitive position.

Sincerely yours,

DENNIS J. ROBERTS,

We Must Rebuild America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the text of an address entitled "We Must Rebuild America," delivered by me before the National Society of New England Women in New York on January 24, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE MUST REBUILD AMERICA

(Address by Hon. WILLIAM E. JENNER, of Indiana, before National Society, New England Women, New York City, January 24, 1955)

A great many people come to see me and say, "Our country is lost. There is no use fighting any more." They tell me how deeply the enemies of our liberty have penetrated into our Government. I agree with them. They tell me how widespread is the influence of the discreet collectivists in our press and magazines, and on radio and television. I agree with them. They tell me how Communists and pro-Communists are moving into every field of American life—business, labor, finance, schools, churches, women's clubs. I have to agree with them.

Those are not the worst dangers. People also tell me how many Americans who would never accept the Communist ideology, will make deals with the Communists for gain—for a few votes, or a few contracts, or some cheap publicity. Again I have to agree with them.

They tell me how Communists and pro-Communists are trying to surround and construct our military forces, as they succeeded in capturing our foreign policy in the forties. I have to agree with them. Most dangerous of all, they tell how it is

Most dangerous of all, they tell how it is now the fashion for supporters of communism to make themselves a record as anti-Communists. That protects them and keeps us hopelessly confused.

The Communists insist on leading the anti-Communists procession. They have the loudest bands and the prancingest majorettes. They try to draw all eyes, to fill all ears, to drown out the words of the true anti-Communists, if they have not driven them from public life. I have to agree.

Never in all our history has the danger to our country been so great as it was in 1954. Never was the despair of patriots so intense.

In the month of February, when the Berlin conference opened, with the Red Chinese installed in full panoply, while our Korean allies were left out in the cold, it was obvious that our country was being led into a trap from which there might be no escape. At Geneva, the balance turned even more completely in favor of the Soviet Union and its Chinese satellite.

While our eyes were fastened on Europe, the Red Chinese made their long-planned drive against Indochina. In the beautifullyplanned confusion, we talked of entering the Indochina war, and we talked against entering the war, but it was all nonsense, because it was too late for us to enter the war, too late, that is, unless someone hoped to keep our fighting men bogged down in another Korean campaign, while the legal control of our Armed Forces was subtly transferred to U.N.

After the dismal retreat at Geneva, we saw the full orchestration of the theme of coexistence. The Soviet Government had planned their peace drive long before, when it contrived the Stockholm peace petition to save it from overwhelming defeat in Korea. Patriots watched the Soviet theme of coexistence, perfectly designed to booby-trap the innocent, the unthinking, the impractical, the cautious, as it spread and took new hold in the minds of men with no lovalty to communism. We watched it take hold among our leaders, who picked up the Soviet theme for our destruction, and repeated it in accents that were pure American. Never has a plan been devised so apparently simple, so subtle, so innocent-looking and so deadly, as the campaign for coexistence. it seemed more hopeless to decide how we could resist, where we could take our stand, and what arguments we could use against so noble and beautiful a word as peace.

But, my friends, there is one important fact on our side—our people were not fooled. The Communists have not ceased to fight for coexistence. They will come up with new schemes. But so far, they have not fooled our people. The subtlest, cleverest, best-concealed propaganda campaign ever devised did not succeeed.

Without any apparent organization or leadership or counter-propaganda, the American people broke the spell. Many of our leaders now see clearly the jaws of the trap. Coexistence is clearly recognized as the anesthetic the Soviet leaders counted on, to put us to sleep before they struck the final blow.

So, my friends and acquaintances, who say all is lost, are wrong. They forget one thing. We face a mortal challenge to our way of life. There is no answer, short of a new birth of freedom, as complete as that which gave birth to Magna Carta, or the Declaration of Independence. It is a law of life that all new birth comes from pain, weariness, and even danger of death. We cannot give up the fight when the hour of new birth may be close at hand.

We are living in times that try men's souls. We are also living in times that try men's minds.

The breakdown in our society began long before the Communists came to power. It shakes our society and our political order to its very foundations. In the face of such a challenge to men's creative powers, we must go down into the valley of the shadow of death, and yet not despair. We cannot know whether we shall ultimately win, or not. We cannot know whether we shall have the wisdom, the creative power, and the courage to build a new Jerusalem. But we do know we must continue to fight.

Americans, when they wish to remind themselves of true courage and devotion, think first, perhaps, of Valley Forge. But we have many other noble images of self-sacrifice and great heartedness. In trying to understand these men who solved other crises, we must remember one thing. We know the end. We know their cause triumphed. They did not know, but they fought on. The soldiers in ragged uniforms for the soldiers in ragged uniforms of valley Forge were suffering from something more cruel than the cold. They knew that while they watched and waited in bitter discomfort, other men who should have fought by their side were living in comfort, or even doing business, as usual, with the British.

Politicians were squabbling, generals were disagreeing, diplomats were conniving. The

men at Valley Forge with Washington, could not know recruits would come, the Continental Congress would vote the money they needed, and the young Lafayette would be followed by French ships and fighting men, and in a few short years the haughty redcoats would be surrounded and defeated at Vorktown.

I love a story from an old children's history book, of the night watchmen who used to go through the streets of the cities and ring a bell and say "Midnight. All's well." On October 19, 1781, they went their rounds saying, "Midnight. All's well, and Cornwallis is taken." That little story tells us all we need to know about the long wait and the gnawing doubt with which the Colonists paid for our independence.

With your love of New England you will think at once of the Pilgrims landing on the stormy coast of Massachusetts, of the first winter of hunger, or of the brave settlers who kept moving out to the wilderness frontier, knowing well the massacre of women and children by the Indians at Deerfield.

We can recall other victors over doubt or despair—the men who fought year after year in the war between the States, while they sang at night:

"Camping tonight on the old campgrounds. Wishing that the war would cease. Camping tonight on the old campgrounds.

Waiting for the dawn of peace."

We have in our time not only troubles as deep as the troubles of the colonists and the people of the Civil War years, but we have our own heroes as magnificent as they. The men who fought their way up from Australia and New Guinea never saw the fleets of planes which we had at the end of the war. They fought only with the few outdated planes which the administration of that day was willing to spare from the armadas of airships it was sending to England and the Soviet Union.

The men who stormed ashore at Tarawa and Iwo Jima did not know whether they would ever hear the shouts of victory, or see our fiag planted on the islands they were risking their lives to win

risking their lives to win.

In every great fight that has ever been fought, the end was uncertain, and victory only a distant hope on the horizon.

The men who marched north to the Yalu, to flush out the armed hordes of Red China, and who executed the magnificent march to the rear in the ice and snow amid the hall of enemy bullets, had no one to assure them of the success of their struggle. They had only their own inner sense that they must keep up the fight, however dark the scene. They had the courage that comes from knowing that good men were fighting by their side, ready, as they were, to give their all.

It would not be honest or fair of me to give you a falsely optimistic picture of where we are today. I shall certainly not try. We are, I believe, in a conflict that is truly a life-and-death matter for us, and our kind of government. Our enemy is able, ruthless, infinitely cunning, and skilled in every form of disguise.

I do not say the struggle will be easy, and I do not say victory is assured. I say that all true Americans must keep up the struggle because honorable men and women are made that way.

And I tell you, you are not fighting alone. On every side other brave and patriotic Americans are as determined as you are, that, while they live, our country will be free. You are with them, and they are with you, whether you see them or not.

Brave and loyal Americans come to see me who say to me—and not without reason—the struggle is hopeless. But other men and women come to see me with quite a different story.

We have heard a great deal about the Communists in our Government and the subversive forces at work. We have not heard enough about the brave armies of unknown Americans, who with no leaders, no commanding officers, no bands, and no banners, have fought the Communists where they stood, and tried to shut at least one door, or bar their advance down one narrow corridor. We have not heard about them, but their name is legion.

We know the names of many of the men in our foreign policymaking who betrayed our country—Alger Hiss and Harry White, Harold Glasser, Victor Perlo, and the rest. But who knows the names of the men who blocked their progress again and again, patriots who were forced out of their jobs, or sent to departmental Siberias where their patriotism would not block the traitors?

For myself, I would far rather know the names of the anti-Communist resistance than I would the names of the perjurers and traitors. We need to know what the Communist agents are doing to destroy us, but we ought to want to know the names of the brave Americans who have tried to stop them. They are the minutemen of today. They stand at a Bunker Hill and a Lexington we cannot see. I am reminded of this unknown band of heroes—in our Government, in writing and publishing, in the moving-picture industry, and in the unions, because I have recently been learning about some men of the same mold in our Armed Forces.

Every time the Communists and those who have made a deal with them, try to tighten the net about our Armed Forces, young men risk their careers and their peace of mind, to set up a bit of resistance, wherever they are—in the ranks, in the training courses, in communications, on foreign duty, in military intelligence, in every branch of the Army, Navy, Marines, and Air Force. Many of these men think they are alone, that no one else sees the danger. They are willing to fight alone, with no thanks and no reward, if it will save our country. But they are not alone.

Americans have the deepest confidence that we can trust our professional military men to be truly loyal to our system of government. Probably no nation has ever had a more magnificent type of military leader—with the highest professional competence and the deepest devotion to freedom—than we have in Admiral Radford and Admiral Joy, General MacArthur, Generals Van Fleet, Stratemeyer, Mark Clark, and Almond, and others whose names are omitted from no lack of admiration for their truly American achievements.

What is, if possible, more heartening is the fact that our younger men are of the same breed. Of course, there are time-servers and bootlickers, and trimmers. They are as ever present as crabgrass. The important point is that we have among our young officers and men in the Armed Forces, Americans whose courageous defense of our liberties, is as great as Gen. George Washington could have asked for.

We all know the forces that have been at work in our schools, in our press and elsewhere, trying to shape our young people in the collectivist mold. But there is something stronger at work, something deeply American, which seems to convert these outside pressures to make the best of our young men more American than ever.

I am not saying—nor do you say—that we must be bombastic about what we call the American way. Other people have made great contributions to the world. They have every reason to be proud. But we love our way. We love the system of political liberty worked out for us by the constitutional convention. We love the self-reliance worked out for us by the early seafarers and the pioneers. We love the habit of living together in mutual trust and freedom which more recent generations have preserved under mounting pressures.

We do not intend to let any alien-minded intellecturals or power seekers take our freedom and fair dealing from us, and substitute another system based on ruthless power. We certainly do not intend to let them take our liberty from us, in secret without a struggle. We know our people, young or old, important or unimportant, soldiers or civilians, will give all they have and are, to keep that freedom, and to keep it bright.

You asked me to discuss what you can do. Well, you probably know that far better than I do.

But I have a special angle of visions, from the Senate of the United States. I can tell you what we have, and what we need, from that observatory.

First. I wish to congratulate you on the splendid things you are already doing. We have survived against all the schemes of the Soviet leaders and their cunning agents in the highest places because our patriotic citizens and patriotic organizations have worked hard and have worked intelligently.

You have not merely worried or complained about collectivist schemes to entwine our foreign and military policies with U. N., or our commercial enterprise with GATT, or our Bills of Rights with the U. N. Declaration of Human Rights, which adheres so closely to the Soviet constitution.

You have collected documents, you have analyzed bills and charters, you have read the fine print. You have rewritten the gobbledegook in plain English and mailed thousands of documents to your friends and fellow members so that they, too, could be informed.

You have been volunteer committees of correspondence, like those which helped win the Revolution. I cannot tell you how to do that task better than you are doing it now. I can only say, "Keep up the good work." We in Congress need the help of every patriot who will serve as you are serving.

While we are fighting the battle of the mimeograph machines, we must be winning another, more difficult struggle. For over 20 years, the erosion of collectivist government has eaten away at the foundations of our national life. We can go back only as the farmer whose land is eaten away by erosion can bring back his green and pleasant fields. We must go back the hard way. We must rebuild weak places in our foundations. We must change our habits of plowing, plant new grasses, raise a shelter belt of trees, and work and watch and wait until the damage is repaired by healthy new growth.

The simple things are the most important. Most important of all, I would say is, "strengthen the grass roots."

This country will not be saved or destroyed in Washington. It will be saved or destroyed in the country. I say to you, "Rebuild where you are. Strengthen and revitalize America where you have responsibility."

Many of the young men in our Armed Forces are, today, guarding some door the Communists want to open, and doing it alone, without help, because they came from a good American home, where they learned the meaning of our country at their parents' knee.

Your children bring home a text book bought and paid for by your local board of education, but it is a difficult and tedious job to find out where the material in that text book really came from—whether, perhaps, the discussion of social security or foreign policy came from a propagnda agency in Washington, or a slanted fifth columnist on one of the college faculties, or from the Paris office of UNESCO.

Every American has influence on church organizations, on clubs, on schools, in the role of parent, alumnus, or taxpayer, on press and radio. If everyone of us would use the influence we possess at this moment—to its fullest extent—we could achieve a miracle in almost no time.

Don't make the mistake of thinking I propose something easy. That is an illusion. It is much easier to drift along and get all excited about elections, just before election day, than it is to get up extra early one morning, when no one else cares, and go out to vote in the primaries where the real power lies.

For over 20 years we have been taught to keep our sights fixed on Washington, where a magnificent pageant was being presented before our eyes, showing us what the Government in Washington was doing to solve our local problems for us.

But what were the agents of the brave new world doing while we gazed entranced at their spectacles? They were working in your town or city, checking public opinion, sending back political reports to Washington, organizing committees for this, and committees for this, and committees for this, sending the names of local leaders to Washington, so that trusting citizens could be invited by the Government spending agencies to go on a political Cook's tour, a sort of "intourist" visit to foreign parts, and come home and tell their neighbors what wonderful projects they had been allowed to see.

It is true as some of you will say, that you cannot repel a Communist attack by having a strong, truly American PTA. But it will not make the slightest difference how many billions of taxes you give for military weapons, if you have a weakened and corrupted local community which sends to Washington, Senators or Representatives who are soft on communism.

First, I say, build up your local community. Then I say, "Call your money back." Recall it from the Federal Government, from extravagent local governments from overhead organizations in every field. Let us not be sentimental about money. Money is power. It is the power to command the labor of others.

When we give the Federal Government hearly a quarter of our earnings, we give it the power to command nearly one-quarter of the labor power of our Nation—skilled workers, unskilled workers, teachers, physicians, writers, business managers, moving picture directors. Any government which controls almost one-fourth of the labor power of the Nation, will exert a commanding power over the rest.

Control of money gives control of the material aspect of everything in life. You cannot control your schools, your libraries, your public and private welfare, your chance for medical care; you cannot preserve freedom of the press, and the American belief in nonpolitical religious bodies, if you give your money to the Government.

Let us be serious about this business of cutting taxes. The colonists did not demand no taxation without representation to keep a few coins in their pockets, although there is nothing wrong with that. They wanted to hold taxes down, so the control of their lives would be wholly in their own hands, and not in that of a distant bureaucracy. The colonists knew the power to tax is the power to enslave.

Diversion of American productive power from private concerns to Government, will mean the certain end of liberty. We do not, as Americans, have a right to let the Federal Government do one thing that State and local governments or private concerns and organizations can do.

Again you will say, we cannot cut taxes when there is danger of war. I say, we can always examine our tax payments and we can always find waste and overcentralization.

I have not made up my mind about the cuts in the Armed Forces recently recom-

mended to Congress. Our committees are giving these proposals a most thorough investigation. But as a working rule, I am certain the armed services are better off with fewer men, properly organized, than with a surplus of men stepping on each other's toes. Furthermore, I am confident that the top Communist strategists are deliberately using an excess of personnel to keep our Army well below its peak performance. We need every man our military leaders need for fighting forces. But we should look skeptically at plans to increase the personnel of the Army, or its civilian staffs, for any other reason.

I said in a Senate speech on August 15 that too much of our military policymaking is already in the hands of international-minded lawyers, who can graft one-world ideas onto our military policies, as they did to our foreign policy.

I keep hearing of mountains of paperwork which must be prepared by the military services for cost accountants who are trying to distribute the cost of every mimeograph machine or mile of travel among their fancy categories. We need solid accounting of any Government spending, but we do not need fancy accounting which serves no useful purpose, and could be a means of planned confusion and sabotage through paperwork.

I am not criticizing the accountants as such. They may be able and working hard to accomplish something, when that something is not worth undertaking at all.

Americans will give our Armed Forces all the money they need for military purposes, and to provide their men with what they deserve. But we should approve no item of spending and taxation because it is labeled "Defense."

To strengthen the local community and help our people keep more of their own money, one kind of political action is all-important. We need vigorous efforts in every congressional district to prevent the nomination of pro-Communists or those who make a deal with communism, in either party. That is the minimum political step for security of the United States.

But we must go further. We must work to elect men who are vigorously devoted to our country, who believe in strengthening the local community above the Colossus on the Potomac, and who will vote, till it hurts, to keep our money at home.

Your Congressmen and Senators speak for you in the national councils. If you elect men who believe in colossal government, you will get it. If you work hard to elect men who believe our strength lies in our local communities, and not, like an empire, in its imperial capital, then we can once again become a nation of strong, independent citizens, with no overshadowing central government to rob them of their strength.

We must resist with all our strength, the rapid spread of the Communist plague. While we are deep in that struggle—we must also rebuild America. In that task, we have architect's designs of which we are all so proud, the designs left us by the founders of this Nation.

The design in living things cannot be imposed from without. Good seeds must be replanted and allowed to grow again. Our duty is to clear the soil, remove the debris, the weeds, the bad seeds, replant good seeds, and have faith.

If we perservere, I believe we shall one day look back upon the Communist threat as the evil which forced us to reach to the deepest wells of our faith, and so preserved us from the drift to imperial power. We cannot win against the Communists unless we can regain the spiritual vigor on which our liberty was founded. If we meet the challenge, we shall also preserve the Republic of our fathers for generations yet unborn.

Soft Spots in the Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, there is growing concern in many quarters at the huge increases in home mortgage and consumer debt. I share this alarm, and therefore I was particularly interested in a recent column by Sylvia Porter, the syndicated writer on economic problems, which discussed this question in straightforward fashion. This column follows:

Two potentially explosive forces—forces which in the future could blow up in our faces like ecnomic rockets were hardly touched upon by the Senate Banking Committee during its investigation into the stock market.

Possibly an explanation is that with a few exceptions, neither the witnesses nor the Senators dared risk analyzing or condemning in public what they must know is going on.

The forces are:

 The frenzied upspiral in home mortgage debt—particularly in no-down-paymenttake-a-lifetime-to-pay mortgages on homes that will fall apart long before the debts are paid off.

We're taking on mortgages now at a pace that tops anything ever before seen. And the total of credit being extended to us against our home dwarfs into significance the total of credit being extended to us against stocks.

2. The equally furious upswing in all forms of consumer debt—in installment loans to finance everything from furniture to TV sets, in automobile loans, in personal loans, etc.

We're also taking on this type of debt at an increasingly rapid rate. And again, although stock credit was a key issue at the Senate hearings, the credit extended to us on cars, appliances, furniture, etc., makes credit in Wall street look picayune.

The real dangers lie in the Government's lack of control over mortgage or consumer debt, emphasized two of the witnesses before the committee—Marriner Eccles, for 14 years chairman of the Federal Reserve Board under Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, and John McCloy, chairman of the Chase National Bank. While these two bankers usually are on directly opposite sides of any fence, on this they agreed.

Eccles warned, "A point of saturation is fast approaching" in this type of debt; Mc-Cloy called debts of this sort "soft spots."

But the Senators who tore into the question of the money we're borrowing to buy stocks backed away from home or installment loans.

Why? Because the subject is irrelevant? Oh, no. A basis for the stock market boom has been the boom in our economy; the major reason the economy has been stronger has been the upsurge in the building and automobile industries; a key reason for the strength in these industries has been the super-easy credit available. Let these industries falter or credit here go bad and there'll be no doubt about the stock market's direction. It'll be down.

Why? Because the witnesses weren't qualified to talk? Once more, no. In private conversations I had with many of them after they testified, they stressed their concern was

more over mortgage and consumer debt than overborrowing in the stock market.

You don't have to be a cynic Why then? to suggest a reason could be because a debate about possible curbs on building or installment credit well might not add to a

Senator's popularity.

The facts, nevertheless, are clear.

In 1954 alone, we added over \$9 billion to our home mortgage debts and they're now approaching the incomprehensible total of \$80 billion. Houses now are being built at twice the rate that new families are being formed; no down payment mortgages are being taken out by GI's who easily could afford to put down some cash.

At the end of 1954, our consumer debts were at the all-time high of \$30.1 billion, Car loan terms now are being stretched out now to 30 and 36 months; many are buying

new cars before they pay off the old.

We don't know if these debts are rising too fast. We don't know if the totals right now are too high. We don't know whether new controls are needed at once. But we should at least try to find out.

A logical sequel to this stock market probe would be a friendly investigation in these areas. Maybe we'll get it—if our Senators get up courage to tackle the issues on the basis that what's best for America is best for its politicians.

Trombone Choir at Easter Sunrise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FRANK T. BOW OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, in the April issue of the Ford Times, I have noticed an interesting article on Americana which concerns an Easter service in my district of Gnadenhütten. This article, written by Mrs. Twila Carman, of Minerva, Ohio, tells the story of a historic Easter sunrise service at the John Heckwelder Memorial Moravian Church in Gnadenhütten, which is the second oldest Ohio settlement, having been first settled by Moravians in 1772. This story, Trombone Choir at Easter Sunrise, is particularly of interest at this time and for that reason, Mr. Speaker, I include it as part of my remarks so that my colleagues may have an opportunity to read this interesting bit of Americana:

TROMBONE CHOIR AT EASTER SUNRISE (By Twila Carman)

In the belfry of the oldest church in Ohio, a trombone choir heralds the sunrise each Easter Sunday in a 200-year-old ceremony. The service originates in the John Heckwelder Memorial Moravian Church in the town of Gnadenhütten, about 40 miles south of Canton, Ohio, on United States Highway 36. This is the site of the birth of the Christian religion in the State.

Although the trombone has special significance in the Moravian religion, its music is prized by the Ohio group for still another reason: It is credited with having saved the village from an attack by the Indians.

Back in the dawn of Easter 1756, the Indians had planned an early morning inva-But on hearing the strange, sweet sounds of Easter carols played by the trombone choir, they surmised that some unearthly power was guarding the town, and crept silently back into the hills.

More than 60 years before Martin Luther posted his 95 theses, natives of Bohemia and Moravia had united in protest against the sale of indulgences. These people were intensely musical, making daily rites of vocal and instrumental music. It is still customary to announce events by a trombone salute from the church belfry.

In the present band, trombones of all sizes

are assembled. The largest, a bass instru-ment, is so long that the slide is operated by a lever. It was made in Germany in 1789. When the trombone choir sounds its first notes at Easter sunrise this year, one of the original instruments will respond in the antiphonal group in one of the State's oldest services.

Heart Big Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the Providence Journal of February 28, 1955. This article is by Theodore R. Van Dellen, M. D., and is entitled "Heart Big Problem. I believe that Dr. Van Dellen's comments are well worth reading and commend them to all of my colleagues.

How To KEEP WELL

(By Theodore R. Van Dellen, M. D.) HEART BIG PROBLEM

At the turn of the century, out of every 1,000 babies that survived birth, 162 could be expected to die before reaching the first birthday. Nowadays, less than 30 succumb in the same circumstances. The figures are less startling when adults are included in any group of 1,000 persons. In 1900, 17 of this number passed away, whereas today the death rate is less than 9.

The control of infections in childhood and young adulthood can be given credit for this remarkable change. As a result, more people are living to middle and old age. But there is a catch to it. The longer we live, the more we are subjected to disorders of the heart and blood vessels.

What are we going to do about heart disease? Our heart associations are trying to find the answer to this question, but there may be some consolation in realizing it is better to face the risk of a heart attack at 55 or 65 than to be dead of pneumonia or

tuberculosis before age 25.

These infections were our most consistent killers in days gone by; not many worried too much about today's big killer—heart disease-because few lived long enough to develop it. But with the advent of the sulfonamides and penicillin the death rate from pneumonia fell from 152 per 100,000 to 12 and mortality from other infections followed suit.

The high-school student of today thinks of cholera, yellow fever, smallpox, and plague as long-forgotten diseases, not realizing that, if we let down the bars, these pestilences would return in a jiffy. Diphtheria, scarlet fever, typhoid, typhus, and tetanus mean more to these teenagers because they were rife in grandfather's time.

Pest houses were overcrowded decades ago, but today many of our contagious-disease hospitals are empty for lack of patients. Not long ago, in Florida, I rode past a beautiful tuberculosis sanatorium and predicted it might not last long if the antituberculosis drugs-PAS, streptomycin, and isoniazidcontinue to work so satisfactorily.

At present disorders of the heart and

arteries kill 4 times as many persons annually as does cancer, 6 times as many as accidents, 8 times as many as tuberculosis, and 500 times as many as polio.

Research on cardiovascular problems pays for itself over and over again because any progress made in these conditions will do more than affect the death rate. The problem is not only to prolong life, but to make it more comfortable for oldsters.

We are beginning to realize that arteriosclerosis is not a normal or natural part of aging but an illness of metabolic or glandular origin. How can it be prevented or at least delayed? This is what our researchers are trying to find out, but they still have a long way to go.

Banning Nuclear Tests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Banning Nuclear Tests," which appeared in the March 23, 1955, issue of the Park City Daily News, of Bowling Green, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

BANNING NUCLEAR TESTS Every time we detonate a test A-bomb in

Nevada some of our friends abroad react with such anguish as to suggest their next day's breakfast has been contaminated by the radioactive fallout.

Urgings are heard again and again that the tests be halted, and that this be a first step toward some sort of negotiated peace settlement with the Soviet Union.

The elements in this argument need to be carefully sifted.

First, scientists differ widely as to the effects on humans of the radioactive fallout from recent and current nuclear experiments. None argues that these inflict physical harm on the present generation of humans. The debate centers on what radioactivity may have done or be doing to future generations through its possible effect on the body's reproductive materials.

Some say the present level and scale of tests is not serious. Others contend enough radioactive substance already is affoat in the atmosphere to do some human damage in the generations to come.

Our Government specialists evidently hold that the danger is not serious, else the tests would not go on. But certainly there is some doubt, and men could reasonably listen to the opposing arguments.

Yet the urgings from many quarters do not seem to recognize any reasonableness in those who doubt the danger. The antitesters assume all experiment is a menace. They want no more of it. They wish there had never been any. They appear to regard the experimental explosion of a nuclear device as a virtual act of war.

Now, as Admiral Strauss noted in his comprehensive report on the Pacific H-bomb tests, if there had been none we could not possibly know the real size of the world's The horror the antitest people decry (and who does not?) is something they could only have guessed at wildly without the tests. They and all of us might well have understated the danger. The tests measured our plight, and underlined the importance of preserving the peace.

Furthermore, we cannot easily halt the tests so long as we assume—as we must in the interest of the free world's safety-that Russia is trying its best to develop more and more advanced nuclear weapons.

Should it then be asserted that the Russians, too, will be called on to stop their tests, the question arises as to how we may be assured of their compliance. Large atomic or hydrogen blasts can be detected outside Russia by measuring the atmosphere's radioactivity. But how do we prevent the blasts from occurring at all?

Obviously, enforcement of a ban on tests, like all disarmament proposals with real teeth, requires a system of rigid inspection. Russia has been cool to that idea from the start. Moreover, such a plan would have to be a subject for negotiation. And the antitest group has been saying the ban should come first, with negotiations on a broad front

afterward. As anyone knows who pays any attention to our tests, they are seasonal. There is plenty of time between each series of experiments for discussion of disarmament or any other reasonable proposal to end world tensions. All it takes is a sincere Soviet wish for a settlement.

Meantime, there's no point in the United States clamping a ban on nuclear tests when it has no assurance whatsoever that the Russians would follow suit in good faith.

Socialistic Seed Bears Fruit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Brookville (Pa.) Jeffersonian Democrat:

SOCIALISTIC SEED BEARS FRUIT

"Great oaks from little acorns grow," says the old adage. That is certainly true of the

Tennessee Valley Authority.

The roots lie in the old Muscle Shoals plant for the production of agricultural fertilizer. Then when TVA itself was legislated into life it was officially explained that it was to develop river navigation, improve the land, and conserve natural resources. Hydroelectric power production, it was further explained, would simply be a relatively unimportant byproduct. At that time, of course, nobody said anything about TVA going into the steam power business, which has nothing Whatever to do with conservation of resources or any other noncommercial purpose.

How times have changed. Power production is not only the dominant TVA activity, overshadowing all other functions to the Point of oblivion, but in the fiscal year that ended last June 30 TVA's steam plants actually produced more power than its hydroplants. And steam's relative importance is going to grow. For, at that time TVA had steam plants with an estimated cost of \$273,877,000 under construction, but not a single dam.

It's a long way from a fertilizer manufacturing enterprise to this gigantic tax-subsidized and largely tax-free power monopoly. It shows how socialism, once it gains a foothold, can wax fat at the expense of all the rest of us, and how all-powerful centralized government can come to be the undisputed boss of a great region.

Envoy in Ireland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the Providence Sunday Journal of March 27, 1955, entitled "Taft Wins Many Friends as United States Envoy in Ireland." Ambassador Taft is doing an admirable job as our country's representative to the Emerald Isle. His interest in the country is genuine and he has been received by the Irish people with open arms. The subject article will give some indication of his diplomatic efforts and I commend it to the attention of all my colleagues.

The article follows:

TAFT WINS MANY FRIENDS AS UNITED STATES ENVOY IN IRELAND

(By Ernest Hill)

DUBLIN, EIRE.-William Howard Taft III, son of the late Senator from Ohio and grandson of the former President, is making diplomatic history in Ireland as American Ambassador to the Emerald Isle.
Young Taft has become a sort of a cross

between the all-American boy and the young Abraham Lincoln to the people of Ireland.

Anything but a cookie pusher hound, Taft spends a good part of his time out in the country meeting the people on their home grounds.

He leaves the Embassy Chrysler, his chauffeur, and his striped pants at home when he goes visiting. He folds his lank figure into a pocket-sized Fiat and chugs the country roads alone.

He is liable to show up any place, emerge from his midget scooter, and introduce himself as the American Ambassador.

THE IRISH LIKE HIM

The Irish, having a healthy disdain for stuffed shirts and pomposity, think young Bill Taft is just about the greatest thing that ever came out of Washington.

He speaks English or Erse, the language of Ireland, which is more than a lot of the city Irish can do.

An expert on Ireland, young Taft is more Interested in the country's farm problems than he is in high-level politics. After all, Ireland is largely an agricultural country and the loss of population from the farms is hurting production and proving a national problem.

We have discovered that there is about \$18 million left over from ECA. Taft told me. We are planning to earmark about \$6 million of this to establish an agricultural institute. The Irish would provide the staff and maintain it once we get it started.

The country badly needs such an institute where graduate study can be carried out. Improved farm methods will benefit the country. Testing of cattle for tuberculosis is needed because Ireland exports beef and bullocks to England.

Taft is now averaging two speeches weekly to various groups in all parts of Ireland. He rarely turns down an invitation to address a group no matter how small or how far away.

BORN IN NEW ENGLAND

The 39-year-old Taft was an English instructor at Yale University from 1945 to 1948 and considers himself more of a scholar than a diplomat or politician.

He was born in Bar Harbor, Maine, and attended public school in Cincinnati, and the Taft School in Watertown, Conn. Taft has degrees from Yale and Princeton.

In Dublin with ECA, Taft became a serious student of Ireland. He did research work in the old and middle Irish languages.

He is married to the former Barbara Bradfield, of Grand Rapids, Mich., and they have four children.

In case there's any doubt about the authenticity of Taft's interest in Ireland, he dispelled that when his last son was born. He named him Sean Thomas, which could not be more Irish. Sean Thomas was born in Ireland in 1950. Taft's first son is William Howard Taft IV.

An Irish newspaper editor told me that his countrymen considered young Taft the finest representative and friend of Ireland the United States has ever sent to Dublin.

We feel, he said, that this is more than just another job for him. He is in Ireland because it is his great interest.

Tenth Anniversary of Polish Incarceration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from the Polish-American Congress on the 10th anniversary of the arrest and subsequent trial or the 16 Polish underground leaders in Moscow. The arrest took place on March 28, 1945, and the trial of these brave Polish patriots took place in June 1945. The fate and whereabouts of four of these leaders, still in Soviet Russia, is unknown. The balance have been returned to Poland and have been submitted to new ordeals by the Moscowsponsored regime there.

The letter follows:

In accordance with the Yalta agreement the Moscow-sponsored provisional government of Poland had to be reorganized on a broader basis with the inclusion of lead-"from Poland itself and from Poles abroad."

Mr. Molotov and the Ambassadors of the United States and Great Britain, residing in Moscow, were entrusted with the task to cooperate in the forming of a new government along above lines.

It was assumed from the very beginning by the American and British Governments that the most prominent leaders of the Polish underground, at that time hiding in Poland, would eventually enter the coalition. During the war they had fought in close cooperation with the Polish Government in London, a bitter struggle against the Nazi occupants and thus had largely contributed to the Allied war effort.

At the request of the British Secretary of State, the Polish Government in London disclosed for transmission to the committee in Moscow the names and whereabouts of the Polish Vice Premier and Government Delegate for the Homeland, and of the three members of the Home Council of Ministers. The Allied Governments gave assurance that they would do everything possible to ensure the safety of the Polish underground leaders.

A short time after the Polish Vice Premier, Mr. Jankowski, and the last commander of the disbanded home army, General Okulicki, were approached by Colonel Pimenow of the Soviet NKVD, with a request to attend a meeting with Colonel General Ivanov, a representative of the high command of the 1st White Russian front. This invitation was confirmed by letter, on March 10, to Mr. Jankowski and General Okulicki. The purpose of the meeting, in Colonel Pimenov's own words, was: "The clarification of the atmosphere and the coming into the open of the democratic Polish parties in order that they may take part in the general current of the democratic forces of Independent Poland." Although absolute personal safety was granted by the Soviet representative, the 16 Polish underground leaders, when they arrived on March 28, 1945, at the meeting place were arrested and flown to Moscow and imprisoned there.

The Soviets committed in cold blood another act of shameless felony. It was only on May 5, 1945, that the official Soviet agency Tass announced the arrest of the Polish leaders. This happened during the San Francisco Conference, and Molotov himself

confirmed the news.

The British and the United States Secretaries of State expressed grave concern to Mr. Molotov and asked for full explanation. Their intervention remained, nevertheless, without response, and on June 18, 1945, a trial of the Polish leaders was held in Moscow by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U. S. S. R.

Following sentences were passed:

 Maj. Gen. Leopold Okulicki, born 1898, commander of the Polish Home Army, succeeding Gen. T. Bor-Komorowski after the Warsaw rising, 10 years' prison.

2. Jan Stanislaw Jankowski, born 1882, member of the Christian Labor Party and Vice Premier of the Polish Government in London, appointed delegate in Poland, 8 years' prison.

3. Adam Bien, born 1899, member of the underground government, Peasant Party, 5

years' prison.

4. Stanislaw Jasiukowicz, born 1832, National Party, member of underground government, 5 years' prison.

 Kazimierz Puzak, born 1883, leader of Socialist Party and speaker of underground parliament, 18 months' prison.

6. Alexander Zwierzynski, born 1880, National Party, deputy speaker, 8 months'

tional Party, deputy speaker, 8 months' prison.
7. Kazimierz Baginski, born 1890, Peasant

Party, deputy speaker, 6 months' prison. 8. Stanislaw Mierzwa, born 1905, Peasant

Party, 4 months' prison.

9. Zbigniew Stypulkowski, born 1904, lead-

er of Democratic Party, 4 months' prison.

10. Eugeniusz Czarnowski, born 1904, leader of Democratic Party, 4 months' prison.

 Jozef Chacinski, born 1889, leader of Christian Labor Party, 4 months' prison.
 Franciszek Urbanski, born 1891, secre-

12. Franciszek Urbanski, born 1891, secretary of underground parliament, Christian Labor Party, 4 months' prison.

13. Stanislaw Michalowski, born 1903,

13. Stanislaw Michalowski, born 1903, Democratic Party, proved innocent.

Kazimierz Kobylanski, born 1892, National Party, proved innocent.

15. Jozef Stemler-Dabski, born 1892, interpreter of Polish delegation proved innocent.

16. Antoni Pajdak, member of Socialist Party and of underground parliament, was not tried in public, and the sentence in his case was not disclosed.

It is to be noted that in accordance with Soviet procedure the penal sentence is counted, as from the day of arrest.

General Okulicki, Jankowski, Jasiukowlez, and Pajdak did not yet return to Poland. Okulicki should be released on March 28, 1955. Jankowski should have been freed on March 28, 1953, and Jasiukowicz on March 28, 1950. According to information, Pajdak was sentenced by administrative decree to 5 years, and if so had to be freed on March 28, 1950. It should be stressed that the fate of these 4 prisoners remaining in Soviet Russia is still unknown.

The remaining leaders were brought back to Poland after the period of their detention in Soviet jails had elapsed. Puzak and Mierzwa were rearrested in Poland, sentenced, and Puzak died in prison. Czarnowski, Urbanski and Chacinski died in Poland. The fate of Bien is not known, as well as of Zwierzynski and Stemler-Dabski. Michalowski and Kobylanski, acquitted during the Moscow trial, were again arrested in Poland and are detained in prison. Stypulkowski is in England and K. Baginski lives in the United States of America.

In connection with the 10th anniversary of this shameless act perpetrated on March 28, 1945, against the 16 polish underground leaders, steps should be taken to—

1. Ask for full information as to the fate and whereabouts of those four leaders still

kept in Soviet Russia.

2. Demand their release from prison.
3. Insist on the liberation of the underground leaders who have been submitted to new ordeals by the Moscow-sponsored regime in Poland after their return from Russia.

Italy Is Dawdling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Daily News of March 17, 1955:

ITALY IS DAWDLING
(By Ludwell Denny)

ROME, March 17.—Italy is doing little about basic reforms to make herself self-supporting, despite some temporary gains and grandiose plans.

American aid, amounting to \$5,500,000,000, has been used mainly for emergency purposes. It has provided food and jobs for the hungry and restored war-devastated areas.

To that extent it has slowed the growth of communism. But it has not been permitted to help out much in constructive reform of Italy's grossly inefficient economic system and evil social conditions.

As a result, destructive revolutionary forces—communism on one side and fascism on the other—now are reaching dangerous proportions. State socialism is spreading and so is the welfare state. The evils of an unproductive tax on unused and misused land, high interest rates, low productivity and high production costs barely have been touched.

Excess labor on payrolls and inability of employers to dismiss idle workers still destroy incentive and boost costs to a point where many products neither can compete in foreign markets nor be sold to the poverty-stricken home consumer.

Though national income has increased 45 percent in 7 years and industrial production is 70 percent above prewar, unemployment of more than 2 million remains the same and per capita annual income is only \$370.

The national birth rate is lower than the West European average and much less than the United States, but it's still so high in the illiterate south that neither new jobs nor waning emigration can check Italy's insidious overpopulation.

One-fourth of the population still lives in substandard conditions, unable to afford meat or sugar. A million or more live in caves and hovels. There is a shortage of 3 million dwellings and 12 million rooms.

Land reform—one of the few basic measures attempted—has distributed 1 million unused or misused acres to 70,000 peasants. But 1 percent of the landowners still own 40 percent of Italy's total productive area and more than half the private holdings are plots under an acre and a half.

Communism is making its biggest gains among landless peasants, many of whom live

an animal-like existence.

Despite tax reform, the system remains one of the worst in the world. Direct taxation provides only 14 percent (or 19 percent including temporary levies) of total Government revenues, compared with 80 percent in the United States.

Regardless of all the talk about free enterprise, there's more Government participation in business here than any place outside the Iron Curtain.

The cancer of state socialism is spreading. Firms controlled by the state holding company, Irl, represent 80 percent of the total shipbuilding, 75 percent of the pigiron industry, 61 percent of all telephones, 50 percent of steel and rolling stock, and from 25 to 45 percent of truck and bus lines, radios and electronic equipment, and prime movers—plus many others.

Another Government company, Enl, controls 95 percent of the natural gas production and 25 percent of the country's gasoline distribution. It has monopoly exploration rights in the Po River Valley area.

Most state socialism firms are inefficient, uneconomic monuments to Mussolini's folly and the present Government's lack of courage for reform.

A Tribute to Hamden (Conn.) High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I point out the magnificent victory of the Hamden (Conn.) High School hockey team in winning the New England high-school championship for the second successive year at the Rhode Island State Auditorium at Providence on March 19. Following are excerpts of an article from the New Haven Evening Register:

The Hamden win was a team effort, although sparked by the boys who have been performing in an outstanding fashion all season. Butch Ives played terrific hockey in the final game to come back, despite his injuries, to play the type of hockey he had exhibited all year in Connecticut. Joe Barile turned in a tremendous performance throughout the playoffs, as did Paul Gauthier in the Hamden goal. Don Goldberg was a key figure on defense and his partner, Dick Kennedy, was an iron man, playing through the tourney without rest. Ives was voted the most valuable player of the tourney award, and he and Barile were unanimous selections for the all-tourney team.

Congratulations are also very much in order for team members Doherty, Dietter, Ferrie, Batson, and Molloy, for their efforts in this game against St. Dominics, of Lewiston, Maine.

The Hamden High School, in the Third District of Connecticut, which I represent, has come to turn out perennially powerful and formidable hockey teams in the last several years. I commend the spirit displayed by the team, as well as their fine sportsmanship and the strong support given by the student body of Hamden, the citizens of the area, and all those who have taken a part in making this hockey team the best in the New England high-school circuit.

Greek Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, we celebrate today the 134th anniversary of Greek independence. It was on March 25, 1921, that Greek patriots, led by Archbishop Germanos, revolted against their Turkish overlords and, in so doing, touched off the flame of rebellion against oppressors which circled the earth to mark the 19th century as the era of liberation.

In thus renewing man's age-old struggle for freedom and independence, Greece was true to its history. Greece has always stood in the forefront of the defenders of democracy; indeed Greece gave birth to both the word and the idea in the days of its ancient glory.

And that this inner urge—this drive—on the part of the Greeks toward liberty, not only for themselves but for all peoples, has not diminished with the passage of time is amply demonstrated by their record in these later days.

Mussolini's Fascist spears were blunted and broken on the rock of Greek resistance. Hitler's legions overran Greece only through an all-out air, sea, and land offensive by vastly superior forces—and then only temporarily. The Stalinbacked drive against Greek independence was smashed with United States aid, and when the black flag of totalitarianism was raised in faraway Korea, Greece sent soldiers halfway around the world to aid in the battle against the new menace.

As is fitting to nations in whose life streams the urge to freedom runs so strongly, the United States and Greece have a long history of friendship; a friendship that runs from President Monroe, who hearkened to the appeal of the Greek Senate in its earliest days of being, to President Truman, who gave decisive aid against the Communist aggressor.

Nor did our interest stop with the determined support of Greek aspirations that we gave under the Truman doctrine, for, after that, there was the Marshall plan, the ECA, and point 4 technical assistance.

But there is another aid that we must give to the people of this ancient cradle of democracy—a gift that is perhaps as much spiritual as material. We must put an end to the degrading discrimination against our Greek brethren that is written into our immigration laws.

Greece is overpopulated; it is impoverished by its excess population; yet, under our present immigration quotas, we restrict Greek immigration to a mere trickle. This is a shame to us and a crime against the brave Greeks whose independence day we commemorate today.

Let us make this commemoration meaningful. Let us resolve today that all this shall be changed; that we will make unused quota numbers available to countries that desperately need them, like Greece.

We join our Greek allies in striking over and over at the shackles of inhumanity.

Address by Hon. William E. Jenner, of Indiana, Before Indiana State Bottlers Association, Indianapolis, March 14, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a speech delivered by me before the Indiana State Bottlers Association in Indianapolis on March 14, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Address of Hon. William E. Jenner, of Indiana, Before State Convention Indiana State Bottlers' Association, Indianapolis, Ind., March 14, 1955

You have many problems before you at this meeting and you should have time for fun. Why then do you add politics to the list of matters to consider in your limited

The answer is obvious. If you wish to have freedom to run your business, you are of necessity in politics. Nothing quivers with the political winds more than a balance sheet.

You and your organization are the embodiment of free enterprise. Many of you started your own businesses. You enjoy the combination of responsibility and freedom. The headaches are headaches you chose yourselves as the price of managing your own affairs.

You may not think about it, but your right to run your own business is a political right. It is the right to have a Government which operates within limits. When your Government has broken the bonds which hold it within fixed limits, when the executive branch has undreamed of amounts of money, broad legislative powers through directives, and even the judicial power to decide appeals from its edicts, it is no longer limited Government.

When the Government controls minimum wages, or wages in Government contracts, or collective bargaining obligations, or trade union organizations or dividends and depreciation allowances, "free enterprise" is on a

leash. It is becoming an obedient satellite of big Government, no longer is each enterprise an independent Republic, as our private agencies used to be.

Many Americans are aware of this growing danger, but they cannot get a clear idea of what to do about it.

Some of them cherished the innocent hope that a change of parties or a change of candidates would halt the growth of the new Leviathan. Now we know the remedy is not so simple as that. A few people are tempted to give up the fight.

Today, big Government operates through so many diverse activities that it seems almost hopeless to oppose its growth. But all those operations are controlled by a few key switches. If we can find the master switches, we can stop the growth of big Government and cut down the colossus on the Potomac. THE MASTER SWITCH OF GOVERNMENT POWER

I want to tell you what is the most hopeful fact in our political dilemma today. The master switch is taxes. If the American people will put their minds on taxes, they can quickly master their domestic problems.

A few days ago I read in the morning paper that the Federal Government had garnisheed the salary of an employee who owed back taxes. The story said that the Government had withheld the entire salary of the employee for the current month, and intended to continue withholding every penny of his earnings until all the back taxes were paid.

I do not know the individual case. The employee may have been shiftless. He may have had illness or other personal troubles, or he may have had a dispute with the income-tax people over what he owed.

What disturbed me was the shocking sad-

What disturbed me was the shocking sadism of taking every penny of an employee's income at once—his rent, his food, his carfare—when it would have been just as easy to collect 10 percent of his salary over a longer period of time. If the trouble had been illness or other mishap, the trail of further breakdown or heavy debts to the moneylenders was only too clear.

I tell this story because Americans of today do not yet know what the Colonists knew. All tax collections are cruel. Our tax-collecting agencies have so far been very tactful, and they have been working in a period when the American economy had plenty of fat. The tax knives have just begun to cut to the quick. We are just beginning to know, what every age before us has seen clearly, that tax-collection is a cruel and ruthless business, which will bring hatred and sadism into our country such as we have never known in all our history.

The taxgatherer is the most hated man in popular story. The publican was despised and hated in the days of Christ. Rudyard Kipling tells us of the princely states of India where the tax-gatherers waited at the farm until the kid was born, so they could take the farmer's only hope of more income, for taxes to pay for the prince's follies.

I am going to talk about taxes. But let us never think taxes are cold statistics. Taxes are a gigantic screw which turns and turns, and squeezes more and more blood from the helpless embittered farmer or worker or businessman to pay for the Government's foliles.

THE FOLLIES OF GOVERNMENT SPENDING

We do not have time to discuss the follies of Government spending but let me refresh your memories.

I have before me a memorandum that we have just allocated \$23 million to Egypt. A few days ago it was Yugoslavia. The latest allotment to Egypt is to be used for construction, by American engineers, of a highway between Cairo and Alexandria, for improvement of the water supply in the Nile, for improvement of the port of Alexandria, and for a new workshop for the Egyptian Minister of Public Roads.

At the same time, the State of Israel received \$316 million for equipment, and Pakistan the same for chemical supplies,

These are all worthy projects, but why should an American workingman have his entire salary garnisheed, to pay for Government programs in Egypt or Israel or Pakistan?

THE STORY OF TAXES

Now, let us go back to taxes.

In the fiscal year 1932, which was the lowest point of the great depression, the Federal Government collected the record total of \$2 billion in taxes. In that year, however, the Government, through RFC, was shoring up the banks, the farms, and State emergency relief expenditures.

In 1939, after 7 years of the great experiment in making America over, Federal taxgatherers were collecting over \$5 billions a year, an increase of over 250 percent over the worst year of the depression.

Then came the most destructive war in history. The United States was turned into

an arsenal filling pipelines, pouring rivers of food and equipment to every continent. By the war's end Federal tax collections had climbed to an unheard of \$46 billions.

But war is the great destroyer. We had an Armed Force of over 10 millions consuming gasoline, ammunition, tanks, planes, ships, shoes, steaks, and everything else. We were also giving billions to scores of other Nations in the coalition against the Nazis. The U. S. S. R. alone was given some \$12 billions.

How much is the Federal Government collecting from us today? If 2 billions were enough for the depression, if 5 billions were enough for all spending of the socialist planners, if \$46 billion were enough at the peak of a devastating war, how much are we giving the Government today, with no war and no depression? Not 1 billion, not 5 billion, not \$46 billion, but \$73 billion were taken from the American people in fiscal year 1954.

Let me give you a few more figures.

In 1932 the interest on the public debt was \$600 million. Herbert Hoover was bitterly denounced for such extravagance. 1953 the interest burden alone was 61/2 billion. Remember that as long as we do not pay that interest, but add it to the public debt, we will go on paying for it not 1 year but every year for generations yet to come. We have already paid interest for 21 years on the debt the Government incurred for NRA, AAA, and relief in the first year of the New Deal, and no one knows how long this waste will go on.

It is estimated that the deficit for the year 1934 alone, which was \$760 million, has already cost us \$483 million more, in interest payments, with no end in sight.

What can we do about it-if we are serious and want to do something?

WHAT NOT TO EXPECT

First, let me tell you what will not help. I am not interested in the conversation about a balanced budget. Once upon a time a balanced budget was a restraint upon executive power. That was true when it was hard to raise taxes, when our people resisted tax increases as vigorously as the colonists did. "Taxes" used to be a fighting word to Americans.

Taxes were the anchor which held down spending as soon as the budget was balanced. But our Government spenders put a jet engine on the old anchor. They learned that it was easy to raise taxes if they spent part of the money for the Government's propaganda machine. You remember the phrase, Tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and

The spenders realized years ago that an unbalanced budget was the road to higher taxes. Congress raised taxes in the pious hope the budget would be balanced, but the spenders quietly sent spending up higher than ever, while the propaganda machines told the people what to think. The fetish of a balanced budget is now the palace guard's best instrument for collecting in peacetime far more taxes than they dared collect in war. The problem is not to fit taxes to spending but to cut taxes first and fit spending to a much lower income.

I can tell you another hope that will not materialize. That is waiting for Congress

alone to cut spending.

The administration has about 2½ million employees. Congress has a staff of 4,700 peo-

That gives you a picture of the unbalance between the executive and the legislative branches. It is a hopeless contest for a Congress with 4 700 assistants to cut the evpenditures of an executive branch with millions of fulltime professional workers whose first responsibility is to keep spending high.

CONGRESS MUST HAVE HELP

Now, is there a remedy? Yes, and a simple

The key to our present shocking tax burden is the tax increase that was put through in 1951 under cover of the fighting in Korea. The war that was not a war was a fine ex-

cuse for a big new tax bill.

The Government did not need that huge increase in taxes in 1951. I knew how much fat there was in the budget. I knew extra taxes would be money down the drain. I did not vote for the bill, but I did not try to build opposition to it. Why? Because no one could hope to defeat the Government's propaganda machine without support from the taxpayers. They still believed in fairy tales. What, then, can we do?

Congressman Hatton Summers, of Texas, wrote an article for Reader's Digest in 1945. He had been the distinguished chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and a vigorous opponent of the unconstitutional growth of executive power. Judge Sumners said Congress would never be able to attend to its own proper business, until it gave back to the States and local organizations, the responsibilities which belonged to them under the Constitution.

The first responsibilities of Congress are foreign policy and military policy. It is not the business of Congress to legislate on cancer, lunches for schoolchildren, depreciation reserves for new machinery, corporate divi-dend payments, giving or withholding Federal funds for private school buses, collective bargaining, or making up the cost of unbalanced budgets in France.

REVIVAL OF STATES RIGHTS

Congress has become involved in all this busy work because the spenders wanted Congress kept too busy to think. And how well they have succeeded.

I say to you that the first business before Congress is to cut out the busy work. need a congressional commission to determine what powers and duties Congress should release at once, and what taxes it should reserve to State and local agencies so they can pay for what they need.

The Congress should have established such a commission in 1953, but it hesitated. The executive branch established a special commission under Dean Clarence Manion, a very able man for the job, but he was retired. and Congress has no more information today than it had in 1952.

Where do you come in? Well, a pitcher cannot win the game unless there are also a few good catchers on the team. Congress cannot rid itself of the incubus of deciding on State and private matters, unless the States and local agencies are as eager to uphold their rights as Congress is to adhere to the principles of a Federal Republic.

Are our State and local leaders ready to demand the powers the Constitution guaranteed to them forever?

Too many of our governors have been bewitched, bothered, and beguiled, by the colossus on the Potomac. They hope that, by deference to the powers that be, they can share in the apparently endless streams of wealth which Federal officials can spend. But where does that wealth come from? It comes from the billions which were collected from the people of Indiana and the other States.

Do you see why I said recently I did not want to see the governors of our sovereign States going to Washington with a tincup in their hands, to ask the Federal Government to please give them back a little bit of their own money?

We are going to have to face this question very soon in the issue of Federal aid for

school buildings.

There is a growing school population, but there is not the slightest particle of evidence that our States and cities cannot supply their own children with all the buildings they need. Watch the stories in the newspapers about a report of the Committee on Intergovernmental Relations which apparently says, "We have been unable to find a State which cannot afford * * * to support an adequate school system." That report has been suppressed. Why?

You will tell me it is hard for the legislature of Indiana to pay more taxes. Of course, it is hard. In Indiana we meant to make it hard for governments to spend. The Con-stitutional Convention meant to make it hard for the Federal Government to spend. If Indiana does not supply its own school buildings, it is asking Congress to use printing-press money, and raise still higher a Federal debt which is already close to \$280

billion and rising.

For once we have a problem where the line of action is clear and simple. We can solve the problems of big spending, growth of centralized control, and the withering away of the States, if we return to two principles of our Founding Fathers-low taxes and

Congress cannot function, and the Constitution cannot be preserved, if the spenders in both parties make our States into lackey States and our governors into servitors milling about the palace guard.

CONGRESS AND THE STATES CAN RESTORE THE REPUBLIC

Congress can function, the Constitution can be preserved, and we can free our energies to meet all our foreign problems, if the people of our country will unite with Congress in an irresistible demand for tax cuts and States rights.

It is my hope that, in this rededication to the principles of our founding, the people of Indiana will lead the way.

Giveaway Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following editorial from the St. Marys (Pa.) Daily Press of March 26, 1955:

GIVEAWAY BUSINESS

The American Legion magazine for April has outlined in bold relief the giveaway program that has been featured by American Government officials while neglect for Americans persists here at home.

We will quote direct from that publication as follows:

The Nation was shocked to its depths not long ago when Ira Hayes, one of the marines who raised the flag at Iwo Jima was found dead near Phoenix, Ariz. For years he had been destitute and in distress, and his death followed by only a few weeks his appearance in Washington, where with other marines from Iwo he was applauded as a hero. Ira Haves was an American Indian, one of the 343,000 Americans of Indian Blood whose welfare is the accepted responsibility of our Government.

We are not meeting that responsibility very One of the familiar and pathetic sights at the capital is that of tribal heads asking Congress to give the reservation Indians a better deal. The usual reply is the cold answer that Uncle Sam has no more

money to give them.

The situation has a grim irony when we observe that while there never seems to be enough money for our own native wards, Washington has a bottomless purse for needy foreigners. - The answer to Ira Hayes' Indians is usually "no." but when Nehru needs money for his Indians he can count on an emphatic "yes" from Washington. In the last 31/2 years, Nehru's Indians, who are lined up against us in a neutral and unfriendly corner in our logical foreign-aid policy, there is nothing surprising in all this. Our aid program bristles with such incongruities.

How often veterans, for instance, have encountered niggardliness and we-haven't-gotthe-money attitudes in Washington while observing wryly the unquestioned out-go of

multi-billions abroad.

At last tallying, 59 foreign countries have been on the American dole since the end of World War II. Including colonies and dependencies, the number reaches 90. The aggregate amount which Congress has appropriated for the handouts, in various categories, since 1945 is \$52,067,651,495. In other words our national economy has taken a \$52 billion beating in the name of foreign Bid.

Another deferred security program of unimaginable importance to the American people is project Lincoln, which was worked out by scientists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1952 to provide a screen of protection for the North American Continent against air attack by the polar route. Project Lincoln, whose details are still a defense top secret, proposed a defense in depth against approaching bombers which would be as automatic as a railway-signal system. In the event of atomic attack, the existence of such system, while not affording absolute protection, would cut down the casualty lists in our greater cities by millions of persons.

The catch is that such a radar and defense screen would be staggeringly costly. Some estimates of the cost of project Lincoln have been as high as \$20 billion, although spokesmen of the project have protested that it could be built for much less.

However, project Lincoln is the actual answer to our A- and H-bomb defense needs, \$20 billion would not be an excessive bill for the protection it would give to American citizens. As Senator Bamges has pointed out, the destruction of a single target area, such as Detroit, in the event an H-bomb got through, could be as high as \$14 billion. The loss of life would run into the millions. Certainly, a United States which could give \$31,-808,879,000 to a single country, Great Britain, in the 13-year period from 1940 to 1953, would be niggling to refuse a much smaller sum which might well save the lives of millions of Americans.

And yet, under the inverted logic of foreign aid, we gave the billions to Britain but e are still reluctant to spend needed money for the security of Americans.

Other projects—better hospitals and clinics for low-income Americans, more mentalhygiene facilities, improved nursing, geriatric research, rural housing, reforestation, rehabilitation of declining industries (coal mining is a distressing example), decentralization of our industries-are on the waiting list because they cannot be financed. The noble objectives of foreign aid seem less noble when we realize that the American people are paying such a price for its continuance.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that United States simply cannot afford to continue the giveaways if it is to continue to play fair with its own people. Paradoxically, the man who has pronounced the most devastating indictment of the whole foreign-aid program is Dwight D. Eisenhower. In his address to the Nation's editors, on June 23. 1954, he declared:

"The United States cannot * * * by its financial sacrifices carry all other nations of the world on its shoulders, and we should stop giveaway programs. Now this is very You could not keep any other country in the world free merely by money. You can't buy or import a heart, or a soul, or a determination to remain free. Consequently, the statement that American so-called giveaway programs are not going to keep the world free is absolutely true."

Sometime, the giving must stop, if we are to avoid national disaster. That time should be now, and not in some vague, distant

tomorrow.

UMWA Criticizes President's Report as Too General

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following press release of the UMWA charging that the President's Report on Energy Supplies and Resources is too generalized and fails "to meet squarely the realities facing the coal industry":

UMWA CRITICIZES PRESIDENT'S ENERGY REPORT AS TOO GENERAL

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 13, 1955 .- The United Mine Workers of America charged today that the Presidential Committee Report on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy is too generalized and fails "to meet squarely the realities facing the coal industry.

The UMWA statement, issued by Thomas Kennedy, international vice president of the union, goes into a careful analysis of the so-called Flemming committee report (the Presidential committee was headed by Dr. Arthur Flemming, Director, Office of Defense Mobilization) and is sharply critical of the lack of specific recommendations. The Flemming report was issued by the White House on February 26 following several months of study by a select Cabinet committee.

The UMWA statement is particularily critical of the report's "head in the sand, ostrich approach" on the problem of foreign residual (waste) oil and natural gas importation and dumping.

On the question of discrminatory freight rates by the railroads on coal, the UMWA found the report to be general and stated that "vigorous, compulsory action by the

Interstate Commerce Commission is necessarv and urgent.'

The report by the union also criticizes the general recommendations on coal exports and calls for the initiation of a vigorous program by the Government.

The text of the UMWA statement follows: "The recent release by the White House of the Report on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy, as the United Mine Workers of America view it, includes many generalities and few specific recommendations, all bearing on the broad problems involved but failing to meet squarely the realities facing the coal industry-both anthracite and bituminous.

"The section of the report dealing with natural gas regulation in net effect condemns the Supreme Court decision in the Phillips case. The question of rate fixing jurisdiction over sales of natural gas by producers and gatherers to interstate pipelines is complicated and many legal considerations are involved. Therefore the mine workers take no position on this section of the report pending further study.

Under the section Sales Below Cost by Interstate Pipeline Companies the general recommendations have substantial if affirmatively implemented by congressional legislation. The widespread practice of the gas pipeline companies in sales below actual cost is so ruthless and devastating in its effects upon the coal industry that it, upon its face, constitutes unfair competition and is inimical to a sound fuels economy. As an illustration, a quick look at the practice of using natural gas as raw boiler fuel makes this inferior use of an irreplacable and rapidly diminishing natural resource stand out like a sore thumb. As stated in the Paley report in 1952, it must be clear (although the present report does not specifically treat the subject)

" "The desirability of eliminating low value general uses (such as boiler fuel at points distant from the fields) as rapidly as possible is universally recognized.'

"In the face of this universally recognized fact, the Feleral Power Commission continues to allow and the pipeline companies continues to dump gas for raw boiler fuel purposes at an ever-increasing rate. While no definite distinction (from facts presently at hand) can be absolutely drawn between boiler fuel use and what may be some justifiable uses in industry, there is available a pretty fair guide as to what is happening. According to a Bureau of Mines Mineral Yearbook, the total industrial consumption of natural gas in 1940 was in excess of 995 billion cubic feet. In 1952 this had increased to approximately 31/2 trillion cubic In 1940 elecfeet, or a 246 percent increase. tric utilities reporting to the Federal Power Commission used approximately 183 billion cubic feet of natural gas as boiler fuel. In 1953 this had increased to over 1 trillion cubic feet, an increase of 446 percent. can be no question as to the need of conserving natural gas in this country, so surely some way should be found to put a curb on the extravagant and wasteful use of this gas as boiler fuel. Certainly this practice of the gas lines should be hibited, for its continuance is unquestionably unfair competition and is ruinous in its effects on the anthracite and bituminous coal industry .

"We directly and completely disagree with the section of the report dealing with Crude Oil Imports and Residual Fuel Oil Imports. The record is complete on the enormous quantities of foreign crude and residual oil imports and their devastating effect on all segments of the coal industry and other interrelated business enterprises. For the Presidential commission now (in the face of this record) to recommend a mere freezing of imports on a 1954 basis and suggesting import limitations by but 'voluntary and individual action' is the height of absurdity and but a head in the sand, ostrich attitude.

Measures should be taken to correct and bring into balance the unduly privileged tax position now enjoyed by the natural-gas industry. A broad active program and generous appropriation to support it should be immediately instituted to promote a research and development program for coal.

'Coal freight rates recommendations are general. Vigorous compulsory action by the Interstate Commerce Commission and other governmental agencies is necessary and urgent to 'remove the excessive and disproportionate contribution that coal rates are making to meet the cost of other unprofitable services of the railroad industry.

"The general recommendations on coal exports and mobilization requirements for coke can be actively implemented if the national administration and existing governmental agencies would but courageously use existing means and measures now available to them. They should initiate and vigorously pursue

a foreign coal export program.

"Most of the recommendations under the section Government Fuel Purchasing Policy are worth while. There undoubtedly is a crying need for a minimum wage order determination in the coal industry under the Walsh-Healey Act. It is to be hoped that the Secretary of Labor will move expeditiously to that end now that the month-long public hearings on this matter have been termin-

"Another of the sections under Government Fuel Purchasing Policy directing that 'all coal suppliers to the Government, regardless of size, should comply with the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act' has the most vigorous support of the mine workers and we urge the Secretary of Labor, with the au-thority granted under the Walsh-Healey Act, to see that this policy be rigidly enforced.

"The Importation of natural gas from foreign countries poises a dagger at the heart all the coal industry-anthracite and bituminous-and threatens to disrupt in a grave way a very broad segment of the American national economy. The threat comes from both our northern neighbor-Canadaand our neighbor to the south-Mexico. Current figures are not immediately avail-

"It is generally estimated, however, that in the Province of Alberta, Canada, alone the recoverable natural gas subject to export from the Province (less estimated reserves for its own use) exceeds 10 trillion cubic feet. In addition, gas is being discovered in Alberta at the presently estimated rate of 1.5 trillion cubic feet a year. This alone would add 15 trillion cubic feet in 10 years to the amount already available for export.

"Within the past 2 years natural gas has been discovered in northeastern British Columbia and it is presently estimated that approximately 3 trillion cubic feet of gas have been proven in that Province. Discoveries are continuing at a rapid rate in the Northwest Territory and the Bush Country. Discoveries have been made in Saskatchewan and in southwest Manitoba and substantial reserves in these provinces are being added every month.

"The proposed trans-Canada pipeline, already holding Provincial export permits and merely awaiting Dominion permits, proposes to export 365 million cubic feet of gas a day from Alberta to the east, it being a 30-inch pipeline more htan 2,000 miles long, with an estimated final capacity (with additional compressor engines) of 553 million cubic feet a day. If this line sought to serve only Canadian markets (even though it would displace 221/2 million tons of bituminous and approximately 11/2 million tons of anthracite coal now being shipped annually from the United States into Canada) perhaps it could still be considered solely a Canadian problem. The fact of the matter however, is that there is included in this proposal the construction of a branch line from the vicinity of Winnipeg to the in-ternational border in northern Minnesota, where approximately 200 million cubic feet of natural gas a day will be sold to the Northern Natural Gas Co. for sale and distribution in the United States. It is claimed that this and other United States sales are necessary (particularly in the early days of the operation of the Canadian line) to of the operation of the Canadian line) to make the line to Montreal economically feasible, it being estimated to cost over \$300 million. If this gas is imported into the United States at the high-load factor that is proposed by the Trans-Canada and the Northern Natural Gas Co., it would bring into our country gas equivalent to more than 2 million tons of bituminous coal per year.

Coupled with this, Federal Power Commission has already approved a plan whereby Tennessee Gas Transmission Co. export 60 billion cubic feet of gas a year into the Toronto area, and the Niagara Transmission Co., Ltd., of Canada, is constructing a connecting line from Toronto to the Niagara River, conditioned upon the agreement of the parties that the gas will be used to build up the markets in the Toronto area until such time as Trans-Canada completes its line to that city, which is estimated to occur in 1956. This arrangement is but a further step in strengthening the economic feasibility of the Trans-Canada line by having a readymade market to absorb Canadian gas to a substantial extent as soon as the Canadian line is able to deliver it. It is then proposed, and generally understood, that the flow of the line will be reversed from Ontario to bring natural gas into the United States in the vicinity of Buffalo. The line will have a capacity upward of 125 million cubic feet per day.

"In addition, in 1952, the Federal Power Commission improvidently issued a certifi-cate to Montana Power Co., allowing the importation from Alberta into Montana of 10 billion cubic feet a year for 5 years, and the Federal Power Commission now under present consideration an application by the same company to increase its gas imports to 20 billion cubic feet annually for a

period of 20 years.

Other applications are pending before the Federal Power Commission for certificates to serve the Pacific Northwest area with volumes of gas ranging up to approximately 90 billion cubic feet per year. This would be an equivalent of 4 million tons of bituminous coal per year. Such applications pose a constant and continuing threat to the entire coal-producing areas and markets of the western part of the United States.

"In connection with these Canadian gas imports, it should be noted furthermore that, with respect to coal, every ton of coal shipped into Canada from the United States must pay an import duty of 50 cents per ton, while Canadian gas comes into the United States absolutely tax free.

"The Texas and Ohio Gas Co. since 1951 has been seeking authority to econstruct a gas line from the Rio Grande River in Hidalgo County, Tex., to the State of West Virginia and as part of its gas supply relies upon obtaining 200 million cubic feet of gas per day from the Republic of Mexico. In addition news dispatches quote the head of the Mexican Government's oil- and gasproducing agency—the Penex Co.—as having stated that 300 million cubic feet of gas per day can be produced in the Rio Grande fields near Reynosa to be exported to the United States. By bringing this gas a short distance across the Rio Grande into southern Texas it would be readily available for any one or more of the large long distance transmission lines already servicing the Appalachian area and the eastern seaboard. tention should be directed to the fact that this natural gas would be imported absolutely duty free whereas any coal that is shipped into Mexico is burdened with an import tax of 30 to 40 cents per ton depending on the money value of the coal.

'In the 83d Congress 1st session the late Senator Hunt, of Wyoming, introduced and public hearings were held on S. 1287 which sought to amend section 3 of the Natural Gas Act pertaining to the issuance of permits for the importation or exportation of natural gas. Such a bill would not establish a legislative embargo upon natural gas imports but would merely amend the act and establish appropriate legal criteria for the Federal Power Commission to follow in carrying out its present power. Domestic fuels are wholly adequate to meet any and all needs of the fuel markets of the United It is therefore entirely appropriate that proper standards and criteria be set up to guide the Federal Power Commission in its decisions on the question of foreign gas imports into this country. We attach a modified version of the Hunt bill and urge its early introduction and speedy enactment:

" 'PROPOSED REVISED AMENDMENT TO NATURAL GAS ACT TO LIMIT IMPORTS

"'Section 3 of the Natural Gas Act is amended by inserting between the second and third sentence thereof a new sentence as follows, viz:

""It shall not be deemed to be consistent with the public interest to authorize the exportation or importation of natural gas in any case where the Commission finds that such exportation or importation will result in economic dislocation unemployment or injury to competing fuel industries of the United States unless compelling reasons in the public interest require such authorization or there is an inadequate supply of all domestic fuels to serve a specific geographic area."

Federal Regulation of Natural Gas Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks. I wish to insert in the RECORD a resolution adopted by the West Allis, Wis., Common Council in opposition to legislation to exempt from Federal regulation the rates charged by producers and gatherers of natural gas made for interstate commerce.

Following is a letter from George A. Schmus, city attorney for West Allis, and

a copy of the resolution:

WEST ALLIS, Wis., March 25, 1955. Hon. LESTER R. JOHNSON,

Representative in Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We respectfully urge your opposition to H. R. 4560, which would exempt from Federal regulation the rates charged by producers and gatherers of natural gas on sales they make in interstate commerce.

Enclosed is a certified copy of a resolution adopted by the Common Council of the City of West Allis on March 22, 1955.

Sincerely.

GEORGE A. SCHMUS. City Attorney.

Whereas certain legislation is pending before the Congress of the United States, in-cluding the so-called Harris bill which would amend the Natural Gas Act of 1938 and exempt from rate regulation of the Federal Power Commission those companies producing and supplying natural gas for sale in Interstate commerce; and

Whereas it appears that passage of such legislation would result in increased gas rates to the consumers of West Allis; and

Whereas it appears regulation of natural gas rates at the wellhead is required to protect the public because of limited competition and concentration of ownership in a few companies; and

Whereas the League of Wisconsin Municipalities and the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers have already gone on record in opposition to such legislation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Common Council of the City of West Allis hereby records its opposition to any Federal legislation which would eliminate Federal regulation of natural gas rates at the wellhead, and calls upon the Members of Congress to defeat any such legislation, including the Harris bill.

Let a certified copy of this resolution go forward to President Eisenhower, to both Senators and all Congressmen from the State of Wisconsin.

Adopted March 22, 1955.

PHIL. ELLIOTT,

City Clerk.

Approved:

ARNOLD H. KLENTZ,

Mayor.

MARCH 24, 1955.

Propriety of Debating in Colleges the Recognition of Red China by the United States

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement issued by me in reply to an inquiry received from a college professor with regard to the propriety of debating in the colleges the recognition of Red China by the United States.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEBATING RECOGNITION OF RED CHINA

DECEMBER 6, 1954.

DEAR PROFESSOR: I am glad to give you my Opinion of the question whether college students should debate the question of diplomatic recognition of Red China.

If this were only an academic issue, a topic chosen strictly for its academic value, I should, of course, say there is no reason why it should not be debated. Is it, however, purely an academic issue?

In hearings before the Internal Security Subcommittee John Powell and William Howard Hinton testified that they had remained voluntarily in Red China after the Red Chinese made war on us in Korea. Powell edited one of the magazines used most extensively in brainwashing our men held captive by the Communists.

Hinton and Powell both refused to answer questions before our subcommittee on their

present activities in this country. They are both here now on speaking tours at which they give forth the propaganda line in favor of Red China-peace, trade, and coexistence. Hinton brought in a large amount of printed which was confiscated by the United States customs.

I have no doubt that a carefully planned campaign is being carried on to propagandize for Red China among students, teachers, church people, farmers, labor unions, and business groups.

Many innocent people are helping to further it without realizing the purpose of the propaganda. This campaign is timed to coincide with moves in our Government and in U. N. for softening our attitude to Red China.

The Communists know that constant discussion helps to keep the issue in the public eye, accustoms people to accept a strange, unpleasant idea without thinking, and otherwise makes recognition palatable. It is the old story of drops of water wearing away a stone.

The propaganda is probably timed to coincide with publication of a crop of books and articles on Communist China, putting the propaganda line in many most enticing

That was the technique used after 1943 through the IPR and other public and private agencies to persuade Americans that the Chinese Reds were simple agrarian reformers. This is how they persuaded some people that the United States must insist the Chinese establish a coalition government with Mao Tse-tung.

We obtained full proof of the collusion between American pro-Communists and those in Soviet countries through the IPR hearings years too late to stop the damage. We obtained full proof of the collusion in the Korean peace settlement through the hearings on General MacArthur and other testimony under oath, but it came too late. We shall have formal legal proof of the campaign to whitewash Red China, but not while the political decisions are being made.

Nevertheless, nothing is gained by opposing the use of this topic in college debates. Instead, I think American students and teachers should get into the argument with everything they have—read every book and article, debate every issue, marshal all the evidence, clarify their understanding, and hold on with fierce determination until every student and teacher who has been exposed to Communist propaganda (however skillfully disguised) has a chance to learn the full story. If the Communists want a de-bate on Red China, they should get it. If they want to propagandize for Red China, we can prove we know how to work even harder to spread the truth, so that not a single student or teacher in American colleges or high schools will be uncertain where he stands.

Meeting this issue will give American students excellent training in one of the techniques of cold war. The Communists never use logic as western cizilization uses it, following the standard set by the Greeks. They choose their propaganda slogans and their subtle camouflage for purposes of deception, and then dress them up with scholarly references, statistics, maps, and other apparatus of learning.

Such arguments cannot be answered with logic, but we must all learn to answer them. They can be answered only by the clearest understanding of what the Communists are trying to do, and how well they are disguising it; and then by clear and vivid presentation of the idea or image which will most effectively counteract the suggestion technique of the Reds.

I am having prepared a brief bibliography of references which may be left out of the usual reference lists. We also have available copies of the hearings before our subcommittee dealing with Hinton and Powell,

and including testimony of the American fighting men who spent long periods in Red Chinese prisoner-of-war camps. We have also a new series on Strategy and Tactics of World Communism. I shall take special pleasure in sending copies to you and your students, and, obviously, to any other instructors or students or citizens who are interested in the debate.

The Communists hope to hoodwink our teachers and scholars, to draw them into a subtle and carefully contrived propaganda boobytrap. Let us not try to meet the issue by censorship of the Communists. That is what they are playing for. Let us meet it by using this opportunity to give our young people the clearest understanding of the question, and the greatest possible skill in presenting the case for the side of freedom. senting the Sincerely yours, William E. Jenner.

FROM THE OFFICE OF SENATOR WILLIAM E. JENNER OF INDIANA, DECEMBER 14, 1954

The following books and reports have information of value in connection with discussion of recognition by the United States of the Communist regime in China.

This list is intended to be supplementary to standard lists, and not in place of them.

DOCUMENTS

(Internal Security Subcommittee, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.)

Hearings, Institute of Pacific Relations, series, part 7A, Chinese Communist Move-

ment, report, July 5, 1945, War Department. Hearings, Strategy and Tactics of World Communism, parts 1-5, 1954.

Hearings, Communist Propaganda Activities in the United States 1951.

Hearings, Espionage Activities of Personnel Attached to Embassies and Consulates Under Soviet Dominion in the United States, 1951. (Out of print.)

Hearings, Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments, part 23, 1954. Activitles of United States Citizens in Red China.

Report, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1952. Report, Interlocking Subversion in Gov-ernment Departments, 1953.

Raymond L.-G. Deverall, People's China: Sweat-Shop Arsenal; Richard Deverall, Tokyo, Japan, 1954.

Raymond J. De Jaegher and Irene Corbally Kuhn, The Enemy Within, Doubleday & Co.,

Maria Yen, The Umbrella Garden, Macmillan.

Eudocio Ravines, The Yenan Way. Robert Green, Calvary in China. Mark Tennien, Chungking Listening Post. Liu Shaw Tong, Out of Red China. Edward Hunter, Brainwashing in Red

American Federation of Labor-various documents on slave labor in Communist

Food Packs and Marketing Methods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I was present this morning at an official introduction program by the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson, of a pamphlet published by the Department of Agriculture dramatizing to the public the service the public is obtaining in the type of food packs and marketing methods which have been developed over the years by the food retailers. The program was conducted at the Department of Agriculture and was well attended by press, radio, and news cameras. I commend the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson, for having developed this excellent and informative bulletin on the foodpack question, and for dramatizing it as he did on the program this morning.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the brief address of the

Secretary on this program.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am very happy to welcome all of our distinguished visitors to the Department of Agriculture today. I believe we have here in the patio a message that will be of interest to each of you, and to all friends of agriculture.

For too many years, it seems to me, consumers have been bombarded with propaganda about the high cost of food.

The truth is that food today is a better

buy than ever before in history.

The material on exhibit is evidence of our intention here in the Department to present the full story of this better buy in food to the public-to consumers, businessmen, and farmers.

The war and postwar inflation resulted in higher incomes for consumers, higher prices for industrial goods, and higher food prices.

That much is true. It is also true, however, that our food prices today are well in

line with our incomes.

Today we are eating better than ever before. Our diets are much better than they were 30 years ago. The quality of foods is higher. We have a vastly wider selection. And our foods are available to us in convenient forms-many of them are ready mixed, ready dressed, and ready to serve. Yet we spend no greater share of our income for food than we did 30 years ago. Actually, we would spend much less if we were content to go back to the food habits of the

The full story is one of phenomenal service to consumers-on the farm, in our food factories, and in the distributive trades. It is a story that we must tell the American people, and tell it so it will be clearly understood.

Our friend Earl Butz has been going around the country trying to set people straight on this matter. He has been pointing out that despite the many improvements in variety of foods available, in nutritional quality, and convenience of preparation, American consumers today spend the same share of their income for food as was spent as far back as 30 years ago. If you bring it down to what an hour's labor will buy, the picture is even clearer. An hour of labor today will buy almost twice as many loaves of bread, twice as many quarts of milk, and twice as many pounds of steak or chicken, as it did 30 years ago.

Some of us in the Department decided that these facts should be dramatized. We therefore prepared the little booklet that is available here this morning, called More and Better Foods From Today's Pay Check. This booklet tells a story that every well-informed citizens ought to know. The exhibit which we are opening today is an elaboration of the booklet, and we hope that each of you will take a few minutes to study these exhibit panels and the message that they tell.

Several of our friends have already asked what we intend to do with this booklet and this exhibit. I am happy to an-nounce that we have already received orders for over 200,000 copies of the booklet, and more are coming in every day. Some of the leaders in the food processing and mark-keting field plan to buy the plates from which this booklet was made and reproduce large quantities for their own distribution. I will not be surprised if more than a million copies of the booklet are distributed in this way.

The exhibit will be made available to our cooperators at the State agriculture colleges and in that way we hope its message will be carried clear across the country.

We are also preparing special programs for radio and television stations throughout the country, and of course the booklet has already been released to the press. We hope through these media to get the message to many people who would not otherwise hear about it.

Along with these wholesale methods of distribution, we want to get this story to key people, who themselves will pass it on to That is the reason for inviting you here today. We would appreciate your suggestions on how to present this story to all consumers. We also plan to invite other groups here for this purpose.

We are honored to have the Representatives from the Congress with us this morning. Your presence here denotes your interest and concern in the well-being American farmers and American agriculture as a whole. We hope you will agree that this story is one that needs to be told, and that you will help us in telling it.

Tariff on Textiles From Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Don't Place Burden of 'Saving' Japan on Textile People Alone," which was published in the Anderson (S. C.) Independent of March 24, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

DON'T PLACE BURDEN OF "SAVING" JAPAN ON TEXTILE PEOPLE ALONE

One argument advanced in favor of lowering the tariff on textile goods is that the Japanese must sell their textiles to the United States or else engage in trade with Red China and Russia.

Such trade, we are told, would lead to closer ties between the Japanese and the Reds and eventual loss of Japan to communism.

We are also told that so long as Japan can't trade freely the United States must subsidize them at heavy cost.

Such subsidy can relieve the economic pressure upon the Japanese and discourage trade with the Red world. This subsidizing of the Japanese is a burden that is spread among all Americans.

What is proposed is that the subsidy, in effect, be paid by the textile people-workers and owners-in Anderson, in South Carolina, in the South.

To enable the Japanese to sell their goods, southern mills would be forced to curtail or shut down, thousands would be thrown out of jobs or placed on mere subsistence, and southern economy would be knocked

winding.

That would be the result of making one region bear a nation's whole burden so that some other industry, such as steel, could trade with the Japs.

If the choice must be between lowered tariffs that would wreck the American textile industry or continued outlay of Government money to prop up the Japanese economy, let it be the latter.

The textile industry shouldn't be called upon to bear the whole burden of saving the Japs from communism.

THE MARBLE MAKERS DELIVER PROTEST

The Japanese, it seems, not only are threatening the United States textile industry but the Nation's marble-making indus-

try as well. Seven factories in the United States; 6 in West Virginia and 1 in Illinois, manufacture marbles that little boys shouldn't "play keeps" for, but have, for generations.

The marble manufacturers say they're going to be driven out of business unless something is done about the Japanese monopoly.

In brief, let the Japs pick up their marbles and stay home.

Domestic and Foreign Phases of the Dope Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a statement summarizing a very interesting luncheon which a number of Senators and I held Monday afternoon, March 28, relative to domestic and foreign aspects of the international narcotics problem.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILLY

Few problems have more aroused American public opinion that that of narcotics addiction among many of our people, particularly many young Americans.

Every Senator who has come in contact in the course of his legislative work with this serious problem has, I know, felt a keen sense of obligation to try to stamp out the insidious narcotics menace.

Each Senator has felt, as I have felt, the need for a continued, determined antiaddiction drive on a sound, carefully planned Each Senator has felt the need for accurate reporting of the problem, accurate. I emphasize, not sensationalized reporting. but rather down-to-earth, factual analyses of the situation as it really exists.

I personally have come in contact with the narcotics evil on many fronts. I have confronted it as a former member of the Kefauver Senate Crime Investigating Committee; as a current member of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency; as a former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on the International Opium Protocol, and in other

connections.

ORIGIN OF LUNCHEON MEETING

I felt that it would be helpful, therefore, to sit down and confer with the Government official most familiar with the problem, Commissioner Harry Anslinger of the Narcotics Bureau of the Treasury Department, and to have present other Senators who are likewise interested in the problem, as well as representatives of America's medical and pharmaceutical professions.

And, so I arranged for the meeting on Monday afternoon.

MANY SENATORS PRESENT

We had a splendid turnout of Senators in spite of a crowded Senate calendar and other meetings.

My colleagues present included Senator PRICE DANIEL, of Texas, who is chairman of the Senate Judiciary subcommittee which is going to make a comprehensive review of the narcotics statutes:

Senator HERMAN WELKER, of Idaho, and Senator Joseph O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, who are members of the Daniels Subcommit-

tee on the Narcotics Code.

Other Senators present included Senators MANSFIELD, of Montana; SPARKMAN, of Alabama; MURRAY, of Montana; Kuchel of Califorian; HICKENLOOPER, of Iowa; DWORSHAK, of Idaho; Martin of Pennsylvania; KEFAUVER, of Tennessee; Green, of Rhode Island; WIL-LIAMS, of Delaware; HAYDEN, of Arizona; and HUMPHREY, of Minnesota.

PRIVATE REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT

We had an outstanding representation of, members of the medical and pharmaceutical

Mr. Frank Kuehl, general counsel, American Medical Association; Dr. Theodore G. Klumpp, president, Winthrop-Stearns Co. (also president of National Pharmaceutical Council and chairman of Medical Services Task Force, Hoover Commission); Dr. R. P. Fischells, executive secretary, American Pharmaceutical Association; Mr. George H. Frates, Washington representative, the Na-Association of Retail Druggists; Dr. J. O'Neil Closs, executive vice president, American Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association; Dr. Karl Bambach, executive vice president and secretary, American Drug Manufacturers Association; Dr. John Worley, general counsel, American Drug Manufacturers' Association.

OTHERS PRESENT

Also present were Dr. Frank Berry, Assistant Secretary of Defense, who commented on the problem as viewed by the Defense Establishment; Mr. George Cunningham, Assistant to Commissioner Anslinger, of the Narcotics Bureau; Mr. Merton Henry, legislative assistant to Senator Frederick Payne, of Maine (author of Senate Joint Resolution 19-to tighten the narcotics laws); and Mr. Julius N. Cahn, counsel of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, who had helped

me set up the meeting.

The luncheon today happened to coincide with a White House luncheon for Prime Min-Ister Mario Scelba, of Italy, and I had to leave after making certain introductory re-

I am delighted to say, however, that my colleague, Senator Daniel, very graciously offered to serve as chairman in my absence, and from all reports, he did an outstanding Job, as I had fully expected.

MAJOR POINTS STRESSED

I will not attempt to cover all of the important points which were made in the course of of the informal luncheon discussion. I think, however, that some of the following points were notable:

- 1. Commissioner Anslinger stressed the importance of halting the narcotics traffic at its foreign source, rather than waiting to try to intercept the dope at ports of the United States, which is extremely difficult, or inside the United States which is infinitely more difficult.
- 2. He stressed the importance of stiff penalties being meted out by judges in order to dry up the illicit narcotics traffic.

He cited several dramatic instances where, in particular communities when judges started handing down stiff sentences for repeated trafficker-offenders, the local drug problem tended to dry up.

3. At the same time, Commissioner Anslinger emphasized the importance of very carefully writing and administering the narcotics laws so that it is the professional trafficker who feels the full brunt of those laws, while other offenders-technical violators, individuals who may get accidentally enmeshed, one-time offenders, addicts, and others, are handled in a careful, firm, yet understanding way.

4. Dr. Klumpp spoke briefly and praised Commissioner Anslinger as the greatest single bulwark against the illicit narcotics traf-

fic throughout the world.

He emphasized the splendid working relations which the medical and pharmaceutical professions have always had with the Narcotics Bureau.

5. Many of those present emphasized that in their judgment, the Narcotics Bureau should definitely be retained in the United

States Treasury Department.

They pointed out that to attempt to transfer the Bureau might endanger the constitutionality of present narcotics laws (which are predicated in major part upon the administration of tax statutes). A transfer might also seriously disturb long established working relationships between the Bureau and the medical and pharmaceutical indus-

6. Commissioner Anslinger stated that the postwar upsurge in narcotics addiction could in no way be traced to the medical or pharmaceutical professions. He commented that both professions have handled their public responsibilities in an outstandingly com-mendable way and have always given him complete cooperation.

7. Dr. Berry commented upon the problem as encountered by the Armed Forces in the Far East. He stated that the level of addiction among some of our troops was lower last year than in 1953 and he believes that it will be lower this year than it was last

8. The question of the proposed transfer of units of the U. N. Narcotics Division from U. N., headquarters in New York, to Geneva came up. It was the consensus of those present that the proposed transfer is extremely unwise.

It was felt that there is a tremendous value in keeping the U. N. narcotics work centered in the United States where the fullest force of world public opinion can be mobilized against any offender nations, such as Red Commissioner Anslinger cited how, thanks to constructive activity on the part of the U. N. Narcotics Commission, several countries took effective action against dope factories which have been running full scale. As a result, these countries ceased to be centers of illicit narcotics production. Regrettably Red China continues to violate the conscience of the world.

9. In response to a Senator's question, Commissioner Anslinger mentioned that there are available in the Narcotics Bureau 250 agents. By contrast, the two principal local narcotics squads available to two major metropolitan police forces number 200 in New York and 80 in Los Angeles alone.

Several of the Senators present stated that in their judgment, sympathetic consideration should be given to expand appropriations for the Narcotics Bureau in order to carry on its vital work.

10. It was stressed that the medical and pharmaceutical industries have an indispensable need for narcotics supply in the course of their regular work.

The general public may not realize what an essential role is played by legitimate narcotics, as for example, to relieve shock in emergency cases, as well as for innumerable other medical and scientific purposes.

Such bonafide use is, of course, completely in contrast to the use of a terrible narcotic such as heroin-which is so dangerous a drug that it has been literally outlawed by the United States and virtually every civilized country in the world, with but five unfortunate exceptions.

CONCLUSION

11. It was stated that President Eisenhower's Inter-Departmental Cabinet Committee on Narcotics is now hard at work in formulating various proposals and future action.

Senator Daniel concluded by inviting the cooperation of all of the participants present in contributing to the work of his subcommittee, whose opening hearings will be announced at an early date.

Submarginal Farm Lands in Dust Bowl Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial published in the Denver Post dealing not only with dust storms but also with land that might well be put back to grass.

Apparently the editorial was inspired by the bill dealing with this subject which I introduced sometime ago.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(From the Denver Post of March 10, 1955) SETTLING THE DUST

Senator THYE, of Minnesota, is pushing a bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture, under authority granted by title III of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act to acquire and permanently retire from cultivation submarginal farm lands in Dust Bowl areas, including those in southeastern Colorado, southwestern Kansas, western Texas, and eastern New Mexico.

He argues, and with some merit, that this

would be a practical method of dealing with two serious farm problems, drought and crop surpluses.

In the light of experience Senator THYE'S proposal deserves serious consideration. Under this title III authority, the Secretary of Agriculture during the period 1934 to 1942 purchased for the Government and took out of cultivation 10,086,000 acres of land in arid and semiarid regions which never should have been plowed up.

These lands, which are administered by the Forest Service, have been converted to grass. In 1953, 6,440,731 acres were used for grazing.

The first point made by Senator THYE is that the land he would retire from culti-vation is not needed for the production of farm crops. His plan would bring about an orderly reduction of crops now in surplus. His second point is that Government ownership and leasing of these dry lands "would provide an example of proper utilization for surrounding landowners, and make it feasible for them to convert from cropping to stockraising .

Over a period of years, the Federal Government could purchase and take out of cultivation a considerable dustbowl acreage for what it now spends on drought relief for these areas. It might even make payments in lieu of taxes to the countles and school districts in which it acquires land.

There isn't any question that many thousands of acres in arid areas of Colorado and other Western States never should have been plowed up. True, they produce a big wheat crop in a year when moisture conditions are favorable. But those years are infrequent. And the Nation has such a big wheat surplus their production is not needed.

Under the title III authority which Senator Thyz would invoke, submarginal lands which are acquired by the Government cannot be sold. His bill would not change that. After being converted to grass they can be leased. Naturally, there are people who would like to buy them since they have become valuable for grazing purposes. But the Government is right in holding onto them.

The Civilian Conservation Corps After 22 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a statement prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress concerning the Civilian Conservation Corps, which was set up 22 years ago in April as an emergency measure to meet some of the difficulties of many of our people. The results of the program are still visible through the millions of acres of land cleared and forests planted by members of the CCC.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS AFTER 22 YEARS

Many whose memories go back a quarter of a century, or more, recall Franklin D. Roosevelt's dramatic flight to Chicago on July 2, 1932, and perhaps something of what he said when he accepted the Presidential nomination tendered by the Democratic Party, then in session. This Nation was in the depression following the stock market crash of 1929. Men were out of work and a foreboding sense of uncertainty was everywhere. It was natural, therefore, that a wave of hope followed the voicing of a plan for a great public-works project of forest and land restoration for relief of the unemployment that plagued the country. The idea gripped the imagination and proved dynamic.

The President lost little time before he laid the plan before Congress. Ten days later, on March 31, 1933, the President signed the Emergency Conservation Act which authorized him to establish a nationwide chain of camps where unemployed young men could engage in various forms of forest and land improvement.

The first Civilian Conservation Corps camp was established on April 17, in the George Washington National Forest near Luray, Va. It was appropriately called Camp Roosevelt. By July of that year, there were 1,500 camps on mountain side and meadow from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico. Others were and Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, to the number of 2,600.

The boys came from all parts of the Nation, but most of them were from the cities. Many were undernourished, discouraged, and filled Their education and their experience were largely limited to what was available in a life confined to city buildings and paved streets. After enrollment they were in the midst of a new environment. Out in the open, surrounded by nature, they built camps, hewed trails, laid roads, strung telephone lines, constructed bridges, airplane landing fields, dug drainage ditches, fought forest fires, and faced a thousand tasks, such as had never entered their wildest dreams. All were volunteers. Their life and their responsibilities were conducted without military obligations or implications. More than that, an enthusiasm carried them through their daily duties, such as warranted the judgment that the CCC had provided a moral equivalent for war.

For a little more than 9 years, Civilian Conservation Corps camps and their leaders helped young men to find themselves. Few maintained their enrollment for more than a year and at no time were more than 385,000 in the camps. But during those years the CCC gave health, purpose, and self-respect to 3 million young men.

Much of their work is still visible. Millions of acres are prosperous today because of what they did. Three million acres are growing trees because they planted them. More than 4 million acres of forest have cleaner and straighter trees because those boys cut out the crooked and diseased ones. Another 8 million acres are in good condition because their crews stopped the spread of insect pests and tree diseases, and countless acres are green because they fought forest fires on them. Other millions of acres of grassland were saved from erosion because they built check dams and dispersed the prairie dogs. As part of all this, millions of people can thank the CCC boys for the picnic spots and the camping areas they enjoy, for ponds in which to fish and for better environment for a large portion of our wildlife.

All this was done for the earth, the trees, the watercourses, and the wildlife. It is as nothing, however, compared with the benefits received by those young men and their dependents. Added to the good food and healthful surroundings provided by the camps, was the individual stimulus and discipline always present when young men are thrown together. Much credit for this can be given the young officers and technicians who lived and worked with them. But these men, in turn, gained experience in managing camps and directing men that paid big dividends when the Nation faced the crisis created by the attack on Pearl Harbor. Thereafter, the Armed Forces had priority.

Being no longer necessary, the Civilian Conservation Corps was ended on June 30, 1942. It will long be remembered as a successful effort of a democratic nation to help meet some of the difficulties of its people.

Results of December Facts Forum Public-Opinion Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a poll on public affairs conducted by Facts Forum,

of Dallas, Tex., during the month of December last. In my judgment, it is an accurate poll of public opinion on the questions involved, and I think the organization is doing a very fine public service.

There being no objection, the poll was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Dallas, Tex., December 6, 1954.—The results of the December Facts Forum publicopinion poll were announced today by its president, Robert H. Dedman, who explained that the difference between 100 percent and the percentage shown represents the percentage voting "no."

Yes (percent) Has the Communist-world conspiracy gained ground in 1954?__ Is United States public being subjected to propaganda to popularize U. N.? __. Should the Government crack down on big industrial mergers?___ Are both major parties being influenced by Communists? _____Are socialistic trends weakening Ameriica's backbone, private enterprise?... Are schools doing a better job of teaching three-R's today than 20 years Should the public be told who promoted and honorably discharged Peress?. Has Eisenhower given Americans the change he promised in 1952?_____ 47 If import tariffs were lowered would American-wage scales suffer?_ Is Tito's communism any different from Soviet communism?_ Should Pearl Harbor disaster be rein-vestigated in light of recent disclosures? _ Should we increase our technical assistance to countries like India? Should a U. N. employee put loyalty to U. N. before that to his country? Should the President's Cabinet meetings be televised?___

The Yalta Conference and United States Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the column entitled "What of the Day?" written by Father John Doran, and published in the Arizona Register of Friday, March 25, 1955.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT OF THE DAY?

I suppose any columnist would be completely out of the swim of things this week if he did not write about Yalta. Just what is the purpose of finally revealing the documents at this late date I do not know. The Democrats will howl smear and the Republicans will shout sanctimoniously that they are but being true to history. It really does not matter; the thing that matters is the whole Yalta Conference and the fact that a President of the United States (be he Democratic or Republican) can have the power to do what was done at that conference.

"Power corrupts; absolute power corrupts absolutely." It seems that there is so very much truth in that statement, or rather that it is true of so very many. Take the case of Roosevelt at Yalta. He was a man who had been handed again and again (sic) the highest trust within the giving of the American people. He was a man who spoke nobly not only at home but even abroad as in the four freedoms, to which he got the reluctant Churchill to subscribe. He was the man who wrote to our present Holy Father to ask him to allow a personal envoy of the President to be sent to the Vatican so that they both might work together through this man for the peace of the world. Power, such tremendous power was put into Roosevelt's hands, the nearest approach to absolute power which any American President has ever had.

What was his final use of that power is evidenced by Yalta. Either through his own thinking, or relying excessively on that of Hopkins, he took it upon himself to transfer lands and peoples into the Communist orbit on the gay gamble that the surfeited Josef Stalin would prove more tractable than did the lean one. No wonder little nations doubt if they can trust us when twice within the lifetime of a man not vet old the Presidents of the United States have taken upon themselves this power of determining the placement of peoples. How can the world trust us when we cannot trust our own leaders? How can the world believe us, when we cannot believe the President of the United States when he makes a report to the Senate? If in the green wood we do these things, what shall be done in the dry?

In the light of all this Yalta talk it was interesting to read for the first time I have read it in the secular press, though years ago I read it in the Catholic papers, that when Japan sought to work out a surrender through the Vatican, this same politician who had talked so delightfully to the Pope about their mutual aims of peace, had the temerity to decide that the American people would rather continue the war than work out a surrender through the Pope. As the Ari-Zona Republic (March 18th) remarks: "Apparently he (Roosevelt) trusted Stalin ahead of the Pope.'

It is undoubtedly true that Roosevelt was to many a demigod. I suppose to many he will so remain. But would it not be well for all of us to realize that no man is to be trusted with the fate of nations. I, who was rather strongly for the Bricker amendment last year, am madly for it now.

Father JOHN DORAN.

Our Fathers' God. to Thee-An Easter Message for Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a message entitled "Our Fathers' God, to Thee, Written by E. Merrill Root, of Indiana, and published in the bulletin of For America, a patriotic organization having headquarters at 208 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, and which is dedicated to the restoration of the United States Constitution.

There being no objection, the message was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

OUR FATHERS' GOD, TO THEE (By E. Merrill Root)

At this Easter of the stone rolled away, of the empty tomb, and of the risen Christ, what does religion mean for America, as the way, the truth, and the light? It is fitting that all who consecrate themselves to serve their country should gravely pause to contemplate the fact of God and to ponder the reality of religion in relation to the America we love.

In this crucial hour of time, we who stand for America must build steadfastly on eternity. For we wrestle, as St. Paul says, not with flesh and blood but with principalities and powers, with the rulers of the darkness of this world, with spiritual wickedness in high places. Ours is the old, the ever new, the eternal war of good against evil, of light against darkness, of reality against nihilism. And since the basis of all good, all light, all reality, lies in God, we cannot fight the good fight unless we ourselves are the soldiers of God.

To often we Americans forget the essential basis of the contemporary war of two worlds; the adversary, however, never forgets. The Communists, who are our most realistic and bluntly drastic enemies, say openly that their fundamental war is against God. God, they say, if He did exist, would have to be liquidated; and since He does still exist at least as a credulity in the mind of man, they plan a great purge of God [a Moscow trial of God]. God (who, they believe, does not exist as a fact) must publicly be shot as an "idea," or exiled to some Siberian corrective labor camp as a "superstition." And the very mind of man must be brainwashed of even the gray lingering ghost of God. For the Communists well know that their world of the Towers of Babel-of man crucifying men in the name of "progress"-of truth as of the most convenient lie-of mass slavery and murder incorporated-cannot continue in the same world as the living God. They know that if God is. He will loose the fateful lightings of His terrible swift sword, He will sound the trumpet that shall never call retreat, and the world of Lucifer and his wrecked angels building the narrow kingdom of man on the quicksand of nihilism, will fall again as it has fallen before.

And even the suaver, less realistic Fabian Socialists and liberals—the gentler collectivists of the center-know this too, though they soft pedal it with a dishonest "hush, hush." Socialism, like communism, would build not the Kingdom of God but the kingdom of man.

All collectivists essentially tend to be men of this one world of time and this one life of mortality. They base morality upon public utility and social sanctions. They see bread and circuses, here and now, as the good of man, and they deny the immortal crown. They think this one world and life the be-all and the end-all-the only reality there is. They possess intellectual cleverness without basic wisdom.

And since men cannot live without some absolute, they lift the State ("that coldest of all cold monsters") up to be the "the mortal god" of man's idolatry. Thus they turn the many mansions of the world into a bleak house of spiritual nihilism.

Whittaker Chambers has seen this most deeply and said this most powerfully, in Witness: "It is (i. e. communism) the vision of man's mind displacing God as the creative intelligence of the world. It is the vision of man's liberated mind, by the sole force of its rational intelligence, redirecting man's destiny and reorganizing man's life and the world. It is the vision of man, once

more the central figure of the Creation, not because God made man in His image, but because man's mind makes him the most intelligent of the animals."

And in this vision of man become Lucifer, all that exists is what we can weigh and measure with this world's coarse thumb. Immortality, the stone rolled away and the Christ forever risen, are not only false (they say) but evil.

Their world is this world only, this world, period. Their good life consists of the State feeding and clothing men here in the little flicker of futility which they call life, stuff-ing them with bread and amusing them with circuses, as convicts are feasted and privileged before they are led into the gas

chamber.
Such is the world of collectivism. As such, it is necessarily not only a false world but, like all things based upon a lie, an evil world. In such a world-time based, relativistic, void of eternal sanctions-a world of the Towers of Babel built upon the quicksands of nihilism—it is only a step * * * an inevitable step * * * to the belief that the good end justifies any means: that to perfect man we may rightly torture men: that it is expedient that one (or many) die for the people; that it is justifiable to invade the private heart and to brainwash the inviolable individual mind in order to establish the hive and the heap.

Within God, man becomes the measure of all things; then, in his pride as man and in his glib self-measurement, he has no higher standard and no inexorable judge to prevent him from wreaking the malice of his whims upon other men. No divine judge, no higher law seems to be there to rebuke his finite and ferocious ego.

Wisdom could have predicated from the beginning the kind of world we would get if we followed the premises and axioms of collectivism; a world of cruelty rampant, of negativism militant, of the conformity of the hive and the heap, of "brotherhood" predicated on the restoration of human slavery, of a "humanism" that accepts inhumanity as the proper escalator of progress. And our adversary knows well that in order to make the world safe for collectivism, he must first make sure that—at least in men's hearts and minds-God is dead.

For if God lives-as He does-the first Isaiah has seen and said what will inevitably happen at last to the secular nihilists:

"How art thou fallen from Heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! How art thou cut down to the ground, Which didst weaken the nations! For thou didst say in thine heart, 'I will

ascend into Heaven, will exalt my throne above the stars of

I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation,

In the sides of the north:

I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the most High."

Yet thou shalt be brought down to Hell. To the sides of the pit.

They that see thee shall narrowly look upon

And shall consider thee, saying,

'Is this the man that made the earth to tremble,

That did shake kingdoms:

That made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof;

That opened not the house of his prisoners?

AUTHOR OF LIBERTY

Our original American Revolution and the Constitutional Republic that is founded, are the opposite of this man made world of secular nihilism. For America was founded on the fact of God. And while it remains so founded, and only so long, will it continue to be man's bastion of liberty. For the glory of our original American Revolution is that our Founding Fathers repudiated the world of mere man and based our Constitutional Republic firmly upon God.

Thomas Paine, the Deist, is sometimes called by those who should know better, an atheist. He is also sometimes falsely claimed by our adversaries as a happy fellow citizen in their barbed wire paradise. But it was Thomas Paine who in the very beginning of our Nation, saw the total state as no "mortal god" but a mortal devil, and who wrote of it: "for so unlimited a power can belong only to God." So all our Founding Fathers felt and said. Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and all the wise and great who created our Republic, regarded God not as an object of faith but as the fact on which all objects stand. The words of Genesis about the creation of the world can be spoken of our America also. "In the beginning God."

In a recent great speech before the Law School of Yale University, sponsored by the Conservative Club of that school, Dr. Clarence Manion made this clear. He said:

"The Founding Fathers did not categorically declare that these truths are self-evident. They said, 'We hold that they are self-evident.' Such was the nature of their faith that they postulated these declarations as self-evident truth.

"No. 1: There is a God. All men are created. The position of an Almight Creator in the universe was thus stated in the Declaration of Independence, not as a matter of faith, but as a matter of fact. God exists, and then No. 2. All men are created equal—created equal. All men are not born equal. All men are not born equal. All men are not physically or materially equal; neither are the women. But according, to this declaration, people are equal in the sight of God."

These bold true words clarify for us the basis of our original American Revolution—the most profound, and unique revolution in the history of the world; and they clarify equally the basis of our resolve to ensure the conservation of that Revolution against the reaction called collectivism. The essence that divides the American Revolution from collectivist reaction is, first of all, not economic, political, sociological. All these differences in effect and practice grow from the root of a deeper war of two worlds—a war between a world based on man and world based on God.

The collectivists say that man is an accidental phenomenon of matter, yet that he is the measure of all things, who can create a good world out of his own pride of brains. We Americans say that man is a son of God, often weak and erring, but potentially only a little lower than the angels, who must measure himself against divine standards and eternal laws, and who is here to do God's will and serve God's glory, thus raising himself by God's grace to regain the blissful seat of Eden. Between two such worlds there can be no peace: It is the eternal and fundamental war between Lucifer and God.

DYNAMITE FOR DICTATORS

Every slightest practical fact of the good life which is the American way stems from this root of God. No slightest good thing in our freedom to live and to pursue happiness can long cohere and endure if it is divorced from God. Our Founding Fathers knew this. They based our natural rights where alone they can be based-on the fact of God. Our Founding Fathers based natural rights not on any material fact, or on any social expediency, or on any greatest good to the greatest number, but wise and holy will of a personal God. Natural rights, they knew, are never just granted by governments as a condescension or a bonus. They are never created or established by governments. Governments always tend to seek the might to suspend the right, and

only God—above the state, superior to man, creator of reality itself—can be the mighty fortress and the unfalling bulwark of the natural rights which He established in His constitution of the cosmos.

Government, our Founding Fathers believed, is there not to lay its hands on men but only to see that men keep hands off their fellowmen. "To secure these rights" (that is, to conserve and defend them) "governments are instituted." Thus at the root of America there lies the unique political idea that the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happines is factually there, graven in star and stone, in the constitution of the cosmos. It is there by no accident of the atoms: it was created there by a personal God. Thus our natural rights precede the State—and even man: They are coeternal with the mind of God. And since man is a son of God, gifted with reason to answer the Reason that moves the sun in heaven and all the stars, these rights are "self-evident."

And, in the American way, this which begins in philosophy and principle, ends in the practical desires and decisions of our individual lives. Men want bread, to be sure, and must have it; they need circuses (or at least television) too, if they wish. But if they substitute the gift of bread and circuses, unearned, for the natural rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, they will soon have only a neat and tidy brave new world, wrapped and packaged in cellophane (often blood-red), and guaranteed to be delivered about 1984.

The real freedoms of life-to take the job you like or to refuse the job you dislike, to loaf like Huckleberry Finn or to own your acres, to sit under your own vine and fig tree and turn thumbs down on the orchards of the collectivist state, to be a gypsy of the open road or to toil in a bank, to seek as a poet the beaded bubbles winking at the brim of life and the magic casements opening on the foam to affirm with Emerson "the infinitude of the private man" and to declare even in Moscow that 2 plus 2 still make 4, or to be any other "wondrous thing 'twixt ape and Plato"-are possible only when the natural rights of man, founded in God, protect us with the laissez-faire of their "Hands off!" Thus God is the great dynamite to blow up dictatorships and the great dynamo to establish liberty.

THIS IS AMERICA

Eventually and essentially, our Republic is the final, so far, and finest fruit of the long Jugeo-Christian tradition. That tradition, because it is based on God, sees the world not as an unprofitable, disturbing episode, nor as a discord of chaos, nor as the brief flare of a single match in a huge and thoughtless night. It is a world that has rhythm and melody and pattern; it is a work of art and of reason which has meaning, quality, value. Our souls vibrate to the King James Bible that nobly speaks such a world in deathless words: "O that I but knew where I might find Him. * * * Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him. * The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament showeth His handiwork. * * * Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth; but the word of our God shall stand forever.

* * Now we see as in a glass darkly, but then face to face. * * * Heaven and earth shall pass away, but one of my words shall not pass away. * * Before Abraham was I am. * * Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. * * * I am alpha · · I am alpha and omega, the beginning and the end." Such is the anthology of the grandeur, the anthology of God, that is our heritage. All that is good in America must live and move and have its being in the realm of such words become deeds. The purge, the firing squad, the concentration camp, the state become "the mortal god," wither in the breath

of such words. But in the glory of such words the patriot dream flourishes, and the alabaster cities that shall yet gleam undimmed by human tears.

These words and the world which they create predicate immortality. For only in such a world do men really dare and love and grow and live and build. When we have immortal longings in us, we fashion the cathedrals of Rouen and Chartres, we write the Divine Comedy, we compose fugues of Bach and the oratorios of Handel. The things that are limited by mortality in the narrow kingdom of man are always tidy and cruel and petty and mean-the purges, the MVD, the corrective labor camp, the party line, the collectivized farms, the horrible apartment houses punched out with a cookie cutter, the mono-colored shirts, the ration books, the endless state-control forms you fill out before you can eat the egg from your own hen.

The great things of this world are always arrows of longing for heaven—the Parthenon and the dialogs of Piato, the noble anguish of Michael Angelo, the Hebrew Bible, the symphonies of Beethoven. And the reality of this strife for immortality must strike the proud commissars and show them that we are all children building sand castles upon an infinite shore where the mighty waters of God roll. So America must live, humble under the shadow of the Almighty.

Today we look about us, and rub our eyes, and say: "Is this America?" Our temporal politics are fallen on evil days. Our so-called leaders are men who do not even know that, to walk, they need sceing-eye dogs. We falter and palter, we cringe from expediency to expediency, we no longer listen for the trumpet that shall never call retreat. If we heard it, our souls would not be swift to answer, nor would our feet be jubilant. We dwell in the valley of dry bones, and, like, Ezekiel, we hear the Voice say: "Son of man, can these bones live?"

These bones can live only if we waken again to eternity, if we find again the terrible and holy will be the living God; and if ye find the living God, the words of Isalah will come true.

will come true.

"He giveth power to the faint:

And to them that have no might he increaseth strength.

Even the youth shall faint and be weary, And the young men shall utterly fall: But they that wait upon the Lord shall

renew their strength;
They shall mount up with wings as eagles;
They shall run, and not be weary;
And they shall walk, and not faint."

It is Easter once more. Again the stone is rolled away, the tomb is empty, the Christ is risen. It may be so of America also; from her too the stone may be rolled away, and her deathless dream may rise once more to live and rule.

Appointment of Harold E. Stassen as Special Assistant to the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial published in the Duluth News-Tribune, dealing with the recent appointment of Mr. Stassen as a special assistant to the President.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DISARMAMENT POST STASSEN'S OPPORTUNITY

Harold E. Stassen is now special assistant to the President. He will work on policy concerning world disarmament proposals. For the time being the former Governor of Minnesota will continue as Chief of the Foreign Operations Administration.

Creation of a post for this purpose, with full Cabinet rank, appears to have no precedent in world history. It gives needed and deserved recognition to the importance of disarmament in any long-time plan for a saner world. And it shows a combination of idealism, imagination, and practical politics. The announcement takes the initiative away from the Communists in one of their favorite propaganda drives.

Stassen will confer with American military men, civilians, and Federal officials and with foreign governments. He starts out with some clear directions from the President. We are not going to try one-sided disarmament. No recommendations will become national policy until they have been approved by the President and the National Security Council. Before any specific action or pronouncement of policy, concurrences will be secured from Congress.

Here is a challenge such as few men have ever encountered. At the moment the odds against even modest success seem overwhelming. In today's world nations place most reliance on their ability to strike back, or an ally's ability. This is vastly more secure than a vague hope that some leaders are not as aggressive as they sound—the system prevailing up to 1939. But it is fiendishly expensive, even with plans held to a disputed minimum for effectiveness. The ability to deal a death blow at another civilization after suffering a frightful wound to our own provides a grim kind of security for the next few years. It does not represent our highest hopes.

President Eisenhower, a soldier by profession, sees a possibility, however, remote, and puts one of his ablest assistants to work. Only a few weeks ago another lifetime soldier, General MacArthur, said, "There must always be one to lead, and we should be that one. We should now proclaim our readiness to abolish war in concert with the great powers of the world. The result might be magical."

We aren't going that far, just yet. We are showing that we take disarmament seriously, as a possible escape from the trap in which the world finds itself. Harold E. Stassen has a unique opportunity to save civilization.

"I Want To Cry"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include this editorial from the Indianapolis Star of March 26:

"I WANT TO CRY"

Another exponent of the run, hide, fear, and cry school of thought has now been heard from. Val Peterson, Civil Defense Director, says that the Government is planning to evacuate 70 million Americans in case of atomic war. This, he says, is the reason we must have a costly, hasty, ill-

conceived, unsoundly financed, and overcentralized highway-building program.

Now there may be some sound reasons for supporting the President's \$101 billion State-Federal highway program—although we have not heard any with which we agree. But we are getting mighty sick and tired of this fearful waving of the atomic bomb over every proposal made in Washington to increase spending, to increase the power of the Federal Government over the State and the people of this country.

This run, hide, fear, and cry philosophy is an alien and phony thing for Americans, It has no place here. Yet all around us we hear crybaby sons (Go On and Cry), and dire predictions of doom and disaster. We hear darkly foreboding fears about the future of the greatest, most powerful nation on earth. Where are the American voices of confidence, courage, faith, and calm? If we start thinking like frightened rabbits, we will become frightened rabbits.

To all these harbingers of doom we recommend the familiar childhood sneer, "Crybaby, cry, stick your finger in your eye." And further this wise quotation from Thomas Carlyle, "The first duty of man is that of subduing fear. We must get rid of fear; we cannot act at all till them. A man's acts are slavish, not true but specious; his very thoughts are false; he thinks, too, as a slave and a coward, till he have got fear under his feet."

The Arming of Germany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article written by Clarence Streit, entitled "To Speed Arming Germany in Freedom's Defense," appearing in the March 1955 issue of Freedom & Union.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

TO SPEED ARMING GERMANY IN FREEDOM'S DEFENSE

(By Clarence K. Streit)

State Department influence is largely responsible for the fact that the sponsorship of the resolution for a convention to explore Atlantic union (S. Con. Res. 12; H. Con. Res. 73-80) is so predominantly Democratic. Many Republicans who privately say they favor this resolution have declined to sponsor it "at this time," in deference to a fear in State Department quarters that even this doubtful hint of administration support for it would delay European ratification of the London-Paris accords for German rearmament,

This is a mild continuation of the previous strategy of the Department, which sought to hasten ratification of the European Defense Community by insisting that the United States would consider no alternative to it. Since this policy ended instead in French rejection of the EDC, after 2 years had been wasted, one would have expected the Department to have changed its strategy.

The "no alternative" road to failure was taken from the start of the Eisenhower administration. At that time a top policy-maker in the State Department told me he feared that if the Atlantic Convention reso-

lution were reintroduced in Congress then with the backing of Republican Senators this would kill the hopes of ratification of the EDC "because the French would much prefer an Atlantic union with us."

I replied that my own talks with French leaders (some of whom I have known for 25 years) confirmed the premise that the French preferred Atlantic Union, but led me to the opposite conclusion. Pigeonholing the Atlantic Convention resolution in Washington, I held, would end in French rejection of the EDC, whereas its adoption by Congress could be handled by the administration in such a way as to assure previous ratification of the EDC.

THE FRENCH VIEWPOINT

The French leaders were not only aware of the great progress the Atlantic Convention resolution had made in the previous session of Congress; they knew that John Foster Dulles himself had endorsed it publicly, in writing, when he was a candidate for Senator in 1949. The French Committee for Atlantic Union had been careful to inform them of this, and had also sent them a translation of Mr. Dulles' Introduction to Our New Federalist which he had written in 1950 and in which he had favored exploring Atlantic Union. I knew they knew these facts for in 1951 I had personally talked with Auriol, Herriot, Bidault, Pleven, de Gaulle, Reynaud, Billotte, Maurice Schumann, Mollet, Bonnefous, and others. I had also had many accasions to learn in the previous 30 years how deep a scar Senate rejection of the League of Nations had left on French political thinking, and how much they associated the Republican Party with isolationism.

In these circumstances, it seemed clear to me that the "no alternative" strategy was bound to awaken the worst fears of the French regarding the Republicans. To them this strategy would mean that once the Republicans gained power, even Mr. Dulles quickly forgot about the Atlantic Convention alternative, and even the talk of strengthening NATO faded out of the picture then. It would mean to them the elimination of all hint of the one thing—hope of an eventual Atlantic Union—which my policymaking friend himself believed would most serve to reconcile the French to German rearmament.

By this strategy the administration deliberately killed even the frail hope that might be awakened in France by a few Republican Senators continuing to ask for exploration of Atlantic Union, as they had in the previous Congress. How could such a strategy help but convince such key men as Herrlot that if the French ratified the EDC the United States would then withdraw and leave them alone with the Germans—just as it had done after Clemenceau had renounced his Rhineland policy when Wilson signed the treaty guaranteeing France against German attack?

For such reasons, I forecast the failure of the administration's strategy and urged a policy of linking the Atlantic Convention resolution in Washington with ratification of the EDC in Paris, so that the two would advance together, step-in-step, through the several stages in the legislative process which both faced.

Later I put my thoughts on this subject in a memorandum, which I sent to Secretary Dulles on February 26, 1953. When the Department decided to continue with its "no alternative" strategy, Senator Kefauver and the other Atlantic Union leaders stood aside and did nothing to interfere with it; the Atlantic Convention resolution was not even introduced in the 83d Congress.

That strategy has thus already had a fair trial. Far from speeding Germany's entry into the Atlantic defense picture, it has already delayed it 2 years. In these pages I have long recognized the need of hastening to harness German military might to western defense, while warning that only through

Atlantic Union could this be done without the present danger of German rearmament turning later against the cause of freedom.

Now the administration is seeking hasten ratification of the London-Paris accords by what I have called a mild version of its previous strategy. Happily, it does not talk publicly now of "no alternative" to the present alternative, and there is evidence that it does not mean to wait more than a few months for ratification of the London-Paris accords. Indeed, there is even some cause for hope that, whether or not they are ratified in Europe within a few months, the administration will then look with a more kindly eye on the proposed Atlantic Convention.

Meanwhile, however, the State Department still clings to the fallacy that any indication of administration support of the Atlantic Convention resolution will retard German rearmament. It does this at a time when its own Formosa policy, and Khrushchev's rise in the Kremlin to which this policy contributed, have seriously endangered the Lon-don-Paris accords. To hasten their ratification now, Washington needs more than ever to give Western Europeans the new incentive to ratify which they would have if the administration gave a green light to the Atlantic Convention resolution-even on a step-in-step basis that made its adoption depend on European ratification of the accords.

In these circumstances it seems to me that I would let the public judge for itself whether the State Department's strategy, or the views I put before it in my 1953 memo. have best met the test of time, and best meet the present need. I publish that memo now in the special hope that Republicans in general, and administration leaders in particular, will take a new look at this whole problem, and if their present strategy fails to produce the desired results by the time this appears, persist in it no longer but try instead the alternative I urged in 1953.

To make the following memo apply to the present problem, the reader need only sub-"London-Paris accords" for EDC" wherever that term appears.

Minimum Wage Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill which will provide for an increase in the minimum wage to \$1.25 per hour, reduce the maximum workweek, and extend the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act. This measure is identical with the one I introduced in the House of Representatives during the 83d Congress.

The Presidenth has recently urged the Congress to increase the minimum wage to 90 cents per hour. Such a recommendation is inadequate at the present time in view of the continuing rapid rise of living costs, and certainly does not take into consideration increased worker productivity. There is no question about the fact that since 1938 the minimum wage has failed to keep up with the cost of living. The unemployment figures for 1954 are shocking, and with a steadily increasing labor force each year, it is imperative that the Federal Government take concrete action to improve the economic plight of thousands of low-wage earners, who are unable to maintain themselves and their families during times of economic adjustment.

Recently in New York a conference of shop stewards-representing some 500,-000 CIO members in New York City-was held to take action for the passage in Congress of bills introduced to increase the hourly minimum wage to \$1.25.

Two resolutions were adopted unanimously at that conference; one calling for the enactment of legislation to increase the Federal minimum wage to \$1.25 per hour, and the other calling for the extension of minmum wage coverage to the retail industry.

A \$1.25 hourly minimum wage would put a realistic floor beneath current wage levels, and would prevent the exploitation of substandard, seasonal, and lowwage workers. In addition, it would bolster our national economy by creating more purchasing power, bettering our standard of living ,and contributing to full employment.

I urge my colleagues to consider this legislation seriously, and to work for its early enactment.

Decline in Farm Incomes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement by the distinguished junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNamara] on the subject Michigan Farmers Await Action by Congress To Combat Declines in Farm

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MICHIGAN FARMERS AWAIT ACTION BY CON-GRESS TO COMBAT DECLINES IN FARM INCOME (Statement by Senator McNamara)

The farmers of Michigan are waiting for message of hope from Washington.

For many of our smaller farmers, who nationally account for 98 percent of our farms, the continued drop in farm income means hardship and sacrifice. This is particularly true when lower farm income has to be shared with unemployed workers, forced by unemployment to return to the farms from their city jobs.

For city workers, the drop in farm income means fewer customers, at a time when more and better customers are needed for the growing production of our factories and For them, it means unemployment and wasted opportunities.

In the interests of all of us, Congress must not dawdle. We must act quickly to protect our farm families directly, and through them all of us.

According to the Department of Commerce. farm income in January of this year (the latest figures available at this time) was at a rate of slightly more than \$15 billion per year. This is the lowest figure for any January since the end of World War II. It is the annual rate that is almost \$2 billion lower than in January a year ago.

This decline in income does not hit all farmers the same way. It does not mean the same thing for those few who own the biggest farms as it does for the great majority.

My concern however is with the majority, the men and women who work the smaller farms which make up 98 percent of the farms in America. For them, a cut in farm income may mean an immediate sacrifice of something the family needs and has planned for. It means giving up a hoped-for improvement in family living, perhaps even some family necessity

In 1953, when the decline in farm income had begun to draw serious attention to itself. staff people at Michigan State College interviewed Michigan farmers to find out what changes in their plans were being forced on them. Here is part of what these interviews

Fifty-three percent of those interviewed were planning to spend less for new farm machinery.

Many others were cutting expenditures for second hand machinery.

A third of those answering the questionnaire were planning to spend less on new buildings and on overhaul jobs.

There was less interest in proper farm methods, such as applications of lime, purchases of good seed, and improvement of stock than in the past.

Other studies made at the same time showed that farmers were postponing purchases of furniture, automobiles, and freezers as well as other household appliances.

In my opinion, the most regrettable fact revealed by these studies was that many farm children were not going to get the educations that had been planned for them.

What new postponements and new sacrifices are being dictated by the continued declines in farm income I can only guess, since I can find no recent studies that tell what they are.

The fact of these sacrifices is underlined by the decline in income per capita. According to the Department of Agriculture realized farm income per capita in 1954 was \$903, a drop of \$46 per capita of farm population since 1953.

The drop in per capita income might not have been so great if the usual number of farm people had been able to move to the However, with unemployfor jobs. ment in the cities, many who would have left the farm stayed home, and many who had been laid off in the cities went back home. And these people were taken in and cared for, whether they brought with them a proportionate increase in farm income or not.

During the worst of the unemployment in Michigan last year, the labor force in Detroit declined by more than 40,000 workers. There is no doubt in my mind that a great many of these workers took their families back to the farms of America. If these workers and other thousands like them escaped from acknowledged unemployment in the cities, they added to the concealed unemployment and the underemployment on our farms.

Those of us who have spent our lives in the great cities are deeply concerned with this problem of farm income. We are concerned as neighbors have always been concerned with each other in America. know also that whatever hurts the farm dweller immediately hurts us. Unless farm and city move forward vigorously together, we share the aches and pains of uncertainty and economic stagnation. For these reasons, we stand ready to help as soon as the necessary leadership is forthcoming and & challenging program has been offered.

I know that there are bills before this Congress to establish farm policy which would assist those who most need assistance to create machinery for getting surplus farm

products to those who need them, to create additional buying power among city and farm people. I have the honor to be among the sponsors of some of the proposals.

I hope that these proposals, and whatever additional plans are needed will soon get the vigorous and earnest attention from this administration that they require. The administration may rest assured that, regardless of party label, the members of this body are prepared to do whatever the welfare of the farm family dictates.

It may be that some of the steps that must be taken will require the present Republican administration to support plans very much like some that previous Democratic administration proposed. There is already evidence that this will be necessary. However, I am sure that this will not stand in the way when the facts show what action must be taken, We must, all of us, work together if this great problem is to be adequately met.

Woman's Place Outside the Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address delivered at Missoula, Mont., on March 27, 1955, by one of the most distinguished lady representatives in the United States, the Honorable Maurine Neuberger, of the State House of Representatives in Oregon. Representative Neuberger honored the Montana State University by making the main address at the annual Matrix Table banquet. There is much that is worth while in what she had to say.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WOMAN'S PLACE OUTSIDE THE HOME

(Address of State Representative Maurine Neuberger, of Oregon, at annual Matrix Table banquet at University of Montana, in Missoula, on March 27, 1985)

This is my third visit to Missoula. I hope it won't be my last, because each trip I have made here has been filled with nothing but pleasant experiences. However, the first visit was the most auspicious, even though I am extremely complimented at being asked to be your speaker at this annual Matrix Table event.

I came to Missoula on December 20, 1945, to get married, and from that day to this there has never been a dull moment. Neither Drck nor I had ever been here before, so it wasn't for sentimental reasons such as memories of a trysting place or epoch in our courtship—merely the fact that our car was here.

The car had been driven out by a friend in Washington, who was coming before the winter snows. Drok had to await his Army discharge, which didn't come until later, so it just seemed expedient to go where the car was.

Trip No. 2 occurred when I came with Dick to attend the meeting of regional writers sponsored by the University of Montana. We arrived to find that the Outdoor Writers of America were convening at the same time, so we dubbed ourselvs the Indoor Writers but discovered that we spent more time outside than did the Outside Writers.

The folks here planned so many nice picnics and we have memories of good times on those occasions—also on the great Lolo

OUR TIES TO MONTANA ARE MANY

When Grace Martell called me in Salem and proffered the invitation to make trip No. 3, I hesitated. I knew the legislature would be in full swing at this time and I thought discretion might be the better part of valor and I should refuse. She gave me time to mull it over and I thought my sisters in Theta Sigma Phi would regard it as an honor for our chapter to have me go; I am sort of bored with State legislation this year because my thoughts wander to the big assembly on Capitol Hill in Washington-it would be nice to get away from committee hearings for awhile: and I did a little soul searching and decided that I wasn't the indispensable woman and probably the affairs of state would get along at about the same clip without me

I have a particular interest and affection for Montana because of our many friends in your State—Jim Vessey and Bud Moore, of the Forest Service; the late Elers Koch, who knew the Lewis and Clark trail so well; Lyle Watts, now of Oregon, who once headed your regional foresters; Dr. H. G. Merriam, your distinguished professor of literature, who taught for a time in Oregon; and K. Ross Toole, who is doing such a splendid job with the Montana State Historical Society—a feat which we in Oregon envy.

Nor can I come here without mentioning my husband's admiration for your State's two outstanding Members of the United States Senate. When DICK arrives in Oregon and Washington State for Hells Canyon hearings early next month, it will be under the distinguished chairmanship of Montana's senior Senator, James E. Murray, of the Senate Interior Committee. Senator Murray, a veteran, has been more than kind to DICK, in guiding a new Senator in his major committee assignment.

MIKE MANSFIELD means a lot to DICK and me because he helped us get our marriage license when he was a Member of the House. Greater love hath no Congressman. Today, MIKE is DICK'S weathervane on foreign affairs. DICK respects MIKE's vast knowledge of the Orient, for he knows that MIKE has vast knowledge, both from personal experience and out of books—of this cockpit of the world. Furthermore, DICK and MIKE have a special bond, because both are married to girls named "Maurine," although Maureen Mansfield and Maurine Neuberger have slightly different spellings of their first names.

I chose as my topic, "Woman's Place Outside the Home," because it is appropriate to my own experience and because many of you as Theta Sig's are career women, probably working in some field relating to your journalistic training. If you are observing the more traditional occupation of "woman's place at home," you may be looking toward the day when the children are self-sufficient and you can write a novel, work part time on a copy desk, or do an occasional editorial or magazine article, or even fill a full-time position in advertising or public relations.

Let me say, at the outset, that I don't consider myself a feminist. I think women have shown that they take their places in various activities because of the contribution that they make. We can all think of instances where the cartoonist's picture of the women's club meeting is apropos, but the hundreds of thousands of women in organizations contradict the old picture of the top-heavy fe-

male uttering nonentities.

A woman does have a place at home, so does the man for that matter. It is an axiom old as time. Yet when action by legislation can determine what sort of water, meat, milk, and ideas flow into a home, perhaps

the place of American women is in legislative halls too.

Yet, I was the only woman elected to public office in Oregon in 1950, the year I first ran for the legislature. That has changed and this year I have three other women serving with me in the House of Representatives.

During my campaign for office and during my legislative experience, I stuck to a few issues which interested women particularly. Such things as legalizing colored margarine, support of legislation to improve our schools, lower consumer milk prices, statewide meat inspection dominated my time. I informed myself completely on these questions, so that I could stand my ground under severe committee questioning or heated debate on the floor. I refused to be switched from my goal by extraneous issues. I learned to keep my temper when people baited me from the audience. A man may be able to fly off the handle, but an indignant woman wins very few supporters or votes.

Since women are expected to talk too much, I decided to show them that I would only talk on issues that were my forte and to try to be terse and emphatic. I know that I can accomplish more in that way and I feel that I have won the respect of the hardy males I work with.

FIFTY-TWO PERCENT OF POPULATION BUT ONLY
5 PERCENT OF LEGISLATURE

Oregon is among the States where females are in the ascendancy in numbers. But although women make up 52 percent of the population in our State, they form less than 5 percent of the membership of the legislature.

I often look around me at the rows of bearded faces and think of all the outstanding women I know who should be casting yea-and-nay votes on rollcalls which decide such important issues as the pay of schoolteachers, and safety standards in stores and industrial plants.

Consider the question of meat inspection, a bill on which my husband and I have long worked when he was a member of the State legislature with me. Oregon desperately needs a valid meat-inspection law. Women are more aware of this than men. They buy the family's pot roast and veal cutlets. They flutter over the children's health, Kitchen and refrigerator are their domain. But the legislature had not enough women to scatter around the State and tell the story—to lobby, if you will, this bill to final passage. I believe that a few more women might have made the difference in bringing this bill from the committee. We have revived it again this session and seem to be getting much better public support.

I fear that many women abstain from public life because they regard it as a man's realm. Perish the thought. They are as equally qualified for public responsibilities as a large number of the men I serve with. I honestly believe that the hardest part of being a politician is the campaign for office. It goes against the grain for us to ask people to vote for us. The thing you need is assurance that you have a platform and a plan of procedure that you hope coincides with the voter.

A WOMAN CANDIDATE EVEN CAN WEAR A BATHING SUIT

My faith in people is great. I think a woman candidate with integrity and a few ideas can go far in government and politics, although she may come from a humble family, lack a college degree, and even be seen on a public beach or fashion show in a bathing suit, as once happened to me to the horror of friends who were eager to have me go far with a political career.

Of course, after you get elected, you have different problems, not all of them concerned with whether to vote yea or nay. Every person who voted for you tends to feel that he has a prior claim on your services, to get his nephew a job, to investigate his old-

age pension, to get the highway department to put up a sign advantageous to his business, to abolish gambling, to solve the State's

finances by having gambling.

Speaking of favors reminds me of a story of a leader of Tammany Hall. He was asked to help an employee on trial for serious charges. His investigation satisfied him the man should not be helped. Later the political leader got a phone call and the voice yelled: "You and your influence! They convicted my brother—did you see his rogue's gallery picture in tonight's paper?" "Yes," replied the Tammany man, "and did you notice the nice low number I got him?"

During one of Franklin Roosevelt's campaign trips, he was accompanied by Jim Farley, then Democratic national chairman. The car was speeding along through rows of Boy Scouts, local constabulary, and police, all saluting the fast-moving car. Farley turned to F. D. R. and said, "Do we have to drive so fast?" Roosevelt tossed his head and replied, "Oh, they all know who's in the car." "I know that," laughed Farley, "but would you slow up a bit so they can see who's with you?"

Of course, when you run for public office, you must always keep the idea in front of you, "I might not be elected." One must not be a pessimist, but one must be prepared to take defeat, and take it graciously.

There was a fellow who ran for sheriff and received only 8 votes to his opponent's 325. The next morning the defeated candidate walked down the street with two large revolvers strapped to his sides. A puzzled citizen said to him: "What right have you to carry those guns—you haven't been elected sheriff." "I know it," said the other, "but anybody as unpopular as I am has got to carry them."

BE WARY OF PRESSURE AND SPECIAL PRIVILEGE GROUPS

In public life, you will find yourself subject to pressure by all kinds of selfish groups. These groups do not give a hoot about the public interest. All they want is some special privilege granted by Government. You can best stand up to these pressure lobbies if you know that politics is not your whole life. And that is where women usually have it over their male colleagues.

There is a thrill incomparable to any other in seeing some pet project on which you have labored come to fruition. In the daily grind of politicking there are many frustrations, but a successful measure becoming law makes all the losses and defeats fade into oblivion.

These are some of the advantages and rewards, but I must confess that my idea of heaven after the past 12 months of total devotion to my husband's campaign and my own career is a full day and an evening at home. To let the telephone jingle on and on and just thumb my nose at it, to clean out a closet, to set a batch of sourdough bread, and to run out in the garden and see what is peeking out on vine, bush, and border.

BACK TO THE KITCHEN SOON-I HOPE

My good friends and close neighbors have all but become strangers to me, and I used to be a good cook and able to "throw a dinner" for a dozen in no time. I pall now at the idea of my ability to get a complete meal organized although I am going to have to do that very thing in a couple of weeks when my husband comes out to the Pacific Northwest for hearings of his committee regarding the Hell's Canyon project.

I have stressed the importance of women in just one line of endeavor outside the home. It is the area I know best, but I also know of women in Theta Sigma Phi, in business and professional clubs, and in retail credit, who are doing a commendable job and are considered not for their sex, but for their job.

The old saying "a woman's place is in the home" may be replaced, in the days of our granddaughters, with "a mother's place is in the office."

The Government Under the Republican Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record excerpts of remarks made by Mr. Victor G. Reuther, assistant to the president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, before the Americans for Democratic Action convention on March 19, 1955.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS BY VICTOR G. REUTHER, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT, CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, BEFORE THE AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION CON-VENTION, SHOREHAM HOTEL, MARCH 19, 1955

"Go it alone" in world affairs, "Do it yourself" on the home front—this is the deplorable level of leadership to which our Government has fallen under the Republican administration.

Internationally we are isolating ourselves more and more from our friends and our allies. On matters of high national policy in domestic affairs, the administration's answer again and again has been to offer the States "do it yourself" kits, in place of constructive national programs.

Release of the Yaita documents underscores the tragic shortcomings of a foreign policy that is tuned more to the expediences of domestic political warfare than to the grave and urgent responsibilities of world leadership, confronted, as it is today, with the dangers of a devastating, exterminating, and final war.

Judging by the reaction of European and south Asian capitals, release of the Yalta documents by the Secretary of State looks more like an act of "massive retaliation" against our friends and allies than an act of responsible statesmanship. While it appears that Dulles, the Republican, will score few, if any, net political gains from these documents, it is abundantly clear that he as Secretary of State (and unfortunately, the free world as well) will reap a harvest of confusion, division, and further demoralization

Also disturbing to us is the question of how the uncommitted peoples of the world, in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, the people who meet next month at Bandung, will view the recent casual announcement by President Eisenhower that atomic weapons are now routine, that we shall "of course" use atomic bombs against military targets just as we use bullets. Will not the net effect of this serve as a massive psychological offensive against our friends and potential allies in every corner of the world? Will this not create the impression of closing the door on the prayers and hopes of people all over the world, including the people of our own country, that atomic war may yet be avoided?

To a world weary of war and destruction, and which desperately hopes for a way toward peace, do we not tend more and more to isolate ourselves from the free world community when our world programs of assistance emphasize so heavily the military aspects and so little the economic help which people desperately need?

As the Asians and the Africans meet next month at Bandung, with the Chinese Communists present as participants, they shall read of what has been put forth in America as a bold new program of aid to Asia. It is 60 percent military, and allots only \$115 million a year for 8 years to economic aid, an unspecified part of which will be spent primarily for economic developments related directly to military defense.

Time is rapidly running out on the opportunity that has been given to our country to demonstrate to the "have-not" peoples of the world that their economic and political and cultural advancement is a matter of real importance to us, the greatest of the "have" nations of the world. It is time for a truly bold approach on our part to the tensions and hostilities that grow out of the increas-ing gap between the "have" and "have-not" nations. Our immediate and wholehearted endorsement of the SUNFED program in the United Nations, inadequate though it may be in scope, is the obvious first step to be taken in joining with other "have" nations to build the essential economic groundwork for improved living standards in underdeveloped countries.

Perhaps it is too much to expect an administration which has been so insensitive and lacking in understanding of the needs of other peoples to demonstrate any greater appreciation of the needs of our own people here on the home front.

The extent of responsibility recognized by the administration on one domestic issue after another has been to formulate sweeping, eye-catching proposals, leaving all or a major part of the performance, including the cost thereof, to the States and local communities.

These do-it-yourself kits have been wrapped up and mailed out on aid to school construction, aid to highway construction, soil conservation, proposals to improve standards of unemployment and compensation as well as right-to-work legislation.

The administration's aid-to-school-construction bill committed the Federal Government to an outlay of less than \$70 million a year for 3 years, but it was headlined as a \$7 billion program. It was, providing the States and communities can find the \$7 billion, which they most certainly cannot.

The \$101 billion highway program proposed by the President would cost the States and local communities \$70 billion. The Federal Government's share of \$31 billion would be financed to the extent of \$20 billion by revenue bonds on which the consumers would shoulder the financial burden through the gasoline taxes which they pay.

The Secretary of Labor speaks out against right-to-work laws which some States have passed to try to cripple labor unions. But he will not recommend that Congress amend the Taft-Hartley Act to accomplish what he declares to be his purpose.

The President proposes to bring unemployment benefits up to date and extend their duration by sending the States a doit-yourself kit of improved standards. For competitive reasons, the States will not build better laws with these kits and the President will not ask Congress to do the job.

Defending the President's inadequate recommendation of a 90-cent minimum wage, an Assistant Secretary of Labor says that States have the ultimate responsibility for better labor standards. He should know that there would be no minimum wage in more than half the States if left to their discretion, since they have enacted no minimum-wage laws.

When, however, the administration's purpose has been to enrich the few at the expense of the many, it has had more than kits to offer. It has offered and sought to deliver, billions upon billions of dollars. In the submerged-oil and mineral lands offshore, in the Tennessee Valley, in the Pacific Northwest, at Niagara Falls, it has offered private interests priceless public resources to be converted to their own use and profit. For the most part these plans to plunder the public's domain have been slowed down and perhaps blocked. But the effort continues. A promise of patents and profits to private monopolies on peaceful applications of the atom is the most recent and most alarming of the plans to expropriate the public's wealth for private gain.

The few profited at the expense of the many again through \$7 billion of tax reductions in 1954, 90 percent of which went to corporations and to families on the upper side of the income scale. The administration fought for this as vigorously in 1954 as this year it fought and defeated an attempt to redress the balance with a small tax reduction for families with incomes under

\$5,000.

Policy of the administration toward maintenance of full employment has been consistent with its bias toward those at the top. Banker control of its economic policies promptly throttled the prosperity of early 1953 and generated a recession in which job losses and short working hours reached the equivalent of 5 million totally unemployed.

With a moderate but highly precarious recovery underway over the past few months, the administration cheerfully, but without caution, predicts satisfactory production and employment conditions for the current year. But the bankers in high office already are applying brakes to the recovery, although nearly 31/2 million are totally unemployed. and national output is running some \$40 billion below where it would be if prosperity and normal growth had not been stifled by 2 years of incompetent and misguided government.

Trying and difficult as the times are at home, and dark as the current outlook is for our leadership in world affairs, nevertheless, there has been real evidence that the citizens of America, informed of the facts and given a choice, will rise to their responsibility.

Unity of the two great labor federations will give a new impetus toward the enlargement of human rights. It will provide a powerful ally to all the many brave groups of people who have never faltered in their fight to place people first in their programs for America.

Johnny on the Spot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES A. HALLECK

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, the Indianapolis Star magazine of March 27, 1955, contained a human-interest story about an individual who has become something of an institution in the House of Representatives-Johnny McCabe.

The author, Ben Cole, of the Star Washington Bureau, has done an excellent job of portraying the part Johnny McCabe has played in the lives of so many Members through the years.

I well recall what a great help Johnny was to me when I first came to this Chamber in 1935 as a green freshman, after a special election in the Second Congressional District of Indiana. This was a lonesome place for me, as the only Republican Member from Indiana, and deeply appreciated the many things Johnny McCabe did to make those early months easier. I know many other Members could attest to the same ex-

Johnny McCabe has devoted many, many years of helpful service to the Members of this House and I am happy to offer Mr. Cole's article in recognition of that service:

JOHNNY ON THE SPOT

(By Ben Cole, the Star Washington Bureau) "Mali Janko" is Slovak for Little John.

It was the happy greeting that used to be flung at the little man who strolled the streets of Whiting, Ind., before 1919.

Standing in the sumptuous lobby of the House of Representatives, little John McCabe looks out the tall windows sometimes and sights.

"Not many there remember Mali Janko anymore," he says.

Since 1919, the 4-foot 10-inch John Mc-Cabe's home has been the United States House of Representatives. Its 435 Members

have been his family. The little Hoosier came here under the

former Congressman Will sponsorship of Wood, of Lafayette. He has remainded, many times longer than some of the lawmakers who arrived here after him.

Just what are his duties? He makes himself useful and helpful to Republican

Congress Members.

If you visit the House, you will see his stubby figure moving among the seats on the Republican side of the House. Or he may take a vacant seat near the cloakroom and read a paper, or even doze a bit.

On very cold mornings, you may see him huddled in his overcoat-hatlessacross the Capitol plaza from his hotel to his job. And, unless you know who he is, you will find yourself thinking, "If he was my boy, he'd be wearing a hat.

Practically everybody on Capitol Hill knows little Johnny McCabe. But not many know

his story.

It is the life adventure of a little fellow who has always looked up, even to normally stubby humans. He weighed in light for life's battle but he took it as it came.

McCabe could retire on a Federal employee's pension right now if he chose. But he won't because it would mean for him loneliness.

Johnny was born October 6, 1890, on Chicago's south side. His mother, Margaret McCabe, died soon after, leaving her three boys in the care of a well-meaning father who found the job too big.

James McCabe tried for a time to keep his little family together. Johnny, the baby, got in a year or so at Oliver Wendell Holmes School in Chicago; but eventually the family broke up.

The boys went out onto the street. James McCabe went West. When Johnny was 9 years old, he learned his father had been killed in a railroad accident; but he never learned the details.

Little Johnny's wanderings eventually to a farm in Morocco, Ind. There he happened to meet George Collins, a saloonkeeper from Whiting, who happened to come down for a visit one weekend.

The tiny orphan from Chicago and the hearty, laughing Collins from deaty, busy Whiting became a team, instantly, busy Whiting became a team, instantly, he When Collins went back to his saloon, he

took with him the little boy from the farm. Collins educated the lad, gave him things to do around the saloon.

A little fellow, Johnny had to put up with a great deal.

I had to work twice as hard as bigger boys," he says. "People would say, pay Johnnny half as much because he's only half as big.'

It was the gaslight era, 1903-1904. Collins, a 35-year-old childless widower, and his tiny friend took life pretty much as they found it.

The abrasive days gave Johnny McCabe two philosophies that he recites almost daily:

"I like everybody; everybody likes me." And: "I always keep my nose clean."

Nobody lives his philosophies more scrupulously. The capitol dome would totter if Johnny McCabe ever spoke ill of a living soul. And the polished mace of the House of Representatives might well rust away before Johnnny McCabe would be caught in political knavery.
As a boy—a very little boy—Johnny got

shoved around a lot; but it didn't matter

He was strong for his size, and healthy. "We had three good lakes to swim in when we were boys around Whiting," he remembers. "But we swam in the dirty old Calumet River, because it was more fun to dive off the boxcars."

Later, Johnny's prowess as a swimmer stood him in good stead. He was in the West Indies last year when he hired a native boat to take him to his ship in the bay. Halfway out, the bottom of the local taxi boat simply fell away. Everybody was dumped into the water. Little Johnny paddled around contentedly until he was res-

"I'd have drowned if I couldn't swim," he

says simply.

When Johnny grew into manhood, he was still a boy in size.

"There was a law in Chicago against children appearing on the stage. They were giving the Squaw Man at the old Calumet Theater. There was a part for a little kid, but they couldn't get one. Somebody said, 'Why not get little Johnny McCabe over at Whiting.'"

The director summoned the young man from Whiting. His size was right. His voice was right.

"But this kid is liable to blow his lines and start cussing right in the middle of the scene," the director objected.

Johnny told him, "No, I won't. I won't

The leading man stuck up for Johnny's purity of speech; and the little man was hired. He finished the Squaw Man and played several other roles around Chicago the next 2 years.

Eventually, he met State Senator James Nejdl, of Lake County. Nejdl took McCabe to Indianapolis as an employee of the Indiana

If the State senator's idea was to have a sort of watch-fob employee, Johnny missed the point.

"Everybody was kind to me," he says.

In Indianapolis, McCabe worked in the engrossing room as a messenger. General assembly bills were still hand engrossed in those days.

It was because of his Indiana senate job that McCabe came to Washington. His friends in the State senate wrote numerous letters to Congressman Wood asking him to get the youth from Whiting a job.

He was invited to come here and take a \$120-a-month job as a House attendant. He had been making \$75 a month in the State senate. It was wealth undreamed of.

McCabe still goes back to Whiting on election day. He follows the events of his hometown with meticulous care.

Nowadays he watches the obituary notices with care and an occasional sigh. Because "I always had an inferiority com-

Because "I always had an inferiority complex," Johnny never married, never had a family of his own.

The Congress is his family, his home.
It's no longer "Hello Mali Janko." There
probably aren't more than 2 or 3 Members
of Congress who ever heard the words.

But a cheery, "Hello, Johnny," greets him everywhere he goes; a little gnomelike guy with a host of friends to kind of help rub away the loneliness that has been such a big part of his life.

New Accord With Canada on Basic Foreign Policy Issues Is Important Forward Step

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Edgar Ansel Mowrer:

NEW Accord With Canada Feather in Dulles' Cap

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

John Foster Dulles' achievements as Secretary of State are far greater than he gets credit for.

The commotion over his publishing the minutes of the Yalta Conference has obscured his latest great contribution to the free world's cause—achievement of a sort of reconciliation of United States policy with that of Canada, our neighbor and closest ally.

Not that there had been a quarrel. But during the last few years Canada has tended to follow London in looking upon the Communist danger in Asia as somehow different and smaller than the Soviet threat to Europe.

Canada's Secretary for External Affairs, Lester Pearson, seemed at times to be suggesting that Canada would go its own sweet way if the United States insisted on using force to stop further aggression by Red China.

MODIFIES VIEW

Then, just before Mr. Dulles' visit to Ottawa, Mr. Pearson reversed—or at least, modified—his previous position in a public speech. In a somewhat labored explanation of his previous view that the "days of relatively easy and automatic (Canadian) relatively easy and automatic (Canadian) relations with the United States were over", the Minister admitted that "the neutrality of either of us, if the other were engaged in a major war in which its very existence were at stake, would be unthinkable."

Since, as things now stand, the United States and not Canada is pushing a policy of Asian defense, this is tantamount to saying that should our defense of the Formosa Strait lead to a war with Red Russia as well as with Red China, Canada would come in on our side.

DIVIDED OPINION

This important admission, whose great importance has been overlooked in the United States, seems to have divided public opinion in Canada.

Canadian Socialists claim to have been horrified at Mr. Dulles' "calm acceptance of

the possibility of a world war over islands that are inconsequential"—Matsu and the Quemoys. (They must know that the issue in the Formosa Strait is no more the little islands than it was the city of Danzing in World War II. It is simply whether or not Communist aggression is to be stopped. Where it is stopped is of secondary importance.)

SHIFT TO DETERMINATION

On the other hand, the experienced editor of the Montreal weekly Ensign, Robert Keyserling, in a striking editorial, notes that Mr. Pearson's statement represents a shift from "London's appeasement" to "Washington's measured determination."

Mr. Keyserling attributes this shift—by inference—to three things: Mr. Dulles' visit to Canada, the pro-American attitude of Australia and New Zealand, and the anti-Communist views of the "vast majority of Canadians."

But whatever the cause, to have brought about this needed clarification in the attitude of the Canadian Government is no small feather in the cap of our Secretary of State.

Progress of South Carolina Schools in Last Decade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article by Jesse T. Anderson, State superintendent of education, headed "South Carolina Schools Have Made Biggest Progress in Last Decade—Average Annual Salary for Teachers Doubled." The article was published in the Columbia Record, Columbia, S. C.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SOUTH CAROLINA SCHOOLS HAVE MADE BIGGEST FROGRESS IN LAST DECADE—AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARIES FOR TEACHERS DOUBLED—VALUE OF BUILDINGS MAKES JUMP FROM \$58 TO \$100 MILLION—ENROLLMENT OVER HALF MILLION—DAILY ATTENDANCE UP—INSTRUCTION IS IMPROVED

(By Jesse T. Anderson, State superintendent of education)

In the 10-year period from 1944 to 1954, there was probably more educational progress made in South Carolina than in any other comparable period since the establishment of our present public school system.

The value of school buildings has increased from \$58 million in 1944-45 to more than \$190 million at the present time. Approximately \$100 million of this increase took place between 1951 and 1955. The average salary of teachers has gone from \$1.055 to \$2.803. School enrollments have grown by 100.000 pupils to a staggering 550.000, and average daily attendance has increased from around 80 percent to almost 85 percent. The instructional program has shown many improvements since the 12-year program was introduced into the public schools in 1945.

COMMISSION ESTABLISHED

The greatest visible sign of progress has occurred in the 4 years since 1951, when the general assembly enacted legislation establishing a 3 percent sales tax, pledged for edu-

cation, and setting up the Educational Finance Commission to administer State-supported building and transportation programs.

More than \$125 million has been allocated for school buildings since 1951; 273 new buildings and additions have been completed, several hundred old buildings have been renovated, and other buildings are under construction or funds have been allocated for them.

Construction has been under the direction of architects and our new schools are the most modern and up to date that it is possible to have. A clear picture of the building program is given in a bulletin entitled "Educational Revolution," published by the office of our distinguished past governor, James F. Byrnes.

Eighteen States in the Nation have more schoolchildren than South Carolina, but only 3—New York, Pennsylvania, and Texas—built more classrooms than did South Carolina in 1952-53. Although these States topped South Carolina in number of classrooms constructed, the ratio of new classrooms to schoolchildren was smaller in all of them than in South Carolina.

PEWER SMALL SCHOOLS

One result of the construction of so many fine school buildings has been the reduction in the number of small, inadequate schools in our State. There were 3.623 schools operating in South Carolina in 1944-45; by 1950-51 the number had been reduced through consolidation and reorganization to 3,162. In 1953-54 only 2,136 schools were being operated and possibly 500 more will be closed as soon as allocated funds have been used for construction.

The administration of our schools has shown marked improvement as school district reorganization has moved forward. As recently as 1948, when a general survey of our schools was made, there were 1,680 school districts in South Carolina. In 1949 in many counties of the State plans were set in motion which by 1951 had reduced our administrative units to 1,220. Under the 1951 school law, the county boards of education and the educational finance commission further consolidated these districts into 103 administrative units.

FINANCING, SERVICES IMPROVED

The fact that units are larger has made it possible to finance better supervisory programs, to expand instructional offerings as school sizes expanded, to increase services to children and adults in the communities, and to organize better record-keeping methods. The districts have been so organized and consolidated that there are now enough pupils of each race to warrant one or more accredited high schools per race in each district.

The per pupil expenditure in South Carolina has increased from \$66 in 1944-45 to \$173 in 1954-55, but South Carolina still ranks 43d in per pupil expenditures.

It is interesting to note that in school construction our State stands near the top, but 42 States spend more per child, for operation of the schools, than South Carolina. The 5 States spending less per pupil are all in the South.

The State spending the smallest amount per pupil is Mississippi with \$103, while the highest State is New York, which spends \$356 per pupil. The national average is \$247 per pupil.

It can easily be seen that South Carolina has spent during these years a larger percentage of the school dollar in buildings than most of the other States of the Nation. This was necessary, in order that equal facilities might be provided in South Carolina at once and that facilities might be adequate for all of the children.

INCREASE IN STATE SUPPORT

The increase in State support for public schools has not been limited to school construction and transportation. The appro-

priation for operation of the schools, including teachers' salaries, was \$9 million in 1944, \$29 million in 1949, and \$45 million in 1954. The total appropriation on the State level for the current year is more than \$60 million, of which approximately \$15½ million goes into the building and transportation programs.

School transportation is now completely financed by the State. During the 1953-54 school year, 4,000 State-owned buses transported 232,000 children to and from school each day, almost half of those enrolled.

In 1943-44, there were only 1,528 buses being operated, most of these owned by the districts, and less than 75,000 students of the total 450,000 enrolled were transported.

The number of buses and of pupils transported has practically doubled since 1951 when the State began paying the total cost of transportation.

Today the Educational Finance Commission supervises the transportation program and the State Highway Department has charge of the servicing of the buses and the training of the drivers.

NEW CERTIFICATION

In 1945 the new certification program for teachers was inaugurated and since that time teachers' qualifications have steadily gone up. The State-adopted salary schedule, with increments for experience and for higher qualifications, has encouraged teachers to take up graduate studies and raise their certificate levels. It is safe to say that the teachers in our schools today are better qualified than those of any previous period. Our great problem is the shortage of these qualified persons.

In spite of the increases in State aid for teachers' salaries, and in spite of the fact that many districts supplement the State aid, the average salary (\$2,803) is still too low to attract our most promising young

people into the profession.

This is a problem that the layman can help solve. Everyone wants good teachers for his child, but few parents encourage their children to enter the teaching profession. There are many advantages in the teaching profession, not the smallest of which is the satisfaction that comes from being a teacher, from rendering a great service, and from gaining the affection and respect of growing children.

STATE'S TEACHER LOAD

The shortage of teachers is partly responsible for another problem—the teacher load. The teacher-pupil ratio in South Carolina has been criticized because many teachers have 40 to 50 pupils in a classroom. Our average teacher load is only 26 pupils as compared to North Carolina's 29.

South Carolina does not provide in the salary schedule or law for principals, supervisors, or special teachers to receive State aid unless they are counted against the enrollment; and some schools may overload their classrooms in order for special teachers to

qualify for State aid.

We believe in special teachers and feel that the solution of this problem can partially be accomplpished by the State's allowing State aid for nonteaching principals and special teachers such as music and art teachers and supervisors.

It has been proposed to the legislature in our budget request that one special teacher or nonteaching principal or supervisor be allowed for every 20 teachers in a school system and that our enrollment requirement per teacher for State aid in large elementary schools be reduced from 36 to an average enrollment of 34. It is our opinion that this would help solve some of the crowded classroom conditions,

QUALITY OF INSTRUCTION

All of the improvements and problems we have mentioned thus far have their roots and their reasons for existence in one central

idea—that we might have the best instruction for all our children.

The instructional program is the heart of education; for buildings, transportation facilities, funds for operating, and the training of teachers would have no purpose if there were no instructional program.

It is somewhat more difficult, however, to pinpoint imprpovements in instruction than in other areas, for obviously one cannot quote a statistic to show that children are being taught better than they were some years ago. There are indications other than statistics, however, pointing to improvements in instruction.

MORE GRADUATING

One of these is the fact that more children are staying in school until graduation, indicating that instructional programs are more nearly meeting their needs. Dropouts have been steadily decreasing.

Of the class which enrolled in the first grade in 1933, only about 10 percent were enrolled in the 11th grade in 1943. (There was no 12th grade at that time.) However, of the class which enrolled in the first grade in 1943, more than 22 percent were enrolled in the 11th grade in 1953.

Although not all of these will remain in school until graduation, approximately 19½ percent of the original first grade is eurolled in the 12th grade of 1954-55. We are still losing too many children from school before graduation, but these figures indicate we are making progress in this field.

Another indication of improvement in the instructional program is the keen interest on the part of teachers and administrators

in professional organizations.

They are not only joining but are participating in, to an increased degree, such organizations as the National Education Association, the Association for Childhood Education, the State education associations, the State school board association, the National Association of School Administrators, and so on.

Through participation in such organizations on the State, regional, and national levels, educational leaders get new ideas, a broader concept of the total task of education, and a valuable knowledge of successes and failures in other areas.

TEACHING MATERIALS

Teachers are continually seeking materials that will help them do a better job of instruction. In this area, the State Department of Education is assisting by directing the writing and publishing of curriculum guides in several fields.

Already outlines of courses of study in the field of social studies has almost been completed. Being prepared are outlines for physical education, health, and citizenship. A number of other instructional materials have also been published by the State Department of Education.

Two publications of the Department are specifically designed to help improve the school programs. One of these, The Story of a Good School, shows pictorially what makes a good school program. The second publication, How Good Is Our School, is similar to a check list and is designed to help educators and laymen study the school program in order to make long-range plans for improvement.

Still another indication of improvement in instruction is the broadening of the curriculum made possible with the coming of the 12-year program.

Boys and girls now receive more guidance and counseling than formerly; more vocational training is offered; there is time for such courses as driver training, home and family living, physical education, special training for the handicapped, and so on. Children have far broader understandings and breadth of knowledge than children of 15 or even 10 years ago and much of this is due to the 12-year program.

TRAINING OF DRIVERS

Driver training is proving a valuable course in helping to teach safety. The State department of education has for a number of years encouraged the teaching of this course, and some time ago the State board of education implemented the work of the department by recommending that at least the classroom phase of this training be offered in all high schools.

As they become able financially the schools are offering the behind-the-wheel

training also.

The classroom instruction in driver training in the eighth grade, begun only recently, apparently will be quite successful since students in that grade are normally just reaching the legal driving age of 14.

CITIZENSHIP TRAINING

The citizenship training being offered the boys and girls in today's schools is of a high caliber and extends throughout the grades.

While we have quite adequate textbooks in this field and while several courses in our high schools are built around citizenship training (9th-grade civics, 11th-grade American history, 12th-grade citizenship), all through the grades, from the 1st to the 12th, the students are having experiences in citizenship.

They hold school elections, they work in committees on school problems, they serve as officers of school organizations and as safe-ty-patrolmen, and in every class they have opportunities to gain a wholesome and rich respect for American ideals and institutions,

There is much more that we could say about improvements in our schools, but the best evidence is to be found in the schools themselves. We cordially invite laymen to visit the schools in their communities and compare them with those of 15 or 20 years ago.

There is now widespread interest in education on the part of laymen. This is a healthy sign, for the growing complexity of school problems demands the best thinking of everyone; members of the profession cannot solve all these problems alone.

As the total population comes to recognize the value of education for the future advancement of our State, we shall see continued improvement in the education program of South Carolina.

New Program To Meet New Perils

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article on civil defense written by James K. Sparkman which appeared in the March 19, 1955, issue of the Christian Science Monitor.

I commend it to the attention of the Senate and renew my request that the most effective way for Congress to full-fill its responsibilities in this vital area is to establish a joint committee on civil defense along the lines of the proposed bill, Senate Concurrent Resolution 11, submitted by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Symington] and myself.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CIVIL DEFENSE—NEW PROGRAM TO MEET NEW PERILS

(By James K. Sparkman)

Development of hydrogen bombs and startling disclosure of the scope of H-bomb radioactive fallout are forcing civil defense planning along a new course of prodiglous proportions.

How intricate and formidable the massive task of defending American cities has become and how urgently defense measures are being weighed by engineers and national planners were pinpointed here this week in a meeting of the National Advisory Council of the Federal Civid Defense Administration.

In one of a series of meetings scheduled monthly to keep pace with quickening defense measures committee members heard an outline of the national plan for H-bomb civil defense:

"A new determination to evacuate as thoroughly and quickly as possible every major city threatened by air attack.

"A new program to counter fallout peril by moving small-town citizens from areas downwind of possible target cities, or alerting them to take shelter for hours—or even days—after any thermonuclear attack."

The advisory committee, a small group of governors, mayors, and others closely informed on the problems facing civil defense teams, acts both as an impartial board to appraise proposed Civil Defense Administration moves and, as individuals, directly concerned with defense of cities and citizens, to suggest additional measures for consideration by the President and the FCDA.

At this Nation's top citizens' defense headquarters—moved here from Washington as one step to physical dispersal of the Federal Government—committee members, cleared by the Atomic Energy Commission, left the meeting room solemn faced after 2 days of brisk discussion of the unprecedented problems facing urban, suburban, and rural defense.

The committee members were officially briefed on improvements completed in the joint United States-Canada radar chains that are across the northern plains and tundra. They heard of recent changes in the mechanics for bringing an air alert down from these outposts for distribution to the individual States and relay to the cities (now a 15-minute task). In detail, they considered proposed delegation of FCDA powers to the United States Weather Bureau for defense against fallout and plans for intensifying the radiological monitoring program in all areas within possible fallout zones.

AWARENESS IS SLOW

Today's defense task, Val Peterson, PCDA Administrator, has stated openly, "staggers the imagination," but is not impossible with full citizen cooperation. Yet the warnings he and his staff put forward cannot be minimized.

Unless temporary steps are taken and unless long-range measures are begun now to hedge against future weapons developments, they state calmly, the loss of American lives and property could be catastrophic and, at worst, possibly overwhelming to the Nation and its way of life.

That the majority of Americans, including many officials, are only now becoming aware of the challenge of the defense problem is not, this correspondent believes on the basis of 5 years' coverage of the subject, indicative that the problems have been unknown. A devoted nucleus of patriotic defense workers in almost every city has known of the capabilities of atomic warfare all too well.

Now it is the changing nature of the atomwar threat that is commanding public attention, alerting the Nation's cities to a degree impossible before.

Five years ago, in the days when A-bombs were only 2 to 10 times bigger than those exploded over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, American city dwellers were advised to duck for cover when sirens sounded. They were told that the centers of concrete multistory buildings would offer a measure of protection against blast and substantial shielding against A-bomb radiation unless they happened to be squarely below the point of explosion.

The general reaction to this data was "business as usual," despite defense wardens' caution that large areas of many older cities simply do not have modern, blast-resistant buildings. Many city dwellers concluded that they would worry about shelter when the time came—just as many look for exit signs only after the fire warning is sounded.

Civil-defense leaders knew that evacuation would offer far greater safety, but the lack of an adequate radar detection system and warning network made the possibility of evacuation slim.

In appeals for aircraft spotters to supplement the then-existing radar stations in the northern tier of stations, defense officials openly admitted that one Minnesota housewife, for instance, might be all the would stand between a flight of bombers from the Arctic and a complete surprise attack on Chicago. Without her telephone call to the Ground Observer Corps station, bombers might reach the city with no more than 5 minutes' alarm; even with such a call, the time would be likely be too little for evacuation.

Today the situation has shifted—though not enough to make any early civil-defense efforts waste. Campaigns to plan shelters, to reduce neighborhood fires, or to train rescue or life-saving personnel are now equally or more important.

With construction of the pine tree and DEW (distant early warning) radar lines circling across Canada, American and Canadian centers of production have been given additional hours in which to evacuate.

And with the construction of hydrogen bombs this warning has been made possible none too soon. As defense planners now see it, the stark fact stands that there is simply no shelter in a target area.

EVACUATION PLAN

A bomb, AEC test shots indicate, capable of vaporizing sand and coral in a 175-foot deep and mile-wide crater, will obliterate even the stoutest of building in its primordial heat and astronomical pressures.

It is doubtful whether underground shelters of any depth would be adequate in the target area unless a series of massive airlock doors were set far below the earth's surface, engineers believe. Only the strongest shelters might be sufficient 3 to 7 miles from the blast; substantial destruction could be expected 10 miles out or more.

Space—emptying a city in a matter of hours—is, defense planners believe, the sole answer today. They believe cities have not one instant to spare in developing an iron-clad plan for removing every possible man, woman, and child from the densely settled areas of cities out to points 15 to 20 miles from the edge of the metropolis.

An intense traffic study made in Milwaukee last fall has shown that this can be done. Tentative plans in St. Louis, Mobile, Ala., San Francisco, Detroit, Washington, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and a few other cities have proved of immense value in spotlighting other phases of the problems involved—mass feeding, housing, and others.

In all these plans the family automobile becomes the workhorse, since it, rather than

fixed public transportation, is versatile enough to be steered clear of fallout areas and be routed clear of temporary bottlenecks. Trucks and buses would be equally usable.

From the Milwaukee study it is clear that every major city should be giving priority attention to the question of evacuation highways. Such modest measures (costing not more than \$300,000) as widening a few streets, widening one bridge and building another, and prohibiting longtime parking on 8 streets (so that owners, presumably, would be near) are estimated to raise the Milwaukee escape rate 20,000 or more persons an hour. A \$6 million investment, it is estimated, would cut the evacuation time from 8 to 7 hours; freeways leading into the downtown area might reduce it to 4.

SCENE OF THE WEEK

Smalltown residents, defense chiefs here believe, must couple fallout possibilities with the local weather reports. Or, suggests Mr. Peterson, "they can build a simple shelter in the backyard, stock it with food and water, and forget about the Russians."

In years to come only the gradual dispersal of industry—spreading the Nation's production eggs into so many baskets that striking them will be an impossible task even for intercontinental rockets—can offer increased safety against supersonic, earth-circling missiles keymen here believe.

Factories, they say, need not be moved to Texas or the hills of Tennessee. Simply building the new expansion 10 or 20 miles away—outside the radius of 1 hit or pattern of hits—will drastically reduce the vulnerability of industry. Eventually a knockout blow might become too difficult to attempt.

None of these measures, dedicated civildefense workers insist, should be taken to detract from the most basic rule, stated succinctly in the preface to the Milwaukee traffic study report:

The best civil defense is peace.

Assembly of Captive European Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address by Dr. Vince Nagy, former Minister of the Interior in Hungary, and now Vice President of the Hungarian National Council.

The address was delivered at a plenary meeting of the Assembly of Captive European Nations in New York, and was forwarded to me by Mr. William A. Fuzy, of East Chicago, Ind., an outstanding representative in Indiana of Hungarian-American citizens. The address by Dr. Nagy includes a resolution acted upon by the assembly.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, members of the assembly, the solemn declarations signed by the exiled leaders from behind the Iron Curtain in Philadelphia and Williamsburg in 1951 and 1952 can be considered as the first documents eventually leading to the foundation

of our Assembly of Captive European Nations, even though the idea was not conceived until later. In these declarations we have pledged our determination and good will advocate the federal idea to the neighboring central and east European nations after the liberation of our countries.

Indeed, in the Assembly of Captive European Nations we have already realized while in emigration this cooperation based on the federal idea. We have achieved this federal cooperation here, on the free soil of the United States of America, whose history, institutions, and constitutional structure are the most eloquent examples of the federal idea in practice and its well-proven success.

We believe that we can justly claim-without falling into the mistake of self-complacency-that our assembly has done a good job despite the short period of time that has elapsed since its foundation. The facts alone that we have achieved genuine cooperation, that the fate of our peoples suffering under the same tyrannical power, were extensively and repeatedly discussed by us, that we had instructive arguments and were able to reach sober compromises, all contributed significantly to prepare our nations and ourselves for the great tasks to be solved after the liberation, notably the reconstruction and rehabilitation of everything that has been destroyed in our countries in the legal, political, and economic field, and the laying down of the foundations for a brotherly cooperation between the neighboring nations.

I am deeply convinced that our nations will be able to hold their ground in the raging worldwide economic competition only if they are united in one or several federal units. There seems to be little doubt about it that the large economic units will be able to secure the greatest prosperity to their respective populations. Without federation, the small states of central and east Europe would again face national disaster.

We, the exiled leaders of our enslaved nations, have the sublime task of preparing the future of those nations. Here on the free soil of the democracy, we have the right and every opportunity to form and mold the future of our nations and that of entire Europe.

Yes, ladies and gentlemen; I sald Europe. Because we are not only central and east Europeans. This labeling, this political regimentation, was created only by the existence of the Iron Curtain. Before the Iron Curtain rolled down on our nations we were all Europeans, without any adjectives: Europeans not only by force of geography, of our vast, unbroken territory, but also by force of our deep roots in European culture. Our nations were not only the beneficiaries and recipients, but also most constructive elements of the magnificent European culture. which eventually served as the basis of American culture and progress also. Our Hungarian universities and other cultural institutions, our Hungarian scientists, writers, artists, and composers as well as those of the other Central and East European nations all have contributed innumerable outstanding achievements to the culture of Europe and mankind in general. Yes; we were Europeans and not simply East Europeans, whom Moscow's agents would now like to sever from the body of Europe with the Iron Curtain, turning us into part of Asia with a large-scale social, political, and economical operation.

We are deeply convinced that this tyrannical and insane experiment will not succeed. Just as there are physical and mathematical impossibilities, there are psychical impossibilities also. One of these is to eliminate from man all his inborn spiritual and moral yearnings. It is for example impossible to deprive man of his desire for spiritual, cultural, and moral betterment in addition to fulfilling his physical, material needs. These

desires exist in the Russian people too, although the Russian man had little opportunity even during the Tzarist rule to satisfy them. Consequently they can hardly com-pare the good and the bad, the favorable and the detrimental in this case as in many others, too. Our nations, on the other hand, were in full possession on these blessings: the achievements of democracy and culture, even if not always to the same extent. nationals behind the Iron Curtain were thrust from a high economic and cultural standard into the depths of Bolshevik rule, where the heartwarming and indispensable light of humanitarian ideas, moral truth, right and freedom is obscured and where the hammer and sickle inflict severe wounds on our brethren's bodies and souls. As a consequence our conationals burn with a not too well concealed, genuine desire and determination to change their situation. No tyrannical power, no hypocritical tactics can ever make them believers in communism. Thousands and hundred thousands of Malenkovs and Mitsurins and thousands of Russian generals will never be able to turn our compatriots into determined Communists, ready to work until exhaustion or even die for Moscow's plans for world domination.

In their courageous stand our nations need help. The Iron Curtain will certainly not crumble at mere words. Our nations, 100 million enslaved people expect the word of encouragement from the leaders of the free nations; than that, they expect determined, energetic, but peaceful action against their oppressors.

The resolution submitted here contains our demands. Our peoples expect and hope the realization of these demands from the free nations.

We demand free elections in the Iron Curtain countries and, as a natural precondition, the creation of adequate circumstances warranting such elections. Only under those circumstances can it be hoped that our nations regain their national sovereignty and the freedom to elect their own parliamentary representatives and governments.

By requesting the free nations to adopt the resolution submitted by us, we do not wish to induce the governments of the free world and the United Nations to present such demands to the Soviet Union, against which the latter could raise objections as unheard of, unprecedented, or illegal demands which interfere with the internal affairs of independent states. On the contrary, in the Yalta agreement the Soviet Union herself pledged to respect the independence and the sovereignty of our nations and the Communist puppet governments of the Iron Curtain countries obliged themselves in the separate peace treaties to give and secure the people the human rights, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom to as-

For 9 years now the Soviet Union has misused her military power. Every hour of every day during these 9 years, the Soviet Union has violated and trampled the Yalta agreement, as well as the peace treaties signed with our nations, under the terms of which the Soviets were bound to respect the human rights and the freedom of our nations.

The time has come for the free nations represented in the United Nations organization to take an energetic action against the Soviet Union and its puppet governments. The representatives of the free nations in the United Nations shall declare:

"We had enough of hypocrisy. For 9 years we numbly watched the frivolous play the Soviets pursued with 100 million people, with human beings created in the image of God, all the while preaching democracy, human rights, freedom, economic progress, but in reality turning 9 countries into prisons and 1 vast slave-labor camp, depriving the citizens of all human liberties and driving once proud and independent peoples to slave labor

with methods overshadowing those of the Pharos and the trars. The goods produced at the sweat of their brow and the Communist armament unparalleled in history will be used to expand the dictatorial rule of a handful of audacious men all over the world."

Let the delegates of the free nations lay down the rule to the Soviets:

"We had enough of the games played at the United Nations during the past 9 years. We want to see that the Yalta agreement is carried out at least: let the Soviet Army evacuate the central and eastern European countries and restore the liberty to these peoples so they may finally again be able to rule their own countries."

Mr. President, the resolution introduced here comprises our wishes and demands. In the name of the Hungarian delegation, I am in favor of the resolution,

Prize-Winning Essays on the Subject, What Are My Opportunities and Responsibilities Under Freedom?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD 2 very fine prize-winning speeches written and delivered by 2 outstanding young Minnesotans. These young men, Dennis Barnaal, of Renville County, Minn., and Thomas Stephani, of Beltrami County, Minn., were the 2 prizewinners in the Minnesota 4-H radio public-speaking contest sponsored by the Minnesota Jewish Council and held in cooperation with the University of Minnesota. More than 850 boys and girls from the ages of 18 to 21 in 84 of our Minnesota counties participated in the contest. The two prizewinners can indeed be proud of their accomplishments, just as I am proud of their fine contribution to the subject. What Are My Opportunities and Responsibilities Under Freedom?

I want to commend all those associated with the rewarding and stimulating constructive thinking by our young people in the area of citizenship responsibility.

I call these excellent speeches to the attention of my colleagues because they indicate, to my mind, the faith in the institutions of freedom which not only the young should have, but also those of more senior years.

There being no objection, the essays were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT ARE MY OPPORTUNITIES AND RESPONSI-BILITIES UNDER FREEDOM?

(By Dennis Barnaal, Renville County, Sacred Heart, Minn.)

An American officer was stationed in north Africa during World War II. Each day he drove between the village of LaMarsa and Tunis, and he traveled this route 2 or 3 times a day for several weeks before learning the road passed through the ancient site of Carthage. A million people once lived there, But the Romans settled their dispute with Carthage by destroying it completely. Ac-

cording to our history books, every building was leveled to the ground, all the population killed or sold into slavery, the land plowed up, and the furrows sowed with salt. Then followed the Carthaginian peace. Peace, to be sure, but such a deathly peace—the kind of peace I'm certain we would want no part of.

But now we stand face to face with just such a dark conclusion to civilization. The death struggle between freedom and communism is looming large. Even now it threatens to destroy all that man has worked for through the ages. A hydrogen bomb could destroy a city the size of Carthage in a fraction of a second. Even more dreadful bombs could lay waste an entire nation within days.

Is this the opportunity we have under freedom—to perish in the colossal climax of all wars—to be destroyed with the entire world?

I would like to contrast for you a very different opportunity—an opportunity to live in the greatest world man has ever known, an opportunity to benefit by the marvelous advances of science through the ages, for under freedom, science has progressed so rapidly within a few years that it is difficult to comprehend. Scores of new industries have created opportunities man never dreamed of a few years ago. Why the average person today lives better than the royalty of a century ago, and because of marvelous medical work, he can also expect to live longer than they But this is only the beginning, the prelude to a great overture. Science is only gaining momentum. Think of the possibilities in the coming years! It challenges the imagination; yet there are the opportunities under freedom.

But now we come to the all-important question. Why do we face two pathways with such different endings? Is it only because of economic troubles or of forms of government? No. The cause goes much deeper—to the very nature of man. Science has outraced our minds in development. While science has risen to such great heights, we have not learned to live with it in a modern world. We are not yet capable of handling the new situation we are in. It's much like giving a 6-year-old boy a new chemistry set. He must understand how to use the equipment, and what precautions to take. If he doesn't, the story may well end in tragedy.

We are certainly left in a pressing situa-

We are certainly left in a pressing situation, a situation that demands action. Our two very different pathways or opportunities lead plainly to the second part of my subject, my responsibilities under freedom. Certainly we want to find what our responsibilities are that we may follow the pathway that leads to our wonderful opportunities.

My first responsibility is to recognize and understand the situation. Most of us know that we live in an age of peril. But we cannot solve our problem unless we become aware of the underlying causes. Our marvelous technical advancement should be used as a tool for the betterment of mankind, and we must learn how to put it to that use. Now I'm not saying there is an easy answer to our dilemma, for there isn't, but to arrive at any at all, we must study and inform ourselves.

Second, I believe that I must be willing to accept changes. This follows plainly from the statement of the gap between science and man. To mesh with the gears of development, we must develop new attitudes. We must not be afraid to accept new ideas in harmony with a changing world.

Third, I must recognize the role of freedom in this whole mechanism. Only under freedom can these opportunities build to the desirable end. Under freedom we can join hands with the other nations of the world; we can understand our key problem and conquer it. This means an all-important responsibility is to preserve freedom in America. The old, speech-worn proverbs of taking an interest in our Gov-

ernment and voting in the elections are, then, very important in this modern idea. For it was following the signing of the Constitution a lady asked Benjamin Franklin, "Mr. Franklin, what have you given us?" The wise man responded, "We have given you a republic," then the sage hesitated and concluded, "if you can keep it." And keep it we must.

Finally, I believe I must realize where the responsibility lies. Too often we talk of the duty as being in someone else's hands. "They" should do this, or "they" should do that. It's time we remembered "they" is really "we." For under freedom, we have the opportunity to shoulder the responsibility and create even greater opportunities, and not only for America, but for the entire world.

WHAT ARE MY OPPORTUNITIES AND RESPONSI-BILITIES UNDER FREEDOM?

(By Thomas Stephani, Beltrami County, Minn.)

The other day in the barbershop I heard a voice from under a steaming towel. "This country has sure got a weak Government when it allows a man like that to go around criticizing Congress." He went on to suggest other things wrong with letting people sound off. He was exercising one of his rights under freedom, but what he was failing to do was to recognize that along with the rights he had, he also had the responsibility of seeing that these rights were available to others.

Freedom is a two-way street. In exchange for the rights and privileges of freedom we receive, we have many obligations and responsibilities. America is a land of many freedoms. Suppose we take a good look at just two of our freedoms. These are man and his freedom in relation to God, and man's freedom in relation to his fellow man. We know these better as freedom of religion and freedom of speech and press. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." That's how they said it in the first amendment to the Federal Constitution. That's the base of the guaranty which is also preserved in all State constitutions.

Examining these freedoms one at a time, just what does freedom of religion mean in terms of everyday life? Well, first, it means that the Government cannot force anyone to support a religion, or religious instruction, or to attend a religious worship. Religious freedom includes the right to give money for religious purposes without first securing police permission, the right to distribute religious literature on streets, and the right to sell religious books and pamphlets without paying license fees required of other merchants and peddlers. It means that parents have the right to instruct, to guide children in religious training. It means that you and I, as American citizens, whether our skin is black or white, whether we are Protestant, Catholic, or Jew, may worship the way we desire.

But religious freedom is not an unlimited freedom. This guaranty does not operate to permit under guise of religious beliefs, the right to do things that may injure the health, safety, or morals of the public. The first amendment does not compel the Federal Government to exempt anyone from military duty, nor does it give a person the right to violate laws. Every American has the duty and responsibility of obeying the laws established by the Government to preserve his liberties, and should not use religion as a means for getting around these laws.

The Golden Rule reminds us of another of our responsibilities under freedom of religion. This is to treat others and their beliefs the way we expect to be treated in return. Some political leaders have not fol-

lowed this rule, and have deprived man of his free relation to God. Fortunately, this is not true in America. We are free to practice our religion in the manner we choose. But as American citizens we cannot take this freedom for granted. It is our responsibility to see that others in this country and throughout the world, for generations to come, will be able to practice and enjoy what every American knows as freedom of religion.

Along with freedom of religion comes freedom of speech and press. This might well be called freedom of discussion. Freedom of speech today means liberty to discuss publicly and truthfully, almost all matters of public concern without fear of punishment. Judges, superintendents of schools, and other such public officials may make political speeches or participate in political meetings. A private citizen may stand on a soapbox on a public street and peacefully deliver a speech which attacks his government. That's part of democracy.

Freedom of the press is the right to publish truth, whether it is about government or individuals. The press includes not only newspapers and periodicals, but also pamphlets and leaflets. And since the liberty applies to distribution as well as to publication, we have the right to distribute pamphlets from house to house, provided the householders do not object. Absolute freedom of the press to discuss public questions is a foundation stone of American liberty.

Freedom of speech and press is close to the central meaning of all liberty. Where men cannot freely convey their thoughts to one another, no other liberty is secure. Where freedom of expression exists, a free society is already present and a means is at hand for every extension of liberty. Free expression is therefore a protector and promoter of the others. In a dictatorship, speech and press are among the first objects to be seized because they play such an important role by protecting and promoting freedom in general.

Do we, as American citizens, have any responsibilities under freedom of speech and press? Wendell Willkie once said this about freedoms: "If we want to enjoy it and fight for it, we must be prepared to extend it to everyone, whether they are rich or poor, whether they agree with us or not, no matter what their race or the color of their skin."

Like religious freedom, freedom of speech and press is also a limited freedom. We cannot shout "fire" in a motion-picture theater because by doing so we may injure the health and safety of others. It is also our responsibility to say or print nothing to maliciously harm others. We have the responsibility of seeing that we use freedom of speech and press wisely, so that these rights are available to others. Our greatest responsibility is to see that we never lose our freedoms.

You and I are fortunate enough to live in a country that offers us more freedom than any other country in the world—a country which was founded on freedom. Freedom is not to limit, but to share, and freedom here should mean freedom everywhere.

World Veterans Federation and Peaceful Control of Atomic Energy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on many occasions I have commented on the crit-

ical problem of harnessing the atom for peaceful purposes.

I expect to remark on this very important question on future occasions as Well

I was interested to read in the current issue of the magazine the World Veteran, published by the World Veterans Federation, an editorial on the vital significance of utilizing atomic energy for Deace

Certainly, in all the world, no group has a higher stake in peaceful development of the atom than those who themselves bore the brunt of previous global conflict-those who know from firsthand experience what war can mean and has meant.

Last year, we sent to Vienna, to the fifth general assembly of the federation, a fine delegation of American ex-Servicemen. They joined with veterans of many other countries in passing upon issues of great importance to the peoples of the world.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this federation magazine editorial be Printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, and that it be preceded by the masthead statement of the magazine describing the purposes and composition of the World Veterans Federation.

There being no objection, the masthead statement and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The World Veteran, is published monthly by the World Veterans Federation whose main aims are support of the United Nations and aid to disabled veterans. The WVF includes 121 veterans' and war victims' assoclations in 29 countries, with a combined membership of 18,100,000. Nations represented are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Ceylon, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Gold Coast, Great Britain, Greece, India, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thalland, Turkey, the United States and Yugoslavia. WVF has consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council and with the Council of Europe. As a member of the International Committee of Nongovernmental Organizations for the United Nations Children's Fund, it also has consultative status with UNICEF. Messages in support of WVF have been received from Queen Elizabeth of Great Britain; Queen Juliana of the Netherlands; the Grand Duchess Charlotte of Luxembourg; Presidents Theodor Koerner of Austria, Sir Ba U of Burma, Joso Cafe Filho of Brazil, René Coty of France, Theodor Heuss of the German Federal Republic, Izhak Ben-Zvi of Israel, Luigi Einaudi of Italy, Ramon Magsaysay of the Philippines, Celal Bayar of Turkey, Dwight D. Eisenhower of the United States, Marshal Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia; Governors General Sir Oliver Goonetilleke of Ceylon, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke of the Gold Coast and Ghulam Mohammed of Pakistan; Prime Ministers Robert Gordon Menzies of Australia, Achille van Acker of Belgium, Louis St-Laurent of Canada, Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon, Hans Hedtoft of Denmark, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast, Sir Winston Churchill of Great Britain, Marshal Alexander Papagos of Greece, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Ali Sastroamidof Indonesia, Nouri es Said of Iraq, Mario Scelba of Italy, Dr. Willem Dress of the Netherlands, Oscar Torp of Norway, Sidney J. Holland of New Zealand, Mohammed Ali of Pakistan and Phibul Songgram of Thailand; Dr. Eelco van Kleffens, president of the Ninth General Assembly of the U. N.; Dr. Dag Hammarskjöld, secretary general of the U. N.; Dr. Ralph Bunche, 1950 Nobel Peace Prize winner; David Ben Gurion, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Adlai Stevenson and other outstanding public figures.

WVF Executive Board: President, Albert Morel; secretary general, Curtis Campaigne, Jr.; treasurer general, W. Ch. J. M. van Lanschot; vice presidents, Gen. Miloje Milo-

jevitch and Pietro Ricci.

The World Veteran is the official publication of the World Veterans Federation. However, opinions expressed in articles signed by outside contributors are those of their authors and do not necessarily represent the viewpoint of WVF.

Editor, Curtis Campaigne, Jr.; managing editor, Mary Burnet; assistant editors, Jacques Boetsch, Roland Jauzan, Edgar

Office: 27, rue de la Michodière, Paris (2"), France. Tel.: Richelieu 88-06.

ATOMIC ENERGY FOR PEACE

On December 4 the General Assembly of the United Nations unanimously adopted a resolution recommending international cooperation in the peaceful use of atomic energy and envisaging a series of measures intended to help bring it about.

Recalling President Eisenhower's speech on the subject a year before, the resolution provided for the setting up of an international atomic energy agency and invited all members of the U. N. and its specialized agencies to attend a congress for that purpose in

August of this year. The conference will give particular attention to the production of energy and to the applications of discoveries in nuclear physics to medicine, biology, agriculture and industry. Preparations are already being made by an organizing committee consisting of representatives of Brazil, Canada, France, Great Britain, India, the Soviet Union and the United States.

Although Russia consented to take part in the work of the committee, the Soviet representative, Arkadi Sobolev, nevertheless let it be known that his vote in favor of the resolution was chiefly a token of encouragement. It did not imply, he said, that his government was abandoning the principles underlying the two Russian amendments that had been rejected in the discussion preceding the assembly vote. The effect of one of these amendments would have been to place the agency under the authority of the Security Council, thus introducing the principle of the veto, to which the Western powers were firmly opposed. On the other hand, since Mr. Sobolev made his statement the U. S. S. R. has proposed to make available to U. N. members full information about its atomic plant for producing electric power.

Whatever the result of the negotiations, the next few months will probably witness acceptance of the idea of pooling atomic knowledge for peaceful purposes, with or without the participation of the U.S.S.R. In the beginning, at least, the agency will perhaps be nothing more than a kind of 'clearing house" for the atom, organizing and directing the transfer of fissionable materials.

The United States has already offered 200 pounds of such material, and Great Britain has pledged 40 pounds. These figures are considerable. With 2 pounds of uranium a generating plant could produce enough electricity to furnish a city of 100,000 inhabitants with light and heat for a year and a half. Together, the United States and British contributions represent the equivalent of 300,000 tons of coal. In future years, the fission and fusion of the atom should help considerably to supply the growing need for energy throughout the world-

at a time when coal and oll reserves are be-

ginning to run low.

There is no need to fear a shortage of raw materials for atomic power production. It has been estimated that the known deposits of uranium alone can provide enough energy for 5,000 or 6,000 years. Meanwhile, there exist considerable stocks of fissionable materials immediately available in the form of atomic bombs. It is technically possible to reconvert them and to use their immense energy in developing industry and agriculture.

The next step is up to the statesmen. The atomic energy program involves infinitely more than itself. It involves all interna-tional relations. Its success would constitute a pledge of peace; its failure would rekindle the fear of world conflict, and of world conflict, and rightly so, for the history of the second half of the 20th century will be, in large part, the history of man's relations with the atom.

The World Veterans Federation has repeatedly pointed out that the atomic energy problem must be solved first if the world is to have a solid foundation for peace. Last fall, at its fifth general assembly in Vienna, it adopted a resolution urging implementation of the Eisenhower proposal. The resolution noted that the plan had already been endorsed by statesmen and other prominent personalities in numerous countries, and that "the test of hydrogen bombs has created a fear throughout the world" which makes it "even more imperative" to go forward with this or some similar plan-"in order that the stupendous force released by nuclear fission be utilized for the benefit instead of the destruction of mankind."

For while the great discovery of the 20th century can lead man to his ruin, it can also bring him prosperity, protect and prolong his life.

Views of National Council of Farmer Cooperatives With Reference to Position of United States Department of Agriculture on Trip Leasing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the question of trip leasing is a subject of great interest to the farmers of this Nation. The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce last year held lengthy hearings on the subject. After careful consideration the committee reported favorably to the House a bill that in effect repealed a recent ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission that was considered detrimental to the farming industry and harmful to our economy. The bill passed the House but was held up in the Senate without any action being taken. It is hoped, however, that a similar bill will be considered and passed at this session of Congress.

On March 4, 1955, Richard F. Mitchell, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, reported to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on the present status of the Commission's handling of the trip-leasing matter as involved in Ex Parte No. MC-43. When I received a copy of the Commission's report I immediately brought it to the attention of the farm organizations that had participated so earnestly last year in the effort to change the unsatisfactory order that had been made by the ICC and which so radically changed the trucking practices that previously had been the custom of farmers. In bringing the matter as presented in the recent report of the ICC to the attention of the farm organizations, I sought their viewpoint with reference to the same.

I am in receipt of the following letters which I include as part of my remarks:

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF FARMER COOPERATIVES,

Washington, D. C., March 21, 1955.
Re position of United States Department of
Agriculture on trip leasing.

Hon. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C. Dear Mr. Wolverton: Supplementing my recent letter, we desire to call to your personal attention the enclosed copy of a letter which Mr. Brinkley, our executive vice president, has written Chairman Priest, with the view of preventing any misunderstanding as to the unequivocal position taken by the Secretary of Agriculture as to the need, in the interest of farmers, for the passage of tripleasing legislation such as was passed by your committee and the House of Representatives in the last session.

Sincerely yours,

L. James Harmanson, Jr., General Counsel.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF FARMER COOPERATIVES, Washington, D. C., March 21, 1955. Hon. J. PERCY PRIEST,

Chairman, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Re report of the Interstate Commerce Commission on status of the trip-leasing matter.

DEAR MR. PRIEST: My attention has been called to the communication dated March 4, 1955, from Richard F. Mitchell, Chairman, Interstate Commerce Commission, addressed to you, reporting by request of a member of your committee on the present status of the Commission's handling of the trip-leasing matter as involved in the proceeding exparte No. MC-43.

The purpose of this letter is to correct an erroneous impression which I believe a portion of the above-mentioned communication is likely to convey to you and the members of your committee. The portion to which I refer is the underlined sentence in the following passage of Commissioner Mitchell's letter:

"In examining the application of the 30day rule to the transportation of agricultural commodities the Commission became convinced that a change in the 30-day rule to meet the objections of the agricultural interests would have no serious effect on the objectives of its rules. Accordingly a series orders were entered, one of which permanently excepts vehicles used in the transportation of agricultural commodities from application of the 30-day rule. This permits an authorized carrier to lease for periods of less than 30 days motor vehicles with drivers after completion of a movement in which such equipment is exempt from regulation by this Commission except as to safety regulations. This modification was not a postponement of the effective date, but a change in the regulations so as to permit authorized carriers to trip lease agricultural vehicles following a trip with exempt commodities under all conditions having any relation to

the transportation of agricultural commodities. The modification in favor of agricultural haulers incorporated into this rule the language and terms suggested by the

Department of Agriculture."

The modification in the 30-day rule referred to by Commissioner Mitchell was contained in 1 of 3 orders issued in this proceeding by the Commission on November 30, 1953, after the passage of H. R. 3203 (tripleasing) by the House of Representatives on The import of the under-June 24, 1953. lined statement above is that the 30-day rule, as changed by the order of November 30, 1953, was considered adequate and satisfactory to the Department of Agriculture. The public record of the position of the Secretary of Agriculture, evidences otherwise. Such evidence is contained in the letter from the Secretary of Agriculture dated May 6, 1954, addressed to Hon. John W. Brick-er, as chairman of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. A copy of the Secretary's letter, as incorporated in the printed record of hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, United States Senate, 83d Congress, second session on H. R. 3203 (pt. 2), at pages 398 and 399, is enclosed for your ready reference.

Pertinent excerpts from the Secretary's letter evidencing his belief as to the inade-quacy of the 30-day rule, as amended by the Commission on November 30, 1953, are quoted

below

"The record of past hearings will indicate that a representative of this Department presented testimony before the House committee and before your subcommittee in support of this legislation. Since those hearings the Interstate Commerce Commission has issued several amendments and modifications to its orders in Ex parte MC-43, Lease and Interchange of Vehicles by Motor Carriers. Those orders of the Commission have, to some extent, alleviated the restrictions against shortterm leasing in connection with vehicles engaged primarily in the transportation of exempt agricultural commodities. We helieve, however, that the Commission's amended order does not restore the flexibility which Congress intended should accompany the exemptions set forth in section 203 (b), (4a), (5), and (6) of the Interstate Commerce Act. We wish, therefore, to express our continuing interest in and support of the legislation proposed by H. R.

"The flexible, efficient, and economic movement of exempt and processed agricultural commodities may not be adequately accomplished under the rules presently prescribed by the Commission.

"Under the proposed rules of the Commission, exempt carriers' leasing practices are severely restricted, except on return to the origin of exempt transportation. In order to best serve its purpose as an agricultural marketing facility, the exempt vehicle must enjoy such freedom of migration as the harvest season shall require.

"A great deal of confusion over a long period of time has resulted in growing uncertainties and conflicting opinions with respect to the matter of trip leasing. In order that all parties may be properly guided by the intent of Congress, it is our hope that H. R. 3203 will be enacted into law, thus removing the multiple uncertainties concerning the activities of vehicles embraced within the provisions of section 203 (b). (4a), (5), and (6) of the Interstate Commerce Act."

The Commission's latest extension to March 1, 1956, of the effective date of the 30-day rule, as amended, merely intensifies and prolongs the multiple uncertainties concerning the operation of trucks hauling agri-

cultural commodities. We agree fully with the hope of the Secretary of Agriculture that the Congress will move promptly to end these continuing uncertainties in the interest of farmers and the public generally by enacting legislation incorporating provisions such as were contained in H. R. 3203, favorably reported by your committee and passed overwhelmingly by the House of Representatives in the last session.

There are enclosed sufficient copies of this letter for individual distribution to the members of your committee.

Copies of this letter are also being sent direct to the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Secretary of Agriculture for their information.

Sincerely yours,

HOMER L. BRINKLEY. Executive Vice President.

(Copies to Hon. Richard F. Mitchell, Chairman, Interstate Commerce Commission; Hon. Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture.)

COPY OF LETTER FROM SECRETARY OF AGRICUL-TURE BENSON TO SENATOR JOHN W. BRICKER, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE, DATED MAY 6, 1954, RELATIVE TO H. R. 3203 (TRIP-LEASING) 1

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, Washington, D. C., May 6, 1954. Hon. John W. Bricker,

Chairman, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce,

United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR BRICKER: We have been informed that your committee is to hold further hearings in connection with H. R. 3203, a bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act in order to prohibit the Interstate Commerce Commission from regulating the duration of certain leases for the use of equipment by motor carriers, and the amount of compensation paid for such use.

The record of past hearings will indicate that a representative of this Department presented testimony before the House committee and before your subcommittee in support of this legislation. Since those hearings, the Interstate Commerce Commission has issued several amendments and modifications to its orders in Ex Parte MC-43. Lease and Interchange of Vehicles by Motor Carriers. These orders of the Commission have, to some exalleviated the restrictions against short-term leasing in connection with vehicles engaged primarily in the transportation of exempt agricultural commodities. We believe, however, that the Commission's amended order does not restore the flexibility which Congress intended should accompany the exemptions set forth in section 203 (b) (4a) (5) and (6) of the Interstate Commerce Act. We wish, therefore, to express our continuing interest in, and support of, the legislation proposed by H. R. 3203.

The flexible, efficient, and economic movement of exempt and processed agricultural commodities may not be adequately accomplished under the rules presently prescribed by the Commission. In instances where vehicles are engaged in the transportation of exempt commodities, at the close of the harvesting season, it is necessary to the agricultural need that they be permitted a freedom to lease, for less than 30 days, for movement in any direction where a new peak harvesting season is beginning. Under the proposed rules of the Commission, exempt carriers' leasing practices are severely restricted, except on return to the origin of exempt transportation. In order to best serve its purpose as an agricultural marketing facility, the exempt vehicle must enjoy such freedom of migration as the harvest season shall require.

³ See pp. 398-399, pt. 2 of the printed hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. U. S. Senate, 83d Cong., 2d sess., on H. R. 3203 (trip-leasing).

A vehicle moving an exempt commodity from Florida to New York City may not always be able to obtain a lease for return from New York City to Florida. Under the leasing rules, as presently prescribed by the Commission, such a vehicle being stranded in New York City, could not return empty to Philadelphia, Pa., and enter a single trip lease from that point to its Florida origin. It could lease from New York City to Albany, N. Y., or Boston, Mass., but at either of those points it would not be permitted to enter any lease for less than 30 days.

In addition to partially exempt transportation, it is highly desirable that private transportation of processed agricultural commodities also be permitted the flexibility and economic advantages derived from a freedom to lease for single return trips. This they may not do under the present status of the Commission's proposed rules. This freedom for private transportation would permit continuance of very desirable economies to the advantage of the agricultural producer and the consumer of processed agricultural commodities.

Many food processors, such as meatpackers and canners of agricultural products transport these processed commodities in their privately owned vehicles. Economies in the transportation are extremely important because it is but another link in the marketing chain between producer and consumer. Our concern for and recommendation relating to private transportation stems from continuing interest in lowering marketing costs of which transportation charges constitute an important part. We believe the greater flexibility and economy of movement of commodities handled by private transportation will contribute to this objective.

A great deal of confusion over a long period of time has resulted in growing uncertainties and conflicting opinions with respect to the matter of trip leasing in order that all parties may be properly guided by the intent of Congress, it is our hope that H. R. 3203 will be enacted into law, thus removing the multiple uncertainties concerning the activities of vehicles embraced within the provisions of section 203 (b) (4a) (5) and (6) of the Interstate Commerce Act.

If it should be the desire of the committee, a representative of this Department will appear to answer any questions which may arise with respect to our continued strong support of H. R. 3203.

Sincerely yours,

E. BENSON, Secretary.

Return to Policies of the Hoover Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include editorials from the AFL News Reporter of March 18, 1955, and the March 19, 1955, issue of Labor. The News Reporter editorial follows:

BACK TO HOOVER

Former President Hoover is back. He's returned as a powerful influence in the present administration.

Syndicated Columnist Thomas L. Stokes Points out that the Hoover Commission, set up by former President Truman to help eliminate duplication and promote efficiency in the Government, has been turning more and more toward policy recommendations. Stokes said this would be made more clear in the Hoover Commission recommendations on Federal lending agencies, and in that on water resources—yet to come.

The Hoover lending recommendations would liquidate REA, FHA, FMA, and crop loans under the price-support system. It would take us back even before Hoover. In his zeal to repudiate the New Deal and justify himself, the former President would sacrifice even some of his own projects.

"If carried out, the recommendations in the Hoover report on Federal lending agencies would turn back credit control, with a nice profit, to the bankers," says Stokes.

In other ways, too, he says, this administration is taking on the colors and contours of a banker's administration.

"The bankers and big finance have been moving into position, as is manifest in such operations as bonds for schools and bonds for roads."

Here is the editorial in Labor: IKE SHOULD REPUBLIATE HOOVER'S BANKER BILLS

Just as "Mike and Ike" used to "look alike" in an old cartoon series, the Hoover Commission and the Eisenhower administration now seem not only to look alike but to think alike—to have the same policies and the same philosophy of government.

That adds to the significance of a report issued this week by the 12-man Commission, which is headed by former President Herbert Hoover. He and three other members were appointed by President Eisenhower. The other eight members were picked by Vice President Nixon and Congressman Joseph W. Martin, Republican, of Massachusetts when he was Speaker of the House.

Judging by the Commission's report to Congress, the bankers' bills proposed by the administration up to now were only warming-up practice for more and bigger such bills still to come.

In general, the report recommends: First, that Uncle Sam stop lending money at low interest rates to farmers, rural electric coops, small-business men, and other groups. Second, to let private bankers do all the lending, at higher interest rates than Uncle Sam now charges.

If Congress enacts that program, it would largely undo historic reforms and humanitarian legislation passed since 1913. in the Woodrow Wilson administration, even in Hoover's administration, and particularly during the New Deal and Fair Deal years.

For example, farmers could no longer get Government loans to tide them over periods of low farm product prices. Farm mortgages would be turned over to the tender mercies of the bankers from whom Uncle Sam rescued debt-crushed farmers in the depression 1930's. The low-interest loans which help farmers get cheap electric power through their REA systems would end, and control be handed back to the bankers and the Power Trust.

All sorts of housing loans would be stopped, particularly the public-housing loans which help poor families get decent homes at rents they can afford. Uncle Sam would still assume the risk of slum-clearance loans, but bankers would get all the profit. War veterans' housing programs would be allowed to die as soon as possible.

Those are only a few boiled down samples of the 48 recommendations in the report. Mixed in with them are some proposals which would end a few of the "private profit at public risk" schemes which labor has been pointing out and criticizing. In these cases, however, bankers would get more control and bigger profits in return for giving up Government "guaranties."

Four members of the Hoover Commission dissented on a few of the recommendations, particularly one which would reduce Government "short term" loans to exporters, and leave this foreign trade field exclusively to bankers.

The only member who registered a sweeping dissent was Congressman Cher Holiffeld, liberal California Democrat. He acknowledged that some of the report's proposals "may have merit," but then added this:

"By and large, the recommendations would make it harder for American citizens to buy homes or to get loans for their farms or businesses. The recommendations would tighten agricultural credit, slow down housing construction, restrict rural electrification, and limit aids provided by the Federal Government.

"These programs intimately concern the affairs and well-being of millions of Americans and the strength of the Nation's economy."

"Congress created the Hoover Commission to study the organization of the Government. I do not believe Congress wanted advice from the commission on public policies of every sort. This report indicates that the commission is willing to roam far and wide in the field of public policy."

Holifield pointed out that the Hoover Commission—while charging that Uncle Sam's loans are "subsidizing" ordinary people—made not a single proposal to end the multi-billion-dollar Government subsidies to "manufacturers, publishing firms, ship operators, airline companies and other big business interests."

The California Congressman recalled that "Congress has authorized subsidies throughout our history, to develop the Nation and keep it strong. The Hoover Commission made no systematic study of the whole subject of subsidies. It complains only of "subsidies" which bring widespread benefits to all the American people, particularly those of modest means."

Labor hopes President Elsenhower will make it clear to Congress just which parts of the Hoover report he approves and disapproves. Hoover left the White House as the most discredited President in American history. No President can afford to have the country think the policies of his administration are being dictated by Hoover.

Face the Nation Broadcast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include questions asked of and answers made by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack] over the Columbia Broadcasting System television network and Columbia Broadcasting System radio network on the program Face the Nation on Sunday, March 20, 1955. The panel consisted of William H. Lawrence, of the New York Times; John Madigan, of Newsweek; Al Friendly, of the Washington Post and Times Herald; the moderator, Ted Koop, CBS Washington director of news and public affairs; and the producer, Theodore Ayers,

Mr. Koop. How do you do, and welcome to Face the Nation.

Congressman McCorMack, as one who has held the post of majority leader in the House of Representatives longer than any other many in American history, you are frequently called upon as spokesman for the Democratic Party to defend or defeat bills in Congress.

At this session, you have fought for the Eisenhower administration in supporting the President's reciprocal-trade program, which

you put through the House.

On the other hand, you have fought against the Eisenhower administration in supporting a \$20 tax cut, the final outcome of which is still quite in doubt.

On the eve of your 14th successful congressional campaign in Massachusetts last fall, you referred to the Republican leadership as "faulty, confused, and inept."

Now that the Democrats are running things on Capitol Hill, millions of Americans are wondering whether the new congressional leadership is there for better or for worse.

To direct their questions to you today, here is our panel of newsmen: John Madigan, of the Washington staff of Newsweek; William H. Lawrence, national correspondent for the New York Times; and Alfred Friendly, assistant managing editor of the Washington Post and Times Herald.

Now, for the first question, Mr. Madigan. Mr. MADIGAN. Mr. McCORMACK, will the Democrats in the House stand firm for a \$20-per-person tax cut?

Mr. McCormack. That's the intention.

Mr. Madigan. When does the conference begin, sir, with the Senate conferees?

Mr. McCormack. I understand that is going to start next Wednesday.

Mr. Madigan. Would you hold out indefi-

nitely in that conference?

Mr. McCormack. Well, there has got to be final action, Mr. Madigan. We've got to be practical before April 1, because the excise taxes expire on that date, and-responsible leadership would not undertake any steps, I think, certainly responsible leadership should not, that would result in a loss of at least a billion dollars in revenue to the Government.

Mr. Madigan. May in interpret that to mean, sir, that on the eve of April 1, your Democratic conferees are ready to withdraw

on their demands?

Mr. McCormack. Well, I would not admit that, but I would say this: That responsible leadership would call for a conference report that would be acted upon before April which is the termination date of the excise We could go beyond that on the corporate taxes, because they could be made retroactive, but you can't make retroactive excise taxes that have expired.

Mr. Madigan. Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, on this show 2 weeks ago, sir, was asked what he thought would happen in the conference, and he said, "I believe it will be defeated in the Senate, and then I think there's a good chance that the House will agree to it;" by that he means killing

any income-tax cut at this time.

Mr. McCormack. Well, of course, Mr. Humphrey is-is entitled to his own opinion. He was many presumptious views which he has expressed, which he'd be much better off, as Secretary of the Treasury, if he had not expressed them. He is an aggravating circumstance, and his diplomacy in dealing with Congress is lacking sadly.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Mr. MCCORMACK, it seems to me that this problem points up one of issues confronting the country now, with a Republican administration, a Republican executive, and a Democratic Congress.

Does this tax bill offer any means of compromise? Is there any way that you compromise? Is there any way that you and the President can talk this thing out?

Mr. McCormack, Frankly answering your question, Mr. Lawrence, I would doubt it very much.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Do you see the Presidentor, does the leadership of the Congress see the President at all?

Mr. McCormack, You mean the Democratic leadership?

Mr. LAWRENCE. I mean the leadership of the Congress, which is, of course, Democratic, as distinguished from the minority.

Mr. McCormack. Well, the majority leadership in the House, I have not seen the President since Congress met in January. So far as I know, Speaker RAYBURN has not; as of 10 days ago he had not, and if he had in the past 10 days. I think I would know: and as of 10 days ago. I know the chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Congressman RICHARDS, of South Carolina, that's a very responsible position, had not seen the President.

Whether or not he has in the last 10 days, I do not know, but if he did, I am sure I would know.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Is this a failure to cooperate, then, in your opinion?

Mr. McCormack. I will let you draw your own inference.

Mr. LAWRENCE. I remember right after that the President did say he planned to consult with the Democrats frequently, and he seemed at that time to be speaking more on foreign-policy issues, but I take it that you haven't had even any conferences on foreign policy since this _____ Mr. McCormack. We have not had a con-

ference at all.

Mr. LAWRENCE. None at all?

Mr. McCormack. On anything, foreign or domestic, since this Congress-this particular session of this Congress-started.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Where would the initiative for such a conference come from?

Mr. McCormack. It would have to come

from the White House. Mr. LAWRENCE. Have to come from the

White House? Mr. McCormack. Certainly it should. can't impose ourselves upon a President; he

shouldn't expect us to. Mr. Koop. When you say you haven't seen the President, does that include telephone

conversations, too? Mr. McCormack. I have not talked with the President. It's within his rights, if he desires to do so; I don't feel any way personally offended except that people might

think it strange for its effect upon the country.

Mr. FRIENDLY. Was there a considerably deeper, tighter liaison in previous administrations; I mean particularly in the 80th Congress when you had a Republican majority of Congress, did the President see that majority leadership more often than at present?

Mr. McCormack. Well, I was the Democratic whip at that time, and I'm unable to answer that question. I think on foreign affairs there was constant conferences, I know I participated in a number of conferences-foreign-affairs conferences.

Now, on domestic affairs, I am unable to

Mr. MADIGAN. Mr. McCORMACK, I'm not quite clear in your response right here on this \$20 tax possibility compromise.

Secretary Humphrey, again on this show 2 weeks ago, was asked if he thought a compromise was possible, and he said, "When I think I am right, I don't compromise," which would indicate the Senate would stick by those views.

Now, are you going to-effect a compro-

mise or are you not?
Mr. McCormack. We are going to do everything we can from the House side, to try and convince the Senate conferees, that is, our conferees are, to recede and accept the \$20 tax credit which went through the House, which should be, because it's based on equity.

On the other hand, if the Senate stays put, why, then, there must be a complete regard for the fact that at least a billion dollars in revenue will expire in the nature of taxes on April 1; and I imagine, I have strong convictions, expressing my personal views, that there will be an agreement by the conferees.

Mr. Madigan. On what basis, sir? Could you give us some sort of an outline? How could you possibly get an agreement when you are poles apart?

Mr. McCormack. Well, I am unable to state now. There may be an agreement on something less than a straight \$20 tax credit. The Senate could recede and concur in the

Senate amendment. I doubt that very much.
Mr. FRIENDLY. Congressman, assuming either way that there is a compromise or that the \$20 tax bill is lost, do you think the Democrats will get any political mileage

out of this proposal?

Mr. McCormack. Oh, I think that this, the tax bill, has conveyed to the people of the country as pointedly as possibly could be conveyed, Mr. Friendly, the basic differences between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. It has shown that the Democratic Party is the party of the people of America, and the Republican Party is the party of a select few.

Furthermore, it clearly shows that this administration is controlled by certain big

business interests in the country.

Mr. FRIENDLY. And yet, Congressman Mc-CORMACK, what justification can you argue for a tax cut at this time? You, yourself were saying we should have a larger expenditure for national defense, and we are already in a deficit situation.

Mr. McCormack. Well, now, Mr. Friendly, you have to have in mind that the Repub licans put through a tax bill last year a \$3 billion reduction. As a matter of fact, it's much more than that because we are now discovering that one of the-of the hidden legislative larcenies was contained in section 462, as a result of which the Government is going to lose anyways from a billion and a half to five billion dollars.

Mr. Koop. What does that section provide? Mr. McCormack. That enables them, a corporation, to take deductions for estimated reserve—reserve estimated expenses for the next year of their business, accrual year of their business in addition to the actual year, and that means that-everyone admits there is going to be a loss of revenue of at least a billion and a half dollars, and that's a lot of money, and when that matter was before the Ways and Means Committee last year, Secretary Humphrey and the Treasury Department representatives said that the loss of revenue on that section would be negligible.

We now know there are 70 other mistakes made.

Mr. Madigan. Is it not a fact, though, Mr. McCormack, that Secretary Humphrey has admitted this and called it to the attention of the Congress, and is willing to have it changed?

Mr. McCormack. Oh, very reluctantly. It

was first exposed by the Democrats.

Last year, he said, the Treasury testified the loss of revenue, Mr. Madigan, would be negligible-now, get that. This year, when it was called to his attention, when he was before the Ways and Means Committee, on the tax bill extending the corporate and excise taxes, he said he didn't know anything about It. He went back to the Treasury. and then he wrote a letter to-to Congressman Cooper, in which he said that there are indications, the Treasury had been lookink into it, there are indications that they would have to ask for a repeal, although he said the amount of loss was grossly exaggerated.

Mr. MADIGAN. Mr. McCormack-

Mr. McCormack. Congressman Mills said the loss would be a billion dollars.

We now know it's going to be well over a billion dollars, and here's his letter, a later letter, on March 7, in which he urgently recommends the repeal of that section and of

another section because of the large loss of

Mr. Madigan. Were there any explanations, sir, why you did not discover this last year during the committee hearings on the bill,

you people in Congress?

Mr. McCormack. Well, Mr. Madigan, you, if you followed the consideration of the bill last year, you will know there was no bill before the Committee on Ways and Means; that the bill was only brought in, in executive session; the Democratic members never saw any parts of the bill until it was given to them in the morning of a meeting, and usually 50 to 100 pages, typewritten pages of parts of the bill were given, thrown at them, no ability to study them, and they Were adopted that day by the majority, the 15 Republican members of the committee, and driven through the committee.

Mr. Madigan. Doesn't the House jealously

guard its taxwriting authority?

Mr. McCormack. Then there was a closed rule.

Mr. Madigan. You're the ones who write the taxes-

Mr. McCormack. Oh. no: that was written by the Republican Party, the Republicans in control of the Ways and Means Committee last year.

Mr. Madigan. There were Democrats on that committee, were there not, sir?

Mr. McCormack. Yes, but they were not given any opportunity to see any bill until there was parts of it brought in each morning, and then it was driven through by the votes of the Republican members.

Mr. Madigan, Did the Democrats vote for the bill containing this measure?

Mr. McCormack, Well, some of them didn't.

Mr. MADIGAN. Some did.

Mr. McCormack. But there was no opportunity to carefully go into all of the provisions of the bill.

But we do know that on this particular provision, the Treasury, Mr. Humphrey and the Treasury said there'd be a negligible loss. We now know it's well over a billion dollars,

and nobody knows how much more.

Mr. Lawrence. Mr. McCormack, taking this tax thing in a general way, it's been suggested around this town that this is in some way a political maneuver to prevent the Republicans from putting through their own tax cut next year just on the eve of elections. Is that true?

Mr. McCormack. Well, no; it is not a political maneuver, but anything any party does in Washington has a political connota-

tion.

Now, politics was not the intent. We saw the lower income tax groups denied justice last year in the Republican tax bill. We saw over \$3 billion, outside of this-other grave mistake which benefits corporations, going to less than 10 percent of the taxpayers and to the big corporations.

We tried to increase the exemption from \$600 to \$700 last year, and the Republicans defeated is We made every effort to bring about an equitable reduction in taxes last year, which the Republicans prevented.

Now it's very clear they are going to undertake to do something next year, and it would be poor leadership, it would be faulty leadership, it would be wrong leadership on our part if we didn't try to do something this year that would protect the low-income tax groups next year.
Mr. LAWRENCE, But even then—

Mr. McCormack. And that was the intent. Of course, there's politics in connection with any legislation comes up in Congress.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, again speaking broadly, sir, not with reference to specific things, isn't it true that at this time of a period of peak prosperity, that this is the time to start paying the national debt, and how are you ever going to do that if you are going to keep on reducing taxes?

Mr. McCormack. Well, the Republicans didn't think of that last year, did they?

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, I'm not talking about the Republicans or Democrats, sir; I'm talking about the national interests, irregardless, regardless of party.
Mr. McCormack, Well, now, Mister-

President Eisenhower had sent a recommendation to Congress to increase our military strength, which should be done in the light of the world today, and then recommended increased taxes, I have every confidence in the people of America that they'd make the sacrifices necessary; but last year, with an unbalanced budget, the Republicans reduced the taxes \$3 billion. They did it, and they are going to do it next year, and knowing that, it would be faulty leadership on the part of the Democratic Party if we did not undertake to take—to do something to bring justice to the low-income-tax groups of the country.

Mr. LAWRENCE. The mere fact that they did it last year, and you think it was wrong, doesn't make it any better now to go ahead and cut some more, does it? Let's pay off the national debt.

Mr. McCormack. Well, I agree with you that the logical thing to do would be-to see that the taxes are imposed that would meet-prevent any deficit and make a contribution toward reducing the national debt, but the Republicans made that promise of a balanced budget, which they haven't kept, they made the promise of reducing the national debt, which they haven't kept, and as a matter of fact they have, under the Republicans it's been increased temporarily \$6 billion, and with the knowledge of what is going to happen, it would be faulty leadership, it would be wrong leadership on the part of the Democratic Party if we did not undertake to bring justice to the low-in-come-tax groups of this country, when we have the history of what the Republican has done. Republicans have done for the select few.

Mr. FRIENDLY. Well, Mr. McCORMACK, a minute ago you said that if President Eisenhower proposed a larger defense expenditure, and asked for taxes to pay it, you think that it would go through, and that would be an expression-

Mr. McCormack. I said I think the American people would make the sacrifices in the world of today.

Mr. FRIENDLY. Well, let me state the proposition then in reverse: If the House Majority Leader proposes, as we understand he may, a higher expenditure by a couple of billion dollars for continental defense, is his vote to reduce the taxes consistent and logical?

Mr. McCormack. Well, of course the Majority Leader feels that our continental defense should be increased, but it happens I am not going to propose that, because within-that's the duty and the responsibility of the President.

Furthermore, if Congress increased appropriations for continental defense, there's nothing to stop the President from freezing

Mr. Koop. Mr. Madigan.

Mr. MADIGAN. Did I interpret your reply to Mr. Lawrence before, agreeing with him in balancing the budget, that you feel we should now invoke new taxes to bring in more revenue?

Mr. MCCORMACK. Now?

Mr. MADIGAN. Yes.

Mr. McCormack. In the light of the history of the Republican Party, no, I believe we should bring justice to the low income tax groups, knowing what happened last year, and knowing what the Republicans intend to do next year.

Mr. Madigan. That wasn't my question, Mr. McCormack. You agreed with Mr. Lawrence that we should probably introduce sufficient taxes to balance the budget.

Mr. McCormack. Responsible leadership in the White House would undertake to increase our national defense and at the same time recommend any additional taxes necessary to bear the burden, and I said if that was done, if two things were linked to-

Mr. Madigan. Are you for—
Mr. McCormack. The American people would make the sacrifices necessary, that, at least that's my opinion.

Mr. Madigan. You are for new taxes right now, then?

Mr. McCormack. If it's coupled with increasing our national defense.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, Mr. McCormack, we've been talking here about what the Republicans have done, which has something to do with your attitude on taxes.

Last week the State Department entered the foreign policy field with the approach that this is what the Democrats did, so they made public the Yalta documents.

What was your reaction to all that?

Mr. McCormack. Well, that's their responsibility, Mr. Lawrence. What the results might be from the angle of foreign affairs, time will only tell. What is might-what effect it might have on future conferences, time will only tell.

So far as I am personally concerned, and expressing my own views as a Democrat, I was not disturbed with their making the Yalta papers public, but I was very much disturbed with the manner in which they made them public, because it was purely

politics.

The State Department, as you remember. very neatly concocted the scheme that they would send the copies up to about 30 or 40 Members of Congress, marked "Secret," with the security seal upon them, as if there is any secrecy there, knowing there would be a leak, because as a matter of fact one newspaper man telephoned me, which was the first I knew about it, and he frankly told me that he was told in the State Department that it was sent up for the purpose of leaking.

Then, they changed their minds, then they said that the committees asked for it, know ing that the committees are controlled by

the Democrats.

Then, they changed their minds, and they made them public, we know the reasons why they were made public. The whole thing was political on the part of the Republican Party, and it's the first time in many years, what disturbs me is, that the State Department, as such, was brought into the field of partisan domestic politics.

Mr. LAWRENCE. What effect is this going to

have on bipartisan cooperation?

Mr. McCormack. Well, the effect is, as for as I am concerned, I am going to be sus-picious of the present constituted State Department as long as the persons who are responsible for this disgraceful episode being in the Department. I've got to be very guarded in any dealings I have with men who will employ methods like that-

Mr. Madigan. The Democrats-

Mr. McCormack (continuing). Particularly where the national interest of our country is involved.

Mr. Madigan. The Democrats promised cooperation with the administration on a nonpartisan basis-

Mr. McCormack. And we have been giving 14

Mr. Madigan (continuing). In our foreign affairs.

Mr. McCormack. We have been giving it. Mr. Madigan. Will you continue to do so, now that you are so mad about the release of the Yalta papers?

Mr. McCormack. I would never do anything, Mr. Madigan, and I could not conceive any responsible, any Democrat doing anything that would be inconsistent with the national interest of our country, because no matter what our personal feelings might be, the national interest of the country that each and every one of us loves is paramount and supersedes every other human consideration.

Mr. FRIENDLY. What would be your reaction, Mr. McCormack, to a continued series of releases of other conferences?

Mr. McCormack. That's the responsibility

of the State Department.

And, by the way it's the responsibility of President Eisenhower. I was very much interested when I read in the paper that his press secretary said the President knew nothing about those releases. That's very strange, that the President of the United States, and the leader of the Republican Party, didn't know anything about those papers being released.

I accept the statement made by the press secretary, but it's very strange that anybody in the State Department would be so presumptuous as to release those papers with-out letting the President of the United States know, and to me, as an American, it shows a marked weakness in the executive branch of the Government, and the mere fact that the President says he didn't know, or through his press secretary, that doesn't mean that he's not responsible for what might flow therefrom.

Mr. Koop. As a general practice, Mr. Mc-CORMACK, do you favor the early release of

documents of secret conferences?

Mr. McCormack. That's entirely up to the State Department, and this administration. They have to consider what the effect might be in the light of the national interest of our country, that's a question for them to determine.

As a matter of fact, the release of these papers have brushed aside a lot of false and malicious rumors and stories and lies that have been circulated around for years. been a political dud, so far as the Republican Party is concerned, but the thing that concerns me, gentlemen, is the manner in which those papers were released.

Mr. Madigan. Why do you think-

Mr. McCormack. And the injection of the State Department into politics.

Mr. Madigan. Why do you think they were released?

Mr. McCormack. Purely political, Mr. Lawrence, You still think it was a dud?

Mr. McCormack. Pardon?

Mr. Lawrence. You think it was a dud?

Mr. McCormack. Yes; they didn't intend it to be a dud, they didn't think it would be a dud.

Mr. FRIENDLY. What did they think would be in it that would be politically advantageous to them?

Mr. McCormack. I don't know, I can't read their minds.

Mr. FRIENDLY. Do you see anything— Mr. McCormack. I'm not going to under-

take to read their minds.

Mr. FRIENDLY. Do you see anything in it that will be damaging to the Democratic

Party?

Mr. McCormack. Of course, the people have got to realize that Yalta took place over 10 years ago. The world of 10-and these papers in connection with those meetings have got to be construed in the light of the world conditions of 10 years ago, which are different than 1955. We were then faced with going into Japan, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff had said there would be a million casualties among American troops alone, in an invasion of Japan. There were broad questions then. We were in a war that had to be considered by responsible persons, and you have got to construe any of these meetings in the light of the

time they took place, not in the light of

Furthermore, the world of 10 years ago is an entirely different world today; we are now in the atomic world, the hydrogen world, the cobalt world. Who knows, the world, gentlemen, of 10 years ago is-might fust as well be-a world of, or culture or civilization, thousands of years ago so far as the impact upon human beings is concerned.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Do you have any Poles in

your congressional district?

Mr. McCormack. Americans of Polish blood?

Mr. LAWRENCE. Yes.

Mr. McCormack. I always like to refer to any racial origin as Americans of-

Mr. LAWRENCE. I don't mean to offend you or them, Congressman.

Mr. McCormack. Yes; and they are very good citizens, and very fine people.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Do you anticipate any trouble as a result of the Yalta documents and their references to Poland?

Mr. McCormack. Well, most people overlook the fact that-that while there are some parts of the Yalta agreement that we would disagree with, that the reason that the parts that we agree were not carried out was because Stalin wouldn't keep his promises, and in order to have him keep his promises we had to go to war again.

Mr. MADIGAN. Mr. McCORMACK, could I turn to another matter on the Hill, a legislative

This week the Democrats will attempt to restore rigid price supports in substitution for the President's flexible price-support program for farms. Republican leadership claims you don't have the strength to put it through. What do you think?

Mr. McCormack. Well, I am frank in stat-

ing that I can't answer that question now. We are having a poll taken; whether or not, what the poll shows I am unable to state now because it is not complete.

Mr. Madigan. A poll of your Democratic

members?

Mr. McCormack. Exactly.

Mr. MADIGAN. The purpose of that is to what, to-

Mr. McCormack. To find out what the views of the Democratic members are for

the benefit of the leadership. Mr. MADIGAN. If the results should show

that you could not put it through, would you then give up the fight?

Mr. McCormack. Well I'm not prepared to say that, Mr. Madigan, because again that's a matter of consultation with the chairman of the committee. I would say from the early reports that I have received, that there is a reasonable chance of it going through, because you want to remember, we picked up some new members last, as a result of the last election, which will bring a change, there is 12 or 13 votes among new members that we didn't have in the last Congress, and then there's other considerations.

It will be a hard fight. I am frank in stating that, but the early reports that we—the leadership has received indicates pretty good

strength among the Democrats.

Mr. KOOP. Mr. McCORMACK, on this program we frequently ask our guest to get out his crystal ball and look ahead to the 1956 elections.

Who do you think the Democrats will nominate for President next year?

Mr. McCormack. Well, we have a number of good candidates, Mr. Koop. Who they will nominate, I wouldn't want to undertake to look at my crystal ball today in relation to that.

We have Governor Stevenson, we've got Stuart Symington, we've got Averill Harriman, we've got Governor Lausche, we've got Governor Williams, we've got Schator Lyndon Johnson, we've got Senator Russell, we've got Senator Kefauver, we've got Governor Leader, we've got Governor Meyner, and last

but not least, I don't know what his views are. because I haven't talked with him, we've got that greatest Democrat of all in active pub-

lic service, that's Sam RAYBURN.
Now, I haven't talked with the Speaker, but he is the greatest Democrat in active public service today, and one of the greatest Americans in active public service.

Mr. Madigan. Do you think Adlai Stevenson should announce his intentions now?

Mr. McCormack. I think anyone who is seeking the—I don't know about now— Mr. Madigan. Well, when do you think he

should announce?

Mr. McCormack. I don't know. I'm not passing on that, but I say that I think that anyone who, among the Democrats, who has the ambition to be nominated as President at some time or another should go out and make an active campaign.

Mr. Friendly, May I ask a quickie on the

Republican side?

Do you think that Mr. Nixon could be elected President on the Republican ticket? Mr. McCormack. Well, you are assuming

that President Eisenhower is not a candidate?

Mr. FRIENDLY, Right.

Mr. McCormack. Well, I would say that Nixon, Vice President Nixon would have very little chance of being elected President of the United States.

Mr. Koop. Would you add Mr. McCormack to the list of your Democratic candidates?
Mr. McCormack. I'd be happy to.

Oh, me? Oh, no, no. I haven't got—I didn't quite get your question, Mr. Koop. No, that's far, that's far removed from my thoughts.

Mr. Koop. Thank you, Congressman Mc-CORMACK, for Facing the Nation, and answering the questions being asked today by our panel of correspondents: John Madigan, of Newsweek; William H. Lawrence, of the New York Times; and Alfred Friendly, of the Washington Post and Times Herald.

Enforcement of Law by States in the Indian Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, Civil and criminal jurisdiction over Indians by States has worked well, but provision must be made to have State and county subdivisions reimbursed for this extra load of court and police work. The Government can well afford to favor this reimbursement, as local authorities where Indians reside know more about the situation than does the Indian Bureau in Washington, and the Government should not be allowed to shirk its responsibility to its Indian wards, who were put in that position by the United States Government without their consent. The duty of the Government to the Indians has never been terminated.

The Legislature of the State of North Dakota passed at the session just ended the following resolution:

House Concurrent Resolution Q-1

Concurrent resolution relating to law enforcement problems upon Indian reserva-

Whereas Public Law 280 has authorized the various States of the Union, including

North Dakota, to assume criminal and civil jurisdiction in Indian country within their boundaries by appropriate resolutions or constitutional amendments; and

Whereas no provision is now made whereby the Federal Government will reimburse States and local political subdivisions for the necessary expenditures upon the assumption of such jurisdiction over territory under the absolute control of the Congress of the United States; and

Whereas the State of North Dakota is desirous of seeing that Indian people within its boundaries receive the same impartial protection of effective law enforcement as is enjoyed by non-Indian residents; and

Whereas a recent investigation by the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency has disclosed and made public the deplorable lack of effective law enforcement in said Indian country as the same affects juveniles and adults, residents of said Indian country; and

Whereas the solution of said problem and the improvement of the condition of said residents of said Indian country requires that adequate provisions be made for the reimbursement of State and political subdivisions before the assumption of said jurisdiction:

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of North Dakota (the Senate concurring therein), That the North Da-kota delegation in Congress, working with the delegations of other States having Indian populations, is hereby urged and requested to provide a means whereby it will be feasible for the State of North Dakota to offer its facilities for the correction of the presently existing deplorable conditions.

That the legislative research committee is hereby authorized and directed to study such matters and to appoint a subcommittee to give detailed consideration to the financial aspects of such readjustment of historic responsibility and such subcommittee is hereby authorized to confer with the executive and legislative branches of the Federal Government in arriving at an equitable solution to such problems, and the legislative research committee is further directed, upon the completion of such study and said conferences, to publish its findings and recommendations, and to make its report to the 35th legislative assembly in such form as it may deem expedient: Be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to each Member of the North Dakota congressional delegation, to the Secretary of the Interior, and to all other persons

interested in said matter.

K. W. FITCH, Speaker of the House. KENNETH L. MORGAN, Chief Clerk of the House. C. P. DAHL, President of the Senate. EDWARD LENO, Secretary of the Senate.

An Address by Our Ambassador to Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, ALBERT P. MORANO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to the text of an address delivered by the Honorable Clare Boothe Luce, United States Ambassador to Italy, at the

Founders Day convocation at Georgetown University on March 25.

The address follows:

Father President and friends of Georgetown, this venerable and significant costume Western civilization-the scholar's cap and gown-is one that I have rarely been called on to don. But never have I done so with keener pleasure or more pride.

Strangely enough, this is the second time within a month that I have worn it. A short while ago, as your Ambassador to Italy, I took part in a significant ceremony at the University of Bologna. That ancient edifice of Western Christian scholarship was inaugurating a new addition to its curriculm—the Johns Hopkins University Center of Advanced International Studies, the first American graduate school to be established in Europe.

Bologna's roots were put down in the Middle Ages; yours, in the 18th century. But Georgetown's roots, like Bologna's, and like those of all the other venerable universities of the West, were nourished by the same waters—the ever-fresh fountain of the Greek and Roman, Jewish and Christian tradition as it was interpreted, synthesized and articulated by Christian theologians and philoso-

And I was reminded in Bologna, as I am here today, that all the great universities and seats of learning founded in the West in the first 1800 years of Western culture could properly have put above their portals that splendid, simple legend which is the motto of Oxford University: "Dominus IIluminatio Mea," the Lord is my Light.

I am deeply conscious that here at Georgetown on Founders Day you reaffirm that this one pure Light is still your illumination. This, I know, is the day on which Georgetown University recollects its traditions, reviews its purposes, and resolves anew that they shall continue and prevail.

Perhaps, then, I shall not be presumptuous, but rather in the spirit of the occasion, if I, also, do reverence to Georgetown's past, and propose one resolution for its future.

More exactly, in the light of a special and pressing problem that confronts America today, I should like to do reverence to one aspect of Georgetown's continuity with its own past, and to suggest to you a relevant resolution.

The problem today is the very urgent one of renewing the public philosophy out of which the American constitutional commonwealth was born, and in which alone it can

find the sources of enduring life.

The first principle of this public philosophy is the cardinal issue in today's world conflict. For this first principle answers the first two questions of politics: Who ultimately is the sovereign--God or man? And whence comes the law, ultimately—from God or from man? Upon a people's answers to these two questions will depend their whole concept of the structure of politics, of its goals, its processes, methods, and techniques.

We may well begin our discussion of today's problem by doing reverence to the past—to John Carroll, and to the idea on which he founded Georgetown in 1789. This foundation has grown and changed in many ways, as do all human things. But the changes in the institution only bear witness to the permanence of its ideas. How many ideas, philosophies, institutions, governments, nations, have crumbled or been destroyed in our own lifetime. It is no small tribute to say that after more than a century and a half, Georgetown still stands. What is more, it is still faithful to the philosophy that inspired its founder, still true to the inner principle that first gave it life.

What was this inner principle? It seems to me that it can best be expressed in a sentence from Archbishop Carroll's eulogy of George Washington, delivered on February 22, 1800. Speaking of Washington's youth, he said: "At that early period he began what persisted in through life-to associate motives of public utility with magnanimous undertakings."

Carroll might well have been speaking of himself. Certainly a similar purpose burned in his own heart when he founded Georgetown, saying: "On this academy is built all my hope of permanency and success."

For him Georgetown was a magnanimous undertaking first because it was undertaken for the church: Its purpose was to transmit to generations of Americans the ancient heritage of the church, her faith and her philosophy. But the undertaking was also magnanimous because Carroll was impelled to it by motives of the public utility. He wished his institution to transmit American heritage-the democratic faith, and the public philosophy which, in the very year of Georgetown's final foundation, has guided the Founding Fathers to the conclusion of their work in the constitutional convention.

Carroll's high hope was set on the permanency and success of the church in America, but for this very reason he also set his hope on the permanency and success of free government in America. After his devotion to the faith of his fathers, nearest to his heart stood his allegiance to what he called that excellent Constitution which is-and may it long continue to be-our pride and happi-

Let us recall that, in his own time, Carroll also saw that "excellent Constitution" menaced. He followed with anxiety and foreboding the sanguinary events in his beloved France, where he had spent his youth and early manhood. He saw the French Revolution develop-from the regicide in 1793, through the terror and the directory, into the Napoleonic wars that began in And he feared that the high enterprise begun in the name of justice and freedom on the tennis court at Versailles in 1789 was turning into a genuine revolution, a real rupture with the Christian past, a repudiation of the traditional public philosophy of the West.

He knew that men in great numbers were beginning to say that man, not God, was the ultimate sovereign; that the laws made by men, not the laws given by God, are the final norms of human social life. Therefore, Carroll's insight told him that a radically new tradition of politics was being inaugurated. The best historical scholarship of our own day has confirmed Carroll's insight.

With equally profound insight, John Carroll understood that the American constitutional commonwealth had kept continuity with the great Western tradition of civilty with which the leftwing revolutionaries the Jacobins-had broken. He once wrote to a friend of the reassurance he felt because his hero, George Washington, "has far other principles of the necessity of religion than (these) superficial French theorists of government." And he added: "I am fearful for this country when he is no longer the head of it, to overawe the sowers of sedition and wild democracy."

In Carroll's close paraphrase of Washington's Farewell Address, the first principle of the American public philosophy asserted that "nations and individuals are under the moral government of an infinitely wise and just providence; that the foundations of their happiness are morality and religion; and their union among themselves (is) their rock of safety." Let us never forget that on this first principle America's Founding Fathers, those farsighted and valiant men who framed the excellent Constitution which is our political guaranty of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, were of one mind with

John Carroll-of one sure, strong, unflinching mind.

In the whole Revolutionary and constitutional periods there was in America hardly a dissenting voice to the proposition that the laws which men make are not the ultimate law. Americans then believed that all human laws must find their sanction in, and come under the judgment of, the immutable laws by himself or for himself alone; he must discover them in the two laws that God has given him-the law of nature and the law of the Gospel.

After the constitutional period many more generations of Americans came and went who also believed in this. In his own day of tragic national dissension, Abraham Lincoln spoke with the authentic voice of America's Founding Fathers, when he said: "This Na-tion under God * * *."

And in our own day, that is experiencing in its spirit and even in its flesh an ominous crisis in world history, President Eisenhower, in conscious continuity with our Founding Fathers, gave forthright and impressive testimony to the contemporary affirmation of the public philosophy of America when he said in his inaugural address: "At such a time in history we who are free must proclaim anew our faith. This faith is the abiding creed of our fathers. It is our faith in the deathless dignity of man, governed eternal moral and natural laws. faith defines our full view of life. It establishes, beyond debate, those gifts of the Creator that are man's inalienable rights, and that make all men equal in His sight."

The two propositions-that God is ultimately the sovereign and that ultimately the law comes from God-are the primary affirmations of the great tradition of Western It was on the premise of these two affirmations that the public philosophy of America was articulated in a body of principles and institutions, which are sometimes called, perhaps too loosely, the American way.

The idea of government as limited by law: the ideas of freedom, justice, order and human welfare as the moral goals of the political community, the idea of natural rights and of civil and procedural rights; the ideas of representation and consent; the institutions of popular election, majority rule, free speech, voluntary association, and private property; the idea of freedom of religion as a political freedom, and the idea of separation of Church and State as a practical rule in a pluralist society-all these ideas and institutions make sense only because they were made in the sense of the natural law and the Sovereignty of God.

As we know, John Carroll was fearful in his own day of the fate that would overtake far-off Europe in consequence of the radically new Jacobin philosophy. How much the more would he have feared for his beloved America if he had thought that the day might ever come when the public philosophy of the Founding Fathers would no longer inform the minds of his countrymen, and no longer direct that living action which is the maintenance of public order at home, and consequently the safeguard of our se curity from foreign enemies. Surely he would have said that, if that evil day ever dawned. democracy would go wild, and the sowers of sedition would have a free field for the planting of their cruel harvest, which is tyranny.

Has that dark hour begun to dawn?

There are those who answer-Yes. A man whose scholarship in the field of American politics and foreign affairs commands attention, Mr. Walter Lippmann, has recently spoken for them in a slim and certainly challenging volume, Essays in the Public Philosophy. Mr. Lippmann says: "In our time the institutions built upon the foundations of the public philosophy still stand. But they are used by a public who are not being taught, and no longer adhere to the philosophy. Increasingly, the people are alienated from the inner principles of their institutions."

Other students of contemporary trends incline to agree with Mr. Lippmann. They find that important segments of the American people-including many in the community of intellectuals-have succumbed to what John Carroll called "delusive, ruinous theories of government."

The theories are delusive because they divorce the order of human law from the order of divine law, and in so doing they delude man into thinking that he is himself the Divine Majesty. The theories are ruinous because in releasing man from the rule of a moral law which is not of his own making they put into his hands an inherently unlimited power-a power to tyrannize.

Like John Carroll, I am not myself a learned political philosopher. But I have, I think enough commonsense to see one thing: if the power that fashions the order of human law is not subject to any objective standards of truth and justice, there must soon be an end to the rule of law and to the rights of man in the traditional sense. And, of course, in the American sense. If there is no higher law, there is no human freedom. Nothing remains but force.

Our forefathers rejected the rule of force. They believed in the rule of law. They be-lieved that government is under God and under the law. This was the inner principle

of our American institutions.

Only in virtue of this inner principle can be rightly called free institutions, institutions that make for freedom. If this inner principle is ever lost, if the American are ever allenated from it, then the institutions themselves will inevitably crumble or collapse, or be changed by demagogues or adventurers into monstrous and tyrannical forms. Indeed, the whole democratic process itself will make for the worst of all tyrannies, the tyranny which is ushered in as the rule of the masses, and is always shortly thereafter stabilized as ruthless dictatorship over everyone.

I cannot myself presume to judge how far the eclipse and decay of the public philosophy of America's Founding Fathers has progressed. But I am quite sure of one thing: that our constitutional commonwealth is not an intelligible form of government, and it cannot be made to work, except by a people who possess the philosophy that presided over its foundations.

Therefore, I believe that Mr. Lippmann has put to the American people a most serious question when he says: "The question is whether and how this alienation (of the American people from the inner principles of their institutions) can be overcome, and the rupture of the traditions of civilty repaired.

Upon our success in giving an effective answer to this question, upon our success in reviving and renewing the public philosophy of America, where it may have decayed, will depend the survival of our excellent Constitution, our form of free government.

But there is an ever wider issue, that deeply concerns me as an American working in our diplomatic service. It is a commonly accepted-and I believe, a rightly acceptedproposition that the survival of other free governments throughout the world will depend in large part upon the survival of our

For example, in Italy, the country to which I have the honor to be accredited, the great majority of the people take it for granted that their government is based on the once commonly accepted public philosophy of western Christian civilization. Nevertheless. today, that ancient country's new democracy is facing, in severely adverse psychological, political, and economic conditions, the crucial problem of maintaining a free govern-ment while one-third of its own Parliament-the pro-Cominform left, the direct descendant of the Jacobin left-repudiates the philosophy that alone makes free government intelligible and workable.

Surely, here is a challenge to America as well as to Italy. In these latter years the American people and their Government have spared no effort, on the level of material assistance, to advance and sustain the cause of free government everywhere, against the Communist enemy. Our record of economic, military, and diplomatic cooperation with other free peoples is, I think, a record of generosity and honest purpose.

But now a new cooperative effort, in a higher level, is urgently needed. I shall call it an intellectual and spiritual cooperation toward the renewal and reenforcement, everywhere in the Western World, of the public philosophy that alone offers to the peoples of the world the stable hope of a common temporal salvation, under God and

under the law.

In putting forth this effort we shall be paying an international debt. For our American public philosophy came to us as a her-Itage. We owed its leading principles to the British constitutional tradition. But we also owed them to the philosophers of Athens, to the jurists of Italy, to the doomsmen of the Germanic tribes, to the great thinkers of Paris and Salamanca.

Now in the hour of our Nation's new greatness, shall we not be mindful of our debt? The tradition of civilty was committed to the custody of our Founding Fathers. They honored the trust that history reposed in them by enshrining the tradition in our excellent Constitution.

Now we, their descendants, have to ask ourselves the question: Have we been faithful custodians of our public philosophy? We also have to ask the further question: Are we prepared to pay our debt to those from whom we received our philosophy, by striving to make this philosophy the basic bond of our union with all those peoples who, like us, love freedom and justice?

I am convinced that, in proportion as we ourselves consciously possess the tradition of civility that is our heritage, we shall be able to assist others to find, with ourselves, the path to that unity which is called peace. The full possession of this heritage will enable us to contribute to, and cooperate toward, the constitution of a new "concert of the west." And it will furnish us and our allies with the inner spiritual strength that will overthrow the reign of those ruinous and delusive theories of government that today so monstrously threaten the dignity of man

And now may I again turn to Georgetown University—to its directors, faculty, students, alumni? This institution has remained faithful to the inner principle of its foundation as a university. Here on this campus, here within these walls, the public philosophy of America, the tradition of natural law, has been kept in precious custody.

But today, as I have suggested, custody is The problem is communicanot enough. tion. The problem is to know how your high tradition and indispensable philosophy can be restated for the American people, recovered by them, renewed within them, so that it may once again become the richly activating inner principle of our national life; so that it may again be made what once it was-the inner principle of international unity.

I have presumed to present this problem to you on this day of recollection and resolve, because I know that an important contribution to its solution can be made by this university-by its college of arts and sciences, by its graduate and professional schools, and in a particular way by its school of foreign service and its school of lan-guage and linguistics. The students whom you send forth from all these schools are ordained, as it were, to be examples and exponents of the public philosophy.

They will need to make strong alliance with all men of religious faith, intelligence, and good will, both here in America and abroad, who likewise hold to the public philosophy. They will need to strike a covenant with the broad reaches of the people for whom President Eisenhower spoke in his inaugural address; and with the important group of intellectuals for whom Mr. Lippmann has spoken.

Then all these covenanted men together will reaffirm and renew the inner principles of free government, the high concept of the public philosophy that is our western

heritage.

Here, I suggest, is the magnanimous undertaking proper to the hour. Here is the decisive task to which the men of Georgetown are summoned by all the motives of public utility that inspired Georgetown's founder and the founders of America.

Floating Bases for Defense Installations Will Save Chicago's Jackson Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I have been much concerned over the plans of the War Department to destroy beautiful Jackson Park. First, it was proposed to take Wooded Island as the site for a military installation. That was stopped in the very nick of time. But no sooner were we freed of this menace to Wooded Island than the War Department announced that it was to take over the promontory, or at least a portion of that spot so dear to the people of the community that I have the honor to represent in this body.

The tragedy is that these spots of beauty and of sentiment, once taken over, can never be reclaimed. If it is necessary for the proper national defense, no one would object. But the only excuse offered is that it would be too expensive to put this site elsewhere than in Jackson Park. It is merely a matter of saving money, and to save money the sites will be located in beautiful Jackson Park and where, from the military standpoint, they will be least effective. I have presented as best I could the feeling of our people in Chicago and have been assured by the War Department that the matter is being given further consideration.

I am directing the attention of my colleagues to the plan under consideration for the construction of a chain of mid-Atlantic and mid-Pacific bases to strengthen United States defenses against atomic attack. If this plan be feasible, in the oceans of the Atlantic and the Pacific, why should it not be followed in the Great Lakes?

Instead of tearing up Jackson Park, and placing military installations in the place where children play and adults go for relaxation and recreation, why should not these installations be placed on floating bases in Lake Michigan? This, it seems to me, is the one and only answer. I trust that the War Department will so

decide and that the Congress will give the necessary authorization and appropriation. It is a matter which should interest every Member of this body who represents a district in the Great Lakes area.

Bank Mergers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement made by me before the Independent Bankers Association at the new Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., Friday, March 25, 1955:

BANK MERGERS

Bank mergers are in the news. Big news for the big banks, but what of the smaller, independent banker? These mergers are not new. They have been continuing throughout the Nation at a gallop and the sound of heavy hoofs are heard through the land.

In New York City alone, in the last 7 years, there have been 17 bank mergers. Since the first of this year that area has experienced, in terms of total deposits, the three largest bank mergers in the history of our country. First, the Chase National Bank announced its merger with the Bank of the Manhattan Co. and the Bronx County Trust Co. merger, if approved, will make the Chase Manhattan Bank the second largest bank in the United States and it will control over 22 percent of all of New York City's commercial deposits. That it will be approved, I have little doubt, despite my protest to the superintendent of banks of the State of New York, who in this instance is the approving officer. He and I do not agree-for reasons best known to himself. Then, hardly before the ink was dry on that agreement, the Bankers Trust Co., which has been gobling up competitors in huge bites for several years, announced plans to acquire the Public National Bank. Note that in the last 4 years, since 1950, the Bankers Trust has absorbed such substantial banking institutions as Title Guarantee & Trust Co., Lawyers Trust Co., Flushing National Bank, the Commercial National Bank & Trust Co., the Bayside National Bank, and now the Public National All of these were strong, substantial institutions, ably managed, with adequate capital, earning a healthy, competitive profit.

This month, the Nation's second largest bank, the National City Bank of New York, announced plans to take over the First National Bank of New York, thus eliminating another vigorous, independent, competitive banking enterprise from the list.

As I said, I wrote the Superintendent of Banks of the State of New York, and also the United States Comptroller of the Currency, and the Federal Reserve Board, urging them to give the closest scrutiny to these mergers and do all that was within their power to prevent them. I pointed out that New York City had 127 commercial banks at the opening of the century, today only 62 remain. Almost as if to punctuate my protestations, the Franklin National Bank and the Meadowbrook National Bank, both of nearby Nassau County, Long Island, announced consolidation, respectively, with the Roslyn National Bank and the Baldwin National Bank. In addition, the Franklin National Bank announced plans to take over

three other banks in Nassau County. Not to be outdone, the Meadowbrook National Bank entered into consolidation agreements with another group of three banks in that area. Between them, these 2 banks will control over 60 percent of all bank deposits, savings as well as commercial, in Nassau County, N. Y. I firmly believe the Franklin-Meadowbrook mergers are flaunting the underlying philosophy of the Celler, Anti-Merger Act and our entire antirust principles. To my mind, the approval of these mergers by these responsible officials sharply outline the necessity for Federal legislation to limit such possible abuses of their discretion.

So strong has been the "urge to merge" that in the short period since the end of World War II more than 600 of the country's commercial banks have disappeared by way of merger or consolidation. The result—an alarming concentration of financial power in the hands of a few banks. The 100 largest banks in the United States now hold more than 48 percent of the Nation's bank deposits. Unless the present unrelenting merger trend is stopped, the financial banking structure of the United States will soon resemble that of Great Britain, Germany, and other countries in which all private financing resources are controlled by a mere handful of interlocking giant banks.

In England the so-called Big Five control 75 percent of all deposits. In Germany the Big Four, the so-called 4 D banks, controlled over 90 percent of the total banking assets in that country. In France there are no accurate statistics, but again four large banks are known to control an overwhelming proportion of that country's banking. It is no wonder that in each of these countries the Government found it easy to nationalize one

wonder that in each of these countries the Government found it easy to nationalize one or more of these giant banks, at one time or another. Such concentration throttles competition and depresses the Nation's economy.

DECREASE IN NUMBER OF BANKS

During the last 35 years, the number of banks has been reduced by more than half. In 1921, there were over 30,000 banks serving the Nation's commercial borrowers and creditors. At the end of June 1954 less than 15,000 banks remained in operation. to 1921 and between the years 1915 and 1921, the average number of new banks which yearly entered into the business totaled approximately 500. Contrasted to these figures is the cold, hard fact that since 1950 less than 20 new banks a year on the average have been granted national charters. the Nation's banks were hit hard by the depression and the lean years which followed, we must note that the decline in the total number of our banks set in more than 5 years before the crash of 1929. According to Federal Reserve figures, the number of banks doing business had already declined from the high of over 30,000 in 1921 to 24,000 in 1929, a total of some 6,000 banks. Between the years 1929 and 1933, some 9,000 banks were forced to clear their doors. By 1943 the total number of banks had dropped to 14,579. Yet, despite the unprecedented postwar boom—despite the 286 percent growth in bank assets—despite the new high levels of loans and deposits-despite the greatly increased use made of banking services spite the enormous growth in the number of depositors, the total number of banks in 1953 reached a new low of 14.538.

Even in New York State, which is widely recognized as the financial capital of the world, the number of State-chartered banks has dropped. In 1926 the number of State-chartered banks in New York was 611. The State's banking structure weathered the depression with the loss of less than 100 banks. Yet the number of banks kept decreasing until by 1954 there were 380, a loss more severe than the loss suffered in the depres-

sion years.

What is significant is the contrasting rise in the number of bank branches operated by existing banking houses. I think that branch banking is an evil to itself, and I shall discuss it later. Suffice to say, at the moment, that by the end of 1954 branch banks accounted for 25 percent of the banking offices in the country. Lest this figure tend, however, to give too optimistic an appraisal of our present banking facilities, it should be remembered that there were, in 1921, more than 31,000 independent banks serving depositors. At that time there were only half as many customers with less than one-third the volume of present deposits.

MERGER AND CONSOLIDATION OF BANKS

This raises the question of why, even in the face of unequalled economic prosperity, do we hear the death rattles of so many The reasons for the failure of banks during the depression and in earlier periods no longer exist. Since 1945 agriculture has been prosperous and the deposits of country been prosperous and the deposits of codimy banks have burgeoned. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation has liberated the economy from the destructive effects of "bank runs" and "money panics." Bank "bank runs" and "money panics." Bank management has become a skilled profession. New Deal banking legislation has made savings and deposits in banks today safe and sound for even the smallest and humblest depositor. We now have a healthy system of strong banks. Why, then, the continuing decrease in their number? There is no longer a serious problem of weak banks, with inadequate capital, undiversified loans, subject to special local risks or limitations. If we look, we will find the answer in this movement toward consolidation, absorption, and merger. In the years 1945 through 1951 there were 581 consolidations and absorptions among the Nation's commercial banks. In the first 3 months of the present year, 52 of the Nation's banks were consolidated or absorbed by other banking institutions. It is high time that this cartelization of banks was stopped. Among the many banks which have gone by way of merger within the past few years are such illustrious concerns as the Lawyers Trust Co., Title Guarantee & Trust Co., the Corn Exchange Trust Co., Brooklyn Trust Co., Commercial National Bank and Trust Co., Continental Bank and Trust Co .- all legendary institutions in the chronicles of New York's financial historyall have served the community long and

I emphasize that mergers involving large banks are in no way a local phenomena confined or peculiar to the city of New York. Within the last 4 years more than 7 large sized banks, with assets exceeding \$100 million have been absorbed by other competing banking institutions in various areas of the country. In Philadelphia the Girard Trust Co., one of the 100 largest banks in the United States, was merged in 1951 with the Corn Exchange National Bank and Trust Co., another leading bank, to form an entity with assets of more than \$500 million. Delaware's two largest banks, Equitable Trust Co. and Security Trust Co. were merged in 1952, and in the same year, the Mansfield Savings Trust Bank of Ohio and the Citizens National Bank and Trust Co. were merged. In Pittsburgh the Mellon National Bank and Trust Co. acquired the Farmers Deposit National Bank, one of the Nation's largest banks, with assets exceeding \$100 million and deposits of over \$140

The competitive structure of banking in this country must not be destroyed. While some mergers were the result of an effort to avoid financial collapse on the part of one of the combining institutions, such cause has not been a significant factor since the end of hostilities of World War II in 1945. It is my belief, and I think I share it

as common knowledge with most other men with an interest in the banking field, that more subtle factors underlie this trend of bank mergers. For a good many years the stocks of many banking houses have been selling on the open market well beneath their book value. To illustrate this point by way of concrete example, as of June 1950 the book value of the Central Hanover Bank & Trust Co. was \$131 per share, yet the bank stock could be purchased on the open market for \$99.50, reflecting a discount of 24 percent. In September 1954 stocks of such banks as Chase National, Irving Trust, New York Trust, and J. P. Morgan Co. were all selling in the market for at least 20 percent below book value. This kind of situation, of course, has been giving rise to merger agreements because mergers have proved to be an attractive device for marking up the price of bank securities. Shareholders, under merger agreements, have been able to obtain the book valuation of their holdings in place of the price set in the open market. A bank and its securities, in many instances, are worth more to the stockholders as a corpse than as a going concern. I have heard it said among bankers that many banks in the United States are worth more dead than alive.

A good illustration of how low-market evaluation of bank shares tend to inspire mergers is the consolidation of the Brooklyn Trust Co. with Manufacturers Trust Co. in 1950. In December 1949 while the book value of Brooklyn Trust stock was \$194.96 per share, its market value was only \$148 per share. Upon merger, the shareholders of Brooklyn Trust were given \$183 in cash for each share of stock and also a share of Manufacturers Trust Co., Itself worth approximately \$55 per share. As a result, the shareholders of Brooklyn Trust Co. were able to realize more than the book value of their shares. On the other hand, as a going concern, the stockholders would not have been able to dispose of their securities in the market without incurring substantial loss.

But perhaps the principal reason behind the merger activities of our rapidly expanding banking system is passion for size as the symbol of success. The Manufacturers the symbol of success. The Manufacturers Trust Co. is today the fourth largest bank in the United States, due largely as the result, over the years, of some 80 acquisitions and mergers. It operates a branch banking system of 112 offices in the greater New York area. Another illustration is the Mellon National Bank & Trust Co. of Pittsburgh. In 1941 the Mellon Bank ranked 23d highest among the Nation's banks in order of de-By 1954 it had risen to 12th place. In the interim period, it had acquired many small independent banks in the Pittsburgh area, so that today it operates over 40 banking offices therein. In the years between 1928 and 1948 more than 37 percent of that bank's increase in loans and 30 percent of its increase in deposits could be attributed to assets acquired through other banks.

CONCENTRATION OF BRANCHES

Today, instead of seeing new, independent banking institutions on the horizon, we see only branch banks. The large State of Pennsylvania has had only three formal applications for charters since 1933. In the last 10 years only formal application for a charter has been filed in the State of Connecticut. Delaware has had none in the last 10 years. What does this mean? It means simply-or not so simply-that whereas before we had new and independent banks entering the banking field each year, we now have no new banks, but only big banks growing bigger. Take, for example, the two recent giant mergers of the Chemical Bank & Trust Co. with the Corn Exchange Bank and the Chase-Manhattan Bank merger. In each case, the prime motive of the bigger bank was to extend itself from the confines

of Wall Street and into the neighborhood banking field.

The Chemical Bank had been largely a Wall Street banker's bank. The Corn Exchange, on the other hand, had a network of branches throughout New York City. By joining hands with the smaller bank, the Chemical was able to get into the neighborhood banking business in a big way.

ing business in a big way.

It is the same with the Chase merger. To become a real neighborhood bank, the Chase realized, it would need branches outside the Wall Street area. The Bank of Manhattan, with which it merged, had plenty of branches—55 branches, in fact, throughout New York City. So, instead of going out and establishing new branches in competition with the Bank of Manhattan, it combined with it and in one fell swoop, it acquired well-established branches and buildings, a highly developed business with a built-up clientele, and, what is more important, it was eliminating an large competitor.

Out of the 572 commercal banking offices now operated by 62 banks in New York City, 4 banks control 313 of those offices, or 54 percent of all the banking offices in the city. Among them they control 51 percent of the commercial deposits. If the Chase-Manhattan merger is approved it will add 58 branches to this all powerful oligopoly and give to them 64 percent of all banking offices and 56 percent of the commercial deposits. Is this not cause for concern? Where will it lead? Assuredly small independent banks will find the going rougher and rougher. Local merchants and local industrialists will be at the mercy of far away banking tycoons and far distant panjandrums.

It is, of course, avoiding the issue to say that none of these recent mergers in New York will result in a decrease in banking locations now available to the depositors. The question is not whether there will be a diminution of banking facilities but whether these mergers will tend to unduly lessen competition in that area. The second largest bank in New York City, for example, does not need the banking offices of one of its largest competitors, to render to the public the service for which it was organized. The principal value obtained by one of our largest banks acquiring a large competing bank and merging with it is the elimination of the competitor, and, in the case of the presently pending mergers, the strengthening of the already all-powerful position of large banking institutions. For the borrower it means less avenues of credit. No matter how many bank branches exist, the borrower faces the same borrowing conditions set by the home office. My strictures are applicable not only to New York but practically every important area of the Nation.

The impact of mergers in eliminating the competition of smaller banks and strengthening the financial resources of large banks has not been considered in recent Federal legislation dealing with bank consolidations. This is a defect we must remedy. At present, approval of certain mergers must tained from the Comptroller of the Currency, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, or the Federal Reserve Board. But none of the statutory provisions relating to mergers contain any express requirement to study the effects on competition. In fact, even the requisite of official approval can be avoided if the acquiring bank increases its capital stock and surplus so that it exceeds that of the merging institutions combined.

The very purpose of our antimonopoly policies established under the Clayton Act and the Sherman Act is to increase instead of lessen competition. I secured the passage of the Celler Anti-Merger Act which prohibits the merger of corporations under the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission where such consolidations would "tend to substantially lessen competition in any section of the country."

However, while these laws outline our public policy, they do not contain provisions dealing specifically with bank mergers in all their phases and are therefore inadequate to protect the public interest against the elimination of competition in banking and the centralization of financial power.

In order to remedy this situation and to plug the loophole in our Federal law I have introduced a bill, H. R. 2115, which will subject all bank mergers and consolidations to the scrutiny of Federal bank officials. In determining whether or not to approve a merger the officials, under the terms of the bill, would be obliged to determine whether the effect of such a merger might "unduly tend to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly, in the field of banking, contrary to our public policy favoring local ownership and control of banks."

I am sure all reasonable and prudent men will agree that we need strong, independent, efficient, vigorously competitive banks. would not quarrel with the reduction in the number of independent banks, if thereby only weak banks were eliminated or, as the result of consolidation, the public would receive superior service. But the mergers which worry me and must worry you are the recently announced ones which are eliminating, precisely the kind of strong, independent bank which has so ably served this country.

I am in favor of any influence which will strengthen our banks and our banking system. But I am against the paralysis which occurs when monopoly takes over a vigorous competing banking system and when signs of socialism loom large on the horizon.

I believe you and I are in the same battle together. I will welcome any suggestions you wish to make, for our mutual purpose is to keep American economy free and strong.

Burning Daylight in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, in its lead editorial yesterday the New York Times called for a new Formosa Strait declaration and demanded new leadership by the President in this crisis. This forthright editorial should be of interest to all of our colleagues:

BURNING DAYLIGHT IN ASIA

Readers of this newspaper may well have been startled by a Washington dispatch from Anthony Leviero, published yesterday. Their minds will not be relieved by James Reston's article on the Far Eastern situation today. Mr. Reston quotes Senator Walter F. George, of Georgia, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Mr. George was facing the problem of what to do if the Chinese Communists invaded the Quemoy and Matsu islands lying off their coast. He knew, as the Pentagon knows, and as the White House knows, that there is grave danger that the islands will be invaded some time during the months of April and May. Sena-tor George said: "We are burning daylight." The darkness is coming on in the Far East."

Senator George at 77, in the twilight of his own career and in his 33d year in the Senate, has the courage and is in a position to speak out. Mr. Reston gives this interpretation of the opinions of some other Senators who have not spoken out: "We are drifting into a war over Matsu and Quemoy.

The administration is reconciling itself to the idea that this issue now rests not with Washington but with Peiping." So we have, as today's news describes it, a situation in which a certain kind of logic—the logic, perhaps, of death and widespread destructiongoes from the defense of Quemoy and Matsu to an all-out atomic attack on the industrial potential of Communist China. What this logic means in cost of human life and perhaps in a vast destruction of cities far outside China, the citizen may ponder.

It is clear that the resolution authorizing the President to take whatever steps are necessary to defend Formosa gave a choice only between rejecting the administration's foreign policy in the Far East, or accepting with it an ambiguous phrase that might justify an all-out defense of the Quemoy and Matsu islands. Everyone in this country, certainly including the President, would be happier if the Quemoy and Matsu islands did not exist or if our national prestige and honor had not somehow seemed to be in-volved in their defense. If we had been able to persuade our Nationalist Chinese friends to pull out of them, when they abandoned the Tachen islands, we would all be easier in

There is the further argument, which we find reiterated in today's dispatches from Taipei on Formosa, that the morale of Chiang Kai-shek's troops and people would collapse if the islands were abandoned or lost. There is a curious paradox in the fact that while Senator George and many others in this country fear involvement over the islands some persons on Formosa suspect that we are making a quiet deal with the mainland Chinese to abandon them.

Here is a dilemma that can easily be understood. Whether a greater wisdom on the part of the State Department and the administration would have avoided it we do not

know. The fact is we face it.

There may, however, be one way out that has not been fully explored and exploited. From Japan to Canada and all around the circle of our allies and potential allies there is strong opposition to joining us in any hostilities brought on by attempts to hold the Quemoy and Matsu Islands. There is not the same opposition toward the defense of Formosa, which is a keystone in guarding the frontiers of all the free nations of Southeast Asia, including the Philippines.

This newspaper believes that the time is ripe for a new Formosa Strait declaration. We believe that that declaration should make it plain that we will put all we have into a defense of Formosa and the Pescadores Islands, which are essential to such a The Seventh Fleet is already a formidable obstacle to an attack on Formosa. It might be possible to throw at least a token force of American ground troops into the island to assist in repelling attack.

What this situation calls out for above everything else is precision. The enemy ought to know just what he can do and just what he cannot do without meeting resistance from us. If he learns that he can take the Quemoy and Matsu Islands without provoking a major war, that fact may be tragic. Nevertheless, there are small tragedies and vast tragedies. A vast tragedy would be stumbling into war against the intention and the wishes of the majority of our people and our allies. A still vaster tragedy would be a loss of freedom through repeated retreats.

It is time that the fire eaters in Washington, whether in the Pentagon or elsewhere, went into silence. We need calmness and This newspaper hopes and believes wisdom. that President Elsenhower, hating war, as we know he does, and realizing, as he said he did, that one cannot see where a war will take us, will exercise his leadership during this coming critical week to save this country and the world from irretrievable disaster. A Report on Red Strength

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, Jim G. Lucas, the Scripps-Howard war correspondent who has seen more armed conflict that any other American newspaperman to my knowledge, has just performed a great public service by painting a detailed picture of Soviet armed strength in last Friday's Washington Daily News.

The report is not offered for this record with any intention to alarm or terrify, but rather to provide a factual reminder of the need for eternal American vigilance in the field of preparedness.

Certainly, there is cause in these facts for sober second thought over administration proposals for continued reduction in America's standard fighting forces such as the Army Ground Forces, the United States Marines, and the

In the light of Russian strength in orthodox weapons, and the always-present possibility that an efficient defense might be developed against atomic attack from the air, can we honestly afford further stripping of our regular fighting forces?

Mr. Lucas' article follows:

RUSSIA, SATELLITES, AND CHINA HAVE 9,000,000 IN ARMIES-HERE'S A BREAKDOWN OF SOVIET STRENGTH

(By Jim G. Lucas)

How big is the Soviet war machine Russia says it is willing to reduce?

Here's what the Kremlin would start with in any plan to limit conventional armaments, as suggested by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko over Moscow radio last night:

A 2,500,000-man army in 175 divisions. Back of that, 400,000 public security (NKVD) troops and 80 East Europe satellite divisions.

(The United States Joint Chiefs of Staff list this as the second largest land army in the world. The Chinese Communists, with 2 million regulars and 1 million uniformed public security troops attached to the army, is rated the largest.)

A 600,000-man air force with 20,000 planes.

An 885,000-man navy.

The Russians have held to 175 divisions for several years. But the firepower and mobility of these divisions have grown each year since 1945. Equipment constantly is being modernized. They have 65 tank and mechanized divisions and 40,000 new tanks. (We have 16 divisions of all kinds.) divisions have been motorized and beefed with tanks and heavy artillery. They have 40 new airborne divisions.

Russia and her European satellites bave 6 million men under arms. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) estimates they can field 400 divisions within 30 days after the outbreak of war.

AIR FORCE MODERNIZED

NATO says there has been a very considerable modernization of the Red air force recently. At the outbreak of the Korean war, 20 percent of Russia's fighters were jets. Since 1954, all have been jets. The number

of TU-4 (B-29 type) bombers in combat units has been doubled. These are now giving way to jet bombers, including one reportedly in a class with our B-52.

Russia's 360 aircraft factories work around the clock. Among other items, they turn out a small rocket-driven intercepter which can climb 15,000 feet a minute at takeoff and 39,000 feet a minute above 20,000 feet; a double delta-wing plane which can climb straight up; a MIG-17 comparable to our F-100 and a bulkier MIG-19; an experimental jet escort comparable to our F-101; a tailless fighter carried by a TU-4 mother ship which has been seen holding its own in mock combat with a MIG-17, and a 4-engined turboprop bomber which can fly 7,650 miles nonstop. That's enough to reach the United States from East Russia.

In 4 years, the number of major Red air force bases in Europe and Asia has quadrupled. Construction still is being pushed.

The Red air force combines three commands:

Long-range bombers.

Home defense.

Tactical air.

Home defense operates 3,000 planes, principally MIG-15's. Tactical air has 12,000, including MIG-17's and MIG-19's.

Until recently, the Soviet navy wasn't much to worry about. Adm. Robert B. Carney, United States Chief of Naval Opera-tions, says Russia now has world's second largest navy. According to NATO, it includes 350 submarines in service, hundreds more under construction, 3 battleships, 24 cruisers, 150 destroyers, "hundreds" of minelayers and minesweepers.

MORE SUBS

The Red navy beats ours in two fieldssubmarines and cruisers. Its 350 undersea craft include long-range patrol classes, minelayers, and two small classes for coastal defense.

Russia bases her naval construction program on ours-she builds what we don't. that way, she seeks to obtain superiority in a limited field. Russia has ignored plane carriers and concentrated on cruisers. We have not built a new cruiser since the war; Russia has built 20-the biggest cruiser-building program of any nation. Her new Sverdlov class cruiser is listed by the British as "quite formidable."

Admiral Carney says the Russians are "using their own shippards to build new cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and smaller vessels. They are buying ever increasing numbers of merchant ships from our allies and our friends. They are strengthening

their naval aviation."

THREE THOUSAND NAVY PLANES

Russia's naval air arm is entirely shorebased. But it contains 2,500 to 3,000 fighters, the majority jet. It also includes several thousand troop-carrying helicopters for am-

phibious landing operations.

Russia's naval strategy is to guard the Baltic and Black seas and defend her interests in the seas of Okhotak and Japan; to block American and British approaches to Europe; to attack trans-Atlantic and cross-channel supply lines, and to starve out Britain and Japan by mines and submarine attack.

In all her forces, a British report says, the Russians are training manpower at a far faster rate than the free world. They have access to more. Russians are liable for military service until they are 50. Russia can tap 900,000 new men each year.

Finally, according to NATO, Russia made "remarkable progress in the fields of atomic, chemical and biological warfare and in gulded missiles." She has the H-bomb and is spending heavily on atomic weapons.

LARGEST BUDGET EVER

The 1955 Soviet military budget buys the largest peace-time force Russia has had. Its 112 billion rubles is slightly less than the previous high, 113,800,000,000 rubles in 1952. But a lower price level gives it more pur-Translated into dollars, it chasing power. comes to \$28 billion. But military price tags in Russia are arbitrarily low. The ruble equivalent of \$28 billion gives her a force which would cost us \$100 billion.

Russia, of course, has her problems. Chief among them are transportation and food. While war industry has increased 10 times, agriculture production has increased only 30 percent in 25 years. Grain production is now at its 1928 level. The Soviet Union has a poorer diet than many underdeveloped nonindustrial countries.

Her transportation has not yet recovered from World War II. Two years ago her railroads carried the same amount of freight as in 1940. Trucking, river boating and ocean

shipping lag.

Nevertheless, Russia is pushing two new rail links with Red China. The Chinese-Russian defense pact can be evoked by either party. Ostensibly, these two new railroads are meant to help the Chinese. But they serve Russia as well. They give her an outlet on the China Sea and they enable her to tap China's vast mineral resources.

Russia's forces are spread from Man-churia to Berlin, from Leningrad to the Iranian border. But she has one uncon-tested advantage. The initiative is hers. She knows we won't start a war. Therefore, she can maneuver her forces at will, applying pressure where it best serves her interests. So far, she has played it cozy. She has let others do her fighting.

What the Judge Said in the Recent Lightfoot Case at Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. DOYLE, Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to be able to herewith call to your attention and every Member of this great legislative body the text of a recent decision by Hon. Philip L. Sullivan, judge of the United States district court, Chicago, Ill., in what is commonly known as the Lightfoot case.

As you know, I serve on the House Un-American Activities Committee as well as a member of the Armed Services

I, having read brief newspaper comment of this interesting and indicative decision, wrote the honorable judge for a copy thereof, and I herewith also present a copy of his letter to me enclosing the text of his memorandum in the Lightfoot case.

This case, and the decision therein, is of more than just ordinary interest because the defendant admitted and so did his legal counsel in the case that he was a member of the Communist Party. Not only was it admitted by the defendant himself and the legal counsel him. self, but it was established by formal

Also, Mr. Speaker, I especially call attention to the decision by the honorable judge of the United States Federal court, who forwarded me a copy of his decision, that said court made a finding "considering the documentary evidence, plus the testimony of the witnesses" that "there was evidence from which a reasonable mind could conclude beyond a reasonable doubt that the Communist Party was, during the indictment period, one which advocated the overthrow of the Government by force and violence as speedily as circumstances would permit."

Mr. Speaker, I especially call your attention to this paragraph of this significant decision for the reason, amongst others, that in my humble judgment most patriotic American citizens do not realize that there has frequently been uncontroverted evidence before our Federal courts in trials involving Communist Party members that said Communist Party in the United States was not only advocating the overthrow of government by force and violence but that there also has been ample evidence in many of these same trials make it crystal clear that this Communist Party in the United States not only advocated the overthrow of the Government by force and violence but advocated that this force and violence should be applied as speedily as circumstances would permit.

The letter and decision follow:

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, Chicago, February 28, 1955. Congressman CLYDE DOYLE,

House of Representatives.

Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DOYLE: At your request I am mailing you a copy of my memorandum in the Lightfoot case

With kind regards I am, Sincerely yours,

PHILIP L. SULLIVAN.

DECISION OF JUDGE PHILIP L. SULLIVAN, UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, CHICAGO, IN THE LIGHTFOOT CASE

I have been keenly aware that this is not an ordinary criminal case; throughout the trial, I have been sensitive to the justice of defendant's contention that it would be difficult to secure a fair verdict on this issue; and I have been aware that many of us tend to discard our normal thinking and reactions when we hear the word "communism." these reasons, I wish to make an exhaustive study of the evidence submitted, with a view to using my power under rule 29 of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure to direct a judgment of acquittal if it should appear that the verdict of the jury was not supported by evidence from which a reasonable mind could conclude guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.

This study has convinced me that the verdict of the jury was supported by the required evidence.

The defendant was indicted under section 2 of the Smith Act (title 18, U. S. C. A.,

sec. 2385) which provides:
"Whoever organizes or helps or attempts to organize any society, group or assembly of persons who teach, advocate or encourage the overthrow or destruction of any such government by force or violence; or becomes or is a member of, or affiliates with, any such society. group or assembly of persons knowing the purposes thereof.'

The indictment charges that from on or about July 25, 1945, and continuously thereafter, up to and including the date of the indictment (May 14, 1954), the Communist Party was a society of persons advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence as speedily as circumstances would permit; and that the defendant was a member of that organization during the same period, knowing these purposes, and intending to bring about such overthrow by force and violence as speedily as circumstances would permit.

That defendant was a member of the Communist Party was admitted by himself as well as by his counsel and established by

formal proof.

The evidence of the Government tending to prove the advocacy of the party falls into

several categories:

First. There was evidence tending to show that: The party has secret members; in schools conducted by it, training was uniform and according to an established pattern; it is a highly organized group, built on well-defined administrative levels and maintaining discipline within its ranks. This evidence was of course significant as showing the deviation of the Communist Party from normal political parties, and an inference may fairly be drawn from it that

significant reasons for the deviation exist.

Second. There was evidence to show its teachings and beliefs. This evidence established that the Communist Party is a political party "basing itself on the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism."

To prove the meaning of this term, there have been introduced a number of extracts from the books which have been described as the classics of Marxism-Leninism. A few of these works, on which it was testified the Communist Party relies, are: Communist Manifesto; Stalin, Foundations of Leninism; Lenin, Left Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder; Stalin, Problems of Leninism.

The extracts show that from a stated belief in the principles of Marxism-Leninism, a reasonable mind could conclude beyond a reasonable doubt a corresponding belief in the use of force and violence for the overthrow of the Government of the United States. In fact, many courts have apparently so construed them.

I find that, considering the documentary evidence, plus the testimony of the witnesses, there was evidence from which a reasonable mind could conclude beyond a reasonable doubt that the Communist Party was, during the indictment period, one which advocated the overthrow of the Government by force and violence as speedily as circumstances would permit.

Having found upon ample evidence that the advocacy of the party was of the use of force and violence for the purposes described, the jury could hardly have found that the defendant did not have knowledge of this advocacy. Considering his writing in evidence, which call for a dedication to Marxism-Leninism, and all the testimony of all the witnesses, I find that there was evidence from which a reasonable mind could conclude beyond a reasonable doubt that the defendant knew that the Communist Party advocated the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and that he intended to bring about such overthrow by force and violence.

Veterans' Administration Interest and Accomplishments in Cancer Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. speaker, under leave to extend my re-

marks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of the Veterans' Administration activities in the field of cancer research. I am sure it will be of interest to many persons:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION INTEREST AND AC-COMPLISHMENTS IN CANCER RESEARCH

As the veteran population ages, the incidence and mortality from various forms of cancer increases progressively. There has been a steadily increasing demand upon the Veterans' Administration to provide hospital care for veterans suffering from cancer. The medical research program of the Veterans' Administration has tried to keep pace with this growing problem by stimulating more research in the field of cancer and allied diseases.

From July 1952 through July 1954, 68 research studies concerned with all aspects of cancer were started in VA hospitals. Ten of these studies are concerned with diseases of the blood such as leukemia. In the course of these investigations, one of our doctors has demonstrated that certain forms of cancer and leukemia are caused by viruses and he has shown that these viruses may be transmitted from parent to offspring through the embryo. Although this work was performed in experimental animals, its implications for better understanding of human cancer and leukemia are quite obvious.

The Veterans' Administration medical research program is currently supporting the following types of research related to leukemia and cancer:

- (a) Investigations directed toward finding the cause of these diseases.
- (b) Investigations to provide earlier diagnosis of these diseases.
- (c) Investigations directed toward finding better treatment of these diseases.
- (d) Investigations concerned with the management of patients suffering from these diseases.

It should be pointed out that radioisotopes are used in many of our hospitals for diagnosis and treatment purposes. Through the use of radioisotopes certain forms of cancer have been localized in deep tissues of the body such as the liver and brain.

As early as 1948, the Medical Research Statistics Division reviewed the VA cancer experience and on the basis of this experience estimated the cancer incidence among the veteran population for the years 1947, 1950, and 1960. Table 2 of section II of this report reveals that there will be an expected annual incidence of cancer among veterans totaling 54,000 cases in 1960. This study also reveals that the incidence of cancer increases as the veteran population ages. This study provided estimates of the expected cancer morbidity among the veteran population which serves as a guide for determining the future VA requirements for trained medical specialists and technicians as well as the required diagnostic and therapeutic facilities for care of cancer patients.

In 1953 because of the great interest in the problem of the relationship of smoking to the development of cancer in the lung, the VA cooperated with the United States Public Health Service in initiating a study of VA records, designed to throw light on this question.

The Veterans' Administration is in a unique position to carry out clinical and laboratory investigations of cancer and other tumors. There are approximately 25,000 veterans hospitalized within VA hospitals each year with some form of cancer. With this wealth of clinical material and with the medical research and radioisotope laboratories available within the VA, we are in a unique position to provide information so badly needed for a better understanding of the cancer problem.

If There Had Been No Yalta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, Ernest Lindley's column in the March 28 issue of Newsweek magazine is a sober analysis of the controversial Yalta agreements. It should appeal to persons who are interested in studying this matter calmly and unemotionally:

Washington Tides
(By Ernest K. Lindley)
IF THERE HAD BEEN NO YALTA

Suppose that there had been no Yalta agreements. Let us apply the test specifically to the three agreements which are said to have aggrandized the Soviet Union:

1. The declaration on Poland: The Russians had invaded the eastern part of the prewar Poland in 1939 and annexed it. When the Yalta Conference met they had liberated all the rest of Poland except a few pockets. Indeed, they had crossed the Oder and at one point were only 35 miles from Berlin. They had set up a Communist-controlled government.

In short, the Russians already had Poland. The primary objective of Roosevelt and Churchill was to prevent Russian control from becoming permanent. They managed to obtain Stalin's promise that the Communist puppet government would be reorganized to include other Polish democratic leaders, including some in exile. He agreed also to "free and unfettered elections * * * on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot." He pledged that in those elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates."

2. Declaration on liberated Europe: At the time of Yalta, Rumania and Bulgaria already had been liberated. Budapest fell the day after the conference ended. In short, the Russians already controlled most of southeastern Europe. The western objective was to prevent the squatters rights of the Red army from becoming permanent. Stalin promised independence for those nations, through provisional governments representing all democratic elements and free elections.

The Yalta agreements did not give eastern Europe to the Russians. They control it in spite of the Yalta agreements, through flagrant violations of their pledges.

3. The Far Eastern agreement, under which Russia promised to go to war within 90 days of the German surrender: Roosevelt, it is true, was acting on the basis of a wrong military estimate that it would take 18 months after the German surrender to defeat Japan. The end of the 90-day period coincided approximately with the Japanese surrender.

The Far Eastern agreement granted Russia specified territories and rights, most of which had been taken from her by Japan 40 years earlier. At the same time, Stalin recognized Chinese sovereignty over Manchuria, subject to Russian rail and naval-base rights, and agreed to sign a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Nationalist Government of China.

Most comment on this agreement overlooks other obvious realities. What was granted to the Russians was much less than they had the power to take—and to take without contributing anything to the defeat of Japan. They could have waited until Japan was at

the point of collapse and then occupied all of Manchuria and Korea, and perhaps more. That possibility was not ignored in Washington. It could be prevented only by invading those countries with United States forces. We had none to spare. (We occupied lower Korea by an agreement made after the Japanese surrender.)

The Yalta agreement on the Far East did not give the Communist control of Manchuria, Korea, or China, or Southern Sakhalin. It defined and limited Russian gains to the Far East.

Valid arguments can be made against these and other Yalta agreements. The Far Eastern agreement was ambiguous on one point. Perhaps Roosevelt should have pressed harder for firmer commitments on joint control of Eastern Europe, as the State Department urged. As the Far Eastern agreement and, as to boundaries, the Polish agreement involved compromises with principle, it may be contended that they should not have been made at all. But they did not give the Russians anything which they did not already hold or could not easily seize. Most of the concessions were made by Stalin. He did not keep his word and we had no means except major force to obtain compliance. Those who blame these agreements, rather than Russian violations of them, for the plight of the world are excusing the Communists.

Alaska Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members an excellent editorial in support of Alaska statehood which appeared in the March 21, 1955, issue of the Bellevue

(Ohio) Gazette:

The familiar, "All is not gold that glitters," may bring many things to mind for the leg-islators in Washington, but it doesn't seem to bring the subject of Statehood for Alaska to mind.

It should.

Alaska, while glittering, literally, snow many months of the year, also glitters with the lusty richness of new developments, and a promise of even greater prosperity in the years ahead.

Alaska glitters with the gold of the salmon industry, the wealth of its oil, and the shine from its deep mineral resources.

Still, with all of this, Alaska could hardly expect statehood on the basis of wealth, alone. Actually, its wealth, while an excellent talking point, is not its best argument.

Best reason for statehood for Alaska and its people is the net result of the struggles of early settler who founded this little America near the North Pole which is shaping broad, new frontiers for America.

Cities and towns have sprung up, industry is thriving, commerce and trade are strong and growing, families and homes have become permanent, Americanized, and settled.

even the most hardy of the present-Yet. day pioneers are laboring to overcome the present obstacle and attain the coveted status of residents of a State in the Union.

Why hasn't Congress seen fit to repay the efforts of thousands of Americans who have ventured into the unknown to establish the American way of life in a faraway

Today Alaska has schools, churches, and far more law and order than was found in the earlier frontier States when they were admitted to the Union a century ago.

Alaskans are citizens in every way. new land is filled with vigor, strength, and promise. It wants statehood.

Will Alaska have to wait as long as Ohio

Stassen's New Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Daily News of March 22, 1955, entitled "Stassen's New Job," and a column from the New York Daily News of March 22, 1955, entitled "Capitol Stuff," by John O'Donnell:

STASSEN'S NEW JOR

With much fanfare, President Eisenhower has made Harold E. Stassen a special Presidential assistant, of Cabinet rank, to work for world disarmament.

That's a tipoff as to what this administration actually thinks of the United Nations, as against what it says it thinks. Apparently the President has despaired of the U. N. as the effective peacemaker which he continually calls it.

We wish Stassen luck-though we feel that could name offhand a half-dozen men better qualified for this job. Certainly it would be fine if somebody somehow could get some binding agreements out of the big powers to taper off the piling up of weapons.

However, we hope Stassen's first step in preparing for his new assignment will be a careful reading of the story of the Washington disarmament powwow of 1921-22. At that conference the powers agreed on the famous 5-5-3 ratio of naval tonnages for the United States, Britain, and Japan. This country actually scrapped some fighting ships, while Britain and Japan thriftily scrapped only some blueprints for ships.

It was a grim joke on Uncle Sap. We hope that Stassen, whatever else he won't let the Nation in for a repetition of the 1921-22 flasco-and that Congress will insist on keeping careful tabs on everything he does about disarmament. He'll be playing with human lives, not with marbles.

CAPITOL STUFF

(By John O'Donnell)

Washington, March 21 .- It has been 20 rears since the onetime boy governor of Minnesota, Harold E. Stassen, started to run for the White House. Never, during that long stretch of political striving, has the seemingly tireless candidate received the encouraging boost to his ambitions that he has just had from President Eisenhower.

Stassen is now "Secretary for Peace" in the Eisenhower Cabinet. Politically, the title is solid gold for any candidate to wear in a war-weary, tax-ridden nation. Perhaps little real progress can be made in the next 12 months (that's when the presidential primaries start) by the President's newly appointed special assistant with Cabinet rank, charged with "developing . . * the broad studies, investigations, and conclusions which * * * will become basic policy * * * of disarmament." But from the political angle, the experts believe that Stassen has at last hit the jackpot.

Back in 1940, Stassen was just too young to enter the fight for the nomination against Willkie and Dewey. But he threw his weight around in the convention, made the keynote speech and then jumped on the Willkle bandwagon. In 1944 and 1948 he was in there fighting for ballots against Dewey, put on a good preconvention campaign but had no permanent public forum to win national stature. The same was true in 1952 and Stassen put on only a half-hearted campaign against Ike for the nomination. It was his own Minnesota delegation which took the lead in making the dramatic break which put Ike over on the first rollcall.

Now, as one seasoned observer noted sagely: "That Stassen card that Ike tossed out Saturday into the political poker game hit the table so hard that it sounded like the crack of doom to some of the GOP hope-

fuls.

RIVALS FEAR IKE WAS NAMING CROWN PRINCE

The hopefuls who were flabbergasted by the sudden move included such ambitious young Republicans as Vice President Rich-ARD NIXON and his fellow Californian, Senate Minority Leader WILLIAM KNOWLAND. the way down the Washington political line there seemed to be the belief that the move had all the earmarks of an Eisenhower blessing on a political crown prince-either for 1956 or 1960. After all, Stassen is still only 48 years old.

So far as Republican political history is concerned, no President has ever given anyone such a vigorous thrust toward throne since Teddy Roosevelt, back in 1908, named William Howard Taft as his suc-

cessor.

The recent shuffling of White House personnel takes on more significance in the light of the Stassen promotion. A little over a fortnight back, Stassen's 1952 national chairman, Bernard M. Shanley, of New Jersey, was appointed Secretary to the President. In that all-important post (there is only one Secretary to the President-the others are assistants to the President, deputy assistants, press secretaries, etc.) the dedicated Stassen supporter succeeded former Governor Dewey's political associate Thomas E. Stephens.

AMBASSADOR TO UN LODGE HAS A REAL BEEF

These developments have not been sitting comfortably in the crops of some very important forces within the party. So far as the followers of the late Senator Taft are concerned, New York's Dewey is the only leader more cordially disliked than Stassen.

Among the original '52 group of Eisenhower boosters, Ambassador to the UN Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. can feel miffed at the new development. Lodge had the thankless and impossible job of carrying the disarmament ball in the UN against Commie opposition. Now he returns from a London "disarmament discussion" with nothing more than a zero in the way of accomplishment and finds that rival Stassen has grabbed off a cabinet seat. There he can sit at ease until the '56 national convention with a halo of peace on his brow and a warm spotlight of national publicity which he can turn off and on at will.

But there is powerful opposition from Stassen's own Middle West to any move to build up the head of the Foreign Operations Administration (soon to expire) into White House stature. For one, Illinois' Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN will certainly throw his hat into the convention fight if for any reason Ike should decide to refuse the 1956 nomination.

DIRKSEN and Wisconsin's Senator McCar-THY have been loyal associates and time was when Stassen was in their camp. That was in 1948 when Stassen was battling Dowey in the fight for delegates.

FOA DUE TO DIE, BUT NOT THE SPENDING

In the Wisconsin primaries, thanks to the campaigning of the then freshman Senator McCarthy and the strategic guidance of Victor Johnston, a Taft lieutenant in 1952, Dewey failed to get a single Wisconsin delegate. Then Dewey knocked Stassen out of the race when he made mincemeat of the boy wonder in an Oregon debate on the question, "Shall we outlaw the Communist Party?" Dewey took the negative and argued that the Stassen proposal was a violation of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Stassen's FOA will expire June 30. Confress certainly won't give it another lease on life, but it will be transferred as a semi-independent setup under the State Department. But if foreign beneficiaries fear not—the fountains of United States taxpayers' cash are already turned on by Stassen so that they will play higher and longer than

did the old Marshall plan.

In the 4 years under the Marshall plan we gave away roughly \$12.5 billions of tax money to foreigners. Stassen has just come up with an 8-year plan for Asia for which we kick in at the rate of \$2.1 billion a year.

Congress, however, noting that the voters are getting sick and tired of the Truman-Marshall-Acheson foreign aid, may quietly ditch the whole insane proposal.

Welcome for Scelba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the Newark (N. J.) Sunday News under date of March 27, 1955, entitled "Welcome for Scelba":

In Mario Scelba, Premier of Italy, official Washington entertains a political personality

of rare accomplishments.

Initially, as Interior Minister in postwar De Gasperi cabinets, Signor Scelba was a "tough cop" feared by the riotous, Red-ridden Italy of that unhappy era. Today, after little more than a year as chief of state, he is the skillful moderator who maintains the precarious balance of the center-party coalition.

Within the government, Signor Scelba has built a commendable record despite the wrangling between conservative Liberals and right-wing Socialists and the intra-party difference between right and left factions of the Christian Democratic Party.

Outside the government, of course, the Premier's progressive policies have been a target for Communists and Nenni-Socialists and for the Monarchists and neo-Fascists

on the far right.

In foreign affairs, Signor Scelba settled the Trieste dispute with Yugoslavia and thereby stiffened the southern flank of European defenses. He figured largely in Italy's guick acceptance of the Paris agreements rearming West Germany and setting up a Western European Union under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

At home, the Premier has waged an effective campaign against communism. Social and economic reforms are advancing despite opposition inside and outside the regime.

As a most effective influence for stability in Italy and a proven friend of the United States, Signor Scelba well merits the heartiest welcome this country can offer.

One Hundred and Thirty-Fourth Anniversary of Greek Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on Friday March 25, every American of Greek descent had cause for personal pride and happiness because this important day was the 134th anniversay of the independence of Greece. Americans of every nationality join with their brother citizens of Greek descent in this anniversary celebration of the freedom of the great and independent Greek nation. Under the leadership of Archbishop Germenos a long time ago, in 1821, the gallant and courageous Greek people rose against their enemy oppressors. Since that valiant strife 134 years ago, Greece has fought successfully to maintain freedom and

The ancient ancestors of modern Greece are also the ancestors of western civilization and culture. The immeasurable contributions of Aristotle, Demosthenes, Socrates, Plato, together with many, many other towering names of ancient Greece civilization laid the foundation of modern culture and molded the pattern for our culture and intellectual western civilization. In their search for truth, the ancient Greek scholars made possible the development of modern civilization—by their constant and progressive elimination of the frontiers of knowledge. In philosophy, science, art, literature, politics, architecture and government they profoundly influenced not only the life of their times but the development of the western world. It is in this sense that every American can join in the celebration of this anniversary of Greek independence.

The many years of the independence of Greece, however, have brought many challenges to the Greek people and their freedom. Within our time people all over the world marveled at the courageous stand of Greece against the Fascist and Nazi invader. The valiant fight and ultimate victory over communism of the Greek people has been a source of inspiration for millions of people dreaming and hoping for freedom but still bound and oppressed by the chains of communism.

From those early days of 1821 to the present time, the people of America have aided and assisted the Greek people in their struggles to maintain their independence. Moreover, the United States is fully conscious of the honor and the advantages of having a vigorous nation such as the Greeks by our side in the struggle against Russian communism. The fact that recent United States aid has been given to Greece without any territorial or material gains on our part indicates to the Greek people that there is no imperialistic intent on the part of the United States, but only a desire to assist in sustaining Greek independence.

On the 134th anniversary of Greek independence the noble spirit of the Greeks is perhaps best expressed in the words of their leader, King Paul, in an address delivered before the United Nations General Assembly, during a trip to the United States, when he said:

With internal political stability and possessing Armed Forces whose organization, fighting spirit, and reliability are universally recognized, Greece stands alert. Should the powers of destruction at any moment dare to interfere in an attempt to strangle the salutary work of the United Nations, Greece stands ready to throw herself at once into the struggle at the services of the world organization.

In my home city of Lowell we are very proud of our American citizens of Greek ancestry. Their family life represents the finest. They have contributed many to the learned professions. Lawyers, doctors, teachers, and the clergy cooperate together with Mr. Citizen to give the community a neighborly spirit. They have contributed greatly to the defense of our country. They are among my close friends and for many years I have been grateful to them for their loyalty and honorable spirit.

Throughout the Commonwealth of Massachusetts there are many Americans with the excellent and noble background of the culture of Greece. Our Commonwealth and our country is a much improved place for life and living, for the strength of our defense, for the sturdiness of our character, for genuine happiness because they are with us, a part of us, in the constant building of this America, the greatest Democracy on earth.

Statehood Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA .

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial which appeared in the March 20 issue of the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph on Alaska and Hawaii statehood and a letter which appeared in the March 24 issue of the same paper written by Mr. M. J. Molans, who has long been an ardent statehood advocate:

END THE ARGUMENT

Statehood for both Hawaii and Alaska is recommended in the formal report of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

There are compelling reasons for taking the two Territories into full partnership with the Union, and there are only political reasons for not doing so.

Both are vital to our defense. Both possess substantial populations and economies. Their citizens are Americans. They

pay taxes.

To continue, year after year, to deny them their proper status of statehood and representation is to deny American ideals and give fuel to Communist propaganda.

The interminable argument should be ended, this session of Congress, with state-hood for both.

Statehood for Alaska has had no stronger advocate among American newspapers than the Hearst publications. In Pittsburgh your paper, with the editorials and the powerful cartoons by Burris Jenkins, has consistently urged and promoted statehood for our "step child" Territory. Your recent editorial, End the Argument, tells in the most forceful manner and finest words "the compelling reasons for taking into full partnership both Alaska and Hawaii."

You will recall my campaigning for statehood as far back as 1942 and that one of your editorials—much of which I quoted in letters sent to the Insular and Interior Affairs Committee, with a copy to Representative E. L. BARTLETT-was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

For my part, I want to express my thanks and gratification for this particular editorial. Keep up the good work in behalf of both Territories.

M. J. MOLANS.

PITTSBURGH.

The Independence Day of the Greeks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, many peoples associate their origin with certain heroes who have saved them from extinction, or who have performed some epic deed which has been of vital significance to the preservation or glorification of the nation. These half real and half legendary heroes are often presented as the embodiment of the national spirit, as the champions of national independence, or as defenders of liberty. The history and mythology of the ancient Greeks are full of such heroes-some of them real, some of them only products of the fanciful imaginations of poets. What is important is that these ancient figures, representing the spirit of freedom or other noble ideals, were among the first symbols of many of our Western culture's finest concepts. Greek history, literature, and mythology they have entered the broad stream of the best traditions of the West. For this reason our debt to the Greeks is immense. That is one reason why the celebration of Greek Independence Day is of such meaningful significance to Americans.

After many long and glorious years of history, in the 15th century the Greeks came under the sway of the Turks. For about 400 years they were subjected to the Turk's alien and unwanted rule. During those years it was not possible for them, without effective outside aid, to free themselves. But early in the 19th century, they saw their chance, seized upon it, proclaimed their independence on March 25, 1821. waged a long and uphill fight against their oppressors, and finally, after many years of fighting and with the aid and encouragement of their friends abroad. they regained their national political independence. Since then Greece has been free. As we have witnessed during recent years. Greece has guarded her freedom with constant vigilance and is determined to defend it against all foes. In joining this celebration we wish the Greeks success and prosperity in the years to come, and we promise them, as our allies, support in the defense of their priceless possession, their national independence.

Interview With Bishop Cuthbert M. O'Gara

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished American who spent many years of his life helping the good people of China, and who was a victim of Communist tyranny in China, affords the unknowing an opportunity to know the truth.

In a recent interview with the press, he pointed out that the American retreat from victory was no accident. He points out that the present predicament in which we find ourselves today is a result of the deliberate efforts of a small group of pro-Communist pseudo-intellectuals who still maintain a stranglehold on our free institutions. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the remarks of Bishop Cuthbert M. O'Gara, which appeared in the Sunday Visitor of March 20 and urge everyone to give them a very careful reading:

"The people of the United States do not appreciate the magnitude of the defeat the west has suffered since 1945," said Bishop "It is incredible that such a small group of pro-Communists, pseudointellectuals, should have effected in so short a time one of the greatest turnovers in the history of mankind.

Bishop O'Gara said this defeat could not be blamed on stupidity. He charges that it was brought about with full deliberation.

"No group of Americans could be that stupid," he charged. "The deliberate throwing away of our victory after World War II is confirmed by the whole list of stupidities since V-J Day. And these stupidities are still going on. Someone is directing this sell-out.'

BIG LIE GROWS BIGGER

The bishop told of the hope and confidence felt in Hunan, his diocese, when the Japa-nese had been defeated. There the Chinese felt secure, certain that the United States would help keep China free.

"But America tossed the fruits of victory away. The Communists were permitted to pour in and take over," Bishop O'Gara reports. "The United States was beaten, the Commies claimed, and their first big lie gained credence.

"That lie gained strength as we backed down in Korea, backed down in Indochina, and backed down in the Tachen Islands. That lie grows and feeds on each United States retreat."

The bishop charges that American leaders are aiding the Communists by not allowing Chiang and the Nationalists to move against the Reds. The excuses given by Washington for yielding the Nationalist islands off the

coast of China will not stand up under close examination, he contends.

Bishop O'Gara declared that the latest series of United States retreats falls into the same pattern that started with the defamation of the Chiang government immediately after World War II. He admitted that there had been abuses in Nationalist Chinaeven as there was corruption in Washing-Whatecer abuses there may have been in Nanking, these were puny, he says, when compared to the crimes against our people and against our Christian tradition by the United States officials who betrayed their own people and changed the history of the world by traitorously giving atomic and military secrets to Russia.
"But," he went on, "the Nationalist gov-

ernment was being shaped in the western tradition and was friendly. The United States should have taken a strong hand in holding the Nationalists in the camp of the free world."

CHINA BETRAVED

"American leaders could have rid China of the bad elements," said the bishop. "Instead we threw over a nation of more than 500 million by giving the Communists their strongest propaganda argument; we protected the ill-gotten gains of a few and present-ed the continent of China to our avowed enemies, the Soviets, who boast that they are out to destroy us.

"In the days when the Nationalists were being harshly criticized by our pseudointellectuals, pro-Red apologists, pinks, and fellow travelers, the Chinese Communists were being built up as a group of high-minded

agrarian reformers.

I only wish I could get out of China some of the people of my diocese who were hung up by the thumbs and who spent days cooped up in rice bins, and who could give you a better appreciation than I can of the benefits of agrarian reform."

Bishop O'Gara says that by our continued retreats and by yielding to those who cry for more trade with Iron Curtain countries, we are building up the economy of our avowed enemy, who time and time again has declared that his objective is to eliminate the United

States as a world power.

"Why should we help keep the Communists in power? Every report we get from released victims of Red China indicates that a push in the right direction would encourage the people to rise up against their Red oppressors. Besides we get no credit for our lar-gesse. Anything the Reds get through trade with the West is labeled before distribution as coming from the Communist Peoples Gov-

"Support for trade with China, whether originating in Britain or in the United States. cannot be written off as mere stupidity. It is deliberate. No one could be so colossally stupid.

Some person or group of persons is pulling the strings. Sentiment for trade with China is a deliberate policy inspired by Communist sympathizers right here on the home That must be evident to anyone who reads the record."

RED CHINA AND THE U. N.

One of the most disastrous developments of the cold war, according to Bishop O'Gara, is "the amazing sympathy in many circles in America and Britain to the idea of a place in the United Nations for Red China.'

The bishop can't get over the gullibility of the American people who fall for the line of the "quasi-intellectuals who are sounding off on every opportunity in a concerted drive to win support for a Communist China seat in the U. N."

"Hundreds of Americans are still languishing in Red prisons-hostages in Mao tung's drive for a U. N. seat," says the bishop. One atrocity follows upon another; colossal lies are spread against the United Statesthe most monstrous being that of germ warfare which was driven down our throats in jail-and still our legislators in Washington talk of recognition.

"To accept Red China in the family of civilized nations is like doing business with a bandit who has kicked you, maligned you, beaten you, and robbed you. Would you invite such a bandit to dine with you?

"How Mr. Churchill and Mr. Dulles and other negotiators of lesser stature in the free world can contemplate dealings with these evil men who come to the conference table with hands reeking with the blood of our soldiers and missionaries is beyond comprehension. If Red China is admitted to the U. N., every self-respecting delegation should walk out.™

REAPPRAISAL NEEDED

According to Bishop O'Gara, we must face the facts of the present international situation with a sober mind and make "an agoniz-

ing reappraisal."

"We instituted a blockade," he said, "but it was ineffective because we did not follow through. When Britain in the days of her ascendency declared a blockade, any ship attempting to break through was searchedas Americans know to their humiliation. But when America blockaded the China coast, British ships plied the China Sea doing business with an enemy. Has any accounting ever been made of the American lives lost because of this very broad and accommodating policy of our distinguished ally?"

Bishop O'Gara says that every time the United Nations retreat and the Communists advance, there are great demonstrations throughout the length and breadth of China. Schools are emptied, victory parades staged, and floods of lies are spewed forth by expert Communist propagandists. Bishop O'Gara explained: "All of it is designed to make maximum use of the fact that the United States has backed down again, is nothing but the 'paper tiger' Red propa-ganda has always pictured her to be."

The appeal to national and racial prejudices is most effective on the young students,

the Bishop stressed.

"The Communists already have had con-trol of the youth of China for 6 years. In another decade, the present generation will be irrevocably theirs."

PERSECUTED BY REDS

Bishop O'Gara almost died during his imprisonment. In fact, his recovery is not yet complete. He spoke with feeling against United States efforts to use material or monetary aid in building the free world's bulwark against communism. He deplored the "fabulous giveaway programs of the United States and the U. N. Billions of dollars have been poured into nations that

today are solidly against us.

"Sending monetary aid all over the world gained not one single friend. We shall never Win the goodwill or friendship of Asiatic countries with blandishments and lavish handouts. True-they will always come back for more; but when the time comes to stand up and be counted, they'll be found on the side that is militarily stronger and politlcally more aggressive and successful. Gratitude is not in the Communist lexicon. There is but one virtue and that is obedience of mind and body to the Peoples' Govern-

"We have the brains to work out the me-chanics of the atom bomb," the Bishop said. "Why can't we produce the thinkers who will come up with ideas of how to sell American democracy to Europeans and Asiatics?

"We try to sell them a purely mechanical way of life and they give a deaf ear to promises of motorcars, radios, and TV sets. Our programs are crude and only insult the finer cultural instinct of peoples much older than we. Why don't our spokesmen for America make an honest, even scientific, effort to find out what these peoples upon whom we shower our billions in a futile effort to make them our friends, are really interested in and really do want?"

John T. Jones, Labor's Nonpartisan League Head. Dead at 66

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF TILINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an article eulogizing Mr. John Thomas Jones, director of Labor's Nonpartisan League, who died March 3, 1955. The article appeared in the March 15 issue of United Mine Workers Journal:

JOHN T. JONES, LABOR'S NONPARTISAN LEAGUE HEAD, DEAD AT 66

John Thomas Jones, veteran UMWA executive and director of the international union's legislative department, Labor's Nonpartisan League, died at 5:35 p. m., Thursday, March 3, in Emergency Hospital, Washington, D. C. Immediate cause of death was a blood clot that formed following surgery. Mr. Jones was 66.

President John L. Lewis, Vice President Thomas Kennedy, and Secretary-Treasurer John Owens, all of whom had been closely associated with Mr. Jones for many years, issued the following statement on his passing:

"The death of John T. Jones is a tragic loss to the United Mine Workers of America and to working people both in this country and abroad. Mr. Jones devoted his entire lifetime, from the time he first went to work in the British mines at the age of 13, to the advancement of the cause of the mineworkers and all working people.

"His loyalty to the coal miners and to organized labor was unmatched. His integrity and honesty down through the years of his career in the labor movement were unchallenged. In this difficult assignment as the UMWA's top legislative representative, Mr. Jones won the respect and friendship of public officials in all branches of our government from the local to the national level. His untiring work in behalf of a free labor movement in all countries brought him, in addition, the admiration of union leaders throughout the democratic world.

'Free labor has lost a devoted servant." Mr. Jones was born in North Wales, Great Britain, on May 31, 1888, the son of a Welsh coal miner, Joseph Jones, and Ann Lea Jones. He came from a family of 9 children, 6 boys and 3 girls. He left school while in the fifth grade to go to work in the coal mines of Great Britain at the age of 13. He immediately became a member of the National Union of Mine Workers of Great Britain.

Later Mr. Jones served in the British Army, from which he was honorably discharged on April 9, 1907, at the age of 19. He migrated to Michel, British Columbia, Canada, in October 1907, where he went to work in the mines again. He transferred his membership from the British mineworkers' union to the United Mine Workers of America. He had been a union member for 53 years, including 48 years as a member of the UMWA.

Mr. Jones left Canada in October 1908 to move to Pittsburg, Ill., once again to work in the mines. It was shortly after this that he

became acquainted with President Lewis and a close personal relationship continued for the remaining 45 years of his life.

Mr. Jones' first official position with the UMWA was his election as teller in district 12 (Illinois) in 1916, an office he held for 2 years. He served as a member of the old-age pension commission of the district from 1923 to 1924. Subsequently he became president of subdistrict 9 of district 12 in June 1929, and secretary-treasurer of the district from October 1929 to 1931.

It was during these trying days for the international union that President Lewis' trust in his friend and longtime lieutenant was proved. "John T.", as he was affectionately known in the organization, was selected by President Lewis as one of the stalwarts, wearing pit shoes, to take over the then maladministered district 12 organization that had been torn asunder by its leaders in their frenzied efforts to seize control of the international union.

Mr. Jones, as president of subdistrict 9 of district 12, with headquarters at West Frankfort, was in the midst of the intraunion battle. Later as secretary-treasurer of the district he fought for the international union against the dual movement of the

Illinois insurgents.

Following this experience in Illinois, Mr. Jones became one of the leading troubleshooters for the international union in the soft-coal fields. He went to district 19 in 1931, as international representative to work in Bell and "Bloody Harlan" Counties, Ky. He moved on to Washington as legislative representative in 1932 until 1933. May 1933, he was assigned to special organizing work in district 2 in central Pennsylvania. From there he moved to the Beckley field of West Virginia in district 17. In October 1934, he became president of district 16 (Maryland and part of northern West Virginia), a post that he held at the time of his death.

John T. became a member of the international executive board in August 1942. He was director of Labor's Nonpartisan League from July 1940 until his passing.

He played an important role on major committees in many international union conventions and was temporary chairman of the 1938 convention and introduced President Lewis to the delegates.

He served for many years as secretary of the National Bituminous Coal Wage Conference which negotiates agreements in the soft-coal industry. From December 1947 to April 1950 he was contract enforcement officer of the UMWA Welfare and Retirement Fund.

During the period when the UMWA was in the CIO, Mr. Jones served as president of the Maryland and District of Columbia Industrial Union Council, from 1937 to 1941.

In 1939 he was named by the Governor of Maryland as a labor representative on the commission to survey and revise the State's industrial accident commission laws. was a member of the advisory committee of the Bituminous Coal Division, United States Department of the Interior in 1941. During the same year he served as a member of the advisory group on Federal coal mine inspec-tions of the Interior Department.

In the international field, Mr. Jones repsented the UMWA at conferences of the Miners International Federation and the International Labor Organization, an agency of the United Nations. He attended the first conference of the ILO's coal mines commission in 1945.

Funeral services were held at the Hines Puneral Home, Washington, on Saturday, March 5. The services weer conducted by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the United States Senate and pastor of Mr. Jones' church, the Foundry Methodist Church, Washington. Dr. Harris was assisted by the Reverend F. Norman Van Brunt, associate pastor.

Hundreds of Mr. Jones' friends, including State and National Government officials, executives of the coal industry, the international-union officers, department heads and headquarters staff representatives of district 50, UMWA, and the welfare and retirement fund and several members of local union 6465, Mr. Jones' local in western Maryland, packed the flower-decked chapel in final tribute.

Among those in attendance were Senators MATTHEW M. NEELY, Democrat, West Virginia; HARLEY KILGORE, Democrat, West Virginia; ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, Tennessee; and Representatives ELIZABETH KEE, Democrat, West Virginia; and HARLEY O. STAGGERS, Democrat, West Virginia. STAGGERS inserted a special tribute in the Congressional Record on March 8 and Mrs. Kee extended her remarks in the Record to include the funeral sermon of Dr. Harris.

Others in attendance included Miss Josephine Roche, director, welfare and retirement fund; A. D. Lewis, president, district 50; Joseph T. Kennedy, secretary of mines for Pennsylvania; Harry M. Moses, president, Bituminous Coal Operators Association; Harry Gandy and Don Sullivan, representing the National Coal Association, and Arnold Levy, attorney, Indiana Coal Operators Association;

The commission representing the international union at the services included John Kmetz, district 1 international executive board member, chairman; John Ghizzoni, district 2 international excutive board member: William Hynes, district 4 international executive board member; Samuel Caddy, district 30 president; Hugh White, district 12 president; Ed Morgan, district 23 president; Louis Austin, district 11 international executive board member; Joseph Yablonski, district 5 international executive board member: John Busarello, district 5 president; Joseph Shannon, district 12 international district 7 international executive board member, and John J. Mates, district 9 international executive board member and assistant to President Lewis.

Mrs. Lee Meredith, a friend of Mr. Jones and member of his church, sang his two favorite songs at the service: The Lost Chord and In the Garden.

Burial rites were held in Indianapolis on Monday, March 7, at the Royster-Askin Funeral Home with the Reverend Dr. Ozzie D. Pruitt, of the First Baptist Church, and the Reverend Harvey J. Keiser, of the Washington Street Methodist Church, both of Indianapolis officiating.

anapolis, officiating.

Pallbearers were Ghizzoni, Hynes, Busarello, Yablonski, Stevens, and Austin. Honorary pallbearers were Kmetz, Morgan, White, Caddy, Shannon, James Miller, district 8 president; Robert Anderson, district 11 president; Ralph Day, district 11 secretary-treasurer; Bart B. Bloomer, district 30 representative; John Belcher, of district 12; Leon Yablonski, John McAlpin, L. H. Bell, and John J. Reld, international representatives.

In addition to being an active member of the Foundry Methodist Church, Mr. Jones was a member of the official board of the church and a member of the national lay committee of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America. He also was a member of the board of trustees of Westminster Choir College, of the Masons, and of the Congressional Country Club.

Mr. Jones is survived by his widow, Mrs. Esther Cossel Jones, assistant to Secretary-Treasurer Owens; a nephew, John T. Jones, of Falls Church, Va.; two sisters, Mrs. Mary Cumberlidge, of Langley, England; Mrs. Elizabeth Green of North Staffordshire, England; and a brother, Albert Jones, of Langton, England.

Illinois Honors the Late Dr. William J. Hickson, Founder of the Psychopathic Institute of the Municipal Court of Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, RICHARD W. HOFFMAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

HOFFMAN of Illinois. Mr. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to call to the attention of my colleagues the address delivered by Henry Goldstein, a distinguished member of the Illinois bar, at ceremonies honoring the late Dr. William J. Hickson, the founder of the psychiatric institute of the Chicago Municipal Court. In a day when the psychiatric causes of crime are receiving so much attention, it is most interesting to note that this was the beginning of the medical jurisprudence of psychopathic crime, and that this work was commenced a little over 40 years ago.

The address follows:

Distinguished members of the bench, the bar, the medical profession, the armed services, ladies and gentlemen, it is with a sense of profound affection to the memory of a great man that I am privileged to say these words of commendation. For a number of years, we who were privileged to have known and loved Dr. William James Hickson have kept alive in our hearts the memory of this great and beloved friend.

Chicago, the greatest medical center in the world, the home of the American Medical Association and the greatest institutions of medical learning and research, as well as nuclear sciences, at long last pays due homage to our departed friend and extend our thanks and deep appreciation to his distinguished wife and collaborator, Mrs. Marie K. Hickson. Thus, we have assembled here today.

As a young lawyer early in 1914, it was my good fortune to have been intimately acquainted with Chief Justice Harry Olson of the Municipal Court of Chicago. I was present at a meeting of the Judges of that Court while he was attempting to induce them to institute an innovation never tried in any court of record theretofore—a psychopathic laboratory to work in conjunction with the judges in the handling a cases in which the judges may see in the conduct of certain defendants, evidences of mental disturbances or deficiency, as in cases involving minors, delinquency, bastardy and such other causes that properly came before the judges in their respective courts.

He proposed that Dr. William James Hickson of the Vineland, New Jersey Feeble Minded Institute be retained on the recommendations of the American Medical Association and other legal medical authorities and kindred organizations.

Judge Olson foresaw the controversial issues that would necessarily follow, but, nevertheless, after many meetings and conferences all of the judges unanimously voted to retain Dr. Hickson and to have him proceed to set up the laboratory as an experiment. Of the 30 judges, all but 4 have gone to their reward. Those presently among us are: Judge Bernard P. Barasa, now residing in Florida; Judge John F. Haas, recently retired from the superior court of Cook County; Judge Edmund K. Jarecki, who recently re-

tired as Judge of the county court of Cook County and that distinguished Nestor of the bar, who is still sitting as a jurist in the circuit court of Cook County, the Honorable Harry M. Fisher. The elected clerk of the court, Frank P. Danisch has passed on, and the distinguished bailiff, at that time the Honorable Anton J. Cermak, was felled by an assassin's bullet, aimed at our late President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Dr. Hickson was also a doctor of jurisprudence, having graduated from the Law School of Northwestern University and was thoroughly well grounded in the fundamentals of the law. He had stated, as it had often been said, that the main reason that social science—if there is such a thing—lags be-hind the physical sciences is because it can have no laboratory. You cannot put a government nor a section of human society into a test tube, but it is clearly possible to study the behavior of large numbers of human beings, to state uniformity of conduct among them, and to make accurate predictions as to the actions of these individuals under given conditions. This is clearly within the realm of empirical science—that is, science based upon experience and observation. It is the ultimate forerunner of rational science, which explains not only how but why things happen.

In this sense it was possible to use the laboratory methods in the study of human relationships—barring the obvious limitations in applying experimental methods in the study of human material; and, for this reason, Dr. Hickson believed that the psychopathic laboratory of the municipal court of Chicago had great social significance. It was the first public effort to apply scientific methods to the study of crime over long periods of time. Today, it is the largest crime clinic and clinic of abnormal psychol-

ogy in the world.

The medical profession was not prepared to accept Dr. Hickson's theories. There were scoffers, even in the higher echelon of the medical profession, who looked with suspicion and doubt, and often refused their cooperation. The legal profession likewise was suspicious and reluctant to cooperate, and awatted results before giving its tacit approval, but it must be said to the credit of Chief Justice Harry Olson and his associates—probably because of his obstinacy and dogged determination—the laboratory commenced to show great results.

The judges were not required to refer cases to the laboratory-it being understood that it would be discretionary with each judge and done purely on a voluntary basis, but it did not require much time to recognize the great work Dr. Hickson was accomplishing in a short period. Soon every judge hearing criminal, quasi-criminal, bastardy, and domestic relation matters and other causes was sending a tremendous number of individuals to the laboratory. As the laboratory found cases that were properly identified, such persons were sent for jurther examination to the Psychopathic Hospital of Cook County, where they were subjected to a week of the closest scrutiny and examination by a board of at least five of the most competent alienists and neurologists, who were members of the board.

The record discloses that nearly all cases referred to them by Dr. Hickson were sustained as to his clinical findings, and soon the medical and legal professions fully accepted his theories and embarked on an era of cooperation, which has continued from 1914 to this date. In the first 4 years he handled over 60,000 cases, a record never before equaled in the annals of medicine and jurisprudence, and this number increased each year. Today there is no doubt as to the absolute necessity of this great adjunct to our courts, but the time, efforts, and tremendous sacrifices of the Hicksons cannot be

fully appreciated, nor has the true story ever been told.

Dr. William James Hickson was a man of sympathy, great skill, and rare breadth of vision. He was homespun, modest to the point of retiring, completely uninterested in personal publicity, occupied only with making progress for the increasing benefit of his fellow beings, aspecially those afflicted with mental ailments. He accepted the slights, incurred contumely, stupidity, all quite as a matter of fact, realizing patience, persist-ency, effectiveness, hard work and long hours, and proof by actual clinical cases would speak louder than words. His splen-didly trained mind and vast experience qualified him for such a great undertaking. He was a brilliant organizer. His thought was for humanity, for constructive activity, to attempt to adjust the lives of the mentally unfit to their environment and to return to useful pursuits those who responded to careful treatment and painstaking effort. He had no time to hate—only time to serve, to love, to give. His career was filled with triumphs. He lived to see counterparts of his beloved psychopathic laboratories in the largest cities of our Nation, where today his theories and methods are employed and carried out under the guiding genius of expertly trained mental specialists. His conceptions reconciled the vast diversities between the legal and medical professions and have been the basis of the unity which is now recognized between the profession. Thus Chicago has the largest and psychiatric institute connected with its courts of any city in the World.

Dr. Hickson proved that all mental illnesses are not in themselves per se incurable and many individuals today are useful members of society because of the influence of the Psychiatric Institute. The vast knowledge and experiences of his many years of private practice in his field were supplemented by years of intensive study in the great clinics of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and other European medical centers where he collaborated with some of the most noted specialists of the world. He worked with Professors Kraepelin, Ziehn. Oscar and Cecile Voight, Eugen Blueler, who coined the mental term "schizophrenia" and other great scientists to prepare him for the greater task he was to develop in America, and during all of these years sharing and collaborating in all his research and investigations and studying with him was his distinguished wife, Mary K. Hickson, a distinguished scientist in her own right, and a tireless worker.

Dr. Hickson had a philosophy that was exuberant. He believed that we should always take new courage, that every person should have some interest in some artistic or intellectual pursuit, that long continued emotional experience from unresolved conflicts can be dramatically destructive; that frustration and suppressed fears must be met With wisdom, reason, and dignity. To live long, not only in years, but in the enjoyment of them, we must understand and control the forces which threaten life. therefore, cultivate the will to live. We age, not by years, but by our emotional reactions to events; therefore, the problem is not to add years to our life, but rather add life to our years. These are only a few of the philosophical observations of Dr. William James Hickson, a friend of humanity, whose work stands as a beacon on which the foundation of time has builded well.

Being a man of great compassion, he had always hoped that there would be no institutions labeled "insane asylums" and that the courts of law would not make findings wherein individuals were classified as insane persons or lunatics, but that the institutions would be known as mental hospitals wherein persons afflicted with any mental illness upon adjudication would become patients. And he lived to see the day when his dream was realized.

Dr. Hickson from childhood received nearly all of his adult education in the State of Pennsylvania. As he always expressed the hope that at his demise he would be interred among the grandeur of the Pennsylvania hills, his good wife saw to it that his last wishes were meticulously carried He was a graduate of Duquesne University, University of Pittsburgh, and the Pennsylvania University. We, therefore, sa-lute the great Keystone States for having for a time loaned us this great savant and humanitarian. His life reminds me of a lone great oak that towers high above all the surrounding trees on the side of a Pennsylvania mountain, there in all its majesty, standing like a giant sentinel surveying the great forest, with an air of dignity and great self-assurance, weathering storm and calm, rain and shine, cold and heat, and all the inclemencies of the weather, ever erect, and constantly pointing toward heaven; and while I do not consider myself equal to the task, I humbly offer, and dedicate, this meager effort to one whom I honored and respected during life, and whose memory I revere and hold sacred for all time:

"O mighty stalwart sentinel, looking up to God,

Placid and caim, but firmly embedded in the sod,

Your mission was planned, on the side of the hill

To keep out erosion, keep the earth firm and still.

"Storms come and pass, and break weaker trees

As they bend and break, from the blasts of the breeze,

But you stand alone and majestically survey

So in memory, and thought, you still live today.

"There are men, just like trees, that battle throughout life, Though their splendid ideas meet antago-

Though their splendid ideas meet antagonism and strife,

But ultimate time, and the acceptance of truth.

Will conquer the cynic, and silence the brute.

"So farewell, dear friend, for your mission on earth

Made our scientists honor, evaluate your true worth,

Your name is immortal among scientists and sages,

For, from now, henceforth, you belong to the ages."

Thus, we memorialize a great friend and humantarian, whose work is being faithfully carried out by those who have so ably acquired additional knowledge in that great field of operation, namely, the psychopathic institutes of the various courts of our Nation, and it may well be stated that divine providence that animates all nature and all mankind must have said to William J. Hickson: "Well done thou good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

Yalta Papers: Why the Uproar?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, a lot of partisan uproar has followed the recent release of the Yalta papers by the State Department. In large part it seems to be an effort to divert attention from the contents of the papers by attacking the way they were made public. Rather, the important thing to discuss is what happened at Yalta, and why it happened, so the lesson can be well learned not to let it happen again.

The decision to make the Yalta papers public was unquestionably right.

The American people are entitled to know the facts concerning the conduct of the Nation's foreign affairs. This is particularly so in this instance where the papers reveal the details of a conference as a result of which thousands of American casualties occurred on a foreign battlefield.

It is President Eisenhower's policy to inform the people concerning the conduct of the people's business. The Republican Eisenhower administration does not believe either in making secret deals which sell out our allies or which are deliberately kept from the American people.

The position of those who oppose making the papers public is inconsistent. In one breath they say there is nothing new in these papers. In another breath they say they contained information so sensitive and secret that their release has been harmful to the national security and to the relation with our allies.

From the standpoint of the Nation and the free world, it was particularly wise to make the papers public at this time. Suggestions are being made to hold another conference with the Communist leaders. As we consider whether such a conference should be held, the records of previous conferences should be made public so that they can be studied not only by the diplomats, but by the people of the free nations.

Only this way can we adequately be prepared to meet the ruthless tactics of the Communists at the conference table. We also will be reminded again that in the past a Communist's word has meant nothing once the papers were signed. Only by studying the record of previous conferences can we avoid making the same mistakes in the future.

The sensitivities of diplomats, either ours or those of our allies, cannot be the decisive factor in determining whether to make public the record of a conference held 10 years ago. No diplomat's face is worth the life of one American boy.

Editorial Columnist Larry Collins, of the Long Beach Independent newspaper, recently set forth the need for recognizing and understanding the mistakes made at Yalta in the following writing:

WHY THE UPROAR?

It is hard to understand why the Democratic leaders are so upset over the publication of the Yalta papers. They cry out that they have been released for political reasons. It would seem as logical to say they had been suppressed for political reasons. Those who object so loudly to their publication place themselves in the position of criticising the actions of President Roosevelt. Otherwise, why do they object to the publication of something the people have a right to know about?

It has been 10 years since the Yalta meeting. What was done at that meeting has changed the social, economic, and political complexion of most of the world. In the light of what we now know, wrong decisions were made at Yalta. But the wrong was ac-

tually in trusting the Russians. Had they lived up to what President Roosevelt expected of them, those decisions might have worked out for the best interests of world peace.

Before we accept this as a partisan criticism we should recall the decision made by Republican President Harding, after World War I. That decision resulted in an agreement to cut down naval strength of Britain, Japan and the United States. The United States sank some of their nearly completed great warships, An equal ratio of naval strength was to be maintained by each of the three nations.

The debacle of that conference resulted in World War II, Japan never lived up to her agreement. She continued building ships, regardless of the ratio agreement. We fell far behind, because we lived up to it. When Japan started making her conquests in Manchurla, we allowed her to continue. We were not strong enough, or were too fearful, to stop her. Had we maintained our strength and not sunk our ships, following World War II, there probably would never have been a World War II.

There were mistakes made in each of these conferences. The mistakes are important. But the suppression of the facts is the issue in the Yalta paper disclosures. When it is charged they have been disclosed for political purposes, the fact is overlooked that the conference was 10 years ago. It may well be asked: How long are such facts to be held secret? When are the people supposed to be told what has been done about their affairs?

It has been said that, by the disclosure of the Yalta agreement, we have broken faith with other nations, whose leaders took part in that conference. It is embarrassing to Mr. Churchill. But it is also an issue dealing with world policy. That means it is the people's business. They are entitled to know. Holding up the disclosures for 10 years should be long enough to satisfy any reasonable person. Whatever the reason, it is good for the people that the disclosures have been made.

The mistakes at Yalta should not be used for partisan purposes. The Democratic leaders are emphasizing the issue by their bitter denunciation of their disclosure. It would be much more reasonable to accept the issue on its merits and learn a lesson. That lesson should be that secret diplomacy is dangerous for democracies. It should convince anyone that the Communists cannot be trusted. Leaders of both parties should accept the disclosures from these viewpoints and stop the cry of partisanship. Mistakes are not confined to either party.

L. A. C.

Toward Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the March 25, 1955, issue of the New York Journal American:

Toward Peace

Israeli Ambassador Adda Eban proposed Wednesday in the United Nations Security Council that Egypt and his nation join in a code of peace in the Middle East. It appears to us the proposal has the merit of an earnest effort to remove the cause of inflammatory outbreaks and should receive equally earnest reception.

We are not taking the position of passing off lightly the recent very unfortunate incident at Gaza. But it will do no good to consider it as an isolated instance. It needs to be related in the context of the whole regrettable series of border raids and reprisals involving Israel and the Arab nations, which as long as they continue endanger peace and benefit nobody but the Communists.

There is no real peace in the Middle East, but merely a restless armistice. The Security Council is working on a resolution dealing with Israel-Egypt in connection with the Gaza violence. We respectfully suggest that a vigorous design for peace based on the total aspects of the problem belongs in its considerations.

Prosecutor Speaks Up for the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER M. MUMMA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, last November I was in the Panama Canal Zone at the time the late President Ramon was in Washington for the purpose of negotiating a new treaty, providing for an upward revision of the annual rentals paid the Republic by the United States and further restriction and control of Uncle Sam's activities looking toward proper administration of the Canal Zone.

Today I received a letter from a supervisory employee of the United States Commissary Division, Panama Canal Zone, enclosing clipping from the March 24 edition of the Star and Herald, the well-known Panamanian daily newspaper, entitled "Prosecutor Speaks Up for United States." Concerning this clipping, my friend said:

In my 44 years on the Canal Zone I do not think I have seen published a more honest expression of approval of Uncle Sam by a Panamanian. By honest, I mean there was no outstretched palm in this instance.

Pursuant to the privilege granted me, I include the article from the Star and Herald in these remarks. It is as follows:

PROSECUTOR SPEAKS UP FOR UNITED STATES

Dr. José N. Lasso de la Vega, who is prosecuting ex-President José Ramón Guizado in the current trial in the National Assembly, turned defense lawyer briefly yesterday.

He spoke up for the United States.

The special prosecutor digressed from the case to comment on United States policy toward Panama and Latin America in general. This occurred when he referred to a passage in the evidence that \$50 million was to be sought for Panama as compensation for damages it has suffered from the United States over the Panama Canal.

Noting that thousands of citizens are listening to the broadcast of the Assembly trial, Dr. Lasso de la Vega said this was a fine opportunity to convey a message to the people. He said:

"The Republic of Panama has never suffered damage at the hands of the United

States. It is a mistake to believe that the Panama Canal is harmful for Panama. The Panama Canal has been providential. Thanks to the canal, our country has developed apace with other countries.

"The truth is that Latin American ollgarchies, in order to conceal their own impotence, throw the blame on the United States and, hence, we are led to believe that the United States is an adversary, an enemy. * *

"What we derive from the Panama Canal is much more than \$50 million. But the rulers of our country have not found the means to have this money reach the people of Panama. Fifty million dollars is an insignificant amount in comparison with what Panama gets through the canal.

"What happens is that our governments fight the cause of Lebanese, East Indians. Chinese, Turks, and Syrians who are the ones who are absorbing the wealth entering the country. The truth is that the oligarchic Panamanian governments have been antinational governments, governments which create conditions for nonnationals to become rich."

Remarking that the United States no longer gives away cash gifts to other countries, the prosecutor added: "Nowadays, we have the Truman doctrine of technical assistance. Through the point 4, as it is called, we are receiving great benefits from the technical missions."

Republican-Eisenhower Administration Strikes a Blow For Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, not only in the United States but throughout the world opinion has strongly endorsed President Eisenhower's recent move to establish what is in effect a Secretary of Peace with Cabinet rank.

Not only are Americans reassured that our administration sincerely desires to solve the vexing problems that lead to armed conflict amongst nations but as well the whole world has been given further proof of our high intentions, notwithstanding the constant barrages of Communist propaganda to the contrary.

An editorial appearing in the March 23 issue of the Long Beach Press-Telegram newspaper explains in further detail:

THE NEW CABINET POST

President Eisenhower's creation of a Cabinet rank post for the framing of policies on the problem of disarmament is such a simple and desirable step that it's amazing it wasn't taken before by the head of some government.

We and other nations have always made war departments a prominent part of government.

But from the standpoint of world opinion alone, the setting up of a disarmament department would seem the obvious corollary.

Just as he did when he proposed the atoms-for-peace plan, the President has put the Russians a stroke behind in the peace propaganda field.

With the world on edge over the prospect of atomic annihilation, Ike again is showing that at least the United States is doing what it can to promote peace.

The new Cabinet post doesn't mean, of course, that we are about to throw our atomic and hydrogen weapons into the ashcan, leaving us at the mercy of militant and aggressive Communists.

It means that Harold Stassen, as Presidential Assistant for Disarmament, will conduct a comprehensive and organized study of the whole broad question of disarmament:

"He will be expected to take into account the full implications of new weapons in the possession of other nations as well as the United States, to consider future probabil-ities of armaments and to weight the views of the military, the civilians, and the officials of our Government and of other govern-

Most Americans, we think, understand how foolish it would be to agree to some disarmament plan without assurance of good faith from Russia.

But there are some who have fallen for the line that if we set an example by junking our weapons, such a gesture of faith and brotherly love will cause the enemy to lay down his arms.

An organized study such as the one in the offing will help emphasize realities.

At the same time, it will show we are as interested in the problems of disarmament as in the problems of armament. When all nations sincerely establish such a balance of interest, the crusade for peace will have been won.

United Nations Costs 56 Cents a Year for You. According to Christian Science Monitor Newspaper Editorial, March 22, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent so to do, I am pleased to present to the attention of all the Members of this great legislative body a short but very pertinent, informative editorial appearing in the Christian Science Monitor, Tuesday, March 22, 1955:

FOR U. N.: 56 CENTS A YEAR

From complaints, printed or otherwise, one might infer that American participation in the United Nations is very expensive. In absolute figures it is. For the current year the United States contribution to the U. N. budget is \$13,407,290, plus \$10,894,300 for related agencies, and \$68,354,871 for tech-nical assistance, Korean relief, Palestine relief, Chidren's Fund, and other U. N. special programs. This totals \$92,656,461.

Yet it comes out of a Federal budget calculated in billions. When the cost is spread over more than 150 million persons, the American Association for the U. N. figures that an average citizen's share of the direct cost of United States membership in the U. N.—the contribution to the U. N. budget is only about 8 cents a year. And that when all the U. N. agencies and programs are added, the total cost to the average American is about 56 cents a year.

By comparison, the AAUN News remarks, the United States military budget is nearly

\$400 per year per person."

Of course, most tax bills are greater or less than the average. So another way of figuring it, roughly, is this;

Out of approximately \$63 billion of estimated total expenditures in next year's Federal budget, \$34 billion are allocated to the armed services, not counting military aid That represents nearly 54 percent of each tax dollar.

As against the budget total, the \$92 million or more for U. N. purposes represent just about one-seventh of 1 percent of the American tax dollar.

In other words, whatever your tax bill (if you are an American), you can figure out of each \$100 you pay, approximately \$54 goes to preserve peace through national armament and defense organization, while approximately 14 cents goes to promote peace through international cooperation and humanitarianism. Does the 14 cents seem out of proportion? If so, on which side?

Letter Regarding Universal Military Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herein a very interesting letter which appeared in the Lynn Telegram-News, of Lynn, Mass., on March 23, 1955, which warrants the consideration of Members of the Congress:

LETTER TO EDITOR

DEAR EDITOR: This week may see the making of one of the most critical and farreaching decisions in the House of Representatives which America has ever been called upon to make. In spite of the serious nature of this decision, the newspapers have given very little, if any space to a discussion of the nature and importance of the proposed bill. This may be—and I suspect it is—because it has been handled intentionally in such a way that the major news agencies either were not assisted or they were asked not to make much use of it. I believe our local press is willing to present the news and is also willing to permit free, frank, and ample discussion of its controversial features. Because of that conviction, I am asking this opportunity to state the issue, to make it clear that I think it would be tragic for our country to adopt such a proposal, and to invite further discussion, both pro and con, in order to use the democratic process of a free press to help reach intelligent convictions about this critical issue.

What is the issue? Briefly, the proposal is H. R. 2967, which is due to come out of committee this week on the floor of the House of Representatives. Its purpose is to provide a modified universal military training and compulsory reserve system as a permanent peacetime part of American life. It would be compulsory; it would place every physically fit young man in the country under military control for a period of 8 to 10

Please note that this is not the regular voluntary enlistment program of our armed services. Nor is it selective service. The House has already approved H. R. 3005, the bill to extend selective service for 4 years. This in itself is, in my opinion, a tragedy for our country, and I hope that the Senate may find some way to reverse this trend, which in effect brings permanent conscription in small doses. But to add this clincher in the form of H. R. 2967 will, it seems to me, close

the door so hard on military regimentation that the United States will never be able to unshackle itself again.

The basic feature of the new bill is a proposal to take every young man for 6 months of basic training, then keep them for an additional period of 8 to 10 years under weekly or annual guard training. It is very noticeable that the Navy and Air Force do not want this; only the Army. Everyone knows that a modern soldier cannot be knows that a modern soldier trained in 6 months for highly technical warfare. This is obviously not the purpose. The purpose can be basically for only one thing: indoctrination into the military way of doing things. This to me means regi-mentation; lack of personal freedom; increasing the military power through local establishments in every city across the country; suppressing the freedom of the newspapers; controlling the budget of the United removing the effective control of education of our young men from the home, the schools, the colleges to the Army; capturing the moral power and force of our churches. It would mean, in short, the beginning of military regimentation as a first step in totalitarian control of our country.

I am very glad that President Eisenhower has announced the new post of what has been informally called "Secretary of Peace," to study the possibility of disarmament. If he is really serious about this, I think we ought to call on him to oppose UMT, and begin to practice in his official acts those measures which will show his desire to make it possible to disarm. I think we all realize, as the President does, that atomic and hydrogen warfare would be suicide for United States and Russia alike. We simply cannot longer put our trust in nuclear warfare or the military regimentation which prepares for it. Even less can we afford to begin the process which leads to totalitarianism in our own country, thus opening the door to fascism in the name of defense against communism. I am opposed to both. And my opposition is based on practical, political, and humanitarian, as well as religious and moral principles. If America ever has either of these, it will be because we are asleep, indifferent, unconcerned, and let measures such as UMT (H. R. 2967) slip through Congress without even knowing or doing anything about it.

We tend to think it couldn't happen here, as it has in Italy, Germany, Russia, and more recently in China. Well, it can. If it can happen in a nation with the culture of Germany, it certainly can come about here. One of the most disturbing features of the whole issue is this: It is proposed as a method to stop communism. On what does the power of communism rely? Basically on military regimentation and absolute control. Then if we adopt this elementary form of UMT. we are actually adopting the basic instru-ment of totalitarianism. How absurd and suicidal can we become? To adopt ourselves the thing that we say we are opposing.

One of the strongest arguments in favor of UMT is that it is democratic. It will be voted on by Congress and will reach everyone alike. Here again, what has happened to our reasoning? We are saying it is democratic to vote away for our entire future as a nation our basic democratic, civilian control. If Congress were to vote that we should all be annihilated by a hydrogen bomb, one just like the other that, too, would be democratic under this definition. For heaven's sake, let's keep civilian control in the hands of Congress, the White House and Supreme Court, and not turn over our foreign policy, our budget, our educational-propaganda program to the Pentagon.

For the past 15 years, similar measures have always been defeated, primarily because of the opposition of the labor unions, the farmers, the women, and some of the church groups. I cannot agree on the basic defense policies with our own local representatives,

but I am deeply grateful and want to express my appreciation for recent statements by Congressmen Thomas J. Lane and WILLIAM H. Bates. Representative Lane wrote me recently that he had "never supported legislation providing for universal military training, and you may be assured that I shall continue in my objection against enactment of such legislation." Representative Barks "I opposed universal military training said: when it was presented to the Congress a few years ago, and my views concerning that type of legislation have not changed." Representative PHILIP J. PHILBIN is a Massachusetts member of the Committee on Armed Services, and he wrote me recently concerning UMT: "I have vigorously op-posed this proposal and you may be sure that I will oppose it if the will oppose it if it is again presented to the Congress."

I would like to see all our citizens, and especially the parents of children under 18, write, wire, telephone or go to see our Congressmen and urge them to keep control of our Government in civilian hands, and not give more power to the military machine.

I want to thank this newspaper for the opportunity of free public expression on this issue.

Sincerely,

J. FLOYD MOORE.

Unemployment Insurance in Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to call the attention of the House to a letter written to Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, on March 24, 1955, by Mr. William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor:

MARCH 24, 1955.

Hon. James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor.

United States Department of Labor,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary: We understand that tomorrow, March 25, the Territory of Alaska's unemployment insurance fund will be depleted. Workers who have qualified, or will qualify, for unemployment-insurance benefits, will not receive those benefits because of the exhaustion of the unemployment fund. We are also aware, as you must be, that the distress that will result from failure to pay unemployment benefits to Alaska workers is directly due to the fact that Territorial Governor B. Frank Heintzleman has refused to request an advance from the Federal loan fund which is his right—indeed his responsibility—under the law passed by Congress last year.

We have been informed by the Alaskan Territorial Federation of Labor that the Governor refuses to apply for such advance of funds demanding that the Territorial Legislature adopt his own amendments to the Alaskan Unemployment Insurance Act.

The situation is this, Mr. Secretary: A bill that is sponsored by labor and other interested groups contains essentially the provisions which you and President Elsenhower have asked for. It goes beyond your suggestions only in that it requires an employee contribution in order that the fund may move more rapidly toward solvency. On the other hand, the administration's appointee in Alaska, Governor Esintzleman, is sup-

porting and attempting to force through amendments which are so victous as to raise a serious question as to whether, in the event they become law, Alaska would, in fact, have an unemployment compensation law as required by the Federal Social Security Act.

This is an amazing and distressing picture. Here is the Governor—an appointed official, in no way accountable to the people of Alaska—using his protected position in an effort to intimidate the legislators of Alaska who are elected by, and accountable to, the people of the Territory. Moreover, we are informed the Governor is using his power in this unequal struggle to force through a program which is directly opposed to the recommendations of the President who appointed him. If he is successful, he will jeopardize the welfare of thousands of workers and their families in Alaska, as well as the economy of Alaska itself.

We have supported the legislation in Alaska which meets the requirements of your letters of February 16 and November 27, 1954, to the State and Territorial governors. We are prepared to utilize every available resource of the American Federation of Labor and the Alaska Federation of Labor in support of such measures. I should like respectfully to ask you, Mr. Secretary, whether you are also willing to use every resource of your Department in support of the unemployment compensation program which you have recommended.

Sincerely yours,
William F. Schnitzler,
Secretary-Treasurer, A. F. of L.

Proposed Commission on Ethical Practices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, March 23, my good friend from the First District of Connecticut introduced a bill having for its purpose the establishment of a commission on ethical financial practices. May I state at the outset that I am heartily in accord with the objectives of such a bill. I regret exceedingly, however, that in the course of his remarks, the gentleman from Connecticut, for whom I have a high personal regard, made statements which caused me to believe that in his own mind he already had formed definite conclusions of guilt for certain individuals and business enterprises and is ready to publish to the world such alleged guilt without giving the legislation which he sponsors an opportunity to accomplish that for which it allegedly is sought. This smacks too much of questionable legislative activities which have become all too common during these times. My colleague from Connecticut is entirely justified in explaining on the floor of the House the reason which prompted his action in the introduction of legislation which he sponsors. However, I find myself in disagreement with any procedure which makes it impossible for the accused to answer in the forum in which the accusation has been made.

The seriousness of this matter is not minimized one bit when I realize that what really is involved is a stockholders' fight in a heretofore rather unknown business corporation. The floor of this legislative body is not, in my opinion, a good battleground for warring shareholders of a private corporation; nor is it a fit place to carry on an election contest for the board of directors of any private enterprise. The gentleman's proposed legislation provides the forum for the contest. Why did he not wait for the arena to be built? Surely the alleged immoral actions—no illegal activities having been alleged—could await an authorized and proper investigation.

I am confident that my good friend the Representative from Connecticut, when all of the facts are placed of record, will agree with me that his remarks unfortunately could be, and may I advise are being used to create misleading impressions to create an unfair advantage in a private dispute. I am sure that he would be the first to wish the record corrected when all of the facts are known to him. I think that it would be well, therefore, to review briefly the history of Penn-Texas operations since Mr. Silberstein, whom my friend attacks, assumed leadership of that great enterprise.

Approximately a year ago the Penn-Texas Corp. acquired ownership of a company in my State of Colorado. I am happy to say that far from having any detrimental effect upon that company, the Penn-Texas ownership and management has brought it great strength with resulting benefits to the company and its employees. As far as I personally am concerned, I would welcome further such enterprises in the State of Colorado because I know that it would be good for the State and good for the country.

One of the directors of Penn-Texas Corp. is Oscar L. Chapman, former Secretary of the Interior. I have known Oscar Chapman intimately since 1922. His reputation for honesty and integrity is well-known throughout this country. Together with all Coloradans, I am proud of his career in the public service and of his lifetime devotion to the public interest. I want to say, Mr. Speaker, that Mr. Chapman has discussed this matter with me and that I have the utmost confidence in his judgment.

I have also had the pleasure some time ago of meeting Mr. Leopold D. Silberstein, president of Penn-Texas and, I must say, I was very favorably impressed by the man and by what he has been able to accomplish. About a year ago, Penn-Texas acquired a company in my home State of Colorado and that company is now well on its way to becoming one of the leading producers in its field.

Mr. Speaker, the story of Penn-Texas is a success story in the great American tradition. Leopold D. Silberstein took over the management of Penn-Texas, then known as the Pennsylvania Coal and Coke Corp., in 1949. At that time, the assets of the organization consisted of three bituminous coal mines operating at a loss. Since 1949 the company has grown into a multimillion dollar corporation operating at a profit and paying

liberal dividends to its stockholders and good wages to its employees.

In common with many American firms seeking to protect their stockholders against violent fluctuations in the business cycle, Penn-Texas Corp. adopted a policy of diversification. Through its subsidiaries the company now owns a controlling interest in a profitable oil and gas property in Texas; it operates three ocean-going freighters, all under the American flag; it is one of the country's leading producers of wire and cable; it is one of the Nation's best known producers of railroad and shipyard cranes. traveling bridges, and dockside unloaders; and it has recently acquired the Bayway Terminal Corp. of New Jersey. one of the largest facilities for handling rail and water shipping on the Atlantic seaboard. Moreover, as I have already mentioned, Penn-Texas has taken over the Quick-Way Truck Shovel Co. of Denver, Colo., the first company in America to develop and produce in volume a complete line of truck-mounted cranes and shovels. I am advised that Quick-Way is now expanding its work force and rapidly becoming one of the leading producers of earth moving and material handling equipment in the Rocky Mountain States.

Apparently, Mr. Speaker, the Silberstein management has been very good for the corporation. It is my understanding that during the period of which I have spoken the company's common stock has tripled in value. In addition, Penn-Texas has increased its work force and payrolls many times over. A gratifying amount of Penn-Texas products and services are going into our Nation's de-

Mr. Speaker, I hesitate to interject myself into what I consider a private business dispute. These are matters for the stockholders to decide, not someone on Capitol Hill. Nevertheless, when any American citizen, or any American corporation is unfairly attacked I believe there is a moral duty to set the record straight and to afford an opportunity to tell the other side of the story.

fense program.

I have done my best to get the best advice available in this matter. The matters of which I speak are matters of record and could easily have been checked before any derogatory statements were made.

Various statements were made by my Food friend from Connecticut which leave the unfortunate impression that somehow there is something wrong with the Penn-Texas interest in Niles-Bement-Pond. The impression is left upon the record that somehow the Penn-Texas stock was acquired in a secret raiding operation and that in some way there is a cloud over the officers and directors of Penn-Texas. I am informed that the record shows that this is not so.

The fact is, Mr. Speaker, that Penn-Texas, according to my information, acquired its stock in Niles-Bement-Pond through open purchases through recognized brokerage houses and that Niles-Bement-Pond was on full notice of these acquisitions. It is a matter of record that Penn-Texas has openly invested millions of dollars in Niles-Bement-Pond

stock and that Penn-Texas owns almost 50 times as much stock as all of the present Niles-Bement-Pond management combined. Certainly it is elementary fair play that persons with so heavy an investment should be entitled to some voice in the management. Yet, Mr. Speaker, when the Penn-Texas interests requested a minority voice in management I am told that it was refused. Surely we are not arriving at that point in this country where one has to be a second generation American to purchase stock on the open market.

With reference to this latter aspect of the controversy between Niles-Bement-Pond and Penn-Texas, I am informed that it is a fact as alleged that Mr. Silberstein was born in Germany. I also have been advised of some other pertinent facts which I am glad to place on the record. I am told that he was a respected member of the Berlin Stock Exchange before he was 30. He left Germany when Hitler took over, and moved to Holland. He was a member of the Dutch Army when Holland was invaded. He fled to England before the onrushing Nazi Armies and along with thousands of other Germans of Jewish extraction, he was interned and sent to Australia. Before the end of the war. the British had brought him back to England and he is highly regarded in British official and financial circles. He is now a United States citizens.

Mr. Speaker, the fundamental principles of fair play and equal opportunity for all have made this Nation the greatest Nation on earth. Every time an attack, however unintential or ill-advised, is made on those principles, it is an attack on all of us and upon our most priceless heritage of freedom. I am proud that this great body is available as a forum to repair any damage which may have been done.

Defense Essentiality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include in the Record an editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 28, 1955;

DEFENSE ESSENTIALITY

Publication of the Defense Department report on the essentiality of the jeweled watch industry justifies the complaints made last summer that political considerations were dominant in the decision to raise the watch tariff. At the time of the President's announcement, a number of critics termed the decision one of expediency rather than of principle. The Defense Department report, which the President had before him at the time, says that while the jeweled watch facilities "clearly represent excellent and desirable capacity, the needs of the Department of Defense for industrial capacity clearly demonstrate that no special nor pref-

erential treatment for the industry is necessary." Despite this, the Office of Defense Mobilization, relying chiefly on a Commerce Department study, concluded that the industry ought to be protected for defense reasons.

The importance of this report now belatedly smoked out to the embarrasment of the administration is not so much its disclosures with respect to the watch decision but with respect to other industries also seeking relief on the claim of defense essentiality. Nearly every industry that is asking for tariff relief maintains that it should be protected for national-defense reasons. Many of these industries are essential, and virtually all of them contribute to the industrial strength of the Nation. But the question for the Government to decide is whether high tariffs actually contribute to their strength or merely add an unnecessary burden on the consuming public.

Tariffs do not necessarily strengthen a dying industry; nor do they give new life to an industry that is noncompetitive in the world market. The administration should determine whether the American watch industry is any stronger today by reason of the high-tariff protection it is enjoying. All that anyone can be sure of is that watches cost more than they did before the tariff increase. If, contrary to the Defense Department conclusion, tariff protection of the domestic industry were essential to the national defense it would be necessary to provide some kind of assistance other than tariff relief which has the quadruple disadvantage of lessening competition, adding to the cost to the consumer, allenating a friendly country, and checking American exports. The adminischecking American exports. tration, however, has been as slow in seeking alternative means of aiding a crippled industry as it has been quick to rely on hackneyed arguments for the tariff when political pressures are applied.

Another Act of Soviet Treachery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, 10 years ago today, 16 top Polish underground leaders were placed under arrest in Moscow. Only 2 were since released and the other 14 have not been heard from.

All of these 16 leaders went to Moscow in good faith and belief that a peaceful solution of Polish-Soviet problems was to be arranged. They had accepted an invitation from Marshal Zhukov to come to Moscow to implement the Yalta agreements, for the creation of a Polish government after World War II hostilities ended. They were given guaranties of safe return to Poland.

Today, when we contemplate the recent disclosure of the Yalta agreement, this incident should be kept in our minds. It marks one of the darkest passages of recent international history and serves as an everlasting monument of Soviet treachery and perfidy.

How can we even consider having any further meetings with these same leaders, until they satisfactorily explain their treacherous conduct in this instance, and until they order the release of each of the remaining gallant Polish leaders?

Had these men not been imprisoned, Soviet Russia would never have succeeded in enslaving the Polish nation. These leaders would have led a resistance movement that could have changed the entire course of world history.

I sincerely hope that our representatives will refuse to consider any further meetings with the Soviet representatives until positive action is taken to make amends for this and many other acts of Soviet treachery.

The Arab League: Happy Band of Schemers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the Reporter by Ray Alan:

THE ARAB LEAGUE: HAPPY BAND OF SCHEMERS (By Ray Alan)

A strange silence, born of exhaustion and a sense of utter futility, fell over the assembled Arab League Premiers and Poreign Ministers. The date was Sunday, February 6; the place, Cairo. They had been conferring, arguing, and at times shouting for 2 weeks in an attempt to coordinate their views on the Iraqi Government's decision to sign its American-sponsored pact with Turkey.

The deadlock was complete. Some delegations were even divided within themselves on the issue. The Lebanese Foreign Minister had argued violently against a proposal introduced by his Premier; the Jordanian Foreign Minister had been ordered by his Government to vote against a resolution he himself had sponsored; a leading member of the Egyptian delegation, Mahmoud Riad, had contradicted his chief, Lt. Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Colonel Nasser rose to his feet. "Well, gentlemen," he observed, "we seem to have said everything that can be said on this matter. Shall we now draw up the usual communique reaffirming our complete untity of purpose and the unshakable solidarity of the Arab League?"

The statesmen emerged from their final session wreathed in rather sickly smiles, but the "usual communiqué" was, for once, not issued. Colonel Nasser called a press conference to drive home his threat that Egypt would leave the Arab League's military alliance the day Iraq signed the pact with Turkey.

But it was King Saud, of Saudi Arabia, who summed up the conference in the bluntest terms. After warning the Arabs of the danger of becoming "a saddle for imperialism" and "cannon fodder for the sake of the imperialists," and of being involved in "an all-out war in which our lands would be destroyed merely for the sake of others," he declared "The Arab League is dying.

Its pillars are already crumbling."

A NEW YORK OFFICE

An Egyptian diplomat in France told one of his western opposite numbers a few days before this was written: "I always expected that when the Arab League's grave came to be dug, it would be Arabs who did the digging. I never expected the United States Government to lend a hand." His is a view that is being echoed throughout the Near East.

As it now stands, the Turkish-Iraqi pact is a puny instrument, even though Washington officials were reported by the United Press on February 13 as having interpreted it as meaning that "Iraq can now be counted upon to resist [Russian] aggression."

The pact provides only for noncommittal military staff consultations and the exemption from customs duties of military stores passing through either nation on the way to the other. The Iraqi Premier, Nuri Pasha, has twice declared, notably in the Bagdad Parliament on February 6, that whatever arrangements he may make with Turkey are directed primarily against Israel, and that anti-Israel measures come higher on his list of military priorities than anti-communism. Nevertheless, Arab opinion remains skeptical. It regards Nuri Pasha's involvement in a western pact, however toothless, as an abject sellout to imperialism.

The State Department must have foreseen this reaction, intelligent Arabs argue, and must have been warned by its men on the spot that the outcome would be the disruption of the Arab League in its present form. Presumably, therefore, the United States wanted to destroy it.

On the other hand, the League's secretarygeneral, Mohammed Abdel Khalek Hassouna, a former Egyptian Foreign Minister, brought back from Washington last October the impression that the State Department took a sympathetic view of the organization and of himself.

Hassouna had asked permission to open an information office in New York for the purpose of conducting Arab League propaganda. State Department officials told Hassouna, he claims, that they saw no objection, politely adding the diplomatic equivalent of "Keep your nose clean."

An objection did subsequently arise, however, over Hassouna's request for diplomatic immunity for the proposed office. This privilege was required to safeguard the secrecy of the office's communications with Cairo as well as—in the words of an Arab source—to protect it from American Zionist attacks, including libel suits. The State D-partment rejected his request on the ground that diplomatic status could not be accorded a non-governmental agency.

The Arab solution of the problem was ingenious, to say the least. The Arab League Information Center is just about to open its doors in New York at 445 Park Avenue. Housed in the same suite of offices are the Arab League mission to the U. N. and the Yemen delegation to the U. N. Chief of all three agencies is an Egyptian diplomat, Kamel Abdel Rakim, former Ambassador in Washington, who now, as Yemen's Ambassador to the U. N., enjoys diplomatic immunity not only for his own person but also for the premises he occupies, which happen to be coterminous with those of the Arab League Information Center.

WHITEHALL GETS PANICKY

The Arab League—Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen—came into being in March 1945. (Libya joined later.) Its creation marked the point at which the desires of the British Foreign Office and the ruling Arab oligarchies met for an instant, and then drew away from each other, never again to attain the same identity.

The Iraqi royal family and the then Emir Abdullah of Transjordan could be counted upon to aline themselves with Whitehall, which had supplied their thrones, Britain's defeat of Rashid Ali and the Iraqi military junta in June 1941, the British occupation of Syria, the same month, the ultimatum to King Farouk forcing him to accept Nahas Pasha as his Premier in February 1942, and, finally, the victory over Rommel at El Alamein convinced Arab ruling circles generally that Britain would be the arbiter in the postwar Near East—at least until a greater power came along. Moreover, that majority of Arab notables which had hoped for a British defeat was quick to see the importance of a token 11th hour declaration of war against Germany, once the tide had turned, and a rapprochement with Britain, without which the Arab states would, like Spain and Italy, have been excluded from the United Nations.

Whitehall, for its part, had only recently begun to give Near Eastern affairs a high priority in their own right. The region had traditionally been regarded as essentially a passageway to India in which it was sufficient to maintain a somnolent status quo as a barrier against internal upheaval and external intrigue. The Ottoman Empire met this specification until 1914, and the Arab regimes that succeeded it in the British sphere of influence were shaped with a view to their taking over the job. It required Hitler's lunge toward the area to impose a new conception of its significance, economic as well as strategic, on the minds of British policymakers.

In the course of his personal reappraisal, Churchill toyed with the idea of establishing a rather more positive relationship with the Turks and the Jewish community of Palestine than had prevailed in the past, thus liberating British policy to some extent from unpredictable Arab pressures. As so often in such matters, his thinking was 10 years ahead of most of those around him. British officialdom generally still tended to regard Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's atheistic, republican Turks as Bolsheviks and to mistrust the Jews as insufficiently manipulative.

The shock of Premier Rashid Ali's coup in Iraq panicked Whitehall into an Arab policy that was to culminate in what Churchill described as Bevin's "squalid war" in Palestine. British troops were still mopping up in Iraq when, on May 29, 1941, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden made his famous pledge of Britain's "full support" in promoting "a greater degree" of Arab unity. Unfortunately, as with the 1939 Palestine White Paper that had been extorted from Neville Chamberlain's government by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem's terror campaign against the Jews, Arab politicians noted not only the pledge but the circumstances in which it was issued. "Activists" in Egypt, Palestine, and Iran (and Egyptian broadcasts in support of Mau Mau barbarism in Kenya) were later to invoke these two gestures in justification of their belief that the best way of changing a British Government's mind is to kick it.

BIRTH OF PAN-ARABISM

Linguistically, the Near East is almost a unity, and the idea of welding its Arabic-speaking peoples into a corresponding political whole has much to recommend it. The concept is no less inspiring for bearing little relation to economic, social, and psychological realities within the region. The sentiment in favor of political unification has long existed in most of the Arabic-speaking states, but it has been concentrated in the new middle classes, which, nowhere yet in power, had no direct voice in the intergovernmental discussions that preceded the establishment of the Arab League.

The vast anonymous peasant majority was mute, its universe circumscribed by village boundaries. The support the Arab kings and emirs gave the cause of union was directly proportionate to what they judged to be their chances of dominating it. Powerful tribal sheiks and feudal pashas and beys occasionally paid ilp service to Pan-Arabism because it was politically popular, but basi-

cally they preferred the advantages they enjoyed under the status quo, and secretly worked against it. Senior army officers and minority leaders in the Levant states and Iraq adopted similar attitudes.

All effective Pan-Arab plans have foundered on these and similar reefs of contention within a few days of their launching. And the Arab League was but a sorry caricature of Pan-Arabism when the Arab governments, assisted by the British Foreign Office, finally towed it into the gap in 1945. Its very charter lays stress on the maintenance of the existing political fragmentation of the

Arabic-speaking world.

From the outset, the centrifugal force within the league could only be neutralized by directing it against something—France, Zionism, ultimately Britain itself. Even the Palestine Issue served to stucco over the league's interdynastic cracks only until it actually unleashed its invasion of Israel. Then began a race between Egyptian and Hashimite (Iraqi and Jordanian) leaders more intent on denying territory to each other than to the Israelis. By the time Israel had chased the Egyptian army out of the Negev, the league's moral distintegration was complete.

Nevertheless, It survived as an organizational entity. For between 1 and 2 years—the period varied from country to country—the Arab leaders succeeded in concealing from their own people the true extent of their defeat. As the news finally did filter in through censorship and repression, a concerted effort was made to drown it in appeals for Arab unity in preparation for an impending "second round" in Israel—the ideal instrument for which would be a renovated Arab League. A formal "collective security pact" was written into the league's framework.

Above all, there was no ready face-saving alternative to the Arab League. Its abandonment would have seemed to articulate Arabs everywhere an admission of ineptitude on the part of their leaders even more shameful than the Palestine debacle. Consequently, meetings continued to be called by the Arab League secretariat to which some states' delegations arrived late and others not at all. Grandiloquent resolutions continued to be passed and pigeonholed. In the lobbies, Iraqi and Jordanian delegates continued to threaten to walk out from time to time, and Egyptian spokesmen continued to threaten the expulsion of dissident states.

The league's then secretary-general, Abdel Rahman Azzam, continued to tour Near Eastern capitals periodically, denouncing the British and the Jews, and even—in hopes of making western blood run cold—discovering Islam's affinities with communism. The leaders of Iraq carried on a lively feud with Azzam, but since he was a protégé of King Farouk, it took the Cairo officers' revolt to get rid of him.

SHUKEIRI VERSUS HASSOUNA

Under the stewardship of Azzam's successor, Hassouna, the secretariat of the league has become little more than a records office for filing whatever communications are addressed to it and circulating memorandums when requested to do so. It has no policies of its own. However, as Falastin, a Jordanian daily published in the old city of Jerusalem, puts it, "It was Aliah's will that the Arab League should not remain silent, so he gave it, in his infinite wisdom, a spokesman who howls like the wind and roars like a raging lion. Do you recognize him, O reader? He is Master Ahmed Shukeiri * * *."

Shukeiri, the league's assistant secretarygeneral, has donned Azzam's mantle and issued gratuitous calls for increased sniping and terrorism along Israel's frontiers. The Arab States will finally liquidate Israel next October, he has announced, For over a year now, the Arab League's two top officials have been at war with one another. Shukeiri has spared no efforts to obstruct, embarrass, and, if possible, oust Hassouna. Their feud reached its climax in New York last fall when Hassouna, attending the opening of the U. N. Assembly, suddenly felt Shukeiri breathing down his neck. Shukeiri had got himself appointed chairman of the Syrian delegation to the United Nations. Hassouna ordered him to return to Arab League headquarters and cabled Cairo and Damascus for support. But Egyptian officialdom was busy tussling with the Moslem Brotherhood, and Faris el Khouri, newly appointed Syrian Premier (he has since been ousted), was fighting for his own political survival.

A frantic round of lobbying now began. Hassouna tried to split the Syrian delegation by luring some of its members to take the initiative on matters where protocol normally demanded that Shukeiri be consulted. Shukeiri denounced Hassouna as a tool of the British and declared that he spent too much time junketing in Washington while other Arab diplomats were hard at work at the United Nations. He cunningly associated Hassouna in the minds of the Egyptian delegation with the unpopular Iraqis at a time when personal relations between the late Dr. Azmi (Egypt) and Fadhil el Jamali (Iraq) were at their worst. (A typical Jamali utterance: "How can this Azmi, who was once married to a Jewess, claim to represent Arab interests?") keiri sedulously cultivated Arab press representatives, and last year Hassouna was sailed in the Arabic press, partly at Shukeiri's instigation, for spending 3 months in America. It was now whispered to him that unless he returned to Cairo promptly there would be even more violent attacks. Hassouna packed his bags.

NURI'S INGENIOUS PLAN

The League's controlling body is theoretically the biannual Arab League Council, a conference of Premiers and/or Foreign Ministers, like the one that has just broken up. It was generally expected to replace Hassouna in the first half of this year, but the crisis provoked by the Turkish-Iraqi Pact thrust the matter into the background. Even without this crisis, it would have taken more than a change of Secretary General to reinvigorate the League. The Egyptian and Iraqi Governments, certainly the two most active participants, had already come to regard it, at least in its present form, as an obstacle in the way of certain of their "national aspirations."

Iraqi Premier Nuri Pasha es Saïd is undoubtedly sincere in his desire for a link with the new Turkish-Pakistani alliance. At the same time, his desire to incorporate Syria into Iraq is as strong as ever.

Brilliantly stage-managed elections packed Baghdad Parliament in his favor last fall and gave him an opportunity to crush his most active political opponents and straitlacket the press. In Syria, persistent political instability is enabling Hashimite agents to paint the advantages of union with Iraq in glowing colors. The United States Government, hitherto opposed to Iraqi designs on Syria, is eagerly awaiting Nuri's signature on as many dotted lines as possible and therefore is confidently expected in Baghdad to look the other way from now on so far as Syria is concerned. The 66-year-old Iraqi Premier would seem to have some justification for hoping to be able to crown his long political career, provided he escapes assassination, with an audacious double coup. Effected as nearly simultaneously as possible, the two moves-alinement with the Ankara-Karachi axis and annexation of Syria-would complement and uphold each other. Taking the initiative on Syria would win the plaudits of those Iraqis most likely

to oppose Nurl's Turkish tie; the latter would ensure Western diplomatic backing against whatever hostile pressure Saudi Arabia and Egypt might try to exert.

In Egypt, the leading members of the ruling military junta have no more illusions about the Arab League than Nurl. An important group within the junta has insisted all along on Egypt's need to develop its African interests rather than dissipate its energies in the futile internecine squabbles of the Arab League. A firm hold on the Sudan would improve Egypt's economic position, provide an outlet for emigration from the grimly overcrowded Nile delta, and make Egypt the major nonwhite power in Africa—the China of Africa, as a leading Egyptian official has put it. Such an Anschluss, objectionable to the Hashimite governments of Iraq and Jordan because of the power and prestige it would bring Egypt, would be yet another kidney punch for the Arab League.

Egyptian Pan-Arabism still makes news, however. The dynamic Maj. Salah Salem, Minister of National Guidance and Sudan Affairs, has initiated moves that threaten to supersede the Arab League with a new and vital organization in which Egypt would enjoy uncontested leadership. On March 6 a joint communique from Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia announced agreement to strengthen the Arab structure politically, militarily, and economically, outside any pacts like the Turkish-Iraqi one. Lebanon and Jordan are under pressure to join the new group, which sounds like the old league with a few parts missing.

BUILD ON BOCK

But it might be premature, even now, to conclude from all this that the League has no hope of survival. The only certainty in Arab affairs is uncertainty. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, in Egypt as elsewhere. Nuri Pasha's talent for planning has more than once outrun his executive abilities. Syrian republicans look to the Arab League to shield them from Hashimite expansionism. Lebanon, half Christian and half Moslem, trellised by communal and political rifts that match its physical structure, would be grievously divided over what attitude to adopt to an Islamic bloc (advocated in circles close to King Saud and in the Egyptian junta by Colonel es Sadati), an enlarged Iraq, or any other substitute for the Arab League. Those Lebanese Christians and Druses who disliked the League when it was first established would probably wish to cling to it now that it has proved innocuous.

The one firm forecast that can be made now is that for some little time to come the security of America's Near Eastern interests in going to depend less on what is decided in Washington than on the behavior of Iraqi mobs. When and if the State Department decides to disengage itself from its present entanglements, it will either have to make its peace with Egypt and what may then be left of the Arab League—on Egypt's terms—or fall back upon the fundamental strategic tripod composed of Turkey, Iran, and Israel-and-Lebanon, the only military pattern in the region that is politically viable and might even afflict the Kremlin's Near Eastern planners with the insomnia their American opposite numbers are contracting.

British officials, who now shudder when anyone mentions Pan-Arabism or Egyptian leadership of anything more complex than an Olympics committee, appear overwhelmingly to favor leaving the Arab League states to work out their own destiny for a while. They are unenthuslastic about Washington's Iraqi policy, the more so since Nuri Pasha is cunningly using the Turkish pact as an excuse for abrogating his country's sole effective defensive link with the West—the 1930 Anglo-Iraqi treaty under which Britain is allowed two air bases in Iraq.

Israel, incidentally, is increasingly valued in Whitehall as an area of stability in the political quicksands of the Near East, whose security it would be unjustifiable to jeopardize in pursuit of ephemeral Arab League good Will

Mr. Dulles, too, should realize that a "position of strength" has never yet been built on

dry rot.

Proposed Federal Commission on Government Security Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two editorials: The first, entitled "The Com-munist Brush," published in the New York Times of March 10, 1955; the second entitled "Loyalty and Partisanship," published in the New York Times of March 20, 1955.

The two editorials refer to the hearings which were recently held by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. The hearings centered around a proposed advanced by the distinguished Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS] and me to establish a Federal Commission on Government Security Programs.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

THE COMMUNIST BRUSH

The Federal employees' security program as conducted by both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations has produced some severe jolts to traditional American concepts of fair play. But few official governmental statements on the subject have been more shocking in their implications than the one published in this newspaper yesterday coming from Assistant Attorney General William

F. Tompkins.

"It is becoming increasingly clear," said
Mr. Tompkins, "that the current attack
information and against Government witnesses and informants of the Federal Bureau of Investigation has its roots in a Communist effort to stem the successful campaign of this Government to eliminate the subversion threat of communism to our internal security.

The Assistant Attorney General was speaking at the first day's hearings on the proposal of Senators Humphrey and Stennis that a bipartisan Commission on Government Security be established to study the Federal security program.

If Mr. Tompkins' words mean anything they mean that the nationwide protests against the repeated use of totally unreliable and professional informers by the Depart-ment of Justice and other Government agencies are Communist-inspired. They imply that only Communists or Communist dupes would make such protests. They suggest that the very purpose of such protests, and protests against secret, star chamber procedures, is "to stem" the Government's campaign against subversion.

That Communists oppose present security procedures for their own sinister reasons is of course true. But does this justify the misuse, or the careless use, of informers by Government agencies?

To hear one of the highest officials of the Department of Justice suggest that the doubts cast on present procedures must stem from pro-Communists is almost incredible. The Solicitor General of the Department himself has clearly indicated such doubts. So have many Senators, many plain citizens, many newspapers. If we have misinterpreted Mr. Tompkins' statement, we would appreciate a clarification. If we have not, the statement only helps to prove the need for the Commission proposed by Senators Humphrey and Stennis.

LOYALTY AND PARTISANSHIP

Former Senator Harry P. Cain is a Republican and a member of the Subversive Ac-tivities Control Board. This agency, set up in 1950 with a 3-to-2 division between the political parties, is supposed to determine whether designated organizations or individual members of such organizations are infected with communism. Mr. Cain, a vet-eran of the Second World War with many decorations and a record of stalwart conservatism, is not satisfied with the way things are being done. He appeared before the National Civil Liberties Clearing House on Friday to criticize severely what he called "the marriage between security and politics."

Mr. Cain had the temerity to defend the

Constitution-specifically that part of it contained in the fifth amendment. It is his belief that those who use "fifth amendment" as an adjective of disapprobation modifying the noun "Communist" are guilty of disrespect to the Constitution as any Communist could be. It seems to him that it is better to maintain the ancient principle that an individual shall not be required to convict himself than to punish a few who hide behind the privilege without justification. Mr. Cain suggested a sort of period of grace so that, for instance, an individual who had resigned from a Communist-front organization other than the Communist Party itself before 1947 and who since had engaged in no suspicious activities would be given a clean bill of intellectual or moral health.

Mr. Cain also supports a plan that has been rejected by the President and Attorney General Brownell—namely, that a bipartisan commission be appointed to study the security program. This plan certainly recommends itself to one's sense of fairness. And whatever course may be adopted to insure loyalty in governmental employees, political partisanship ought to be completely and permanently eliminated in it.

Key to Yalta Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Sacramento Bee of March 22, 1955:

HATRED OF ROOSEVELT IS KEY TO YALTA CONTROVERSY

Like scavenging hordes of little foxes, the haters of Franklin D. Roosevelt are digging in the boneyard of Yalta.

The release of the incomplete, already challenged records of the Yalta Conference has been leaped upon with smug indignation or ill-concealed delight, to degrade, belittle, and defame the man who did as much as

any single person to see America through both its worst domestic crisis and its greatest hour of peril.

The defamers of the dead are almost drooling over every action and word of Roosevelt which in their own extensive hindsight can be presented as a mistake.

Sooner or later their vindictive second guessing is bound to boomerang. The American people are not that stupid, not that petty and not that ungrateful.

Had it not been for Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, yes, and Josef Stalin, there might not have been a Yalta conference. It might have been a Berlin conference presided over by Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, to which America, Britain, and Russia might have gone as defeated supplicants.

The bold and ridiculed goal of 50,000 American fighting planes set by Roosevelt, the lend-lease deal which kept Britain in the war, the long struggle back from Pearl Harbor, the unbelievable acceleration of American industry, the high level of national morale, and the brilliant battlefield strategy all were in part contributions of Roosevelt to his Nation's victory and salvation.

Yet never since Abraham Lincoln has any American encountered such hatred and deprecation as that heaped upon Roosevelt. is an unrelenting hatred which he incurred by the methods he employed to save the Nation from economic disaster just before he was called upon to shoulder the burdens of a world war. It is a hatred which does not have the best interests of the American people at heart.

To these detractors Roosevelt in death is a threat. It is necessary from their view to destroy even his image and reputation. accomplish this end they cry imprecations against a voice which is silent; with eyes which have seen all that has happened these last 10 years they damn those eyes which, being mortal, could not foresee the precise future. And to make this cowardly hyprocrisy supreme many who now denounce Roosevelt's efforts at Yalta to keep Russia in the war are the very ones who cheered loudest when he succeeded in doing just that.

The man who attended the Yalta conference did not have long to live. He did not see V-day. He had led the Nation out of the pit of fear in the depression and done much to invest it with sufficient strength to save the free world.

Certainly he deserves from all free men a resolute resistance to the present nibbling of the scavengers. Deep in the heart of the hatred of Roosevelt is hatred of the people themselves. The affection the people held for Roosevelt is what the defamers really seek to destroy. Only disgust and indignation should greet their efforts.

New Frontiers for the West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM S. HILL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Earl L. Butz, Assistant Secretary, United States Department of Agriculture, before the third annual farm and ranch congress, Denver, Colo., Monday, March 7, 1955:

NEW FRONTIERS FOR THE WEST

The scientific and technological advances we will experience in the next decade will be unparalleled in American agriculture.

The geographic frontier in America is gone. No longer can a young man "go West" and stake out his claim. Even the wild and woolly Colorado frontier has been tamed. But the scientific frontier in America is barely scratched. And the scientific frontier has no effective limit. It is limited only by the mind and imagination of man.

Organized and imaginative research is the vehicle which will push the scientific frontier beyond limits we scarcely dare dream of to-

day.

It follows logically, therefore, that if we can keep our economy free and preserve an environment in which individual producers and scientists are free to dream a little about new techniques and new ideas, and to enjoy the fruits of their dreams, we shall experience phenomenal progress in the next generation.

The above prediction is made with full understanding that the American economy in 1954 was down slightly from a year earlier; but it has turned upward in recent months. Entirely too many Americans suffer under the economic illusion that it is abnormal-in fact disastrous-for the economic graph to dip modestly downward once in several years. Some of the modern-day alarmists would try to superimpose a new politically created artificial boom on top of an old war-created artificial boom, and push our economy from one unstable excess to another. We have no new evidence that man can completely circumvent the law of action and reaction, even in his economic behavior. Within the framework, however, the long-time growth curve of the economy is distinctly upward.

ECONOMIC STABILITY IS THE KEY

America has been enjoying a period of relative economic stability during the past year. The general level of prices has been remarkably stable during the past 12 months, varying within a range of less than 2 percent. That is virtually no change.

Prices received by farmers have likewise been fairly stable during the past year, fluctuating within a range of less than 6 per-

cent.

The widely advertised business recession of 1954 evidently reached the bottom about last July. The slow erosion of prices and business activity which had been in progress since shortly after the Korean boom halted them, and has turned up modestly. The upward course has been fairly steady, although not spectacular, for the past several months. Our economy is growing at a healthy rate, production is increasing absolutely and on a per worker basis, consumer incomes are rising, consumer spending is at a record rate, and higher standards of living within the immediate reach of all of us.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-four was the second biggest economic year in the history of America. This was accomplished without war, with Federal Government expenditures down \$11 billion, and Federal taxes reduced

\$7 billion.

In my book, the second biggest year in our history is a long, long way from the kind of depression some of our alarmists were preaching last fall. Last year was the most prosperous depression in our history.

The relative stability of the past year is reassuring. The adjustment in business activity from the peak levels of the Korean war period to the present time has been one of the mildest on record.

Truly the economic health of America is good.

Gross national production in 1955 will exceed the 1954 level of \$357 billion. It could equal the record of \$365 billion in 1953. It is reliably predicted that our gross production will reach \$500 billion by 1965. That would mean an average increase of 20 percent for each of us, above our present living standards.

In this overall environment of a stable to strong general economy, American agricul-

ture may also look forward to economic stability. Although farm income has declined slightly more in the last year than has the general economy, it is significant that its decline has been very markedly slowed from a year and a half ago. The price parity ratio for 1954 averaged 89, only 3 points below the 1953 average. The price parity ratio last month stood at 87. This was only 7 points below the figure for 2 years earlier, January 1953, when Ezra Taft Benson became Secretary of Agriculture. In the 7 months before January 1953, the price parity ratio dropped 10 points. In the 23 months before January 1953, the price parity ratio dropped 19 points.

It now appears that the stability we have been experiencing will continue through 1956. The domestic demand for farm products will continue strong, with a likely mod-

est increase in foreign demand.

It is gratifying that in this setting for potential progress in agriculture, the 63d Congress gave us a new farm bill that will point American agriculture toward better balance, greater freedom for individual farmers, and a more stable and prosperous economy. The new law establishes the sound economic principle of flexible price supports which will help gear our farm production to the needs of the Nation and will, at the same time, minimize the need for such stringent controls over farm production and marketing as we experience today. The new bill becomes operative with the 1955 crops.

It must be pointed out, however, that neither the new farm program nor any other legislative magic can be expected to solve our pressing farm problems in a few weeks or even a few months. The burdensome surpluses now owned by the Government were accumulated over a period of years by following wartime price-support policies long

after the emergency had ended.

WE NOW FEED OURSELVES ON SCIENCE

American agriculture is now feeding our rowing population on science and tech-

growing population on science and technology. We have increased our total agricultural output in the last 4 decades by 75 percent, on roughly the same acreage we had previously, and with 2½ million fewer farm workers. Even in the 15 years since the beginning of World War II, our farmers in America have increased their total production by 47 percent, with no increase in acres and with 1¾ million fewer workers on farms. These changes have accompanied the application of science and the advanced technology associated with mechanization and electrification of the American farm.

The efficiency of agricultural production has likewise increased tremendously in recent years. In the last 4 decades, total output per man employed in agriculture has increased 140 percent. In the last 15 years output per man-hour has increased 70 percent. This has resulted in higher level of living for farm families, and cheaper food for urban families.

In the same short 1½ decades, we have increased our steel production capacity by one-half, and have doubled our electric power production capacity. Surely a broad base is laid for a further rise in living standards for the average man and woman in America.

Modern science and technology have solved the age-old problem of hunger and postilence in the Western Hemisphere. But modern man has not yet learned how to manage his society and cooperate with each other in order to accomplish the high level of production and prosperity of which we are capable. The science of political economy is lagging the physical and biological sciences. Our most pressing problem now is to learn how to live with and to enjoy the age of science and technology which we have created for ourselves.

We must cultivate within our society an environment in which individual producers and scientists are free to experiment with new techniques and new ideas, and to enjoy the fruits of their labors. We shall experience phenomenal progress in the generation ahead, if we can preserve our system of free prices and free enterprise. No administration in Washington can do that automatically, for Government cannot go beyond what the people in our various States desire.

Your job and mine must be one of everlasting adult education about the things that make America great. If we keep our free economy, we must preserve a free-price economy. There are too many people in America today who do not really believe in free prices, but who still believe they can look to Washington for price supports, price regulations, price ceilings, and so on. We must get the point across to every citizen of our country that the incentives under free prices make our economy great, and make it strong, and make it productive.

Farmers believe in the free-enterprise system. They believe that government should be the junior partner and free citizens the senior partner. They know this system has produced in America the broadest opportunity for free and prosperous citizenship that exists any place in the world. Under this system individual producers and individual processors can grow and prosper as far as their ambition and their ability will take them. The right to succeed is open to everyone.

AMAZING CHANGES IN OUR GENERATION

We live in an era of the most rapid scientific and technological change of all time, If you were to put the full recorded history of man on the face of your clock, starting with the story of creation in the Book of Genesis and continuing until 1855-100 years ago-the hands of your clock would have moved from noon around to 11:45 p. m. last 15 minutes on the face of your clock would represent the last century. Yet, output per worker in the United States has increased more in that last 15 minutes than in the previous 11 hours and 45 minutes. And most of the increase within the last 15 minutes has occurred since the turn of the present century. Many of us now living have played a substantial role in this amazing sciientific and technological revolution.

Let us imagine for a moment that a good Egyptian farmer in the day of Moses could have been brought back to life in the day of the Caesars, some 12 centuries later, and placed on a good farm in Italy, then the most advanced nation of the world. He could have farmed with practically no additional instruction, for the art of agriculture had changed little, if any, in the intervening 12 centuries.

Let us imagine that same farmer brought back to life on a good English farm in the day of Shakespeare, some four centuries ago. He still would have been a pretty good farmer with no additional instruction.

Now let's bring that same ancient Egyptian farmer to the eastern shores of America 153 years ago and put him on Thomas Jefferson's farm, one of the advanced farms of He still would not have found that day. the art of farming very different from that which he practiced in Egypt 3,000 years earlier. He still would have used the same motive power, the same crude implements, and large amounts of hand labor. He would have known very little about fertilization, improved varieties, high-producing breads of livestock, and the hundred mechanical and electrical gadgets which occur on our modern farm.

Now imagine for a moment that same farmer on a modern American farm. Ha would be completely bewildered. He would not even recognize the working end of the tractor parked in the farmyard. He would probably raise the cry of witchcraft at all the wonderful things performed by mochanical and electrical power. It would require hard years of instruction and apprentice-

ship for him before he could even begin to operate the modern American farm.

MORE CAPITAL IS REQUIRED

Agriculture is now big business. It is in-evitable that family farms are becoming larger, as the number of workers on farms decreases and as mechanization of our farms continues at a rapid pace. It is estimated that the value of the United States agri-cultural plant is about \$150 billion. This means a national average of approximately \$30,000 per farm. Obviously, these averages include many small farms. The figure for include many small farms. typical commercial family farms is larger. It runs from \$50,000 to \$100,000.

On our good family farms it now takes an investment of nearly \$50,000 to create one farm job. In American industry it takes an average investment of from \$12,000 to \$15,-000 to create one industrial job. It takes three times as much capital to create one agricultural job on good family operated commercial farms. Truly agriculture has become big business. As such it calls for a very high level of managerial ability on the

essfully operated farm.

When many of us were youngsters it was often said, "If you can't do anything else, you can farm." Today the situation is reversed. If you can't farm, you'd better do something else. Successful operation the modern typical family commercial farm calls for a higher level of managerial capacity than does most of the family operated business concerns in your county seat

THE "COUNTRY HICK" HAS DISAPPEARED

Scientific research in agriculture has changed farming from a "way of life" to a "way of making a living." The "country hick" of a generation or two ago has almost completely disappeared from the American scene. The city limit sign which appears at the edge of your county seat town no longer means the same as it dld a generation ago. It is now just a tax boundary. It is no longer a cultural boundary, a recreational boundary, an education boundary, a social boundary, or an economic boundary. It is just a legal dividing line.

The same kind of people live on one side of that city limit sign as on the other. They have increasingly the same types of ambi tions, similar cultural, social, and economic opportunities, comparable ways of living, and even similar disappointments and frustrations. This development is all for the good. It has been associated with a lowering of the drudgery of farm life. The living conveniences of the city have been taken to the country. Mechanization and electrification bring shorter hours on the farm than a generation ago, with opportunity for higher economic rewards for the efficient farmer than existed a generation ago.

FOOD IS CHEAP IN AMERICA

The phenomenal increase in agricultural production made possible by scientific research has helped urban people as well as farm people. It has provided them with a record high diet at an all-time low cost. Few urban people understand this. We need to get the story across, every time we get a chance, that food is not expensive.

The retail price of food in America is lower now than it was a year ago. It's lower than it has been since 1951. Retail food prices in December 1954 were 110.4 (1947-49=100). The 1954 monthly average was 112.6, 1953 average 112.8, and 1952 average 114.6, and

1951 monthly average 112.6.

Food is cheap and getting cheaper in terms of how long the industrial worker must work to pay for it. It is cheaper now than before Korea. It is cheaper now than it was in 1932, in terms of how long the American worker has to work to get his food.

There is no country on the face of the earth today where the workingman spends so small a proportion of his working day earning the food he eats as in America There is no country on the face of the earth today where the workingman has so large a proportion of his working day left to buy the things that make life so pleasant in your home and mine, as in America.

At the present time the American public

is spending approximately 26 percent of its disposable income for food. In 1935-39, it spent only 23 percent of its disposable income for food. However, if the American public were content to eat the same quantity and the same quality of food per person we ate in 1935-39, we could get our food for 18 percent of our disposable income instead of the 23 percent we actually spent 15 years

The plain truth is that on a per capita basis we are eating about 13 percent more food in this country than we ate 15 years ago. And we are eating better food, with more meat, milk, and eggs. Consumption of restaurant meals and prepared foods is up.

We eat "higher on the hog" and enjoy it tremendously. And it doesn't cost us very much to do that either. The thing that bothers us most in America is not nearly so much the high cost of living as it is cost of high living.

THE AGRICULTURAL HORIZON LOOKS BRIGHT

An exciting experience lies ahead for those Americans who have the capacity to dream. The America we enjoy today was built by men and women who had dreams. America will continue to grow in proportion as her citizens dream imaginatively and constructively.

The future is filled with interesting challenges. Science will dominate the next cen-Brains will replace brawn in American agriculture and industry. Man will direct power rather than supply it. Production per man will continue to increase. This means still larger agricultural units with more capital. It means increased mechanization. also means high standards of living for those who produce our food and fiber. Farming will be even more big business than it is now. It will be still less a way of life than

LET'S DREAM A LITTLE

The sun is the ultimate source of energy for our earth. We think American agricul-ture, scientific as it is, does a pretty good job in converting the energy of sunshine into the usable energy of food and fiber. And by historical standards, modern agriculture does Yet a good farmer, using up-to-date scientific methods, can now capture from 1 acre of crops on his farm in 1 year about as much energy as God pours on that acre in I typical summer day. We now convert to usable form less than one three hundredth part of the energy poured on our acres every year.

Let your mind dream a little about the possibilities ahead in food production. If we learn somehow how to double our production per acre, we would still be getting less than 1 percent of the energy available. What a marvelous challenge ahead for

science and for men of vision.

NEW POWER AND PRODUCTION POSSIBILITIES

Let's dream for just a moment in another direction. The history of the rise of man's material standard of living is essentially a history of increased amounts of energy under the direction of a single worker. A century ago 85 percent of our people were engaged in agriculture. Many agricultural operations were performed by hand or with hand implements. As a consequence, output per worker was so low that there was little surplus food to support those who were engaged in nonagricultural occupations.

Today less than 13 percent of our population is engaged in agriculture, releasing more than 87 percent to follow nonagricultural pursuits and to produce the goods and services which make life so pleasant for all of us in America. This transformation has been made possible partly because each individual farmer directs so much more power now than formerly. This is also true in industry and commerce. Reflect for a moment on the changes that have occurred within your own experience in the amount of horsepower controlled by a single worker in agriculture, in industry, or in transportation.

Now let us dream a little. Within this decade, the nuclear age was born. Possibilities for new sources of energy stagger the imagination. New research developments with tremendous power potentialities occur

with amazing rapidity.

Some scientists now assert that our known reserves of fissionable materials exceed in potential power our known reserves of coal, petroleum, and water power. Other scientists predict that within 10 years we shall have available in this country as much nuclear energy as we now have available from our coal, our petroleum, and our water power, combined.

Let yourself dream for a moment in that area. If such predictions are only one-fourth right, it means that in 1965 our whole economy of 1955 will be obsolete. It means that the job of converting to the new and more economical sources of nuclear energy will dwarf the automobile boom of the 1920's. It means still larger units per worker in industry and agriculture. It means more capital per plant and per worker.

THE BEST YEARS ARE YET TO COME

The challenge of the next decade is unprecedented for men and women of vision and ambition. The challenge for agricul-ture is greater than ever before in its his-The scientists who develop knowledge for agriculture, as well as those who apply it, will have the opportunity, through producing more products at lower

cost, to occupy a ringside seat at the greatest decade in the history of America.

My life insurance company gives me 28 years yet to live. I am looking forward eagerly to those 28 years in this marvelous America. I except them to be the most challenging, the most interesting, and the most rewarding years in the history of mankind.

If I could have my choice of the period

of all time when I would spend my last 28 years on this earth, I would start them this

The scientific and social challenges which lie before us are unparalleled in history,

I approach my next 28 years with anticipation and enthusiasm.

I am going to have a lot of fun growing and building and dreaming with this still young and vigorous America.

I hope you too can see a great challenge for yourselves in the years ahead.

Un-UNESCO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PRICE DANIEL

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President, a delegate to the Third National Conference of UNESCO, Hon. Alvin S. Romansky, of Houston, Tex., has requested that there be inserted in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Un-UNESCO", which appeared in the March issue of Art News. Accordingly, I ask unanimous

consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UN-UNESCO

With all credit in the world for good intentions, the record of UNBSCO becomes Two or three recent occasteadily poorer. sions bring it inescapably to the fore, and raise the grave question, to those who a decade ago were among its most ardent enthusiasts, whether it is worth today not only the huge sums spent annually on it (the United States being by far the heaviest contributor) but also the energy required to defend UNESCO's motives against many who attack them for the wrong reasons. Because of UNESCO's extensive-and perhaps far too pretentious, certainly misdirectedgram, the problem deserves the attention of every reader who is a sensitive taxpayer as well as a citizen of the world.

The recent occasions, upon none of which UNESCO has put anything like its best foot forward, are: Two quite different but equally direct activities in art (its own art books and the UNESCO sponsored and run First International Congress of Plastic Arts, held at Venice in October on which official reports are just beginning to come through); and its eighth general conference, at Montevideo in December, on which far too little comment has been made in the American press. To help remedy the latter, it is fortunate to find so detached and authoritative an observer as one of the foremost British political weeklies, the more than a century-old Economist, surely devoid of partipris on behalf of either America or the arts. Here are some major excerpts from that valuable report:

"It was encouraging to hear that at UNESCO's eighth general conference, held at Montevideo, commonsense seemed at last to be making itself felt. The conference considerably reduced the number of projects to be undertaken, and it decided that the members of its executive board, hitherto elected as individuals, should in future be responsible to their governments. The latter reform, originally proposed by Britain some years ago, should help to keep UNESCO's head out of the clouds and its feet on the ground. But fuller accounts of the proceedings at Montevideo revive the old doubts. The dclegates apparently thought they had done something of note by ordering their officials to 'study means of promoting peaceful cooperation' and by asking the governments they represent 'to take all necessary measures to assure freedom of expression and to remove barriers to the free flow of undistorted information between member States. Among the sponsors of these resolutions were the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Dr. Evans described the two resolutions as 'ample proof of the lessening of international tensions.' People who know just how much freedom of expression and free flow of information is encouraged by Communist governments may be pardoned if they see in these resolutions fresh evidence of UNESCO's ability to cut itself adrift from reality and

even from honesty of mind.

"UNESCO started life 8 years ago, with the fixed idea that it must have a finger in almost every conceivable pie. The logic behind this reasoning was obscure; what is clear is that it has proved well-night disastrous. With less than \$10 million to spend each year up to now, the Organization has been forced to spread the butter very thinly over the great hunks it has tried to swallow; and the impression has inevitably been created that it is no more than a happy hunting ground for cranks. Culture alone is a vast and amorphous term; in no other field is it so easy to let one thing lead on to another, or to juggle so convincingly with the theoretically desirable and the practically useful. Thus it is that a body whose

constitution contains ringing words about preventing war by attaching its roots 'in the minds of men' now finds itself designing a 'mobile museum specially adapted to arid zones,' fostering a 'symposium on bromatology' at Santiago de Chile, and submitting reports reviewing research literature on the 'design of wind machines.'

"Dr. Evans, who was appointed Director-General some 18 months ago, has sought to adopt a realistic attitude toward UNESCO's manifold projects. But people acquire vested interests in education, science, and culture just as they do in other fields; and although UNESCO is young in years, it has shown itself old enough to be set in its ways. It will not find it easy to turn a deaf ear to those who urge in to provide the world with colored reproductions of Australian aboriginal art or gramophone records of the folk music of the Eskimo, Tuareg, and Foula peoples. * *

"To argue in this strain is not to prove oneself a Philistine. It would be in UNESCO's own interest to abandon some of its more esoteric projects and to concentrate its resources on those that offer practical results. Admittedly, at Montevideo some fears were expressed that emphasis on the practical might lead to neglect of spiritual values; but international organizations are unsatisfactory vehicles for the propagation of spiritual values, and the sad fact is that UNESCO's misguided efforts in some directions have diverted attention from the admirable work it is doing in others. * * *

"UNESCO can do valuable work in promoting understanding and personal interchange among relatively well-educated peoples, but in that field it is not alone; at most, it can only fill crevices between the activities of universities, learned societies, publishers, and national organizations. * * But it is still far from clear that that is what UNESCO has in mind."

To the silly esthetic boondoggling described above by the Economist, we can add one more late morsel: the prizes offered and awarded at the recent Venice Biennale by UNESCO, which became simply two or three others added to an already endless list of small cash and honors offered by tourist bureaus and insurance companies. may sound like a tiny thing, which it probably comes to in money and importance, yet these prizes are somehow typical of the most unpleasant and most dangerous fault of UNESCO, certainly in the arts—namely, its obvious wish and will to set itself up competitively, and on the same level, with existing organizations, instead of as a liaison in order to make the best possible use of them, as the founders of UNESCO intended. But that original premise has now disappeared under the hand of the firmly entrenched intellectual Tammany Hall which today inhabits as well as rules UNESCO.

Hence, of course, UNESCO finds itself, among other odd occupations, literally in the publishing business—and in the art field, in it with expensive, huge volumes that have recently been reviewed by competent authorities as inferior to equally recent, commercially published books, on the same subjects. But it is projects like these which create soft jobs and free travel for UNESCO function-

So also do, of course, international conferences like the one with the fancy name, for artists, at Venice, a few months ago. This turned out to be a no more successful performance of the long-range idea of creating a UNESCO-run international artists' association, for which an equally expensive flop of a general rehearsal, a sort of planning conference, had been held by UNESCO at Venice 2 years before. It was severely criticized on this page (Art News, November 1952) for powerful yet eventually ridiculous efforts by an Italo-French bloc to ram through its own procedure, ideas, and control. Now the same thing has happened again, on a larger

scale and a less easily combatable one, a few months ago—with no press observers invited (why?). As soon as official reports are cleared for release, we shall publish an account based on experiences of the considerably disillusioned United States delegation of artists.

What can be done about UNESCO? How do we control (in order to avoid having to halt entirely) this sorcerer's apprentice we have called into being? Better decide and act before it furnishes one more major, gratuitous fueling, at home and abroad, for all anti-international reactionaries.

The Fate of 16 Polish Underground Leaders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, to-day marks the lapse of 10 years since the date that 16 leaders of the Polish underground were treacherously lured into Moscow, under the pretext of beginning Polish-Soviet negotiations for peaceful solution of mutual problems, and under guaranties of security. All 16 were placed under arrest by the Soviets and all but 2 have not since been heard from.

The person who masterminded this intrigue was Marshal Zhukov, who is now prominent in the Soviet Government. It is this same Soviet Government with Marshal Zhukov, and others like him, who would now like to lure the United States into friendly meetings to discuss peaceful solution of mutual problems.

In the past, each of these meetings have led to further concessions to Soviet Russia and have increased their capacity to further subjugate the free world, and threaten our own national security.

It has been said that Soviet Russia should first show its intentions of good faith before any new meetings take place. I submit, Mr. Speaker, that we should request the immediate release of the remainder of these 16 Polish leaders and an explanation of the unlawful action of the Soviet regime in imprisoning them, before we ever consider any further action toward meeting with them.

On July 2, 1952, during the debate on the report of the special congressional Katyn committee, I referred to this subject matter. Because the remarks are equally applicable today, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting, herewith, portions of my remarks made that day:

The United Nations, to whom we ask that this report be transmitted, should also look into the fate of the 16 fearless Polish underground leaders, who in March of 1945, were invited to Moscow by Marshal Zhukov under the pretext of beginning Polish-Soviet negotiations. There they were treacherously placed under arrest and placed in the infamous Lubianka prison.

This fact was at first carefully concealed by the Russians but was finally revealed during the conference at San Francisco, where it evoked widespread indignation of world opinion.

Under the influence of our appeasement policy, however, this matter was hushed in order not to antagonize the Russians, with whom we thought we could come to an agreement.

After 7 years what was the result of that policy? At least four of these brave leaders have died in jail as a result of the tortures suffered. Others, after release from the prison in Moscow, were again thrown into jails in Soviet-dominated Poland, where

they are languishing.

Former Ministers Jasiukowicz and Bien were sentenced in Moscow to 5 years imprisonment. They therefore should have been released and returned to Poland not later than March of 1950. To this day 21/2 years later, there is no sign of life of either of them. Neither is there any news of the fate of the former Minister, Pajdak, who who excused from the Moscow trial because of illness.

Seven and one-half years after his arrest he has not returned to Poland, nor has he

been heard from.

The United Nations Organizations recently adopted a bill of human rights which provides that no individual may be arrested without a proper court determination, that no one shall be deprived of his rights be-fore a public court trial and that no one can be imprisoned longer than provided for in the court's verdict. The Soviet representative refrained from voting because he thought the provisions were not sufficiently democratic and there is no assurance of the execution of the provisions.

It is not time to expose this horrible cynicism of the Moscow Communists, and to show them that the United States respects the decisions in which it participates and is willing and ready to enforce them?

Would that not be the best way to demonstrate to Poland and to the other nations behind the Iron Curtain that the United States has determined to defend the prin-

ciples of justice against force?

Action by our Government to determine the fate of these brave Polish underground leaders illegally held by Russia in prisons or concentration camps will do more for the cause of the United Nations than any other propaganda behind the Iron Curtain, based on promises rather than actions,

The Yalta Papers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 25, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, England is having a nightmare over the publication of the proceedings at Yalta. Can it be that Mr. Churchill was less candid than he ought to have been when he reported on the matter to the House of Commons?

When was it discovered that the truth should be kept from the people? Since the truth is the easiest thing in the world to defend, why all this consternation about the publication here of those pro-

No one can read these papers without coming to the definite conclusion that the Korean War was born as a result of the Yalta agreement-and do you not think the mothers of the thousands of boys killed and wounded in that conflict are entitled to know how and why it started?

I hope the Potsdam papers are published in full. Then between the Yalta and Potsdam reports we can find out who betrayed Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Baltic States. It would be hard to believe that the United States knowingly consented to turn over 200,000 Germans to slave labor, never to be returned by Russia to their native land, but when we read these papers we will know the truth. Were men from Germany in uniform to be the slaves of Russia as part of the reparation claims against Germany? Was Russia not willing to take property and dollars in reparations, or did they insist upon men, to become their slaves?

From these papers we can understand why Czechoslovakia was abandoned; we can understand why we didn't take Berlin when the Germans offered it to us; we can understand why we delayed until

the Russians got there first.

Why should any nation be offended when the truth is being unfolded? Are we ashamed to the truth? Is England ashamed of it? One purpose will be accomplished, and that is that these reports will deter this country from making any more secret agreements that may not only violate the principles of this republic, but blacken our name on the pages of world history.

I don't see how anyone can feel that publishing these proceedings would be a political move. If the Republicans intended it for that, it comes too early to have any effect, and the leaders of the Republican Party are entitled to more

credit than that.

The contents of these documents belong to the public, for if we were guilty of making colossal blunders at that time, the effect will be to keep us from making them again. If our representatives consented to the enslavement of people to serve the vindictive and selfish interests of the Soviets, we want the world to know that the people of this great Republic knew nothing about it and would never have consented to it is they had known. If those secret proceedings show the error our representatives made, and the people of Europe believe that was the act of the people of the United States, we never can overcome the ill feeling that will be fomented against us. It is important, therefore, that the people of Europe and Asia know that the people of the United States have never approved the action of our representatives at Teheran, Yalta or Potsdam. They could not have approved something we knew nothing about. Hereafter, we hope, Mr. Dulles and the President will not make the same error and put our name to any further secret agreements of similar character, the contents of which are kept from the people.

In the situation we are now in, there is only one thing that will save the people of the United States from world censure because of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam,

and that is the truth.

The action of one Senator in proposing to investigate the leak in the publication of these documents serves no good purpose and contributes to further errors on the same subject.

I am not ready to charge any of our representatives with dishonorable intentions when these agreements were made. They could have been grossly mistaken

and poorly advised, but what they did in fact consent to, we should know. It isn't too late yet, for the honor of this country, for the people to disavow unconscionable and inhuman agreements.

The very fact that these agreements are being published is the best protection the people of the United States can have against any further diplomatic acts of similar character.

Shall We Burden All Our Posterity?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WINT SMITH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith an editorial written by a well-known midwesterner. He points out some facts that many of us have tried to get adopted in the past. The observations of this well-grounded writer, of course, is in absolute opposition to a well-known and often-quoted so-called economist, namely, Mr. Leon H. Keyserling.

Mr. Keyserling, of course, is the patron saint of all the big spenders who live under the rainbow-colored tint of the welfare-state theorists. Mr. Keyser-ling recently advocated that the way to national prosperity was to increase government deficits by several billion dollars through spending more and taxing less. Such a docrine carried out is simply a hard-surfaced road to disaster.

I commend Mr. Elmer T. Peterson's editorial:

From the Daily Oklahoman of March 23, 19551

SHALL WE BURDEN ALL OUR POSTERITY? (By Elmer T. Peterson)

Never in the world's history has there been such a deadly assault against a national treasury as we are seeing in the United States

If there were any exception it would be the deliberate inflation in Germany following World War I, planned to liquidate all people of property. It is impossible to believe that there exists any such deliberate plot in this country.

The publication Spotlight, distributed by the Committee for Constitutional Government, prints an article by Senator HARRY F. Byrn, of Virginia, which highlights the dire peril confronting our Nation in this respect, and the committee says: "Never in its long history was our Federal Republic in such grave danger as today." And the sinister thing about it all is that the demands for Federal funds, instead of decreasing, are growing into stampede proportions.

Among other telling statements by Senator ByRD is this:

The present public debt which we now owe is equivalent to the full value of all the land, all the buildings, all the mines, all the livestock, all the machinery-everything of tangible value-in the United States. mortgaged to the hilt.

As declared by a prominent Oklahoma City banker the other day, such a situation, especially in view of the fact that nothing has been paid off on our Federal debt in 25 years, is equivalent to insolvency, and the only thing that prevents the wreckage of this business organization we call the United States is the fact that the Federal Government has the added power of regulating or even creating currency, and issuing almost

unlimited mortgage bonds.

Senator Byrn says further: "The Congress is being subjected to tremendous conflicting pressures * * * a wide extension of measures to increase the public welfare through Federal appropriations for roads, for schools, and in many other categories, while, at the same time demanding adequate national defense. A second pressure comes from those who assert that Federal taxes must be reduced to increase business incentive and free greater purchasing power. They also demand a reduction in the cost of living.

Senator Byrn opposes the proposed device of adding actually to the public debt to the extent of \$20 billion for a national highway program while pretending that the existing debt is not thereby increased, this to be accomplished by juggling the specifications into a special Federal corporation created for

the purpose.

"Unless Federal spending is reduced * * * deficit spending and inflation will continue to the bitter end which is insolvency," says Mr. Byrn. "We cannot preserve our freedom in insolvency. We cannot defend ourselves militarily in insolvency. Our currency will be worthless in insolvency. Inflation knows no alternative. Left to develop, it moves in only one direction. All experience, all history tells the same bitter story."

What can be done to head off impending catastrophe?

One way would be to adopt the program for a national expressway system advocated by Harry E. Bailey, former director of the Turnpike Authority of Oklahoma, who proposes a pay-as-you-go method, using the toll road system, so the general taxpayer would not be burdened.

Another thing would be the adoption of the Byrd-Bridges amendment to the Constitution, which would forbid the making of appropriations beyond receipts, except under drastic national emergency.

Another thing would be to put a stern check on all the "gimmes," including Federal aid for public schools, new socialized medical schemes, foreign aid and many other categories of Federal grants-in-aid for which there is no money.

It is a common thing for parents to think of their children, grandchildren, and pos-terity far into the future in terms of their personal welfare. Wills are drawn and be-quests are made which will pass on to posterity whatever they may have accumulated. That is a natural thing to do. But there exists a curious by-passing psychology when It comes to precisely the same solicitude for posterity in terms of national welfare and solvency. In this department there is too much of a tendency to say, "Why should we worry about posterity?"

Senator Byrn is soberly reminding American citizens that they need to exercise patriotism in safeguarding our national heritage, which should be a sound economic structure for the benefit of generations yet

Facts About TV: Children's Programing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, there has been given a considerable amount of attention, pro and con, concerning the type and character of so-

called children's programs on television. This has included differing viewpoints.

The Television Information Committee of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters in its March, 1955, issue of Facts About TV, has given the result of a study it made with respect to so-called children's programs,

The result of the study is so interesting and informative that I feel it is appropriate to include it as part of my remarks. It reads as follows:

FACTS ABOUT TV

A recent study reveals that parents and children watch and enjoy many of the same programs and that we make a mistake when we think of television's influence on children only in terms of so-called children's programs. The results of this study are quite significant for they show that (1) the family is drawn together by this common ground, watching and discussing programs as a group; (2) the tastes of children may be somewhat higher than hitherto believed; and (3) the vocabulary and intellectual curiosity of children develop faster and they turn to books, music, etc. to satisfy this interest that is piqued by TV.

It may be well to remind ourselves of something we've always suspected; namely, that children are part of the family and that TV shows labeled "family" are for them too. Our occasional forgetfulness may be forgiven on the grounds that many programs are called "children's programs, perhaps justly so because they have few if any adult This tends to mislead many critics "children's programs," whose comments often lead us to conclude that they themselves may not be getting the full picture

even if the children are.

The New York Herald Tribune education department recently completed a survey of television tastes of 1,200 school children. In an article "Kids Aren't Kids When It Comes to TV." Nancy Moltke-Hansen finds that "the kids don't like programs designed for them as much as programs designed for their parents. Their favorite show is I Love Next on the list comes Topper, then Disneyland, and Superman. No more than 40 percent of the children's favorites are actual children's programs. For the rest their votes cover the range of adult showsfrom You Are There and Hall of Fame, through Dragnet, the Big Show, and Medic, to Jackie Gleason, Life With Riley, and Beat the Clock "

Miss Moltke-Hansen finds the term "children" ambiguous in classifying programs, because many children's shows are slanted toward kids from 3 to 7 years old while their older brothers and sisters of 8 and 9 go for Roy Rogers and Disneyland. At 13, however, they want Dragnet and the abovementioned popular comedies.

In quizzing several TV network executies on their opinions as to who was viewing what, it was found that they were generally unaware of the extent to which children watched the situation comedies and other shows designed for older people.

The adult mind, properly typified by network executives, community leaders, and parents themselves, is not to be blamed for its incomplete understanding of children's pleasures and motivations. It is hard to recall one's own specific reaction to children situations; nevertheless, children have their own valid reasons for their likes and dis-

For example, one little girl in the grade said she liked Mr. Peepers because mother and father like it, too, and so do our next door neighbors," demonstrating a need to feel at one with the other members of her social group. Children feel cozy and grown up when they share laughter with their parents and their parents' friends, the

Topper offers the fascination of ghosts that you can't see. My Little Margie presents the appealing spectacle of someone else getting into trouble in a comical way, "Mama" is "such a sweet program—when you watch it you can laugh at some things and feel sad at others." These are the reactions of children in the third, fourth, and fifth grades.

Children apparently like to feel they are learning while being amused and they don't insist on happy endings. Medic's attraction is that it tells about hospitals; "It's a true story and the person doesn't always live." the Carousel tells "very interesting things" like "how they make shoes." You Are There is a favorite because it "gives historic facts and legends from many countries" and "shows the details of famous historical events."

What do these findings mean? For one thing, they show that the tastes and preferences of children may be somewhat higher than hitherto believed. It tells sponsors that much of their audience consists of youngsters, toward whom a programmatic as well as an advertising eye must be at least partially cocked.

But much more than this is suggested. Children enjoy, through television, the same entertainment as their parents, thus creating a common ground for the whole family that is the very basis of a healthy society. Family life becomes more than a mere peaceful coexistence. There are things to talk about, to compare with one another, to explain and to have explained. Stimulus and ferment, cultural curiosity, a parent-child interchange of feelings and ideas are created during the common leisure of both parents and their children-something of as much cultural validity as the father's playing baseball with his son or the mother's teaching her daughter how to cook and keep house. For TV creates ideas—the "how to do it" of the mind—as much as techniques-how to bake a cake, improve your golf, etc.

A case in point is the opportunity for children to ask "Why?" when presented with a TV situation. Here the parent performs his role as teacher and guide. In company with a 5-year-old, a 7-year-old, and a 10 year-old, Dr. Willard Abraham, professor of education at Arizona State College, watched a television program, taking notes of some of the words used in the script. They were:

Chapter, laboratory, surrounded, extinguished, devise, venture, instrument, audience, ceremony, domain, universe, influence, circuit, disappear, destination, expedition, desolate, inspection, squadron, adventure, crater, short wave.

After the program was over, Dr. Abraham talked it over with his young friends and was surprised to discover that they had understood it. He concluded that their vocabulary had grown through hearing the words used often in correct ways. So he writes in the March issue of Family Circle maga-

In considering the relationship between TV watching and book reading Dr. Abraham asserts that television is more an aid to reading than a hinderer of it, because it builds young vocabularies and stimulates curiosity on matters of detail that are suggested on TV but which cannot be presented as fully as in a book.

This thinking is strongly seconded by Commissioner John C. Doerfer of the Federal Communications Commission, the Government body whose responsibility it is to license radio and television and observe how

well the public interest is served.

Speaking in San Francisco recently, Mr. Doerfer declared, "The head librarian of a large metropolitan city recently was quoted as saving that "TV is tending to become more of an ally than a competitor.' When the people closely associated with these mani-festations of the cultural growth of the

American people publicly testify that broadcasting is no longer considered a competitor but an ally, it bears an imprint of more reliability than the subjective appraisals of broadcast programs by casual observers."

Furthermore, Mr. Doerfer pointed out, the audience for concert music rose from 3,680,-000 to 4,203,000 last year, the sale of musical instruments shows a big rise, and the number of children studying music has greatly increased. He quoted the dean of a conservatory of music and a director of choral music to the effect that a child seeing one of his own contemporaries give an outstanding recital on TV makes the youngster want to learn music himself.

Where but on television, he asked, could so many young people watch Yehudi Menuhin play the violin and take time to discuss what he was doing and why he enjoyed it so much. This he did on a recent Omnibus program one Sunday afternoon recently when millions of children and their parents

were watching TV.

Good Family Life Held Crime Curb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL T. DURHAM

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an article from the New York Times.

GOOD FAMILY LIFE HELD CRIME CURB-FREE-DOM AND RESPONSIBILITY STRESSED BY PSY-CHIATRIST AS YOUTH'S GREAT NEEDS

A psychiatrist called yesterday for harmonious family life as the nearest solution to the rising crime wave among juveniles.

Dr. David Abrahamsen spoke with two other panelists at a forum luncheon at the Harmonie Club, 4 East Sixtleth Street, on ways to prevent juvenile crime.

Citing the many external and internal causes of crime, Dr. Abrahamsen stressed the need of upbringing based on freedom and

responsibility.

The youth's appreciation of his role in society should also be stimulated by teachers, who should add a fourth R to their curriculums, that of personal relationships.

"It is the adults' responsibility to spot the warning signals of disobedience, hostility, truancy, and aggressiveness among children," he said. And more attention should be given to those adults whose emotional problems continue to do damage to themselves and to others.

GOOD EXAMPLE HELD ESSENTIAL

But the prime preventive force against delinquency exists in good example, Dr. Abrahamsen said.

"A parent's fine example to a child will render punishment and reward unnecessary," he said, adding that experience had taught him that a woman's responsibilities in the home should take first place.

The two other panelists, Mrs. Anna M. Kross, commissioner of correction, and Irving Ben Cooper, chief justice of the court of special sessions, agreed that society and the young criminal were helped little by court action and imprisonment.

The young delinquent who is brought to court on charges of crime is invariably starved for associations in the institutions of his community, Justice Cooper said. It is up to the citizenry to impress on the youth that he has a role in school, club, and church work, he added.

Mrs. Kross spoke of the false concept of judges and the public that imprisonment provided a solution for criminal problems.

"It is a false social concept of security that we are safer if we lock them up," she said.

Amending the Natural Gas Act Is in the Public Interest and Will Restore the Jobs of Unemployed Coal Miners and Railroaders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, continuing my efforts to relieve unemployment in the coal, railroad, and related industries in my congressional district, on March 18, 1955, I introduced H. R. 5068 to amend the Natural Gas Act.

In support of my bill, the following statement was submitted to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on March 25, 1955:

STATEMENT BY HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, 20TH DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA, ON H. R. 5068, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTER-STATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE, MARCH 25, 1955

I have introduced a bill, H. R. 5068, to amend the Natural Gas Act in certain important respects in the public interest.

Bills of similar import before this committee have been introduced by Representatives STAGGERS, SAYLOR, CARRIGG, KELLEY, MORGAN, BYRD, BAILEY, KEE, PERRINS, and MOLLOHAN.

My bill addresses itself to a very vital problem on which President Eisenhower has indicated a deep concern and which involves the welfare of all our people. That problem is the development of a sound national fuels policy which will restore the balance of competitive conditions among our several fuels industries. The end results will mean great benefits to the consumers of fuel and energy, and growing employment in a prosperous economy.

President Eisenhower recognized the importance and scope of this matter many months ago. In 1954 he set up 2 committees, I of which was designated the Advisory Committee on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy. This Committee was composed of the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization and the Secretaries of State, Treasury, Defense, Justice, Interior, Commerce, and Labor. The committee was directed by the President;

"To undertake a study to evaluate all factors pertaining to the continued development of energy supplies and resources fuels in the United States, with the aim of srengthening the national defense, providing orderly industrial growth, and assuring supplies for our expanding national economy and for any future emergency."

The committee was further directed to "review factors affecting the requirements and supplies of the major sources of energy including: coal (anthracite, bituminous, and lignite, as well as coke, tars, and synthetic liquid fuels); petroleum, and natural gas."

On February 26, 1955, the committee's report was issued by the White House as "The White House Report on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy." The opening paragraph of the report states:

"The importance of energy to a strong and growing economy is clear. As condi-

tions of supplies and reserves of coal, oil, and natural gas change, and as both defense and peacetime requirements come more clearly into focus, the bearing of Government policies upon energy needs reexamination."

The complete text of the White House report is part of the record of the hearings before this Committee on Natural Gas Act amendments.

I submit that the report and the fact of its incorporation into these hearings should guide the Congress in its consideration of legislation on natural gas.

The Congress should take a look at natural gas in relation to the whole field. It should seriously reexamine our supplies and needs, as the White House committee recommends, and we should give consideration to all of the provisions of the White House report as well as the recommendations of the Federal Power Commission, the agency charged with the administration of the Natural Gas Act.

The Natural Gas Act which was passed on June 21, 1938, has been amended in 1942, 1947, and 1954. This year we have the opportunity to amend the basic law in the public interest because we are faced with many problems to solve under present Government policies in administering the Natural Gas Act.

I am of the opinion that this Congress should not confine its legislative activity to only one phase of the many problems involved in the proper utilization and conservation of natural gas.

For that reason, I introduced and urge passage of H. R. 5068. My bill contains many provisions which have been recommended by the Federal Power Commission and by the White House Report on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy.

For example, section 1 of H. R. 5068 would amend subsection (b) of section 1 of the Natural Gas Act to give the Federal Power Commission jurisdiction over direct industrial sales of gas in interstate commerce. This is a change in the law requested by the Federal Power Commission as recently as 1953. It has also been recommended by the White House Report.

Under present policies, the Commission does not have jurisdiction over these sales with the result that large quantities of this scarce natural resource are being burned wastefully—and at prices which are subsidized, in some instances, by the consumers of gas whose prices are regulated by the Commission. Federal Power Commission regulation would not result in the elimination of such sales, but it should result in a more equitable allocation of the cost of producing and transmitting natural gas to the consumer, with consequent benefit to the gas consumers.

Section 2 of H. R. 5068 would establish statutory standards to be followed by the Federal Power Commission in the administration of the Natural Gas Act in respect to conservation of this resource. This section also is in accord with repeated requests by the Federal Power Commission to the Congress that its powers in the area of conservation should be broadened. The Commission already has general power to effectuate the proposed standards in my bill so that the enactment of H. R. 5068 would merely supply the necessary legislative mandate.

I think that the extremely limited reserves of natural gas make it imperative that Congress clearly authorize and direct the Commission to give effect to sound principles of conservation in regulating the utilization of natural gas.

The Federal Power Commission has also endorsed the proposal contained in section 4 of H. R. 5068, which would define the term interstate commerce to include commerce between any point in a State and any point in a foreign nation.

Section 5 of H. R. 5068 would require natural gas companies to secure a certificate of public convenience and necessity when seeking authority to import foreign gas. The principal objective is to require that all import applications be subject to the same provisions that govern domestic applications for a certificate of convenience and necessity.

Section 6 of H. R. 5068 would amend subsection (a) of section 4 of the Natural Gas Act to prohibit the sale of natural gas at a price less than its cost, including the cost of transportation and sale, plus a fair proportion of the fixed charges. This section incorporates almost the exact language of the White House report which is part of the record of these hearings. The report says:

"Sales either for resale or direct consumption below actual cost plus a fair proportion of fixed charges which drive out competing fuels constitute unfair competition and are inimical to a sound fuels economy. The committee recommends, therefore, that appriate action be taken that will prohibit sales by interstate pipelines either for resale or for direct consumption, which drive out competing fuels because the charges are below actual cost plus a fair proportion of fixed charges."

In light of that clear injunction in the White House report that action is required on this particular aspect of natural gas regulation. I think the 84th Congress would be derelict in its responsibilities to the American people if it falls to include in any natural gas legislation a provision such as section 6 of H. R. 5068.

The White House report contains the recommendations of a highly respected, impartial committee of distinguished public servants saying that this is one of the reasons why the competitive conditions in our fuels industries are seriously out of balance.

As a Representative of a congressional district whose economy depends upon coal and railroads, this unfair competition from natural gas has thrown thousands of coal miners, railroad workers and other employees in related industries out of jobs.

Sections 7, 8, and 9 of H. R. 5068 round out the objectives of legislation which I feel is needed in the public interest.

The principles in H. R. 5068 must be enacted for the protection of the peacetime economy and for the maintenance of a strong mobilization base within the domestic fuels industry.

Wheat Shipments by the Bunge Corp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. BOYLE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. BOYLE. Mr. Speaker, on this date, after hearing numerous and repeated inferences on the floor of the House of Representatives regarding the Bunge Corp., of Minneapolis, I have introduced a resolution which would authorize the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives to conduct a full and complete investigation of the Department of Justice in dropping criminal charges against Robert F. Straub, Andre Herschler, Simon Kern, Walton F. Mulloy, and E. H. Thornton, Sr., all associated with the Bunge Corp., of Minneapolis, growing out of alleged misrep-

resentations in connection with certain wheat shipments.

In certain wheat shipments, which apparently were handled by these men on behalf of the Bunge Corp., of Minneapolis, the wheat shipments were "slugged"-filled with some high-grade wheat and some wheat that was unfit for human consumption-and then certified as being first-class wheat only, and in doing so fraudulently enabled the Bunge Corp., of Minneapolis to obtain \$1,700,-000 in subsidy payments. It seems in-congruous that the company which these men were working with and for, the Bunge Corp., of Minneapolis, should plead guilty and pay a fine of \$5,000 and then that the individuals actually involved should have criminal charges against them dropped because of insufficient evidence.

However, I am the last individual to rob citizens of their cloak of innocence, and as a member of the judiciary t is my desire merely to assist in every way possible to remove this subject from the field of controversy and suspicion.

Seizure of American-Flag Ships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, since calling the attention of my colleagues earlier today to the unlawful search and seizure of the American-flag ships Arctic Maid and Santa Ana by Ecuador, I believe it desirable to extend my remarks to include additional information which I obtained from the Department of State.

Only a few short weeks ago, Mr. Nick Bez, of Seattle, Wash., a well-known fishing operator and a constituent of mine, paid \$5,000 tribute to the Government of Peru for the release of his ships, the Western Clipper and the Tony Bee. Both of these ships asked sanctuary of the Peruvian Government, one for needed emergency repairs and the other for medical assistance for a sick crewman. After granting asylum to these fishing vessels and their crews, and literally inviting them into the protection of the harbor of Calloa, the Government of Peru seized the ships and to all intents and purposes held them for ransom. Three weeks ago eight American-flag fishing craft were seized, again by the Peruvian Government, and \$2,000 more American ransom dollars were paid out before their release could be effected. On September 4, 1954, the Sunstreak, an American-flag ship owned by Mr. Jack Crivello, of San Diego, was confiscated by Ecuador. Mr. Crivello paid between \$12,000 and \$13,000 for the release of his ship, and, pursuant to Public Law 680 of the 83d Congress, has filed a claim in this connection with the Department of

These are acts of piracy, Mr. Speaker. Therefore I ask, how long will these acts of modern-day banditry be tolerated?

How long will citizens of this country sailing under the protection of the Stars and Stripes be subjected to the indignities of forcible detention by foreign governments until tribute is paid for their release? I suggest that it is about time the United States ceased protesting and started protecting our American persons and property. The echoes of that stirring slogan of early years, "Millions for defense but not 1 cent for tribute," once echoed loudly in this land of freedom. In our position of world leadership it should resound from shore to shore, today louder and with far greater determination and firmness than ever before in our history.

What Price Inconsistency?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the following article, by David Lawrence, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on Friday, March 25, 1955, is, I believe, worthy of special attention:

ERA OF STRANGE CONTRADICTIONS—DEMO-CRATIC SENATORS ACCUSED OF TURNING THEIR ATTENTION TO SUCH TRIVIALITIES AS SQUIR-RELS AND LEAK ON YALTA

These are strange times in Washington—strange because, with the world in a worried mood, there are Democrats in Congress who seem to be worried only about trivialities.

Thus, one Senator, a prominent Democrat, wants to raise a fund to build a fence so that the squirrels which, he says, were ordered off the White House grounds could return and the President still be able to practice golf on a smooth putting green. But it turns out that Mr. Eisenhower didn't know a thing about the squirrels until he read about them in the newspapers. Maybe the groundkeepers of the White House lawns should consult Congressmen hereafter before trying to keep animals of all kinds, large or small, out of the grounds.

Then another Senator, also a prominent Democrat, says he wants to see an investigation begun to discover how the Yalta papers "leaked" to a certain newspaper—the New York Times. But it turns out the documents were actually released on the same day last week to all the newspapers simultaneously. Nobody had a scoop. So there was only a hypothetical leak after all.

But assuming that the Times or any other newspaper gets a scoop hereafter, is the reporter to be investigated and is his informant to be declared a security risk? One Democratic Senator solemnly hands down a decision that whoever gave the Yalta papers to any reporter in advance is a security risk.

The Times hasn't told who its informant was, but it wasn't the Secretary of State, and the documents were never formally classified as secret either. They were just pieces of historical literature. Messrs. Churchill, Byrnes, and Stettinius have all published books with data in them from the Yalta records.

The pot shouldn't call the kettle black. Senators regularly leak to the press information that they get from the executive branch of the Government. Also under the Truman administration, the most sensational leaks occurred, and nobody on the Republican side

seemed to worry about the scoops the news-

papers got.

One conspicuous instance, for example, was the leak that gave a reporter for the New York Times a copy of the transcript made at the meeting between President Truman and General MacArthur at Wake Island in 1950 shortly after the Korean war began. A Government stenographer was planted outside the door without the general's knowledge, and the notes were allowed to get into print without consulting the Far Eastern commander as to their accuracy. Mr. Dulles at least consulted Mr. Churchill before making public the Yalta papers.

Nobody at the time thought there was a security breach in the publication of the Wake Island papers, though the ethics used in planting a stenographer clandestinely to eavesdrop were questioned by some critics.

Also didn't President Truman himself leak to a friendly Senator in October 1952 a document written in 1947 revealing General Eisenhower's recommendations while a member of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff? Wasn't it the plain purpose to try to embarrass Mr. Eisenhower politically when he was a presidential candidate? All this was revealed just a few months ago in Senate debate.

As for confidential informants, the newspapers could hardly print all the news articles they do each day if the persons who are the sources of their information did not rely on the reporters to withhold their names. The courts have for the most part upheld the right of the press to conceal confidential informants. Day by day Government officials give out information with the explicit understanding that it isn't to be attributed to them. This happens all through the Government—especially on Capitol Hill.

Yet today the American Civil Liberties Union, which has a tendency to uphold most of the left-wing attacks on the security system, is demanding that all confidential informants of the FBI be disclosed in any personnel hearings inside the Government. A concerted effort by various organizations is underway to try to accomplish this. Anyone who presents any information that could be regarded as derogatory must be willing, if such a program is ever adopted, to have his name used in a formal proceeding, or presumably such information will not be available to the Government.

This is about the cleverest scheme yet devised to break down the whole system of ferreting out subversives in the Government. Yet there are sections of the press which insist on protecting confidential informants for their own use but would deny such a device to the Government itself as a guide in employment practices. It's an era of strange contradictions.

TVA at Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. W. PAT JENNINGS

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I herewith include an editorial entitled "TVA at Work," which appeared in the Bristol Herald-Courier on March 22, 1955. The editorial follows:

TVA AT WORK

The floods which struck sections of upper east Tennessee last week were damaging and, in some instances, destructive, but they were far less severe and much more contained than they might have been 30 years ago.

In that day there was no Tennessee Valley Authority. There were no great dams to hold back the rush of swollen streams; no reservoirs to collect the millions upon millions of gallons of water pouring from the mountains into the valley.

mountains into the valley.

A very real picture of the value of TVA and its dams is found right in our own backyard. At South Holston Lake officials yesterday reported a rise in elevation of 6 feet 10 inches in the space of a single day. Who could calculate the damage that such a tremendous quantity of water might have caused had it rushed freely down the Holston River? And who will argue that the salvation of our resources and the alleviation of human misery is not worth the cost of TVA?

This is a major part of the TVA picture which, too often, is overlooked in the controversy over the merits and demerits of the system.

But perhaps it's only natural to talk about the great floods we did have rather than the great floods we didn't have.

Upsurge in Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ANTONIO M. FERNANDEZ

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. FERNANDEZ. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I place in the Appendix of the Record an editorial from the national Catholic weekly review America, of Last Saturday, March 26, commenting on the very excellent progress being made by Puerto Rico, as a self-governing commonwealth. The editorial reads as follows:

UPSURGE IN PUERTO RICO

When four Puerto Rican Nationalists let fly with gunfire from the spectators' gallery of the House of Representatives a year ago, they gave the Communist propaganda machine another chance to grind out a familiar tune. The Red press and radio played up the Puerto Rican gunmen as patriotic mar-tyrs, spokesmen for a people cruelly oppressed by American imperialism. The real facts, however, give the lie to the Red propaganda, and prove exactly the opposite. Puerto Rico's Governor, Luis Muñoz-Marin wrote in Foreign Affairs last July: "Puerto Rico in its upsurge is an exemplification of the fine spirit of freedom in which the United States can deal with civilized people of different origin in their homeland."

The upsurge of which Governor Muñoz-Marín wrote is an amazing uphili pull in social and economic development called Operation Bootstrap. It has attracted hundreds of teachers, engineers, economists, and other technical-assistance workers from all over the non-Communist world to see at work a plan that is increasing annual per capita income much faster in Puerto Rico than in any other Latin American country, or in the continental United States.

That per-capita income is still low. In 1953 it was only \$417 a year. Still, that is more than four times the world average, which is below \$100, and it represents a threefold increase in Puerto Rico since 1940. The present Government's industrialization campaign has added 330 new factories and reduced unemployment by one-third. The economic hazards of a one-crop, export economy which Puerto Rico had in common

with some other Latin American countries is yielding to a program of diversification of agriculture.

To guarantee the workers' share in this increased productivity, a vigorons labor-union movement has grown up. According to the testimony of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, reporting in the January 24 issue of the New Leader, the unions are playing an important role in the development program. The association, founded in Havana in 1950 by 104 representatives of labor and democratic-political organizations in 16 North and South American nations, reports:

"The success of their activities might be measured by the fact that in elections conducted in Puerto Rico by the National Labor Relations Board, 77.9 percent of all cases were won by the unions last year. Elections supervised by the Puerto Rico Labor Relations Board show an even more overwhelming majority won by unions: 87.7 percent.

* * Furthermore they have successfully organized agricultural workers."

That is a far cry from exploitation.

Since 1940 the Puerto Rican death rate has been cut in half. Life expectancy has jumped from 46 years to 61. School enrollment has gone up 75 percent. Educational expenditures have increased 460 percent. Literacy has risen by 14 percent.

The political scene also shows progress toward stability. The Puerto Rican people in free elections have voted 81 percent against independence from the United States and 84 percent against incorporation in the Union as a State. They are in the process of forming themselves into a self-governing commonwealth freely associated with the United States. The Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations has officially recognized Puerto Rico as "an autonomous political entity."

The story of Puerto Rico, far from being a liability, should be a real asset to the United States in the propaganda battles of the cold war.

Rigid Supports Depress Farm Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that any approach to the subject of farm supports from other than a consideration of their effect on farm income as well as cost to the taxpayer is illogical.

In debate on this vital issue there seems to be only one point that can be made without resort to a lot of questionable statistics, and that is the recital, even to the point of being repetitious, of the fact that present farm prices took their biggest dip during the period when rigid 90-percent parity supports were in full force and effect.

I believe it is generally known that Lancaster County, Pa., is the leading nonirrigated agriculture county in the country; and I think that fact justifies the editorial opinion reflected by the following article which appeared in the issue of the Lancaster (Pa.) New Era for March 23, 1955:

FARM PRICE SUPPORTS

When flexible farm price supports became the law, they were hailed in many quarters as a big stride toward a saner agricultural policy.

Until then, the Nation had pursued a policy of rigid, high price props that encouraged farmers to produce not alone for consumer needs but for Government storage warehouses. They turned out crops for which there were no buyers but the Government.

Even with the new flexible supports, no one imagined the painful problem of surpluses would be solved overnight. It was realized that other approaches were necessary, too. Production quotas, development of new foreign and domestic markets, new uses for farm products, these were seen as part of the picture.

This hard-headed view made sense. Experience since the flexible plan became policy shows that the problem doesn't yield easily. Wheat is an example. Though output has been cut and drought has made further inroads, United States farmers still will turn out enough wheat in 1955 to assure a surplus of 925 million bushels—more than a year's consumption in this country.

In the face of this evidence, the House Agriculture Committee recently voted 26 to 11 for a bill to restore the old high, rigid price props (90 percent of parity) on the basic crops now under the flexible system—including wheat, corn, and cotton.

Furthermore, the committee bill would hike price supports on dairy products, another group long plagued by surpluses, from the present 75 to 80 percent of parity.

Backers of the rigid plan argue it is justified by the 10 percent drop in farm prices during 1954. But actually what they propose would solve nothing. It would merely restore the old dilemma of the surpluses in its worst form, and put a real solution that much farther away.

No sensible, fair-minded citizen wants the farmer to suffer while his fellows prosper. Yet it is hard to believe that even the farmer himself wants to gain prosperity through a system like the rigid support plan, which not only builds ruinous surpluses but costs the taxpayers twice (through support loans and payments and storage charges) and the consumers once (through high market prices).

The problem needs an imaginative, manysided attack. All the real friends of the farmer should join happily in that enterprise. But it is a dubious sort of friendship that would return the farmer to the old rigid setup under which he gains at the expense of the whole country.

Greek Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN LESINSKI, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Friday, March 25, was the 134th anniversary of the independence of the Greek people. One hundred and thirty-four years ago the Greeks rose up against their foreign rulers and for over 6 years of constant warfare and much bloodshed fought against the chains of their bondage. This rebellion brought about the birth of what today is modern Greece.

This anniversary date should be memorialized by everyone, for it marks the rebirth and rejuvenation of a nation that had been under a foreign yoke for four centuries. In spite of those long years of servitude and personal suffering, the Greeks did not lose the traits that had made their forefathers great. We all know the debt we owe the Greek nation, for many aspects of our modern civilization were developed from the knowledge and thinking of the early Greeks. Even today, many of their findings are being rediscovered.

As an American, I am proud that in recent times our Nation came to the assistance of the Greeks and provided them with military, economic, and technical assistance. Our military aid helped prevent the Communists from subjugating the people of Greece and reducing them to the status of slaves. Our economic and technical assistance gave the nation a chance to rejuvenate itself and to build the internal strength that is so needed.

This day should be proclaimed to the world, for it symbolizes the thinking of every person who has suffered under foreign oppression. Four hundred years was a long time but it could not still the heart and the will for freedom. The courage and determination of the Greeks are reflected in their freedom. By proclaiming their independence day to the world, we show to the people of the world a shining example of hope for the future, and further ingrain and strengthen in the minds and hearts the determination, so passionately desired, to remain free of any oppression.

Ex-FBI Agent Named as Nixon Assistant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the Record an article which appeared in the February 1955 issue of the Grapevine, official publication of the Society of Former Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Inc. This article discusses the FBI background and experience of Mr. Robert L. King, able assistant to Vice President Nixon.

The article follows:

EX-AGENT IS NAMED AS NIXON ASSISTANT—
KING FINDS JOB WITH VICE PRESIDENT IS A
TREMENDOUS EXPERIENCE

(By Karl G. Hastedt)

Walk into the executive offices of Vice President Richard Nixon at the Senate Office Building at Washington these days and you're almost sure to be greeted by former Special Agent Robert L. King, an old friend of hundreds of society members.

Visit the Vice President's mahogany-lined office in the Capitol, just off the United States Senate Chamber, and you're almost certain, if the Vice President is in the immediate vicinity, to find Bob King on the job also.

Should the Vice President have an important assignment of a delicate nature to undertake it's almost a sure bet that somewhere in the background will be Bob King. Indeed, as the assistant to the Vice President, Bob is in the thick of things nowadays in the Nation's Capital where Dick Nixon is skillfully handling an increasingly important administration role.

CAME FROM ST. LOUIS

Up until the first of January, if you wanted to see Bob you would have had to go to St. Louis to do it. Until then, for a period of 9 years, he had been vice president and general manager of Southern Comfort Corp., a widely known firm of rectifiers. The fact that Vice President Nixon picked King as his top assistant didn't mean, as some of the Nation's drys feared, that the man who occupies the second highest office in the land was giving special recognition to the alcoholic beverage field. Actually, the industry didn't enter the picture at all. Vice President Nixon selected him because Bob, as a former special agent of the FBI, has the training and experience the job calls for. Also, as a close friend for many years Bob is a man DICK NIXON trusted and for whose talents and abilities he had a great respect.

When the Vice President suggested last summer that he'd like to have him come to Washington, Bob thought it over for a long time. The salary certainly wasn't any incentive. He was making far more in private industry than what he would receive in Washington. It would mean a real financial sacrifice. But somehow the money factor became in the end a minor consideration.

"What counted most," recalls Bob, "was the definite feeling that here was an opportunity to serve. Each of us, as I see it, has an obligation as a citizen to pitch in and help in whatever way he can. Finally, I was convinced that my background and training in the bureau fitted me particularly for the work that DICK NIXON had in mind for me."

DEACON IN HIS CHURCH

Bob naturally gave some thought, too, to the reaction which his business associations might have in certain quarters in connection with his work with the Vice President. He had carried into his business life the same high standards and ethics for which the bureau is noted and he had a right to be proud of his record with the corporation he represented. Bob remembered what an officer of the Central Presbyterian Church at St. Louis of which he is a member had said when they invited him to become a member of the board of deacons.

"Church officers," Bob was told, "aren't picked because of any particular business they represent. They're selected because the congregation thinks highly of them as individuals and as Christians. We want you on our board for the same reasons."

So it was because of all these factors that Bob finally agreed to accept Dick Nixon's invitation to become his assistant.

MET ON WEST COAST

How did Bob first become acquainted with Vice President Nixon?

Well, he wasn't Vice President then. Just a lieutenant in the United States Navy. It was 1944. Bob King was at the San Francisco field office of the bureau supervising the investigations of Communist and Russian activities. "Comrap"—for "Comintern apparatus"—was the code name for his probe of Russian espionage in the area. His work also entailed some portions of the security of the atomic bomb work being carried on at the University of California at Berkeley. Bob and his team several times detected transmission of information by Russian agents to the Soviet consulate at San Francisco.

Mrs. King, meanwhile, was working in a Government office in the city. One of her coworkers was Mrs. Patricia Nixon, wife of the young Navy lieutenant. Through this association Special Agent King later met Lieutenant Nixon when he returned from duty in the Pacific and they became warm friends.

When Dick Nixon was asked by a group of his fellow Californians to run for Congress and was elected, there was no one any happier than the Kings. And when Nixon followed through on his brilliant record as a Congressman and won election to the United States Senate the Kings were among the first to wire congratulations. It was the same way when Senator Nixon was nominated and elected as Vice President. Couldn't happen to a better man, they said. Whenever the Nixons went through St. Louis or the Kings came east to Washington, a family visit was always a "must."

HIGH PRAISE FOR NIXON

"Dick Nixon is one of the greatest guys in the world," said Bob the other day as we sat talking in the Vice President's office at the Capitol. "He's absolutely sincere and courageous and really dedicated to his job. I've seen other dedicated people in my time, but Vice President Nixon to me is tops. He believes devoutly in his purpose and mission, Another thing, he's tremendously human, easy to know. Why, he's still just as affable and unaffected as he was when I first met him. A lot of people are just beginning to find out now what a terrific guy he is. I discovered that about 11 years ago."

Pete Provencal, the doorman at the Vice

Pete Provencal, the doorman at the Vice President's office, is equally enthusiastic in his estimate of Dick Nixon. "Mr. Nixon tells me all the time," said Pete, "to be nice to the people who come here, to make them feel at home. "This isn't my office,' he says, but belongs to all the people. They're the ones who elected me Vice President."

BORN IN BIRMINGHAM

Chances are Bob King never would be where he is today, had he remained at Birmingham, Ala., where he was born 41 years ago. But in 1934, after he'd finish 2 years at Howard College there, he came on to Washington to take a job with the Federal Government. At the same time he enrolled at George Washington University law school and in 1938 got his law degree. A year earller he'd qualified as a member of the District of Columbia bar and was admitted to practice.

During that time a young lady named Gretchen Bradshaw, whose home was near Raleigh, N. C., also had come to Washington, to work for the Government. Bob recalls that when he met her for the first time he had a pretty good idea that she'd be the future Mrs. King. In July 1938, following graduation from law school, Bob was appointed special agent and made the usual preliminary rounds to various cities. By 1940 he was assigned to the San Francisco field office and there made plans to obtain a leave, fly east, and be married by Dr. Peter Marshall in Washington. Just then, however, with the war in Europe at a critical stage, President Roosevelt declared a national emergency, and all leaves of special agents were canceled.

WED IN RENO INSTEAD

The most Bob could get off was for a few days. So he arranged to meet his fiance at Reno, Nev., where there was no 5-day waiting period for a marriage license as there was in California. Bob bought a new car and drove to Reno. "We had a day and a half honeymoon at Lake Tahoe" he remembers. "Then it was back to San Francisco and apartment hunting."

Fortunately for King, he remained at San Francisco until he resigned from the Bureau in November 1945. Francis E. Fowler, 3d, a special agent on King's squad, was the son of the owner of Southern Comfort Corp., and told King his father was interested in having Bob join their organization. Like DICK NIXON, Bob is easy to work with. He and the Fowlers hit it off well.

So off he went to St. Louis where he soon won recognition for his outstanding administrative abilities. Family and civic life occupied much of his time, too.

HAVE FOUR CHILDREN

As for family, Bob and Mrs. King have an unusual one. They point with pride to their four children, all of them adopted. There's Bob, 12 years old; Tommy, 111/2; Susan, 5, and Sally, 4. Wonderful young sters they are and about as nice an American family as you'll find anywhere. Certainly it's a mighty happy and animated group that gathers about the dinner table evenings at the Kings' suburban home at Frontenac, Mo. Bob isn't with them too often these days, now that he's in Washington. He recently purchased a new home at Sleepy Hollow, near Falls Church, Va., but until he disposes of his home near St. Louis, Mrs. King and the children are remaining there. expect to be fully installed in their Virginia residence by early spring.

Bob's civic activities in St. Louis were many. He was vice president of Junior Achievement, Inc., for the Mississippi Valley area. This is a youth organization which teaches and encourages among high school students the American system of free enterprise. Bob was active, too, in the St. Louis Community Chest campaigns and was a member of the Downtown Kiwanis Club. A few years ago he also was a vice president of the Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI.

WORK STIMULATING

Working in Washington, of course, is nothing new for Bob. He had lots of that some 20 years ago. But now it's different. Caught up in the hustle and bustle of his work with the Vice President, he finds his assignment stimulating and Washington, the city which has made and broken many a man, a fascinating place. Bob counts himself as extremely fortunate to have had the honor of meeting President Eisenhower during his first week.

"I'm lucky to have the opportunity to work with Vice President Nixon," says Bob. "It's a tremendous experience."

There's an interesting story behind the beautiful crystal chandeller hanging over the Vice President's desk in his office at the Capitol. At one time the massive chandeller was in the White House where it caused great annoyance to President Theodore Roosevelt because its crystals either gave off an undue reflection of light or set up a chorus of tinkling sounds whenever a stray breeze entered an open window.

Roosevelt ordered the chandeller removed and when asked where to, is said to have replied: "Put it in the Vice President's office; he has nothing to do."

PLENTY OF WORK NOW

If that were true in Teddy Roosevelt's day, it just isn't so now. Vice President Nixon is a hard-working member of President Eisenhower's team. As a matter of fact, it is generally acknowledged by most people that Vice President Nixon has for the first time in our history given his high office real stature in the upper councils of Government. President Eisenhower instituted the unprecedented action of having Vice President Nixon preside in the President's absence at both Cabinet meetings and those of the National Security Council. And yet with all his busy schedule, he still finds time to help worthy causes. For example, a few days after the Grapevine staff visited him in Washington he served as a gas station attendant to raise funds for the March of Dimes campaign.

As the assistant to the Vice President, Bob King's job is more than just that of administrative officer. It's a 24-hour-a-day assignment, helping to relieve Dick Nixon of some of the pressure which his job entails; working

on confidential matters in connection with the Vice President's work with the National Security Council; handling legislative matters involving Mr. Nixon's constitutional office as presiding officer of the United States Senate, and serving as adviser in many ways. In addition, he'll handle research assignments in the preparation of material for Nixon speeches.

That doesn't mean, however, that Bob will write speeches for the Vice President. Draw Nixon is a man who writes his own. Doesn't feel right, he says, delivering a speech someone else has written. "If I say it," he told Bob, "I have to write it." As Bob put it, this is just another indication of the man's innate sincerity.

Bob isn't going along on the Central American good will tour that Vice President Nixon is embarking upon shortly. Since he's still fairly new at his job, he wants to use the time while his boss is away to get better acquainted with his assignment.

From all indications, that assignment is going to become more interesting as the months go on.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 722, Supp. 2).

Appendix

Unemployment in the Shipbuilding and Ship-Repair Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include at this point in the RECORD a statement concerning unemployment in the shipbuilding and ship-repair industry prepared for the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Unemployment, by John J. Grogan, president, Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, CIO:

STATEMENT CONCERNING UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE SHIPBUILDING AND SHIP-REPAIR IN-

Employment in both the shipbuilding and ship-repair industries in this country is today well below the minimum required even for national defense purposes. of production workers in United States private shipbuilding and ship repair yards has fallen to 84,500 workers in December of 1954. Total employment in the same yards has fallen to 98,000 workers in the same month. There has been a decrease in the past year of over 23,000 production workers and over 25,000 total workers. There is no present prospect of a rise in employment with the bogging down of the tanker program, within the next few months. We are now almost down to the low level of January

In addition to the lack of employment, those people who are working are mostly working short hours. Intermittency of employment in this industry is a constant characteristic, particularly in repair, and presently layoffs are even hitting major con-

struction yards.
As of March 1, 1955, the total of oceangoing vessels under construction in private American shipyards was 16, no change from the previous month. The total personnel employed in these private American shipyards who are engaged in the construction of these vessels is 5,200, that is, 30,000 less than the minimum nucleus estimated by the Maritime Administration as being required in the beginning of an emergency to bring the yards to ready condition.

We have testified before every session of the Congress for the past 10 years on the perilous state of shipbuilding and ship repair facilities and unemployment in the in-We have urged the Congress and the Administration to guard against any further decimation of our skilled manpower. We have given the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee of the House of Representatives and the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the Senate detailed and lengthy statements on the things which We must do to provide for a properly balanced shipbuilding and ship-repair program. This is not within the purview of the present committee. We do, however, desire your committee to realize that employment in the shipyards, in repair as well as new construction and conversion, is declining rapidly. Although men remain on the payrolls of the repair yards, they are lucky if they are obtaining 1 or 2 days' work per week.

Intermittency of employment has been a concomitant of work in the shipbuilding and ship-repair industry. We do submit, however, that very few people realize just how intermittent this employment is.

In 1952, and again in 1954, during negotiations, the Bethlehem Steel Co. provided the union with information respecting average weekly hours worked during the years 1946-53 in its Atlantic coast shipyards. These shipyards include two major ship construction yards-Fore river and Sparrows Point. The average weekly hours worked in these yards are much higher than in repair yards, and the Bethlehem Steel Co.'s average weekly hours worked should be much higher than those, for example, in the exclusively repair yards of Todd Shipyards Corp. and Maryland Drydock Co. In each of the years mentioned above, the average hours worked were 34 hours or less per week.

Comparison of average weekly hours worked in Bethlehem with those worked in building trades and durable goods manufacturing, 1946-53

Year average	Building construc- tion	Durable goods	Bethlehem Atlantic coast yards 1
1946	38, 1	40. 2	32. 6
	37, 6	40. 6	33. 1
1948	37. 3	40, 5	33. 7
1949	36. 7	39, 5	32. 0
1950	36. 3	41, 2	31. 8
1951	37. 2	41. 6	32. 6
1952	38. 1	41. 5	34. 0
1953	37. 0	41. 3	32. 4

¹ Hourly paid employees.

This intermittency is not a phenomenon peculiar to a single year or time of year in this industry. It is a constant characteristic. Today, this intermittency is even worse than before.

The average age of workers in the shipyards, who comprise the nucleus of skilled employment in these yards, is such that if these men once are forced out of the industry by a closing of the yards, they will be too old to come back if the yards should open again in a few years. Most of them will either retire or find other jobs which they would be reluctant to leave for the intermittent type of employment which they have been obtaining from the yards during the past few years.

Contrary to common belief, it is not true that a simple employment of one-twelfth of the normal work force in a shipyard means that the shipyard will be capable of expanding to the normal work force within a few months. This ratio of 12 to I has been used so frequently that we have lost sight of the fact that it is really meaningless. The ratio may be correct as far as certain departments are concerned, but it means absolutely nothing in the case of the more skilled and apprenticeable crafts. The ratio of 12 to 1 does not mean anything in the mold loft. Good loftsmen take years to train, and apprenticeship is simply the beginning of training for a loftsman. make a first-class loftsman can often take as long as 7 to 10 years. The loftsmen in this industry are now mostly elderly men. Apprenticeship was interrupted during the war and the number of apprentices today, because of lack of work in the yards, is insufficient in case any future emergency should occur.

The same thing is true of coppersmiths and pipefitters or marine plumbers. One cannot train a coppersmith in 3 months. One cannot train a first-class piping layerout man in 3 months. One cannot train a marine steamfitter or plumber in 3 months. These men take years to develop the necessary skills required for the building of complex ships.

The same thing is true of outside machinists. The main bottleneck in the development of a shipbuilding program during the national emergency was a shortage of outside machinists. These men take years to develop their skills. Although the work has been broken down in this department to some extent, there is still required, for the proper functioning of the shipyard, a nucleus of trained men to make sure that the

semiskilled men in the department are doing

the work correctly. The installation men in this department take years to train. Again, this is true of shipfitters, the ship wrights, as old timers in the industry call them. This work has also been broken down to a certain extent, but those men who actually do the assembling in the shipfitting craft cannot be trained in a matter of months or even in a matter of years.

It is true of the blacksmith shop, of the boiler shop, and of the forge.

During the preceding war, the War Manpower Commission issued an industrial manning table for the shipbuilding industry. It is unusual to see how many of the skills in the industry take over 2 years to acquire minimum competence, even in a wartime accelerated training program. When we mention minimum competence, we are not discussing first-class men. We are discussing training to accomplish the minimum requirements for mechanics' work in these crafts.

The actual mechanics who formed the nucleus of the shipyard skills during the Second World War have had 5 years in which to acquire training in their crafts-from 1936 to 1941. They are today mostly com-posed of older men. The average age in the shipyards for the nuclear forces is approaching men with 25 years or more of average seniority. This is particularly true in the new-construction yards and in the small nuclear forces of the repair yards. In some departments the seniority average is well up over 25 years of seniority. (Here we are discussing the average seniority of the skilled workers.) If the industry is allowed to die within the next 5 years, with no possibility of replacement training, it will not be possible to start it again without a period of from 5 to 7 years of on-the-job training in most of the building and repair yards in the country.

The rapid expansion required for the shipyard forces in America during the Second World War and the cost of the facilities it was necessary to construct cost us well over one-half billion dollars in facilities, wasted manpower, and training programs. In addition to this, the cost of building a fleet which would be usable in peacetime is difficult to measure, but we would venture to say that close to \$5 billion worth of unusable merchant ships were constructed because of the emergency and the fact that the ships had to be built quickly by mass production methods, with no time to construct a fleet which could be usable in peace as well as in war.

Time and time again during the past 10 years, we have stated that it was imperative to restore the revolving fund of the United States Maritime Administration; to prevent transfer of American-flag ships to foreign flags; to improve the construction differential subsidy for the merchant marine; to bring to United States private shippards the shipbuilding being done in foreign ship-yards for American shipowners; to authorize unsubsidized ship operators to deposit in their construction reserve funds earnings that would be tax-deferred for the purpose of construction of new vessels; to grant operating subsidies to tramp operators; and in the present precarious state of the industry, to have more Government building and repair work done in private shipyards.

Finally, last year, during the second session of the 83d Congress, the then Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, Robert E. Murray, Jr., submitted a report to Congress on March 3, 1954, dealing with vessel requirements to meet the mobilization and manpower needs of the Department of

Defense.

Experience in two World Wars and the Korean conflict demonstrated that the United States must depend upon its own merchant fleet and shipbuilding and repair industries for ocean transportation.

National defense, on the basis of current planning, requires an active merchant fleet in peacetime of about the size of that in

operation on December 31, 1952.

A review of present traffic available for United States flag ships and of anticipated trends indicates that United States commercial needs probably will not require the employment of an active merchant fleet larger than that privately operated on December 31, 1952.

Oceangoing merchant ships available to the United States on December 31, 1952, numbered about 3,644 of 40,423,000 deadweight tons. These included 1,974 reserve fleet vessels and 1,670 American and foreign fleet ships in active operation and under effective control of the United States. This country's active fleet comprised 1,574 vessels of which 1,297 were privately operated and 277 were operated by the Government.

A construction program of 60 oceangoing ships a year would maintain the American shipbuilding industry at sufficient strength to provide a nucleus of shippard manpower capable of expansion to meet estimated mo-

bilization requirements.

This program over a period of years would eliminate the bloc obsolescence problem, enhance the commercial and national defense strength of the active fleet, and improve the quality of the reserve fleet, provided that the better type active vessels were acquired by the Government for the reserve fleet on a trade-in basis.

However, if annual deliveries of oceangoing ships drop below 30 ships per annum, shipyard employment will drop below the 1953 levels, and there will be a corresponding resultant deactivation of facilities.

The critical period in the attainment of the required shipbuilding program is the next 10 years, because very few vessels will reach retirement age in that period. Present aids are insufficient to induce private operators to replace a substantial number of ships in the next 10 years.

The replacement of the ships in the active fleet as of December 31, 1952, as they be-

come 20 years old will be beyond the capacity of existing United States shipyards and the financial resources of American shipowners, since about 80 percent of that fleet will be due for replacement within the 3-year period from 1963 through 1965.

In the light of the above conditions, it is interesting to note what is happening in East German shipyards, which are operating today at over 800 percent of prewar levels. An article in the Marine News of September 1954 points out facts and figures representing the first reliable data since the end of World War II. The data was checked by intelligence officers in Bonn. The article states:

"Shipbuilding in the Soviet zone of Germany has been promoted so heavily by the Russian occupation authorities that the present construction capacity of the area has reached 800 percent of the prewar level. The capacity is still growing and there are no hints that the trend will reverse in the near future. Most of the gain must be credited to the building capacity for greater cargo ships and some special types of vessels such as patrol boats and fishing craft.

"There are now 16 important plants in the Soviet Zone of Germany. They have been developed from a greater number of smaller shipyards, none of them having been of international importance before the war. Almost all of the plants are so-called people's enterprises, which means that they are owned and operated by the Government, which in turn acts under tight control exercised by Russian officers. Private enterprises shipbuilding in the area is now almost zero.

"Like all industrial activities in the Soviet Zone of Germany, shipbuilding, too, is following a master plan. The main features of the plan have never been published, but it is now evident that it has been designed for the following purposes:

for the following purposes:

"1. To build and organize an East German merchant marine which would mainly operate on a China run and between East German and other east bloc ports.

"2. To supply patrol boats and other smaller vessels for the sea police, which is

the nucleus of a small East German Navy.

"3. To build repair facilities into a capacity big enough for repair orders from East Germany, Soviet Russia, and other east-bloc countries."

The Russian fleet is being restored by Western European shipyards, and the Russian Navy is already at combat strength. In an address at the centennial celebration at the Mare Island yard, Secretary of Navy Charles S. Thomas, on September 18, 1954, asserted that Russians had built 13 cruisers and more than 50 destroyers since the war, and now had a naval air arm of 3,500 aircraft, including jet fighters and bombers. He declared that Russia's growing merchant fleet was being built largely in satellite or western shipyards, leaving her own shipyards free to concentrate on combat construction."

"What does this growth in Russian naval shipping mean?" Secretary Thomas continued. "I was interested to see that recently one respected British newspaper concluded that if the Soviets' present building pace continues, that in only 2 years her navy will be bigger than our own."

The people of the United States can no longer ignore the situation in Russia with regard to naval and merchant marine construction, and keep on decimating the ranks of skilled workers in an industry where worker training is among the most difficult of any industry. We, therefore, urge your committee to give serious attention to the plight of the skilled workers in this industry, and to assist in devising measures which will keep them on the job and not on the street.

Respectfully submitted by:

JOHN J. GROGAN, President.

Is Branch Banking a Monopoly of Commercial Banks?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, recently one of our local New York newspapers, the Long Island Commercial Review, as a public service sought to present both sides of the savings bank-commercial bank controversy. The savings banks readily agreed to bare their views to public opinion. The commercial bankers declined.

I wonder why. Is their position so untenable it cannot stand the light of day? Legislators certainly would be justified in drawing that conclusion.

Although the reasoning set forth on behalf of the savings banks appears to be addressed to the New York situation,

they apply nationwide.

I am, therefore, pleased to here record those views as expressed by one of New York's very distinguished bankers, Joseph A. Kaiser, and published in the March 21, 1955, issue of the Long Island Commercial Review:

IS BRANCH BANKING A MONOPOLY OF COMMERCIAL BANKS?

(By Joseph A. Kaiser, chairman, Group Five Savings Bank Association)

During each of the past four sessions of the legislature, a bill has been proposed which would permit mutual savings banks to open one branch outside the city in which its main office is located but not more than 15 miles from the city line. This same bill would give savings banks in villages (which new have no branch privilege) the opportunity to open one branch within 15 miles of its office or any place in its home county, but only in a town having at least 10,000 population. One more very important restriction is provided in the proposed legislation: "Before any branch office shall be opened and occupied * * * the superintendent shall have given his written approval, if he shall find upon investigation that the public convenience and advantage will be promoted by the opening or maintenance of such branch office, and the banking board shall have given its approval by a three-fifths vote of all its members."

Does anyone seriously believe that either the superintendent of banks or the banking board would do anything that would jeopardize the safety of any financial institution? They are equally concerned with the financial stability of all banks. There will be no sudden flooding of villages with savingsbank branches.

Each year that this legislation has been proposed, the superintendent of banks has endorsed it. In commenting on the Branch Bank Problem and the State System in his annual report for 1953, William A. Lyon, then superintendent of banks, stated in part:

"Several issues are involved in this controversy. Most fundamental of all is the public interest, the right of the public to convenient, complete, and efficient banking service. Then there is the competitive striving between commercial banking and mutual savings institutions and the competition also between the older types of mutual banking, the savings bank, and the rapidly growing savings and loan system. Finally, there is involved the standing, indeed the survival,

of the State system in a struggle where the Federal law and policy are ceaselessly watchful to see that Federally chartered institutions are not put to any competitive disadvantage by State action. In the guise of preventing discrimination against their brood by the States, the Federal chartering and supervising agencies have tended to make such extensive claims for their banking institutions as to put the State system at a serious disadvantage.

"It is not too much to say that the dis-

"It is not too much to say that the disparities in branch powers as between the Federal and State systems must be removed in one way or another if the latter is to escape

breaking up."

Here we have an objective statement by the then superintendent of banks whose responsibility it is to maintain the well-being

our our banking system.

Now let us analyze just who is opposed to this legislation that deprives the people of Nassau County of savings-bank facilities, except in one small area in the northern part of the county. It couldn't be instigated by the few large banks that are absorbing every independent bank they can lay their hands on, could it? For example, Nassau County has had a population increase of 145 percent since 1940. Yet the number of independent banks in Nassau County has declined 33 percent since 1940, while the number of branches has increased 800 percent. Our opponents have bombarded the legislature with pathetic pleas on behalf of the small independent commercial banks, arguing that the issue is independent-bank survival. With whose tongue in whose cheek was that point made?

The superintendent of banks has said:
"Where a community can afford only one
type of banking, there is not the slightest
doubt that the one type should be a commercial bank. The banking department
would not waste much time over any savings
facility-branch application which gave rise
to any real doubts on that score."

This position has our unqualified endorsement. Innocently, we wonder whether the large chain banks are willing to give similar assurance to their smaller counterparts.

These remarks are anddressed directly to you businessmen. Do you believe for 1 minute that business would have gained as it did in Nassau without industrial mortgages placed with savings banks; stores built with our financing; homes built to supply an ever-increasing labor supply with adequate housing? The mutual savings banks made over 60 percent of these mortgage loans in Nassau and Suffolk.

Our depositors have moved out to the suburbs by the thousands and knowing that convenient savings facilities are most important, all we have asked is the right to follow our depositors and give them the same service they were accustomed to in the city.

Every other service has been made available to the people of Nassau. Department stores have opened branches; chain stores have been the mainstay of new shopping centers; but because of an antiquated law and the opposition of selfish interests, savings banking—with its unequaled record for safety—has been denied to you.

Savings banks have been operating in this country since 1819, conceived and designed to fulfill an essential public need, namely, the preservation and the protection of the funds of those of modest means. That concept has received unparalleled public acceptance. Although savings banks in this State are outnumbered by both commercial banks and savings and loan associations, nevertheless, it is the savings banks which have over two-thirds of all thrift accounts.

The leadership of savings banks in their sphere is built on a solid foundation. Recognition of this fact can be established out of the mouths of those who oppose us. In 1952 the New York State Bankers Association published a booklet entitled "A Study of

Savings Facilities in New York State." Here is a quotation from page 8 of that booklet:

"The second point is that the major change in the relative positions of savings banks and commercial banks came during the period 1930 to 1935. Savings banks were the only type of institution to experience an increase in deposits during those crisis years. While the savings and loan associations lost nearly 35 percent of their assets, State banks 35 percent of their time deposits, and national banks 40 percent, the deposits of savings banks increased by 8 percent. These changes brough the percentage of total savings held by savings banks from 61.2 to 73.1, while those held by commercial banks decreased from 33.7 to 23.3."

We emphasize that the period to which the quotation refers was the crisis period, from 1930 to 1935—the bottom of the depression. The Issue then uppermost in the minds of the public was not dividend rate or yield. The sole issue was safety and security. In this time of crisis, the public turned to their savings banks and their savings banks did not fail them.

In the public interest, savings banks must insist that they be given a reasonable privilege to extend their services to the suburban areas of our State. We promise the people of Nassau the same service we have become noted for wherever a savings bank exists, interest, and participation in civic and philanthropic organizations for the betterment of the community as a whole and friendly discussion of your financial problems.

We respectfully submit to your judgment whether we are not entitled to the same branch privileges accorded commercial banks and savings and loan associations, or shall it remain a monopoly? That is all we are asking for.

The President's Economic Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith a statement made by George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor, which was printed in the April issue of the American Federationist:

THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC REPORT (By George Meany)

The keynote of the economic report of the President for 1955 is found in the following statement:

"In view, however, of the likelihood that our economy is now undergoing a cumulative expansion of some strength, the wise course for Government would be to concentrate this year on basic policies for fostering long-run economic growth. We should direct our program for 1955 principally to this purpose, rather than to seek to impart an immediate upward thrust to general economic activity" (p. 48).

In plainer, simpler words, this statement means that the administration is quite satisfied with the Nation's present and prospective economic health and that its economic program for the immediate present will be based upon a "hands off" or "do nothing" policy. The recession of 1954 is—for the administration—over. America is on its way to "a glorious economic future" and within a

"decade" can increase its annual production from \$360 billion to \$500 billion.

As an organization representing more than 10 million wage-earners and their families, the American Federation of Labor would be more than happy to accept this lighthearted picture of America for 1955. We were gratified by the halt to the downswing of 1954 and pleased by the upturn of the last several months. But the bald statement that this recent upturn has developed into an expanding economy and that the Government can rest on its laurals squares neither with the outlook presented by our employers across the collecting bargaining table nor with the statistics published by the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

UNEMPLOYMENT

For example, what are the facts about unemployment?

The low point of unemployment during the 1953-54 recession was reached in August 1953, when 1.9 percent of the civilian labor force was out of work.

The peak of unemployment during the recession was reached in February-March 1954, when the unemployed were 5.8 percent of the labor force.

The latest figures published by the Council of Economic Advisers indicate that for January 1955, unemployment was 5.3 percent.

Nor is the situation changed by reviewing the absolute figures of unemployment. In August 1953, there were officially 1,200,000 unemployed. This figure rose officially to a peak of 3,700,000 in March 1954. By January 1955, there were officially still 3,300,000 unemployed. Thus, by official measurement, unemployment is much more than twice as large as it was when the recession began.

All of these official figures do not describe accurately the extent of unemployment. There are just no figures which fully reflect the number of men and women who are ready, willing, and able to work but who do not have jobs. The official figures do not count as unemployed the men laid off and promised employment in several weeks or several months. Nor do official figures reflect unemployment arising from short workweeks. And they do not tell of the increasing number of weeks of unemployment facing the wage-earner if he is laid off. Concretely, an unemployed worker could expect—on the average—to be out of work roughly 10 weeks if he lost his job during the early months of 1954. Yet in the closing months of 1954 he could expect to be out of work for 13 weeks.

In the face of these facts concerning unemployment, it should be quite understandable just why the American Federation of Labor cannot believe that the welcome upturn of the last few months of 1954 has put an end to the problem of unemployment. If this record on unemployment reflects the achievements of the administration while it was actively engaged in its program to end the recession of 1953, what can be expected if the administration now adopts a hands off policy with regard to existing unemployment?

The American Federation of Labor has watched the sluggish decline of unemployment. We have been heartened by this all-important indicator of recovery. But we believe that the progress to date is no reason for the complacency exhibited by the administration's position that unemployment will now cure itself and the Nation can now focus its attention upon long-run problems of the economy. To unemployed wage earners every single day of unemployment is long enough and there is no need to search for "long run" problems in terms of decades.

Throughout the economic report emphasis has been placed upon the fact that the true source of the recovery to date has been the confidence of all Americans that there was a positive Federal program to end the

recession. This belief that "something was being done" was most heartening-particularly to the worker without a job. Now, however, he will learn that nothing more need be done for the immediate present-despite the fact that more than 3,300,000 wage earners are without jobs. It is not difficult to understand what will happen to the confidence about which the economic report boasts so blatantly.

To probe further into the facts of the recovery, consider the record to date on industrial production and job-creating investments in plants and equipment.

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

What are the facts about industrial production?

At the onset of the recession, industrial production was at a peak described by an index number of 137.

In July-August 1954, the low point of 123

was plumbed.

The current figure-estimated for December 1954, by the Council of Economic Advisers—is 130 and represents the high tide of the recovery to date.

Thus industrial production is but halfway

back to the prerecession level; some 7 of the 14 points dropped have been recovered.

Moreover, even this recovery has been spotty. The durable-goods industries, fabricated metal products, electrical machinery, nonelectrical machinery, and the clay, glass, and lumber products industries registered declines in output in December. In the non-durable-goods industries, the gains in production have been steady except in the food, beverage, and tobacco industries, where production remained practically unchanged throughout 1954. The really bright spot in production is the current output of automobiles since the introduction of new models.

But all of these data do not carry us beyond the welcome fact that the beginnings of a recovery are now in progress. The distrubing fact is that while production as a whole has reached halfway up the ladder of recovery, unemployment has not dropped by one-half. The unresolved question is whether or not "recovery" in terms of production will mean a return to full employ-Furthermore, the annual growth of the labor force for 1954, 1955 and the immediate years ahead indicates that the 1953 production rate is meaningless in terms of full employment.

INVESTMENT IN PLANT AND EQUIPMENT

What is the record on job-creating investments?

The heart of the administration's recovery program has been the orthodox principle that, if investment incentives were stimulated, there would be an increase in jobcreating construction of plant and equip-

ment by producers.

In keeping with this principle, "incentives" were given to business almost to the exclusion of every other segment of the Nation. To business management went the lion's share of the tax reductions, larger and faster depreciation allowances, greater periods of time over which business losses could be carried back for tax purposes, relief from taxation on dividends, and the definition of research expenditures as current expenses. All of this preferred treatment was designed to increase earnings and thus enable business to plough back an increased investment in plant and equipment. Requests for some stimulation for consumers by means of tax reduction were brushed aside with assuring statements that consumers would benefit from the expected stimulation to the economy arising from greater investments.

When the record is examined, however, the undeniable fact is that investment in producers' plant and equipment for industrial purposes has declined without interruption since the start of the recession of 1953.

There has been no reversal of this downswing. There has been no upturn in this sector of our economy. In the third quarter of 1953 the annual rate of investment in plant and equipment by nonfarm producers was \$32,600,000,000. Quarter by quarter, it dropped throughout 1953 and throughout 1954. Moreover, business interests now rethat such investment will be less in 1955 than it was in the two preceding years.

From these facts the administration may conclude that it need not pursue its program of providing incentives to investment for the immediate present. Clearly the policy of ladling out benefits which enabled business to accumulate greater returns has not led to

ploughing in the economic fields.

Yet in the face of the unsuccessful policy of stimulating producers, the administration does not propose to stimulate consumption so that unemployment will drop at least as fast as production rises. Instead, the ad-ministration now proposes to do nothing for consumers and also does not propose change its policy by recalling some of the benefits granted to business as business incentives in the form of generous tax treatment. Its only declaration is that it will not reduce such taxes further this year, although it does hold forth such a prospect for perhaps next year.

We of the American Federation of Labor believed that the administration erred in its single-purpose tax policy of aiding business producers almost exclusively. We urged the administration to include in its program some stimulation for consumers. that the accumulated inventories were simply unsold goods which could be most quickly liquidated by increased consumption rather than by increased production. Our position

was not recognized.

Once again-supported by this record of failure of the administration's business-incentive program-we urge that immediate steps be taken by Congress to improve the "climate of consumption" through significant reductions in taxes which now restrict consumer buying. Specifically, we urge reduction of income taxes for those on the lower rungs of the economic ladder and a reduction of excise taxes.

To sum up at this point, the American Federation of Labor can find no justification for the complacent attitude inherent in the position of the administration that nothing "more" be done by it to restore the Nation to a position of strength, and that our only problems are those of a "long-run" nature.

We are not impressed by the timidity of the administration in facing up to the immediate problems of the hour-problems which are clearly demonstrated by data which describe the extent of the economic upturn to date.

Putting aside for the time being this basic assumption in the economic report, that our economic recovery is an accomplished fact, let us turn to the recommendations which are made "for the long run."

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR LONG-RUN ECONOMIC

GROWTH

This "second report of the present administration under the provisions of the Employment Act of 1946" contains a number of recommendations designed to foster prosperity in the long run. But of all the proposals advanced, none merits priority of consideration more than the new interpretation of the Employment Act of 1946.

This act is a Federal law enacted by the Congress of the United States to define the responsibilities of the Federal Government in promoting the economic well-being of the Nation through maximizing employment, production, and purchasing power. Since the depression of the 1930's, the role of the Federal Government has been commonly

recognized, and it is reduced to writing explicitly in the Employment Act of 1946.

In this report the administration attempts to water down the clear-cut responsibilities of the Federal Government by arbitrarily assigning to the individual States its conceptions of what the States should do as partners of the Federal Government. The explanation for this new interpretation of the Employment Act is a convenient discovery that in implementing the act the Federal Government is constrained by "the constitutional rights of individuals," by the duty to "respect the authority of the States," and that "it must protect the integriy of he money in which contracts are expressed and payments made."

These references to the constitutional duties of Government are obviously platitudinous. No Member of Congress in subsequently, ever believed that the Employment Act of 1946 was designed to scuttle the Constitution. Actually, this discovery of constraints is nothing but a transparent effort to shift responsibilities from the Federal Government to State governments-with or without their consent. This economic States rights doctrine has been adopted as a method postponing or avoiding completely necessary improvements in conditions which most directly affect the daily lives of wage earners.

MINIMUM WAGES

In the long-run policies proposed by the administration in its economic report there is little of positive value for wage earners. The inadequate recommendation to increase the minimum wage to 90 cents per hour is a lone exception. Even this recommendation is less than the facts indicate as being realistic.

There is no question about the fact that since 1938 the minimum wage has failed to keep abreast of the cost of living, increasing productivity and the general rise in wage levels. As early as 1951-52 the Wage Stabili-zation Board accepted \$1 per hour as a conservative estimate of a minimum wage. cost of living has moved upward since then and so have other pertinent economic factors affecting wages. Now, at this late date, the administration has finally reached the position where it is willing to correct the injustice of a 75-cent minimum wage, but only up to 90 cents per hour.

In defense of its timidity, the administration parades all the ancient and hackneyed arguments which were advanced every time the subject of minimum wages has been considered. Yet here again the dire predictions of the effects of minimum-wage legislation have not been borne out. Reference is made to a recent study by United States Department of Labor on "Results of the Minimum Wage Increase of 1950" which belies all the concern traditionally voiced over the alleged disastrous effects of necessary increases in the legal minimum wage. If full consideration given to the historical record of this Na-tion's advances since 1938, then there will be no question that the American Federation of Labor's proposal for a realistic minimum wage of \$1.25 per hour is merited.

The other long-run economic policies affecting wage earners-unemployment insurance, housing, and public works-demonstrate forcefully the real meaning of the administration's discovery of States' rights in the Employment Act of 1946.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Consider, for example, the administration's proposals on unemployment insurance.

In this economic report full admission is made of the need to extend to more wage earners the protection of unemployment insurance, the need to raise unemployment benefits to a level equal to 50 percent of an unemployed worker's earnings, the need to

increase duration of benefits to at least 26 weeks, and the need to reduce the reasons for disqualifying unemployed workers from receiving benefits.

But in the face of these problems, what solution does the administration propose? It proposes to turn these matters over to the individual States to resolve.

This refusal by the administration to face up to its problems can mean only one thing: retrogression. All the progress made toward creating a genuine built-in stabilizer will come to a halt as particular States seize upon this opportunity to stimulate the migration of industry from other States by not improving unemployment insurance. States will not compete to protect wage earners from the results of unemployment; they will compete in finding ways and means of tearing down this bulwark. We need only point to the record of the pitiable development of workmen's compensation under the doctrine of States' rights to support this

Rather than proposing to turn back the development of unemployment compensation, this administration should move in the direction of progress by establishing Federal standards for unemployment compensation and thus put an end to the use of the unemployed workers as pawns in a competitive game among the States. We believe that the well-being of individual workers as well as the strength of the entire Nation can be preserved by a genuine unemployment insurance program. This is not the time to retreat from the policy of insuring workers against the disastrous effects of short-run unemployment which they can neither control nor avoid. No administration can delude the wage earners of this country that it is concerned with their welfare when it advances a long-term policy of stagnation or destruction behind the political screen of States' rights.

The long-term proposals for housing are based upon the recognized boom in the construction of homes for sale to persons able and willing to purchase housing through lifetime mortgages. But for those who are able neither to buy nor to rent privately built housing, the administration offers practically nothing.

Under the leadership of the deceased Senator Taft, Congress adopted a public housing program which provided 135,000 units of subsidized housing each year for 6 years to replace the hovels in which people at the lower levels of the economic plane were forced to live. This administration has watered this program down to 35,000 units for each of the next 2 years-providing that the public housing will be available only to persons displaced by slum clearance programs, not merely to those who need this minimal housing. For those least able to protect themselves this entire so-called dynamic housing program is a myth. Moreover, slum clearance and redevelopment programs are to "depend partly on what the Federal Government does and in much greater degree on the efforts of civic organizations and on actions that can be taken only by State and local governments."

The shifting of our national disgraceslums-on to the States is but one reflection of the basic doctrine of the administration.

PUBLIC WORKS

The Economic Report describes fully the Nation's needs for highways, schools, hospitals, and roads. A special message is promised on a national highway program. The traditional role of the States in the construction of schools and hospitals is mentioned. But nowhere is mention made of the relationship between public works and stimulation of the economy to insure that it will continue the upward movement from the recession of 1953-54. The description of public works given in the report is connected solely with plans for the next 10 years and the needs of the Nation over that span of time. By thus adopting the position that the recession is over, the administration reduces the role of the Federal Government and emphasizes the responsibilities of the States and municipalities.

The difficulty which lies at the bottom of the proposed shift of immediate responsi-bility for public works from the Federal Government to the States is that the States are not in a position to finance such a heavy public-works program. In the laws of many States and municipalities there are fixed ceil ings of the amount of indebtedness they may incur. Many States have already reached those ceilings.

In the face of this dilemma, the administration shows great resourcefulness; the administration tells the States they should pass new laws increasing their debt ceilings.

While this "guidance" is a far cry from the doctrine of respecting "States' rights," nevertheless the administration's entire "program" of public works collapses without new and higher State debt limitations. Even shifting public works to the States does not enable the administration to escape the problem.

In short, there is nothing in this Economic Report concerning public works which is either realistic or progressive. Rather, retrogression is the keynote, and human values are displaced by political theories.

To sum up at this point, the discovery of constitutional limitations in the Employment Act of 1946 by this administration appears to be singularly fortuitous; the doc-trine of States rights has been elevated into a perfect defense against proper action by the Federal Government during times of economic downswings.

This defense is used against any proposal affecting workers directly; it is strangely missing in programs designed to aid business—big or small, foreign or domestic. Frankness requires that this entire approach be brought into public view.

CONCLUSION

After full consideration of this economic report, it is the judgment of the American Federation of Labor that there is little in it to guide the people of America along paths which are certain to lead to economic growth and expansion. Timidity rather than bold leadership is the outstanding characteristic of the report.
Within the limits of our private-enter-

prise system, there is a dynamic role which the Federal Government must play if the Nation is to move forward. Halfhearted wait-and-see attitudes are not in keeping with the times. At this moment the confidence of the people of America in the economic strength of their Nation is high: this is not the time to gamble with that belief. Any hesitation, any false step now in eco-nomic leadership can have disastrous consequences both here at home and abroad. True conservatism dictates positive measures which will bring an end to the recession which is now into 1955. We have had our second-best year; there is not time for a third-best or longer period of inferior years.

The American Federation of Labor urges Congress to step into the breach which the economic report would establish and take positive steps to preserve the signs of economic recovery which are in evidence.

What Are We Fighting?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by the countersubversive activities committee of the American Legion. Department of Pennsylvania, dealing with the background and aims of the Communist movement throughout the world and in the United States:

WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING?

THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Communism is a worldwide conspiratorial movement, the ultimate aim of which is the destruction of all non-Communist governments and the establishment in their place of Communist states subservient to the Soviet Union.

In driving toward world domination, communism has advocated the abolition of religion, private property, and inheritance. Wherever communism has triumphed, it has suppressed all forms of representative government and destroyed freedom of speech, freedom of press, and the right of assemblage.

Communism advocates the employment of all persons in a state-planned, stateand state-controlled economy. owned. such a state, individual initiative, ambition, and effort are replaced by the economic security of collectivism, which amounts to the security of a prison.

The theory of communism is not new. Evidence of its existence appear in the writings of the Greek philosopher Plato, which date back to 500 B. C. Throughout the ages it has continued to crop out from time time in the writings of political philosophers. A number of unsuccessful attempts to establish communistic communities have been made, Modern communism, however, may be said to date from the issuance of the Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in January 1848.

The basic thought underlying the Communist Manifesto is contained in the following quotation:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite." (See Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in United States, appendix, pt. I, 1940, p. 19.)

An organization known as the First International Association of Workingmen was organized in London in 1864 by Karl Marx to implement the ideas expressed in the Communist Manifesto. The First International, as this movement is known, lasted only 9 years. In 1872 Marx withdrew his support because the anarchists were becoming too powerful. Mark bitterly opposed the anarchists because they were against any form of government including the one which he had proposed.

The Second International was formed in Paris in 1889 based on the teachings of Marx and became in due time, the fountain head of international socialism. World War I caused a disruption of the Second International as the Socialists with but a few exceptions, placed national patriotism before their party doctrine. For this reason the Second International was repuddated by an extremist element under the leadership of V. I. Lenin, a Russian disciple of Marx who had been exiled for revolutionary activities.

Following the Russian Revolution and seizure of power by the Communists, the Third International was organized by Lenin in Moscow in March 1919, for the purpose of carrying out the revolutionary objectives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Joining in the Third or Communist International as it is called were representatives of Communist, revolutionary, and leftwing Socialist groups throughout the world.

The main objective of the Communist International has been to promote world domination by the Soviet Union. From its inception, the Communist International has been dominated by the Russian Communist Party and could not have existed without the wholehearted support of the leaders of Russian Communist Party and the financial backing of the Soviet Government.

Immediately after its creation, a call was issued for the organization of Communist Parties throughout the world and their adhesion to the Communist International.

COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES

During 1917 and 1918, the radical elements of the Socialist Party carried on activities contrary to the platform of the Socialist Party, and in November 1918 a Communist propaganda league was formed in Chicago. During the same year the Boston branch of the Socialist Party began the publication of the Revolutionary Age, in which Communist tactics were advocated.

As a result of this dissension, a leftwing section of the Socialist Party was formed in New York in 1919. This leftwing section was expelled from the Socialist Party. From this leftwing section there arose two Communist Parties, the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party. The unification of these two parties was decreed by the Communist International and in May 1920, a convention was held which resulted in the merger of the Communist Labor Party with a splinter group from the Communist Party of America. The new organization then formed was called the United Communist Party of America. A year later the remainder of the Communist Party of America was given to the new organization.

During the latter part of 1919, the Department of Justice submitted to the Department of Labor, a large amount of evidence concerning the subversive nature of the Communist Party of America, This resulted in the issuance of a large number of warrants for the deportation of alien members of the Communist Party. As the result of a large number of arrests and deportations, the Communist Party was forced underground.

The Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921 ordered the Communist Party of America to form an open political party that could operate legally. To carry out this mandate, the Communist Party of America organized the American Labor Alliance as a purely propaganda organization in the first step in creating an open legal political party.

In December 1921 the Workers Party of America was formed as an open and legal organization while the Communist Party of America remained underground. In January 1922 the Communist Party of America tent secret instructions to all its members instructing them as to the part they were to play in the Workers Party to insure its absolute control by the Communists.

Faced with the prosecution and possible imprisonment of the top officials of the American section, the fourth congress of the Communist International in December 1922 decided that the Communists should function as an open legal party. On April 7, 1923, the Communist Party of America voted to dissolve and merge with the legal Workers Party and authorized the latter, when desirable, to adopt the name of Communist Party of America.

The merger of the two Communist Parties and the elimination of the underground did not put an end to the everlasting disagreements among the top leadership—the struggle for power within the party. The American Communists never questioned the right of the Russian Communists to boss them, but they continued to fight among themselves as to who was to be the American boss.

The Daily Worker of August 18 and 19, 1925, carried a letter from the Communist international to the central executive committee of the Workers Party of America directing that the Workers Party be reorganized. A convention was held accordingly in Chicago in August 1925 from which emerged a new organization called the Workers (Communist) Party.

The constant bickering and struggle for control of the party brought numerous rebukes from Moscow. On July 1, 1927, the executive committee of the Communist International endorsed a resolution of the Comintern calling the Workers (Communist) Party to task for deviations and other mistakes.

The Daily Worker of August 3, 1927, published a declaration of the political committee of the Workers' (Communist) Party declaring its complete acceptance of the Communist International resolution, closing the declaration with a plan for a unified Communist Party in America.

Just prior to its 1929 convention the Workers' (Communist) Party received an open letter from the executive committee of the Communist International which gave strict instructions to end all factional disputes. This directive of the executive committee was accepted without hesitation by the American Communists, who once again reorganized their party, this time calling it the Communist Party of the United States of American, section of the Communist International.

By 1935 the Communist International became anxious to disguise its role as the center-world revolution and to lead other nations to believe that the Soviet leaders were no longer interested in organizing Communist conspiracy in other countries. In keeping with this strategy, the Communist Party of the United States dropped from its title the words "section of the Communist International."

The Voorhis Act, which became law in October 1940, provided for the registration of every organization in the United States subject to foreign control which engaged in political activity. Inasmuch as the constitution of the Communist Party, U. S. A., provided that the party be affiliated with the Communist International, the question arose as to whether the party came within the scope of the Voorhis Act. To escape possible necessity of registration, the Communist Party, U. S. A., called a special convention in November 1940 and adopted a new constitution in which all references to affiliation with the Communist International was omitted.

The attack on Russia by Germany in June 1941, followed by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, placed the American Communists in the position of supporting a capitalist government. The national committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., met to hear Earl Browder, general secretary of the party, state that the Communist Party

would commit itself in full good faith to the war effort. In addition, Browder recommended that the Communist Party, U. S. A., change its name to Communist Political Association. Accordingly, such a change was made at the 1944 convention of the party.

After the end of the war in Europe, another change took place in the ranks of American Communists. Folowing its criticism by the leader of the French Communist Party, the Communist Political Association was dissolved and a more militant Communist Party, U. S. A., was reorganized.

COMMUNIST FRONTS

A Communist front is an organization which has ostensibly been established for some humane, charitable, or worthwhile purpose, but which in reality has been secretly organized and controlled by Communists to support their aim and objectives.

Communist-front organizations are characterized by their common origin, the rigid conformity of these organizations to the Communist pattern, their interlocking personnel, and their methods to deceive the American public. Being part of a conspiratorial movement, their essence is deception.

During the first few years of the Communist International, under the stimulus of the Russian Revolution, its international appeal was stridently revolutionary. As world economic conditions improved following the First World War, the international revolutionary movement began to wane. The Hungarian and German Communist Revolutions failed and the Communist International began to lose strength. Hence, it was deemed necessary to moderate the earlier revolutionary appeal, to adopt middle-of-the-road slogans, and to build so-called united-front organizations in the interest of the international Communist movement.

A front organization is organized by the Communist Party in the following fashion: First, a number of sympathizers who are close to the party and whom the party knows can be depended upon to carry out party orders, are gotten together and formed into a nucleus which issues a call for the organization of a particular front organization which the party wants to establish. And generally after that is done, a program is drawn up by the party which this provisional committee adopts.

Then, on the basis of this provisional program, all kinds of individuals are canvassed to become sponsors of the organization, which is to be launched in the very near future. A provisional secretary thus appointed is a Communist Party sympathizer. As president of the organization, some prominent public figure is chosen who, if not willing to go along with the Communists, is of such a type that he will be too busy to pay attention to the affairs of the organization.

On the committee that would be drawn together is a sufficient number of Communists and Communist Party sympathizers who carry out party orders. Out of this number a small executive committee is organized which carried on the affairs of the organization. This small executive committee, with the secretary, really runs the organization. The result is that when manifestos or decisions on campaign are made, those campaigns are ordered by the Communist Party. Communist fronts are organized to attract followers from every walk of American life. Some of these are:

- Fronts for special age and sex groups: Labor Youth League, Congress of American Women, League for Women Shoppers, Sweethearts of Servicemen.
- 2. Religious and peace fronts: People's Institute for Applied Religion, American Peace Crusade, American Peace Mobilization.
- Civil and progressive fronts: National Lawyers Guild, Civil Rights Congress, Inter-

national Labor Aid, International Labor Defense, People's Radio Foundation.

4. Minorities and foreign relief fronts: American Committee for Spanish Freedom, American Slav Congress, Council for Pan-American Democracy; American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

5. Fronts for the glorification of Soviet Russia: National Council of Soviet-American Friendship, American Russian Institute, American Soviet Music Society.

6. Occupational and trade union fronts: Farm Research, Labor Research Association, Joint Committee for Trade Union Rights, Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.

Multiply these by 10 or 20 and you have some general notion of the extent and pervasiveness of the menace. Cancel out the overlapping membership, and you still have a residue of several million Americans directly or indirectly enrolled in Communistmanipulated associations; knowingly or unknowingly thinking, shouting, demonstrating in behalf of Moscow's party line.

THE INDIVIDUAL COMMUNIST

A Communist is self-contained, dependent upon us only for his physical needs but otherwise living in a complete world of his own—the world of the Marxist-Leninist class struggle for absolute power. A class conscious, seasoned, disciplined Communist trusts no one but his own leaders. He reads and believes nothing outside of his own trusted party organs. He can neither be persuaded, mollified, nor shamed. A trained, cynical swindler, he is immune to trickery, blandishments, or appeals to his better nature.

He is completely devoid of all moral inhibitions and is, therefore, without any concept of law, ethics, or morality. True Bolshevik morality, that the ends of the resolution justify any and all means, is his sole moral guidepost. What advances the social revolution is good and therefore moral; what hinders or delays the revolution is therefore evil and to be sternly rejected. There is only one supreme good in this world—power—absolute and total power over mankind and property. Anything which might hinder or delay his progress to power, whether it be religion, morals, ethics, conscience, custom, traditions, propriety, public esteem, well-being, comfort, self-interest or even pride, are necessarily evil and un-Marxist.

A sincere Communist revolutionary has dedicated his entire life and every waking moment of the day to one single goal—the advancement of the world revolution and the complete transformation of society to what he is pleased to call a higher level. Marx and Lenin have assured him that the inex-orable processes of history are on his side. He can't lose. The rest of us who are merely concerned with our personal interests of making a living, bringing up a family, buying a home, promoting a business or advancing in one's professions or in politics are considered immature and unrealistic.

The Communist conspirators have been more than open and frank in advertising in advance precisely what they propose to do and how they intend going about getting what they want. The libraries are loaded down with books, pamphlets, and periodicals blueprinting down to the last minute detail the Communist Party program. Communists work full time, night and day, year in and year out, advancing their interests and moving relentiessly toward their ultimate goal—seizure of power. We who are dedicated to this countersubversive fight can do no less. We have the additional duty of activating, arousing, mobilizing, and training others for the common defense.

It is up to us, through every media available, to alert the American public to the ul-

timate goal of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and to expose the party and its members wherever and however they appear.

The Yalta Papers—Part I—A Calamity of Errors—F. D. R.: Revealing Self-Portrait

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD a series of editorials from the Buffalo Evening News concerning the Yalta papers.

There is no question but that Yalta will plague us for years to come. The decisions taken there have already cost thousands of lives, billions of dollars, and immeasurable disruption and chaos. Whether the documents were published or not, the United States and the world have already paid in blood and tears for those decisions. The documents merely verify what was done, and reveal the mindless, cavalier, and insensate way in which the Atlantic Charter was torpedoed, and America's great moral power and prestige were scuttled.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot rewrite history, but we had better be wise enough

not to repeat it.

The Buffalo Evening News has rendered a notable service with its thoughtful and incisive analyses of the Yalta documents and their implications. I include them in the Record in three parts, of which this is part I:

THE YALTA PAPERS-I-A CALAMITY OF ERRORS

In the 10 years since Yalta, three conflicting general theories have grown up about that fateful conference. One is the treason theory-that traitors were there, wielding a Svengali-like influence through President Roosevelt deliberately to betray the indent Roosevelt denocrately terests of this country in behalf of Stalin's Russia. The second theory is that monstrous blunders were made at Yalta, by a weary, even a dying President who gave away far too much in return for empty, cynical promises by a wily dictator whose intentions the Americans completely misread. third general theory of Yalta is that it was a defensible piece of give-and-take international bargaining and the deals would have been all right if the Russians had only kept their word.

The release last week of practically all the American documents pertaining to Yalta now makes it possible to appraise these theories in the light of a far broader perspective than we have had from the self-serving memoirs, the public utterances and the many charges and innuendoes that have provided the raw raterial for debate heretofore.

Our reading of the Yalta papers provides no new material with which to sustain the treason theory, and there is much in the context to refute it. On the other hand, the papers provide no comfort whatever for the wishful believers in the third theory. That leaves us with the second theory, and with what seems to us a very mountain of factual data and revealing personality sidelights to support it.

Yalta was—and these papers show it only the more vividly—an historic calamity for America and the free world. It was a tragedy compounded of many grievous blunders, in which Franklin D. Roosevelt stands out as a fully self-revealed prisoner of his own supreme egotism, of his illusions about the nature of the Russian "ally" and of the equally monstrous delusion that all we needed to do to create the brave new world was to show Stalin how accommodating we would be as partners in the new triumvirate of benevolently dictatorial great powers he sought to create.

The very release of the papers at this late date has become a major political issue in America and a cause of consternation among disillusioned allies overseas. Furious Democrats picture the release as some kind of Republican smear. But this is no more than truth being revealed in its fullest perspective; if the result is disillusionment with long-cultivated myths, it is not the releasers, but the makers of the record at whom the finger points. Defenders of Yalta can read these papers with sympathy and understanding. But defenders of the Roosevelt diplomacy can hardly sustain the claim that throwing all the Yalta records open for every man to read and ponder is a smear unless they admit that the whole truth is itself a smear.

The truth about Yalta is a complex thing. Certainly it is not revealed in any single quote, or any tidy little package of quotes torn from the context of that time. Neither can it be capsuled by us in terms that any other reader of the record would accept as fully comprehensive. Politicians living then and now will debate it for many years; historians will then continue the debate for many more years.

For us, the truth stands revealed in both the massive record and in the 10-year perspective we now have, is that Yalta was a calamity of American diplomacy—a tragedy in the classic pattern of great figures moving toward their doom, amply warned by history and by a few current voices that were quickly drowned out, but seemingly helpless to control the future they themselves were writing. The most tragic figure is that of Roosevelt; the most sympathetic and frustrated, Churchill; the most cunning and purposeful, Stalin; the most prescient, Eden; all the rest were a chorus, some voicing warnings that no one heeded, some suggesting only faintly a pattern of betrayal.

To approximate the truth of Yalta, it is necessary to study the whole record. To interpret the truth, as we see it emerging from this massive record, will require several more editorials.

THE YALTA PAPERS—II—F. D. R.: REVEALING SELF-PORTRAIT

It is generally conceded that the Yalta papers released last week disclose no great secrets heretofore unsuspected nor do they lay at rest any of the angry controversies that have swirled around that fateful conference in the 10 years since. What they add is a vast array of detail and data bearing on the motives, the mental attitudes, and the maneuverings of the participants. then, should the release of the papers have caused such political anguish among Democrats? The reason-the most obvious single reason—is the completely revealing and de-glamorizing self-portrait the documents give of the late President Roosevelt and the role he played in the tragedy of Yalta.

Roosevelt was not a commanding figure at the Crimean conference. On the contrary, these papers reveal him as a weak, almost disinterested negotiator, a spent man whose sense of both history and of the in-

calculable human coin in which he was trading was tragically dulled by wartime vindictiveness and deathbed weariness—yet a man whose tremendous egotism permitted him to brush off all counsels of caution and pin his faith on the proposition that Stalin's Russia could be trusted if only we allayed her fears and acceded to her wishes with openhanded generosity.

It will be unfair perhaps for history to judge the life and works of Roosevelt by the Roosevelt at Yalta. Yet Yalta was the final capping of his diplomacy, and it sowed the seeds from which the world has since been harvesting so bitter a fruit. And the Roosevelt that history will find in the Yalta papers is a figure of tragedy, the more so because he came home reporting, and apparently believing he had achieved, a brilliant success.

It is not in any smattering of quotes that the new self-portrait of FDR is found. These are only the surface brush strokes; the body of the picture is the entire context of the meeting and can be seen in all its subtle shadings only in a full reading of the documents.

The minutes of the Yalta meetings, plus the detailed briefings he had in advance, disclose a Roosevelt who not only yielded to Stalin again and again but offered him concessions which he (FDR) had previously opposed, and which his experts had urged him to avoid.

Two of the more glaring examples were the positions taken on (1) the dismemberment of Germany and (2) reparations. The State Department had urged that the Conference take no decision on dismemberment; Roosevelt had agreed that no decision should be taken; the State Department later urged in a briefing book paper for Yalta that he oppose the forcible partition of Germany, and warned of the consequences. But the Yalta minutes show Stalin and Churchill arguing about dismemberment and whether it was advisable to decide the question then, at which point Roosevelt chimed in:

"The President then said that it seemed to him that they were both talking about the same thing, and what Marshal Stalin meant was should we not agree in principle here and now on the principle of dismemberment of Germany. He said personally, as stated by him at Teheran, that he was in favor of dismemberment of Germany. * * He added that he still thought the division of Germany into 5 States or 7 States was a good idea."

So Churchill's objections, and those of the United States State Department, were over-ridden; the Conference agreed to the idea of dismemberment, and so stated in a secret protocol.

Before he went to Yalta, Roosevelt had told the State Department, in a terse note to Secretary Stettinius, to this point "in the linings of their hats": "We are against reparations." But at Yalta, we find Roosevelt saying, according to the minutes, that "he would willingly support any claim for Soviet reparations since he felt that the German standard of living should not be higher than that of the Soviet Union. * * We would also help the Soviet Union retain the reparations in kind which she required, as well as German manpower. * * He concluded that he was in favor of extracting the maximum in reparations from Germany but not to the extent that the people would starve."

The news accounts of the Yalta documents have told us of many other instances of similar import—of Roosevelt's suggestion to Stalin, when Churchill was not present, that Britain should give Hong Kong back to China; of Roosevelt's weary readiness to accept fuzzily-phrased assurances about free Polish elections; of the implications for Germany and all central Europe, of his readiness to yield on the Polish frontiers, both eastern and western; of the alacrity with which he

yielded to Stalin's requests for vital concessions in Asia.

But perhaps the most revealing part of this tragic self-portrait is the way in which, after entering deal after deal which torpedoed letter and spirit of the Atlantic Charter, Mr. Roosevelt could still come home and report to Congress that he and Stalin and Churchill had laid the foundations for a peace that was based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter. How Yalta marked the final demise of that earlier idealism, and of all the moral force of American leadership that went with it, will be considered tomorrow.

The Yalta Papers—Part II—Demise of Atlantic Charter—Mysteries Still Unsolved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, in addition to documenting the steps by which the Atlantic Charter was nullified, publication of the Yalta papers has raised questions about the conferences at Teheran and Potsdam which must be answered. In its noteworthy series of editorials, the Buffalo Evening News highlights some of these questions. I include in the Record herewith these editorials:

THE YALTA PAPERS—III—DEMISE OF ATLANTIC CHARTER

In the Atlantic Charter, signed by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill on August 14, 1941, and subscribed to by Soviet Russia on January 2, 1942, the great allied powers of World War II, pledged among other things:

"Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

"They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

"They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the

After the Yalta conference, the three great leaders issued a communique (Feb. 11, 1945) in which they stated, among other things: "We reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter."

When he returned to Washington, Mr. Roosevelt reported to Congress in glowing terms (March 4, 1945) "It can be a peace—and it will be a peace—based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter."

How fared the Atlantic Charter at Yalta?

The basic agreements reached there have long been a matter of record—territorial agrandizement for Russia at the expense of Poland, not to mention the three swallowed-up Baltic countries; territorial compensation for Poland at the expense of Germany; territorial aggrandizement of Russia in the Far East, etc.

But how fared the spirit of the Atlantic Charter in the Yalta conference? The cynicism of the discussions, the utter unconcern for the grand principles so nobly subscribed to by all the participants, is one of the truly shocking revelations of the Yalta documents.

Consider the pledges above against the following minutes of the Yalta meetings:

On Russia's aggrandizement, territorial and other, in the Far East: "Following the discussion of certain military questions involved in the Far East, Marshal Stalin said that he would like to discuss the political conditions under which the U.S.S.R. would enter the war against Japan. He said he already had a conversation on this subject with Ambassador Harriman. The President said he had received a report of this conversation and he felt that there would be no difficulty whatsoever in regard to the southern half of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands going to Russia at the end of the war * * * He said he * * * had not had an opportunity to talk to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek (about the Manchurian railroad and the ports of Dairen and Port Arthur) * * * Marshal Stalin * * * said he did not think it was necessary yet to speak to the Chinese * * He added that it would be well to leave here with these conditions set forth in writing * * * The President indicated that . The President indicated that writing * he thought that this could be done .

On Poland: "The President said * * he believed the American people were in general favorably inclined to the Curzon Line as the eastern frontier of Poland, but he felt that if the Soviet Government would consider a concession in regard to Lwow * * * that would have a very salutary effect. He said that he was merely putting forth this suggestion for consideration and would not insist on it." (Stalin objected, and the Polish eastern frontier was fixed where the Russians wanted it.)

On Germany: President Roosevelt: "Our objective is seeing that Germany will not starve in helping the Soviet get all it can in manpower and factories and helping the British get all they can in exports to former German markets. Therefore, the time has come to set up a reparations commission. In rebuilding we must get all we can but we can't get it all."

"No aggrandizement," pledged the Atlantic Charter. They will "further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world." said the Big Three in subscribing to the charter.

In rebuilding Germany, said Mr. Roosevelt at Yalta, we must help Russia get all it can in manpower and factories and the British get all they can in exports to former German markets, "but we can't get it all."

In reporting to Congress when he returned from Yalta, Mr. Roosevelt told the American people: "We made it clear again at Yalta—and I now repeat—that unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or enslavement of the German people. * * It can be a peace—and it will be a peace—based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter."

The final demise of the Atlantic Charter and of any moral force that attended it, we submit, can now be dated accurately to the period of the Yalta conference, February 4-11, 1945.

THE YALTA PAPERS—IV—MYSTERIES STILL UNSOLVED

Despite the mountain of documents now available, the Yalta "whodunit" is still—in several key respects—a mystery. The major elements of mystery remaining, moreover, go to the heart of two questions still subject to angry political debate: (1) The extent to which there may have been deliberate betrayal at work in the Yalta Conference, and (2) the extent to which the late President Roosevelt was justified by arguments of military necessity in making some of the concessions that have led to such tragic consequences since.

We will consider the role of Alger Hiss and some of its implications tomorrow. Meanwhile, let us examine the main case for the defense: The contention that concessions to Russia were made under the pressure of military necessity, and in return for equivalent concessions that would have made the whole package a defensible deal if Stalin had

only kept his word.

The defense usually given for the concessions in Europe-which made Poland a Russian puppet, put Stalin in a postwar position to dominate all Eastern Europe, and made such mockery of the idealistic promises of the Atlantic Charter-is that Stalin's armies, by the time of Yalta, were already entering Germany, and there was nothing we could have done to force him to yield more than he did on the Polish or related questions. By giving him what he demanded there, it is held, we kept the Big Three united for the peace and even won some Russian concessions in organizing the U. N. As for the gifts to Russia in the Far East, these are usually defended on the opposite groundnot that the Russians were already there. but that we needed Russia's help to save American lives in defeating Japan, and these were Stalin's price for giving it.

The Yalta papers throw much light on both these contentions, but they also intensify the mystery with respect to two cru-

cial points:

1. How many of the 1945 Yalta deals were really just confirmation of tentative commitments made at Teheran in late 1943?

 Who set the value of Russian participation in the Pacific war so high, and on the basis of what conflicting estimates of the military and strategic situation in the Pacific?

On the first point, the Yalta papers are extremely suggestive; on the latter, those released to date are practically a void. It is understood that about one-tenth of the Yalta file has been held back—and that most of the still-secret papers relate to an Army-Navy controversy over how near we were to having Japan on the ropes, and whether a costly invasion would have to be undertaken, and of how high a price we could justify paying for Russian help.

There have been various claims since the war that Japan was already trying to sue for peace at the time of Yalta, and that at least some members of our high command at Yalta knew it or should have known it. But precious little light is shed on any of this in the papers just released, and there is nothing to indicate that Roosevelt himself had any other idea but buying Russian participation with the concessions he freely gave.

About the only vigorously dissenting voice was that of Britain's Foreign Secretary Eden:
"If the Russians decided to enter the war against Japan they would take the decision because they considered it in their interest that the Japanese war should not be finished by the United States and Great Britain alone. There was therefore no need for us to offer a high price for their participation, and if we were prepared to agree to their territorial demands in the Far East we should see to it that we obtained a good return (elsewhere)."

In the Yalta discussions of the far eastern deal—as in discussions relating to Europe—there are vague references again and again to tentative pledges given at Teheran. In talking about Polish frontiers, for example, Roosevelt began: "As I said at Teheran, in general I am in favor of the Curzon line." In opening the discussion of a Russian warmwater port in China, Stalin "recalled that they had discussed that point at Teheran."

If the purchase of Russian help in the Pacific war must thus be dated back to late 1943, instead of early 1945, it is conceivable that the still-secret Teheran papers could put Roosevelt in a better light than do the Yalta papers, for this would render somewhat academic the question whether Japan was on the verge of surrender at the later date. Certainly Russia at Teheran was in a

better position to command a stiff price for a promise of assistance in the Pacific than she was at the time of Yalta.

But if that was a factor in the Far East, the reverse was true in Europe. Russia was still fighting on her own soil in late 1943 and was in no position to dictate to us the terms for Eastern Europe at Teheran, as it is contended she was 14 months later, at Yalta. What the Yalta papers, with their suggestive cross-references to Teheran, indicate most clearly is that the grand design of Yalta was nearly all implicit in the basic decision Roosevelt revealed at Teheran to abandon the idealism of the Atlantic Charter and the close partnership with Britain, and to pin his faith for the future on the misplaced realism of a global deal with Stalin.

History, in short, cannot begin to close the books on Yalta until it has opened all the books on Teheran.

The Yalta Papers—Part III—Treason's Role, if Any—History Versus Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, in the decade since the disastrous conference at Yalta, the question has been raised many times as to the role of Alger Hiss. In its careful and comprehensive analysis of the Yalta papers, the Buffalo Evening News has suggested what Hiss' role was. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Record editorials bearing on this and related points which appeared in the News:

ANY

THE YALTA PAPERS-V-TREASON'S ROLE, IF

There is not much support, if any, in the Yalta papers for the overdramatized betrayal theory which usually pictures Alger Hiss as the sinister manipulator, breathing sweet treason into the dying Roosevelt's ear, and thereby causing him to hand the world to Joe Statin on a platter. But there are deeply disturbing implications and puzzling questions raised by the role Hiss did play, and by the preconference maneuverings of Harry Dexter White back home.

Hiss was there all right, and he was privy to every Yalta secret and had access in advance to every scrap of advice and data the United States State Department took along. His was the job of gathering the file together to make sure that President Roosevelt was fully briefed. Yet the documents released last week show him cast as a giorified clerk—an ever-present clerk, but not an influential adviser, except on matters relating to the forthcoming San Francisco conference to create the U. N.

How Hiss came to be chosen for the Yalta trip is not clear. Mr. Roosevelt did not plan to take him at first, but the delegation was gradually enlarged. Presumably he was added by Secretary of State Stettinius because of his work at Dumbarton Caks and the importance of that prelude to San Francisco in the Yalta discussions. He cannot be dismissed as a minor figure. He was 1 of the 9 Americans present at nearly all the plenary sessions of the 3 leaders, saying nothing, but taking copious, cryptically abbreviated notes. He was 1 of the 5 or 6 Americans who attended nearly all of the foreign ministers' meetings, taking notes and

sometimes joining the discussion on matters relating to the still-unborn U. N.

Assuming treasonous intent on the part of one so situated, there is no special reason for concern over any role these papers show Hiss playing in the plenary sessions. A spy would do the Russians no good there, for Stalin, Molotov and company were right in the room, and Roosevelt received little nudging from any of his advisers except Harry Hopkins.

Where a spy in Hiss' spot could have done this Nation greatest harm—and Russia most good—was in the advance stage of briefings and preparations. Consider this January 10, 1945, memo of a State Department staff meeting: "The secretary asked that all memoranda for the President on topics to be discussed at the meeting of the Big Three should be in the hands of Mr. Alger Hiss not later than Monday, January 15."

The subsequent memoranda that crossed Hiss' desk contained all the recommendations as to our preferred position on each question, where we should be willing to compromise if we had to, and what we should hold out hardest for. There is nothing in the papers to indicate that any of this file was passed on to Stalin before the Yalta sessions started, but no vivid imagination is needed to guess how helpful his access to it could have been.

access to it could have been.
In one other sense, the Yalta papers are suggestive, if only faintly, of the way a treason game could have been played if there was that intent. The American delegation, as it turned out, was more stubborn and diligent in pressing for Soviet concessions on procedural questions involving the organization of the U. N. than on any other general subject raised at Yalta. These were the issues with which Hiss was officially concerned, and the ones on which he did some fairly vigorous arguing for the American position. The Yalta record of give-and-take is one in which we did most of the taking on these questions of procedure, and most of the giving on questions involving the strategic control of Europe and Asia. there was any pattern of deliberate betrayal at work in the briefing of Mr. Roosevelt for Yalta, it is not inconceivable that its objective was to magnify the importance of the procedural questions in his mind in order to minimize the others.

It is in the preliminaries at home, rather than in anything said or done at Yalta, that the newly released documents are most suggestive of disloyalty at the policy-influencing level, and these relate not to anyone in the State Department but to the eager Treasury expert, Harry Dexter White, who worked closely with Secretary Morgenthau to sell Mr. Roosevelt on the dismemberment and pastoralizing of Germany. Mr. White had better luck with that than with another scheme, for a postwar reconstruction loan to Russia which, by the strangest of coincidences, the Soviet Government first requested 3 days after Secretary Morgenthau had suggested it to the President. The circumstances hint that Moscow had a pretty fair pipeline into the pre-Yaita briefing rooms of the American Government. In short, the documents now available add no weight to the treason theory of Yalta, but neither do they quite lay its ghost.

THE YALTA PAPERS—VI—HISTORY VERSUS POLITICS

History's interest in the Yalta papers is obvious; it simply wants the facts because it seeks nothing but the truth. The interest of politicians, however, is something else again. They favor suppression or disclosure, depending on whom the truth will help or hurt; they view the record not to see the whole truth in context, but to see what can most usefully be taken from the context.

In this series of editorials, our main concern has been with Yalta as history. In this concluding piece, our purpose is to consider

some of its broadest political implications.

First, the domestic political hullabaloo over release of the papers: This, as we see it, is a phony issue. Why shouldn't they have been released? What do they tell but the truth? American practice since the Civil War has been to release the record of diplomatic events, usually 15 years afterward. The Yalta conference has now been the subject of raging controversy for 10 years; it has intimately affected the life of every American. Because of this, Congress 2 years ago authorized preparation of the Yalta documents, with a view to prompt publication; there was no great furore about it then.

The papers were ready last fall; they were withheld until after the election to avoid any charge of political timing; they were withheld again in December at the request of the British. But they had been widely enough seen by then so they could not be suppressed forever. The confusion that attended the exact timing of the release is, in our view, a tempest in a teapot insofar as it affects the basic issue of suppression

against disclosure.

On that, we are now and always on the side of as full and prompt disclosure as is compatible with our national security. For Democrats in particular to take any other line is to repudiate the whole Wilsonian concept of open covenants openly arrived it; it is to reject the fundamental concept of ultimate accountability that is corollary to the constitutional power of the President to conduct our foreign affairs.

Second, the international repercussion: Here, too, the cleansing power of truth is complete answer to the immediate yelps of pain. No one is hurt by the Yalta papers who did not hurt himself by the character he revealed at Yalta. If diplomats are made more cautious at future conferences, knowing that what they say may one day have to stand the light of history, so much the better. If some nations are disillusioned at learning what men they have honored as friends said about them and did to them 10 years ago, international relations are less well served by leaving the false myths to be eroded away by suspicion and rumor than by building a cleaner relationship based on truth. With every sympathy for the French Germans, Poles, Chinese, and others who are reminded anew how cavalierly they were treated at Yalta, we still don't know a better foundation than truth about the past on which to build a foreign policy for the future.

Third, Republican exploiting of Yalta: There is enough legitimate campaign material for Republicans in the Yalta papers so they would be very foolish, in our view, to continue exploiting the illegitimate. The truth does not support the picture of deliberate betrayal that some have painted; neither does it support an ostrich-like escape to isolationism. What it does disclose is a thoroughly shameful enthronement of cynicism over idealism, of smart-aleck expe-diency over principle, of crass power politics over morality and justice.

The Yalta record, in short, is a kind of gross caricature of the worst tendencies evident throughout the New Deal years in our domestic politics. To say that Republican politicians should not use that record to point up its contrast with the moral tone of the Eisenhower administration is to say that they should quit trying to win elections. But let them remember (1) that Yalta is 10 years old, (2) that even the Democrats under Truman have fought to retrieve some of its worst blunders, and (3) that any party which uses its obsession with the past to dodge the issues of the present isn't going have much future. In short, let the GOP comb the Yalta papers for what they're worth, but let them not forget that it is

the record of their own present administra-tion that will be the main issue of the next election.

Fourth. the Democrats' dilemma: The problem of the Democrats is whether to vacillate between denying and defending the Yalta record or to do their best to forget it and convince the country that they've learned its lessons. Their fundamental choice is between the two "liberal" strains in their modern party tradition—the liberal idealism of Wilson's "open covenants" and "self-determination" and Roosevelt's Atlantic Charter versus crude political expediency masquerading as liberalism which characterized the New Deal approach to so many issues and reached its tragic de-nouement at Yalta. It is all very well for the Democrats to say, with Senate Majority Leader Johnson, "Let's talk about what can be done rather than what cannot be undone ' It will be better for them if they make it clear that they have pondered the Yalta lessons, and have finished with denying, sugar-coating, and covering up the blunders made there.

Tabulation of a Poll on Questions of Current Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks. I wish to report the outcome of a public-opinion poll conducted among voters of Indiana's 10th Congressional Dis-

This is the 5th consecutive year in which I have sought to obtain a cross section of public thinking on current national issues. In this 1955 canvass of citizens of east-central Indiana, a total of 6,501 marked ballots were tabulated. The results, I believe, are fairly indicative of the prevailing sentiments of voters in the Midwest.

Following are the recorded votes on 10 questions of current interest:

Ultimatum to Red China: Free United States prisoners or risk naval blockade. Favored, 4,301; opposed, 1,419.

Multi - billion - dollar Federal - State program of highway construction: Favored, 3,489; opposed, 2,146.

Three-year extension of reciprocal trade with United States tariff reductions: Favored, 3,716; opposed, 1,407.

Raising minimum-wage rate to 90 cents an hour: Favored, 4,020; opposed,

Continuance of flexible farm-price supports: Favored, 4,038; opposed, 1,644.

Economic-military aid to free nations of Asia: Favored, 3,727; opposed, 1,651. Federal aid to school-building con-

struction: Favored, 3,062; opposed, 2,974. Enactment of President's national re-

serve plan for military manpower: Favored, 3,721; opposed, 1,279.

Bricker amendment to limit treaty powers: Favored, 3,332; opposed, 1,530.

Increase in rates on air and first-class mail: Favored, 2,723; opposed, 3,060.

Fifty Years of Distinguished Service to God and Humanity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. T. JAMES TUMULTY

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. TUMULTY. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I address this House and call to its attention the golden anniversary of a distinguished man of God. the beloved Father Hooper, of Hoboken, N. J. Appropriately his 50th anniversary coincides with the centennial of the city of Hoboken. I know Father Hooper personally. He has given his life to the service of God and his fellow men of all faiths. He has been called a great priest. On March 2 the Hudson Dispatch, a leading newspaper of New Jersey, had the following editorial concerning this good and holy man:

TO HONOR FATHER HOOPER, HOBOKEN, ON GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY

The year that Hoboken marked the golden anniversary of its incorporation as a city, 1905, also happened to be the year that Rev. Edward P. Hooper, rector of Holy Innocents Episcopal Church in the "mile-square city." was ordained. Quite fittingly, we think, since Father Hooper has served Hoboken so well during 32 of the 50 years he has been a cleric, his own golden anniversary and the city's centennial will be celerated on the same day, March 27.

A half century of service in any profssion or occupation is a remarkably long period and an accomplishment deserving of commemoration, and Holy Innocents parish is arranging a program worthy of this notable occasion. On March 27, a high mass will be offered at 9:15 a. m., followed by a Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament, with Father Hooper as celebrant. A parish reception and buffet dinner will be held in the church hall at 4 p. m.

Father Hooper was born and educated in New York City. After graduating from City College, he had a brief business career before entering General Theological Seminary, from which he was graduated in 1904, after which he received appointment as curate in Holy Innocents Church from the late Rev. George Ernest Magill, then rector. He was ordained as an Episcopalian priest on March 27, 1905. in Holy Innocents Church by Rt. Rev. R. H.

Holy Innocents Church was founded by Mrs. Martha Bayard Stevens of the famous family so closely related with the history and growth of Hoboken. Her son, Col. Edwin A. Stevens II, and Mrs. Stevens, his wife, were guests at the reception held in Castle Stevens following Father Hooper's ordina-

Serving as curate at Holy Innocents until 1908, Father Hooper then became rector of Christ Church in Pompton Lakes, at which post he remained until 1915, when he became rector of Ascension Church in the Hudson City section of Jersey City. He remained there 11 years, during which time his leadership resulted in the church debt being paid off and in the renovation of the edifice. An endowment fund was also estab-

In 1926, when the late Father Magill retired from Holy Innocents Church and became rector emeritus, Father Hooper received a call to return to his original parish as rector. In the succeeding 29 years, his ministry there has been marked by many improvements in the church property and in the growth of its membership. Hooper notes particularly the fact that in the past 2 years there has been a resurgence of faith not only in Hoboken but throughout the world.

In addition to his splendid service to Holy Innocents and to the community of Ho-boken as well, Father Hooper has been a pillar of strength at Christ Hospital, Jersey City. He is president emeritus of that institution, which has a fine record of growth in recent years. In his civic work in Mile-Square City, he has been a member and past president of Hoboken Kiwanis Club.

Our best wishes for many more active years in God's work are extended to one who has labored long and well in the vineyard.

Congressional Salary Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following petition submitted to me by Asa C. Dye, of West Plains, Mo.:

The undersigned citizens and voters of Howell County, Mo., respectfully request the Senate and House of Representatives to repeal the recently enacted law raising the pay of Senators and Representatives.

We believe the amount they formerly re-

ceived to be sufficient.

Asa C. Dye. West Plains, Mo.; R. F. Deavers, Koshkonong, Mo.; George Bartley, James H. Hall, Ira E. Kunkel, L. M. Hyder, Troy Franks, T. S. Ferttles, West Plains, Mo.; Frank Skaggs, Hattle Skaggs, Lanton, Mo.; H. D. Todd, West Plains, Mo.; W. R. Roy, Viola, Ark.; J. M. Vester, West Plains, Mo.; H. M. York, Koshkonong, Mo.; J. M. Mauldin, M. D. Risner, West Plains, Mo.; G. W. Eldson, Pomona, Mo.; Jim Kentner, Koshkonong, Mo.; Wes Lung, West Plains, Mo.; Homer Sublett, Viola, Ark.; Earl Moore, Day, Ark.; E. V. Kell, P. J. Dawson, Walter Dold, West Plains, Mo.; B. McHan, A. W. Heinrich, Hocomo, Mo.; Ralph Moore, Oeland Walker, J. D. Roberson, J. T. Roberson, Geo. White, Bert Coble, Daisy Coble, W. C. Hodge, West Plains, Mo.; L. C. Peterson, Sturkie, Ark.: H. E. Jennings, E. L. Jackson, Roy Bissett, E. D. Wallace, A. E. Hanshaw, J. E. Bell, West Plains, Mo.; John R. Potts, Mountain View, Mo.; J. F. Russell, Nellie T. Russell, W. T. Russell, S. P. Murphy, Doge Harris, R. T. Blair, L. E. Dawson, Archie L. Glinn, A. E. Smith, Duane Brown, R. F. Arrington, C. L. Decker, Lee Smotherman, Adam Turner, Reverend David, Elmer Sams, C. H. Chritton, H. S. Ecton, J. L. Spains, James Williams, Roy C. Tedrick, A. W. Ro-mans, Odis Fields, Fred Willard, Lottie Willard, Jim Johnson, Glen Moore, Fred Collins, West Plains, Mo.; Don Collins, Dora, Mo.; Letcher Burgess, Pomona, Mo.; Leonard Manze, Ive Butcher, West Plains, Mo.; Albert Currell, Peace Valley, Mo.; Carle T. Toggart, Rover, Mo.; Forest Smith, Buford Skaggs, Donald Lewis, West Plains, Mo.; H. H. Redburn, Clarence R. Thompson, Thayer, Mo.; Logan Carpenter, Everett Malcolm, Lester Davis, West Plains, Mo.

Robert Valeur's Address Before the Harvard Club of the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include an address delivered by Robert Valeur, first counselor of the French Embassy, at the annual dinner of the Harvard Club in Washington, D. C., on March 24, 1955. His address includes a commentary on the publication of the Yalta papers and a forceful review of the important part that France has played during the many years of international strife.

The address follows:

President Kavanagh, President Pusey, Senator Saltonstall, distinguished guests, gentlemen, the publication of the Yalta papers which was generally heralded in this country as a victory of open diplomacy against secret diplomacy affords me an unusual opportunity to speak to you tonight with frankness not usually associated with diplomacy, and especially with French diplomacy which from Richelieu to Talleyrand and Jules Cambon has stood for the traditional approach as against the public forum approach of today. Furthermore, as a mem-ber of the Harvard Club and as a former professor of political science in a great American university-although it was not Harvard-I hope you will not resent my expressing tonight the sadness I feel in my heart, as a Frenchman and as a devoted friend of the United States, in the face of the criticisms of which France is more and more the target and the unfairness with which its actions are so often appraised in this country and, generally speaking, in the Anglo-Saxon world.

The publication of the Yalta papers does not add very much to what we knew already of the feelings of the Big Three toward the smaller nations. Yet, it is not very pleasant to have it said in so many words.

I feel certain though that the French, however hurt in their feelings, will never forget that President Roosevelt, by campaigning against American isolationism as early as the Chicago quarantine speech made it possible for France to be liberated 1, or possibly 2 years sooner than would have been otherwise the case. And who knows what we would have found in France then, if anything at

I feel certain also that, although the Yalta papers reveal verbal indiscretions toward us on the part of the Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill, the French people will always think of him as the indomitable leader who saved our freedom in 1940 and as the valiant friend who fought at Yalta so that France be given some measure of recognition in world councils.

But when Stalin, resisting Churchill's proposal, said that: "We cannot forget that in this war France opened the gates to the enemy," a remark which did not even elicit a mild rebuff on the part of our Anglo-Saxon allies, this is really unfair.

Stalin's words remind me of what Westbrook Pegler wrote in 1944: "It is, he said, because the sons of the heroes of Verdun were not worthy of their fathers that American boys are being killed on the Normandy beaches."

Is it really necessary at this time to recall that it was France which, on the contrary, for a whole 30 years, bore the main burden and suffered the heaviest losses and sacrifices in

the onslaught of Germany against Western civilization?

Is it really necessary to recall that it was the French poilu-and no one criticized then his taste for red wine-who did most of the fighting on the western front? One million and a half were slaughtered. The United States' entry in the war was decisive, but few remember that the American Army, through-out the fighting of the First World War, did not fire a single cannon which had not been manufactured in the hard-pressed French arsenals.

Victory came. A victory at a high price and soon after the armies of democracy had paraded under the Arch of Triumph, each of the great Allies went his own separate way. Great Britain returned to its balanceof-power policy, helping Germany's resurgence so as to offset France's continental influence. The United States went back to their traditional isolationism, while accusing France of militarism.

As we look back, it seems unfortunate that there was not even more militarism in France for, obviously, a bigger and better French army would have had more of a chance in 1940 to keep the gates closed to the enemy.

Yet, the fact remains that, of the three great democracies which defeated Germany in 1918, the only one which kept a measure of preparedness against the eventuality of the Germans going once more on the rampage was France; France which had already paid more than her share; France which, furthermore, was by far much poorer in men and resources than Great Britain and, above all, the United States.

Now I assure you that we French, regret more than anyone, Westbrook Pegler and Stalin included, that we did not defeat the Germans in 1940. We would not have to eat humble pie * * * as we do now. The instability of French cabinets—which, by the way, did not prevent the victory of 1918would not occupy such a prominent place in American editorials or in Mr. Attlee's specches in the House of Commons, nor would one really care whether we drink too much wine and not enough milk. * *

We doubtless committed fatal tactical and strategic errors in the campaign of 1940. V. 3, French, deplore it, but feel no reason to be ashamed of it. A year later, Soviet Russia, with its 200 million people bent by the iron fist of its Communist dictatorship into a prodigious war effort, saw its Red army smashed to bits by the German Wehrmacht and its remnants pushed back to the Caucasus, that is to stay three times the greatest length of France.

Even though France in 1940 was badly beaten in the field of battle, it honorably discharged its international obligations and, above all, remained true to its traditional mission of being the frontline fighter for the freedom of man against any kind of tyranny. The deeds of General de Gaulle's fighting French and of the men of the Maquis should also be remembered as evidence of the loy-alty and vallance of the French people even when subjected to the worst sort of duress.

Yet it took the full might of the United States, which, as always, once challenged, brought to play its amazing material resources and indomitable will to win, to bring the enemy to bay. This, I assure you, the French will never forget. Neither will they forget the considerable material assistance that America brought them after the liberation. But, even more than material help, what was needed in France then, what is needed now, is sympathy and understanding. Instead, we are too often faced with doubt, suspicion, even irritation or, at least, a sentiment of impatience.

The truth of the matter seems to be that, for the first time in their history, the American people do not feel secure within their own borders. They have to concern themselves with what is going on in Europa,

Africa, or Asia because happenings in these continents may vitally affect their own se When the United States reacts with curity. such obvious impatience to France's failure to ratify the EDC or to the fall of France's Prime Minister, it is less out of sympathy toward us than because France's attitude and decisions may have serious repercussions on the security of the United States. In other words, Americans feel irritated or impatient with us because we are not acting the way they would like us to act, as we were irritated with them in the thirties because they did not want to open their eyes to the danger of nazism.

The great difference, however, between the Americans and the French is in the fact that we have been used to insecurity for the past 2,000 years, whereas it is the first time in your history that you feel insecure. The result is that, we French feel that your impatience with our ways may, at times, be excessive. We are a proud old nation and, unlike you, we have known tragedy again and again. Please be more patient with us; you need us as we need you and the best way to get results either way is through patience and understanding.

Do keep in mind in particular that, if things in France are not going as well as you and ourselves wish, it is because we were left practically alone in 1914 and in 1940 to face the German armies and that two wars and two occupations in a generation have left tehind tremendous physical and moral wounds.

Furthermore, in your criticisms of our parliamentary system of government, of its in-stability, there seems to be a lack of realization that, while you were able—as England for that matter-to develop your political institutions in the security that two oceans afforded you, our revolution, which was inspired by the same ideals as yours, at once prompted attacks from all kings of Europe, and as a reaction caused the internal violence of the terror and the coming to power of a

tyrant. We never quite recovered from it.

It is in the past 3 months, however, that doubts and criticisms of France seem to have reached a peak in Anglo-Saxon countries. These doubts and criticisms stem from the protracted debate which took place last December in the French National Assembly on the ratification of the Paris Accords and from the fact that these accords, which grant Germany the right to rearm, were finally voted with only a slim majority. Many Americans concluded that the French National Assembly is irresponsible and that France cannot be depended upon as an ally.

The problem involved here is that many Frenchmen still feel toward Germany the way President Roosevelt did at Yalta. still harbor a profound resentment toward the country whose armies have invaded and occupied their native land three times in 70 years. These French look upon Germany's rearmament in awed dismay and, in insisting at this time that Germany be rearmed, the American Government has faced the French nation with an agonizing problem for the French know that their refusal to agree to German rearmament would gravely imperil their alliance with the United States and, if it so happened, the seat thus left empty by us-as we were just told in so many wordswould be taken by Germany.

Let us put it this way:

Had the French National Assembly been asked to vote separately on the maintenance of the American alliance on the one hand and on German rearmament on the other, on the first issue; that is, the maintenance of the American alliance, there would have been a unanimous vote, but for the Communists, on the second issue there doubtless would have been a substantial majority against German rearmament.

The staggering difficulty was that the French National Assembly was asked to vote on these two issues, not separately, but wrapped up in a single package.

The very fact that even a small majority of the French Assembly was willing to set aside its resentment of Germany and its fear of German rearmament, to ratify the Paris Accords, thus saving the Franco-American alliance, is the greatest token of friendship that France has given the United States in a long time and compelling proof of France's unfailing loyalty to its 175-year-old American alliance.

Whatever the danger involved, once more France is true to her commitments. Behind the apparent instability of her politics, there is a profound stability in her policies. Beyond the amazing ups-and-downs of her history, France always emerges anew, stronghold of freedom in a world of confusion. Even the Germans could not bring themselves to destroy Paris and you, our friends since always, cannot lose faith in the only great power which has always been your ally.

I am aware as much as anyone that, after all, this is past history and that bygones should be bygones. Then, according to your American expression: "Where do we

go from here?"

May I say that after a grave setback, France's curve is decidedly up. In the politi-cal field, she doubtless killed the EDC but produced the Schuman plan and made it work, and is now completing the ratification of the Paris Accords. Just quoting from last Monday's "New York Times" may I add that: "When former French Premier Mendes-France, during his visit to the United States several months ago, proposed a Big Four meeting in May, his idea was received somewhat cooly at the State Department. But there are indications that the administration now believes an early meeting might be useful."

In the economic field, France's industrial production rose by nearly 10 percent in 1954. Your investments in France in the form of Marshall plan aid and technical assistance

are beginning to pay off.

Last year France's balance of trade and balance of payment improved so much that we have been leading the European Payment Union nations in gold gain. The recent discovery of what seems to be an important oil field in France should improve further our

foreign exchange situation.

Our industrial and scientific techniques are again tops. In 1954 we set new speed records for electric trains as well as new and fantastic records for deep sea diving. We won the contract for the 300-ton magnet for the synchrocyclotron of the great European Laboratory for Nuclear Physics in Genevaanother French initiative-against the competition of the best firms in Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Switzerland. Our French-built military aircraft is of such a quality that we have received large orders of "Ouragan" interceptors from abroad and even from a member of the British Commonwealth. We are building the first oil refinery in Brazil and all over the world bridges made with the newly discovered French process of precontracted concrete. You will be interested to know that French navy yards are building 264,000 tons of tankers for United States concerns.

The French even defeated, 3 weeks ago, the English rugby team on its own ground.

Most of all, we haven't had a serious strike in a year and a half and the French currency and prices have remained remarkably stable for nearly 3 years.

And last, but not least, there is a renaissance in French poetry. As poetry is, with music, the most instinctive expression of a nation's soul, this is a good omen that France is once more resurging, full of fresh

vitality and bristling with new ideas.

One reason for this resurgence may be that France is presently undergoing a tremendous revolution: France which, for over a century, had a stationary population, now has the highest birthrate in Western Europe. France which was ruled by older men and had the conservative outlook which goes with old age, feels now a new blood throbbing in its veins. It is this new blood which is helping the French to shed old prejudices and resentments. It is this new blood which enables the French to conceive new ideas, to work out new techniques. It is this new blood which is making it possible to put an end to the fratricidal feud between France and Germany. It is this new blood which alone can cause, soon we hope, much needed changes in the constitutional setup of the

Gentlemen, France is beginning once more to look forward. Let us hope that she may be again, as happened in the past, a beacon of light in this confused world.

More Errors in the Hoover Report on Government Lending Agencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to a letter sent by the National Foreign Trade Council pointing up another of the many serious errors in the Hoover Commission's report on Government lending agencies. That leaves just about nothing right in that report.

The letter follows:

NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE COUNCIL, INC. New York, N. Y., March 18, 1955. Hon. HERBERT HOOVER,

Chairman, Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Washington, D. C

DEAR SIR: In its section on the Export-Import Bank of Washington the recent report of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. entitled "Lending, Guaranteeing, and Insurance Activities," states that "many authorities such as our task force and the National Foreign Trade Council take the attitude that the normal banking facilities of the country are ample to finance exports and imports." We feel that this statement indicates a misconception as to the position of the National Foreign Trade Council regarding the Export-Import Bank.

The National Foreign Trade Council was one of the foremost organizations urging the creation of the Export-Import Bank. and it has supported successive measures for continuing the bank as a permanent institution and for expanding its facilities so that it could adequately render needed services in the financing of American foreign trade. We feel that the Export-Import Bank has an important and necessary role to fill in supplementing facilities provided by private financial institutions in financing the foreign trade of this country. We regard this supplementary service of the Fxport-Import Bank as of particular importance in assuring intermediate-term and long-term financing for American foreign

The position of the National Foreign Trade Council in regard to the Export-Import Bank has been set forth in the final declarations of many national foreign-trade conventions sponsored by the Council. The final declaration of the national foreign-trade convention held in 1953, for example, stated in part:

"The Export-Import Bank of Washington is, in the words of the 1945 amendment to the act creating it, an instrumentality designed 'to ald in financing and to facilitate exports and imports and the exchange of commodities between the United States or any of its territories or insular possessions and any foreign country or the agencies or nationals thereof.' In keeping with this policy, the Export-Import Bank, in cases Where adequate accommodations are not available through private financial institutions, can play a highly useful role in providing intermediate-term financing American exporters and importers, preferably with the cooperation and participation of these private institutions. It can also be helpful, under similar circumstances, in providing longer term financing for the purchase, by entities located abroad, of needed materials and equipment of United States origin. If this financing is made available in line with the courageous approach the bank has taken in previous years, American traders and investors can thereby be afforded a better opportunity to maintain their position against foreign competitors, whose governments are providing them with generous assistance for the development and expansion of their activities.

"The Convention commends the management of the bank for the care it has exercised in screening loan applications, and for the emphasis it has given to the need for fundamental soundness and productivity in the undertakings involved. It also com-mends the management for its adherence to the concept that the increased production and trade it has endeavored to stimulate can best be fostered through the development of enterprises under private operation and con-It is worthy of commendation, furthermore, that, in serving the interests of American foreign traders, the bank has, at the same time, so managed its affairs as to show a profit."

In calling for a rededication to the original purposes for which the Export-Import Bank was created and for active implementation of these purposes, the 1953 convention

stated: "It is, of course, equally important that the bank reaffirm its policy of not undertaking operations which commercial banks are themselves willing to finance on reasonable terms. "The Convention emphasizes that the American foreign trader cannot look to any international agency as a substitute for the Export-Import Bank for the financial ac-commodation he requires."

A pronouncement relating to the Export-Import Bank similar to that of the convention was also made by the National Foreign Trade Convention held in November That convention stated:

"The great bulk of American exports and Imports is financed either by the private enterprisers themselves who undertake the transactions involved or by private financial institutions whose facilities are available for the purpose. In some cases, however, it is recognized that the national interest would be served by the development of trade opportunities which depend for their realization upon intermediate - term or long - term financing facilities which private institutions are not providing out of their own resources. In this area the Export-Import ank, working preferably with the coopera-tion and participation of these private institutions, can play a useful and welcome role, and its operations are held to be com-Plementary to rather than in conflict with the predominant role that is played by private enterprise.

"The convention is gratified by the action taken by the Congress in amending the Export-Import Bank Act to provide for an index Independent management of the bank under a board of directors, for representation of the bank on the National Advisory Council, and for an increase of \$500 million in the bank's lending authority. It believes that the Export-Import Bank has done a commendable job, over the years, in promoting our foreign trade, and it holds that the amendments to the act now in force should further enhance the bank's usefulness.

"The convention commends the manage-ment of the bank for its adherence to the concept that the increased volume of business it seeks to stimulate can best be fostered through the development of enterprises under private operation and control. It holds that the American foreign trader cannot look to any international agency as a substitute for the Export-Import Bank for the financial accommodation he may, upon occasion, legitimately require. It believes that the bank, in serving as an essential and effective instrumentality for the financing of American foreign trade, can operate in harmony with the foreign policy objectives of the United States in a manner which is beyond the province of any international organization."

In view of the above and of our 20 years of active support of the Export-Import Bank, we can find no justification for the statement made in the report of the Commission that the National Foreign Trade Council "takes the attitude that the normal banking facilities of the country are ample to finance exports and imports." We, therefore, re-spectfully request that appropriate steps be taken to correct the erroneous impression conveyed by this report as to the position of the National Foreign Trade Council. view of the importance which we attach to matter, we are taking the liberty of sending copies of this letter to the other members of the Commission and to Members of Congress.

> Very respectfully yours, ROBERT F. LOREE, Chairman.

Strength and Caution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, we are hearing a great deal of talk at this time about the possibility of a Big Four meeting. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial of timely interest entitled "Strength and Caution," from the Daily Mirror, New York, March 29, 1955:

STRENGTH AND CAUTION

In the wake of French approval for the rearmament of West Germany, it was disclosed by our State Department Monday that quite active consultations are going on among Britain, the United States, and France concerning a possible Big Four meeting.

President Eisenhower has already indicated he is not going to rush into any big-power conferences and the current consultations presage no such hasty action.

That is just as well. When we have rushed into such meetings in the past, we usually got the worst of it-witness Yalta and Pots-

Much groundwork remains to be done. We must, as President Eisenhower is well aware, be absolutely sure that such a conference will serve definite purposes and not just become a sounding board for Soviet propaganda.

But it is intriguing to note that Soviet Premier Bulganin is receptive to the conference idea.

Previously, the Soviet stand was that a conference would be useful only if the West refrained from the completion of the NATO alliance and the Paris pacts, and would be useless if they went through-as they are now going through.

Nobody knows what Bulganin's apparent amenity in this respect means. From past experience, we are entitled to be skeptical and to welcome the Soviet receptiveness with caution. But we need not fear it.

The West gains both psychological and military strength by the French action.

And strength and caution must be our watchwords in any dealings with the Kremlin.

Textile Industry of the United States Loses Foreign Markets and Is Threatened by Imports

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following statement of the Textile Workers Union of America before the Senate Labor Committee:

TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF THE UNITED STATES LOSES FOREIGN MARKETS AND IS THREAT-ENED BY IMPORTS

(By Solomon Barkin, research director, TWUA-CIO)

The stability of the textile industry has been seriously affected, both by the loss of export markets and the displacement of American production by imports. These have tended to aggravate the internal adjustment being affected in the United States through rising productivity, mergers, changes in types of apparel, interfiber competition and other significant developments which are reducing domestic employment and the demand for textile products.

1. Loss of export markets: The American textile industry has, since 1947, suffered large losses in export markets and these are likely to continue to contract. During that year, the United States exported 1.5 billion square yands of cotton fabrics and 250 million square yards of synthetic fabrics. This volume has been drastically reduced: in 1953 exports were 621 million square yards of cottons and 198 million square yards of synthetic fabrics. In 1954, the export volume was even smaller: 605 million square yards of cottons and 200 million square yards of synthetics.

The primary American export markets are in Canada, the Philippines, Cuba, Latin America and South Africa. As for Canada, to which one-third of our cotton exports are sent, our market is now threatened by the new trade treaty to be consummated under the GATT agreement which will permit Japanese textiles to compete with American imports under very favorable conditions. We are likely to lose a substantial part of the market. As for the Philippines and Cuba, we enjoy a preferential position. Our exports to be Philippines are duty free. But this position is tied to a trade which has a terminus and considerable pressure exists for the elimination of this condition. preferential tariff position in Cuba has been threatened several times by the Japanese. In the other countries, our position is like-

wise insecure. It is dependent upon tariff rates as well as competition, primairly from Japan and now India in the cotton field. Our exports to Indonesia are completely related to the foreign-aid program and are likely to be terminated and substituted by Japanese or Indian textiles. There is no doubt that the volume of textile exports will continue to shrink.

2. Displacement by imports: Several divisions of the textile industry have felt the impact of imports most seriously. They are the woolen and worsted; woven carpets and rugs; screen prints; cordage and soft and hard fiber industries.

(a) Woolen and worsted industry: This industry has been beset by many difficulties which have shrunk employment in broadwoven fabric mills from a total of 122,500 production workers in 1947 to 100,000 workers in 1949; to 89,000 workers in 1951; 78,000 workers in 1953; and an estimated number of some 50,000 workers at the present time. Most of this reduction is due to the diminished use of woolen and worsted textiles, but imports have aggravated an otherwise difficult position. Woolen and worsted imports have constituted a rising proportion of American production, reaching its peak in 1953 when 24.3 million square yards were imported constituting 5.3 percent of domestic proportion. In 1954, the imports were 19.2 million square yards, comprising 5 percent of the domestic production.

These imports have been serious because they have continued to hit hard at a shrinking industry. Moreover, they have provided competition for the older divisions of the industry. The competition has been keenest for the finer qualities of worsteds and woolens. Thus those sectors which have the greatest chance of surviving in the domestic interfiber competition have been impaired

by competition from abroad.

We have not been able to get relief from the Tariff Commission under the provision of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade which permits increasing the tariff rate on fabrics in which imports exceed 5 percent of average annual domestic production. We have urged, to no avail, that the Tariff Commission interpret the above stipulation so that each class of fabric be con-sidered separately, by weight, in computing the 5-percent limitation; we have also main-tained that production of fabrics for Government orders should not be included in the domestic production averages since imports are not competitive with these fabrics.

(b) Woven carpets and rugs: Similarly in the woven carpet and rug industry imports have compounded difficulties resulting from the shrinkage in the industry. During the postwar peak, 1948, 89 million square yards were produced, but this volume has declined so that output in 1953 was only 67 million square yards, and in 1954, 55 million square In the meantime the volume of imports have risen. In 1948 (peak production year) imports were only 1.6 million square yards, whereas in 1953, it was 3.3 million square yards, or 5 percent of domestic production, and in 1954 imports were 2.9 million square yards, again 5 percent of domestic production.

A particularly aggravating feature of these imports is that they are concentrated on wilton or jacquard carpets, which have been least affected by domestic competition from the tufted carpets, the principal cause for the reduction in the sales of axminster and some of the velvet-carpet markets. Again, we have an illustration of imports threatening the very areas of the domestic industry which have been most stable.

(c) Screen-printed scarves: The screenprinted scarf industry, which employed 2,000 screen-printing employees, hundreds of sewing employees in New York City, and thousands in Puerto Rico, has been virtually eliminated by the refusal of the President to sup-

port the Tariff Commission's recommendations for higher rates for this industry. (See original and supplementary reports President on Escape-Clause Investigation No. 19 under the provisions of sec. 7 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951.)

(d) Hard-fiber cordage and twine: The destructive effect of tariff reductions upon American industry is further underscored by the hard-fiber cordage and twine industry. Binder twine has been on the duty-free list for many years. Baler twine was put on the free list by a 1951 act of Congress. The result has been that imports have risen strikingly in these areas, as have wrapping twine and rope, where low duties prevail.

Imports have risen in volume from 41.4 million pounds in 1948 to 106.7 million pounds in 1951 to 123 million pounds in 1953. In the first 10 months of 1954, im-

ports were 138 million pounds.

Imports were only 14.8 percent of United States production in 1948, but the proportion rose steadily to 35.7 percent in 1952, to 47 percent in 1953; and for the first 10 months of the year, the proportion was 73 percent. Domestic private production for the year 1953 was 245 million pounds, a drop of 95 million pounds from 1951. In the first 10 months of 1954 the volume was 177 million. The proportion of imports to American production for the respective products in the first 10 months of 1954 were as follows: wrapping twine, 130 percent; binder twine, 3.141 percent; baler twine, 96 percent; and rope, 7.2 percent. An industry so vital to American defense is being undermined by imports.

(e) Cotton textile industry: Cotton textile imports had constituted an insignificant proportion of American production through the entire postwar years. American manufacturing productivity had been able under existing modest tariff rates to maintain its domestic market. In 1953, the volume of imports was only 64 million yards. During the first 8 months of 1954, the volume again was low, amounting to 38 million square The prevailing great fear and alarm resulted from the large imports during the last 4 months of 1954 when the Japanese deliberately pressed exports to the United States. From a volume of 21.5 million square vards for the first 8 months, we find the imports shifted to 30 million square yards for the last 4 months. Particularly serious was the fact that these included substantial volumes of combed goods which alerted the American industry to the new threat, and a large volume of velveteens. The great concern in this field is that liberalization of the tariff rates would spell a real volume of imports. Imports to date have been disturbing at times of weak markets when the lowprice imports have further depressed the market or held back recovery. The second fear is the proposal for a double price system for raw cotton which will permit foreign producers to utilize American cotton at lower than American prices and thereby provide a second advantage beyond their current low wages, namely, low material costs, and thereby encourage further imports.

In view of the demoralization of the textile industry, a new burden of adjustment and displacement is already imposed on textile workers. Because of the rising productivity in the industry, which has already resulted in the displacement of tens of thousands of employees, the fact is that such increases will ultimately reduce costs of manufacture within this industry and foreign producers will not be able to maintain a permanent foothold in our market. Their temporary gains may lead them into futile efforts, expansion and diversion, with unprofitable ultimate consequences.

We urge that no further reductions be made in tariff rates for textile items. An exemption should be granted in the bills now under consideration in the Congress respect-

ing reciprocal trade and no further concessions should be given on textiles in the negotiations with Japan or in any subsequent negotiations of trade treaties with other countries.

In Fairness to All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OTTO KRUEGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit this thought-provoking letter from Mr. John L. Gunkelman, of R. F. Gunkelman & Sons, Fargo, N. Dak., wholesale dealers in feeds, fertilizer, seed corn, grain, agricultural chemicals, and seed.

Mr. Gunkelman has had long experience in farm problems which qualifies him to speak with authority on this

topic:

R. F. GUNKELMAN & SONS, Fargo, N. Dak., March 15, 1955. Representative OTTO E. KRUEGER, House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am enclosing a copy of a letter I recently wrote to President Eisenhower, and I assure you with no delusions that it might ever reach him. ever. I thought it might be referred to one of the agricultural economists that must be giving him this false advice to date.

In dealing with the farmers, as I am sure you are aware already, we find that they still do want to believe in their President and indicate a reluctance to lose faith in him. I believe this is due to the fact that they supported him on the basis of his sincerity and idealistic approach to all prob-With this in mind, they feel that he has an inborn sense of justice in dealing with his people and still think that he will right this situation.

However, he is getting an incorrect impression, I am sure, of just how serious the farmers' comparative well-being is when it is considered alongside that of the other principal segments of our economy, and I is in this comparison of position with those of his fellowman rather than the comparison of where he might be today in relation of the 1930's is where the misunderstanding is arising.

I know you are doing everything humanly possible to bring this story home to him. As one of his supporters, I had finally come to the point where I had to get it off my For the farmers' sake, for President Eisenhower's sake, and for the sake of the Republican Party, I hope he sees the light

before it is too late.

With best personal wishes, Respectfully yours,

JOHN L. GUNKELMAN.

FEBRUARY 28, 1955. The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

White House,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have long been one of your most ardent admirers, enthusiastic supporter, and willing worker. I am happy to say that I still am, but do feel that it is I am happy time to speak out frankly concerning what I feel to be one of your most serious situa tions facing you as President of the United

This, I sincerely feel to be a situation in which the American farmer finds himself at the present time. I would like to preface my remarks by saying that I am not an anti-Benson man; in fact, I have supported your overall agricultural program and defended it in many instances during the past 2 years; but I feel in relation to other segments of our economy, that your present program is unduly rushed and severe in its nature and its consequences. I am not a farmer myself, but our firm operates country elevators, and a wholesale seed and grain business in which we come in contact with farmers throughout North Dakota, South Dakota, and Minnesota, and I feel for the most part, that each and every one of these farmers have sincerely respected you for your idealistic honesty and fairness in contrast to many political figures. They still today want to believe in you and your program. They are reluctant to lose faith in the fact that you will lead them through to ultimate victory and a sound economic base on which they can develop their agriculture in the future.

However, in the face of continued industrial prosperity, increased wages to labor, increased prosperity of professional menthe farmer is beginning to lose faith that he is receiving equal treatment with relation to these other large segments of our economy. If this natural reluctance to lose faith in a man whom they have admired and respected is overcome by virtue of their necessity to protect their God-given right for equality in governmental action, I am sure it will not only spell defeat for the Republican Party, but far more seriously in my eyes it Will explode the confidence of the average man in a President to whom they have dedicated their loyalty by virtue of their sincere belief in his highest qualities of leadership

and God-given ability.

If you were to look at the position of the American farmer in relation to the 1930's, I am sure you would consider their position one to be envied. However, this is not a true measuring stick, or one to be used by most people. Human nature makes us measure our relative position by virtue of what our neighbor has and how he has prospered today. When the farmer looks at the laboring man, the businessman, the professional man, and what he is enjoying under our bountiful standard of living in America, it is then that he feels that he is not receiving his fair share of the national income; and it is on this basis, and this basis alone, that You can treat the American farmer and figure out what our agricultural program should be. As long as we continue to subsidize industry to bring prosperity to this segment of economy; as long as we foster a prosperous laboring man and professional man, then we must also subsidize the American farmer so as to keep him at a par with the other segments of our economy. If any one segment is to be let down, it must be let down in proportion with the other segments of the economy, or must be supported in proportion to the other segments of the economy if you are to have fair treatment of your people, and a people who are satisfied with their position in relation to their neighbor.

I know that this letter may never reach you; but if it should, I cannot urge you too strongly to investigate the position of the American farmer in relation to the position of his fellow man, and once this investigation is made, I am sure that in fairness and justice to the American farmer, you will take the steps necessary to keep his standard of living in proportion to those in industry, labor, and the professions. Yours is not an enviable position, I realize, but I sincerely hope that with the ability you have shown in the past to analyze situations and make the correct move, that you will again demonstrate this leadership and ability, and make the correct move to avoid the disaster that I feel, and that many others feel, confronts

May God bless you in your deliberations, and guide you to the correct decisions during your term as President of the United States.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN L. GUNKELMAN.

A Great American Dies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to pay tribute to a truly great American—the late John W. Davis, of Clarksburg, W. Va.

A member of the staff of the Clarksburg Exponent, Clarksburg, W. Va., who knew Mr. Davis so well over the period of his great career, has paid tribute to this great man far beyond my ability to do so. His remarks in the form of an editorial under the caption, "A Great American Dies," is as follows:

A GREAT AMERICAN DIES

(Note for readers: In the following article a member of the Exponent news staff pays tribute to John W. Davis, an internationally known Clarksburger who died Wednesday in a Charleston, S. C., hospital.)

John W. Davis, distinguished native son of Clarksburg and internationally known statesman, lawyer, and orator, is dead, and our city, his birthplace, is sad.

The world mourns as the word of the passing of this great man is made known, and here in his hometown among the hills there's a feeling of sorrow that is particularly acute.

As a lad Mr. Davis was popular in Clarksburg and the citizens affectionately called him John. As a young man he practiced in the local courts and took part in the political and civic life of the community. He became a member of the West Virginia House of Delegates, a start in a political career which was to bring him the highest honor of the Democratic Party, that of the party's nomination for President of the United States.

Clarksburg relatives and friends fondly recall John W.'s intermittent visits here after his political endeavors and his legal practice kept him in Washington and New York most of the time. The middle-aged and older residents of Clarksburg remember the homecoming of 1924, when John W. delivered an eloquent address from a specially constructed rostrum in Goff Plaza in accepting the nomination for the Presidency.

No one, not even in a political campaign, ever questioned the integrity of John W. Davis. He was honest to the nth degree, and in and out of political campaigns and in and out of the courtroom he pursued his beliefs with eloquent argument and diligence almost without parallel.

Politically, we had sometimes differed with him, especially in recent years, when he became more of an independent in politics. But though we differed with his political views, we knew that he was sincere in his opinions and in his public stands and we respected him for it. Our columns always spoke favorably of him.

Elsewhere John W. Davis will be remembered because of the 1924 political campaign,

his service at the Court of St. James, his friendship for Woodrow Wilson, and the latter's great dependence upon him for advice, his work as a constitutional lawyer, and his ability as an orator.

We Clarksburgers will remember him for those things, too. But we'll also think kindly of the days when he took to the hustings here as a successful candidate for Congress, of the cases he tried in the local courts. of his remarks at public meetings, and of his intermittent visits back home. We'll remember that when he visited here he regularly looked up an old colored man who had befriended him in his boyhood days and secretly gave him a few dollars. We'll think of his homespun philosophy and of the fact that while he spent most of the past 40 years away from Clarksburg, he always considered this his hometown.

We'll remember him as having been one of us and we'll always be proud to tell those we may visit in other States that we're from the hometown of John W. Davis. We'll think of Mr. Davis as a hometown boy who went to the city and not only made good but attained political and legal heights such as few Americans have known. He was one of the greatest of noted Americans. True, he didn't become President of the United States, but the history of America undoubtedly would have been different had this kind and sagacious man spent a few years at the helm of our Government.

It is often said among those in the legal profession that John W. Davis had argued more cases before the United States Supreme Court than any other attorney in the Nation's history, with the possible exception of Daniel Webster. He had been counsel in some of the Nation's most important legal battles, among them the case in which he successfully resisted Government seizure of the steel mills.

It is unfortunate that John W. Davis has lost his greatest debate—that with death. We are told that as he seemed on the road to recovery a short time before death, he expressed the desire to go home. He doubtless looked forward to more service for his fellow man.

His lifetime is over, but John W. Davis* wise counsel has left an indelible mark on the history of the Nation, and his friendliness and natural love for his neighbors have placed his name forever in the hearts and minds of Clarksburgers. For generations to come folks of this city will be telling strangers they meet elsewhere that they're from the hometown of John W. Davis.

Protection Against Unprovoked Violence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955
Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill which would give protection against unprovoked violence to all of the uniformed members of our Armed Forces.

The net effect of this bill is to make the unprovoked assault upon our military personnel a Federal offense, if committed while such personnel are engaged in the performance of duty or on account of the performance of duty. Persons charged with such assault could be tried in a Federal court. It would provide protection to all our servicemen and

especially those servicemen belonging to minority groups, who in certain localities of our Nation might be the object of prejudice. It would extend the same protection to all wearers of the uniform of our country which we now extend to the Coast Guard, and to many other Federal officers and employees, ranging from marshal and game wardens to meat inspectors.

Police protection in many localities where we maintain large concentrations of servicemen is inadequate. We therefore must rely on military policemen, who, if they are to maintain order must be given adequate protection against bodily harm. This bill would assure that persons guilty of assault upon any of our military personnel on duty would be promptly apprehended and prosecuted.

The Department of Defense has in the past formally endorsed this proposal. I hope and believe their endorsement will be forthcoming in this instance.

As we approach the consideration of any type of universal military training program or expanded Reserve program the need for such protection becomes more important.

It is my fervent hope that this Congress will give its swift consideration to providing the protection which our military personnel need.

Is the Working Family To Be Ignored in Present Administration Tax Policy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent heretofore granted to insert in the body of the Record a statement, herewith are my views covering generally the present situation with regard to taxation.

I cannot bring myself to agree to the conference report on H. R. 4259, to be presented tomorrow for consideration.

To do so will cruelly deny modest tax relief designed to benefit the needy family in the lower income brackets, while at the same time the "fat-cat" Republican Revenue Act of 1954 will continue to drain off billions in tax benefits predominately to large business, dividend recipients and wealthy individuals.

It is arrant fiscal irresponsibility, we are lectured from high administration places, to give modest tax relief to lower-income families—to give a direct tax saving of \$20 each to the father and mother and for each dependent child, so that the relief will be more effectively felt at the lower-income levels where the family burden presses the heaviest.

But—so goes the lecture from the same high administration sources—it is an act of high ennobled statesmanship, contributing to the welfare and stability of every humble home and fireside, to give unbounded tax relief to big corporations, coupon clippers, and wealthy

individuals as was done last year in the Revenue Act of 1954.

I and other Members on my side of the aisle took the floor many times last year and this to protest the one-sided character of that 1954 act, particularly as to its dividend credit tax bonanza and its distorted and swollen depreciation tax allowances to corporations.

The dividend-credit provision of that 1954 act—the special-tax reduction for coupon clippers—will cost \$362 million a year. Eighty percent of that relief will go to the six-tenths of 1 percent of American families who own four-fifths of all publicly held stock. Ninety-two percent of American families own no stock and get no benefit. Less than 4 percent of all taxpayers—those with incomes over \$10,000—receive 76 percent of all dividend income. And eightenths of 1 percent of all American families—those with incomes over \$25,000—get 55 percent of all dividend income.

I ask, is it a token of fiscal responsibility that special-tax relief be accorded a favored limited group of dividend recipients—the unearned income class—but even most modest relief be denied the mass of taxpayers who work and toll for earned income?

The special depreciation allowances granted by last year's tax bill-thinly disguised special tax credits for in-creased corporate dividends or favored capital-gains benefits to stockholders on corporate reinvestment of tax-free earnings-will continue to cost billions in reduced Federal revenues for a generation. Expert students of intricate tax maneuvers and business finance estimate that by the year 1960 the United States Treasury would be losing, at present levels of gross national product, about \$3 billion per year as a result of these new depreciation provisions if current tax rates on business remain the same. The same sources estimate that by 1955 the tax loss would rise to more than \$5 billion per year, and it would continue to rise thereafter. I commend to the attention of the Members the revealing study of Depreciation Under the New Tax Law, by Robert Eisner, published in the Harvard Business Review for January 1955, and reprinted in the RECORD of March 11 at page 2264.

But when the 1954 act was under consideration and even as of recent date, we were told in solemn assurance by the Secretary of the Treasury, and other administration fiscal pundits who now lecture us on fiscal irresponsibility, that these swollen depreciation tax benefits will really cost the Federal Government nothing. They say that if you view their tax effect on one piece of new machinery (and please limit your myopic view to only one added machine by the taxpaying corporation in this dynamic business economy of ours), then the Government will later get back the taxes it lost in the earlier years because no more depreciation tax allowances can be taken after the full cost of that single machine has been written off for tax purposes.

"Baloney," as a forthright statesman, dear to my memory, might have responded. The shallow assurance that the increased depreciation tax allowance "all washes out in the end"-to quote the study above referred to-"not only is misleading, it is to all practical purposes flatly erroneous." It mistakes the effect on a single piece of property for the cumulative tax effect, typical of American corporations, of increasing investment in new property additions each year in keeping with the economic growth of our system. Assume that gross additions of property are made at a constant rate each year by one of the big corporations in a heavy capital industry, if the properties last 33 years depreciation tax allowances under the generous new methods of last year will exceed tax writeoff under the old method in each of the first 27 years under one of the new methods and in every one of the first 33 years under the other new method authorized last year. The tax benefit does not "wash out in the end"; it can pile billions upon billions in reduced corporation taxes each continuing year for the next generation.

"When do we get back those billions?" I inquire after due heed to recent public sermonizing on fiscal responsibility. When I tried last year to find out from the Secretary of the Treasury, I ran into a stumbling block of refusal to give the information at first, then official stall, and finally airy assurance to the effect that "it all washes out in the end."

Not even the Wall Street Journal accepts the glib assurance of the Treasury that the new depreciation tax allowances "all wash out in the end." To quote from the lead editorial appraisal in the issue of March 28, 1955:

As shown here a few weeks ago, the depreciation change can produce large cumulative effects over the years. On any single plece of property the effect is minor. It merely postpones taxable income a few years by concentrating the depreciation in the early part of the life of the property. But as new facilities are built year by year, the relative weight of the early, heavy depreciation rates will keep growing, and Federal revenues will reflect this.

Yes; \$362 million a year of special tax benefits directly to stock dividend recipients—coupon clippers—and billions more per year in corporate tax benefits through tax-free depreciation allowances to be kept in company tills, distributed to stockholders, or reinvested with consequent increased stock values able to be realized upon at favored capital gains rate of taxation. In the eyes of "administration lecturers," that must be the acme of fiscal responsibility.

Relief for the wealthy, we are told, will stimulate investment and promote confidence. It will sustain that delicate maiden, whose confidence we must so tenderly nourish, the stock market boom. Relief for the needy, this administration tells us, must be spurned as phony and base political trickery. For the latter—for the needy—the weight of the tax load on their burdened backs will help spur their daily toil and assure heightened awareness of the precious price of citizenship.

Some other observers, perhaps lacking in self-righteous zeal for the current brand of fiscal responsibility, detect in this strutting fiscal conscience only the old hardpanned trickle-down theory again restored to its place of public eminence after years of brooding silence. I doubt that in our modern economy, sustained as it must be by mass purchasing power and ever-broadening distribution of the products of farm and factory, the trickle-down will be adequately or timely in rate of flow to promote the truly dynamic expanding economy that lies within our reach.

I urge disagreement to the conference report. I respect the views reluctantly reported by the majority members of the committee of conference. I know their sincerity, their deep conviction, and their persistent effort to gain acceptance of House action in passing the \$20 tax credit. Only under adament threat of Presidential veto on the eve of expiration of current higher rates of corporate and excise taxes did they bow to Executive fiat.

But I am still mindful that our Founding Fathers wrote in the Constitution that "all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives" and to the Congress the Constitution gave the power to lay and collect taxes. Too often of late has this House-its elected Members-forsworn its rightful prerogative. Let us assert it now, confident in the human justice and economic justice of our prior action, lest by failure to do so we embolden further the disciples of the McKinley era in their new onslaught of power and privilege. If we disagree to the conference report, then this House itself lifts the awesome responsibility from the individual shoulders of the able chairman of the conference committee and his fellow conferees. I doubt that the administration, despite its blustering threats, would rashly jeopadize by veto the true fiscal responsibility and fairness of our Government. The pages of history are studded with examples where human liberty and justice were won only by like defiance of entrenched power.

Tenth-Inning Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the Recorn, I wish to include an editorial from the Grand Rapids (Mich.) Herald of March 17, 1955, entitled "Tenth-Inning Politics."

TENTH-INNING POLITICS

As the administration's tax bill headed for the extra-inning showdown of a Senate-House conference committee, the "game" became wholly political.

It was plain that the Democrats, barring the outside chance of a complete upset, would not get the politically inspired \$20-a-person income-tax reduction tacked onto the bill as a rider in the House and thrown out, 50 to 44, in the Senate, but that wasn't the main issue.

The main issue is the 1956 presidential election

The House might or might not go along with the Senate and reverse itself on the

Should the rider be included in the ultimate conference measure, a Presidential veto of the whole measure would be in order, and Republican leaders have passed the word that it would be forthcoming.

Since there is no such thing as an item veto in Federal money bills, that would mean vetoing the whole measure including postponing decreases in corporate rates and certain excises, due to expire April 1. That, however, is no real risk. The administration would then resubmit the original bill and there is no reason to suppose that Congress would fall to pass it.

This is where Democratic campaign strategy comes in. They could claim the President blocked their handout, which undoubtedly is their purpose. Short of real issues, they are hardpressed to find any at all, phony or not.

Then it would be a question of whether the taxpayers put 38 cents a week ahead of executive courage, fiscal responsibility and economic stability.

It is hard to believe that the Democrats had anything else in mind when they added the tax-cut rider. The basic argument of the rider's opponents was unassailable. It was simply that a tax cut could not be justified 10 months before the effective date, January 1, 1956. Nobody could predict what conditions then would be.

The situation now is like it was in the summer of 1947 when a Republican Representative proposed a tax cut for the year ahead.

"Nobody knows yet," said a Democratic opponent of the proposal, "how much money we are going to spend, even on the regular appropriation bills, in the fiscal year 1948. So it would appear to me to be the sound, the wise, the sane thing to do to wait until the first of the year or maybe until the 15th of March 1948 and have a look around and see how much money is going to be produced in the way of taxes * * * before we begin reducing taxes. It seems to me that is so sound, that it is so unanswerable, that it should take hold, even upon one who is most anxious, politically or otherwise, to reduce taxes at an early date."

Who said that? None other than Speaker Sam Rayburn, now a strong backer of the \$20-a-person cut for next year.

What he said then is still true. It is difficult to believe that Speaker RAYBURN has changed his stand on an issue so fundamental. It is far easier to believe he would have said the same thing this time had he truly expected this tax cut to become law.

So the battle over the tax cut rider takes on more and more aspects of a political game of maneuver for partisan advantage.

It is a classic of its kind, a tie game as it goes into extra innings, as absorbing in its way as the seventh game in a World Series.

The Eastern District of New York Needs a New Courthouse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF ILLIAN

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following resolution adopted by the Brooklyn Bar Association. I hope the Congress will take appropriate action:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED MARCH 9, 1955, BY BROOK-LYN BAR ASSOCIATION FOR THE ERECTION OF A NEW FEDERAL COURTHOUSE FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

Whereas the physical facilities of the existing courthouse of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York are notoriously inadequate; and

Whereas the business of the court and the attorneys and their clients suffer because of that inadequacy; and

Whereas the construction of the new Brooklyn municipal and civic center has begun; and

Whereas the United States has purchased a site for the erection of a new courthouse in that center; and

Whereas plans for the erection were interrupted almost 5 years ago because of the Korean situation; and

Whereas the land purchased by the United States is now lying idle: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Brooklyn Bar Association strongly urges the immediate commencement of construction of the new courthouse to relieve the present deplorable condition; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the chairmen of the Committee on Appropriations of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, the chairmen of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, the Commissioner of Public Buildings in the General Services Administration, and the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts.

Economic Conditions in Northeastern Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following letter addressed to the Honorable Samuel Rayburn from a resident of Lackawanna County which graphically portrays the dire economic circumstances in which that region presently finds itself:

MARCH 14, 1955.

Hon. Samuel RAYBURN,
Speaker of the House of E

Speaker of the House of Representatives, United States Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Would you be so kind as to read this letter to Congress so as to give the entire Congress a true picture of the unemployment conditions in the Lackawanna and Luzerne County area of Pennsylvania where over 80,000 men are out of work at present, and each year the situation keeps getting worse. The total population of these 2 counties is 700,000. This area was once a prosperous hard coal mining area, as well as an industrial area. The industrial part is not too bad, but the mining part is very bad, in fact it is a very serious crisis to economic future welfare of more than 75 towns and 4 cities, such as, Carbondale, Scranton. Wilkes-Barre, and Hazleton. Even the factories have laid off men be-cause orders have been cut. They are operating on about one-third capacity. a better idea of the area, so as not to think of this area as one of the small mining towns out in the West, known as ghost towns, at the turn of the century coal mining was the chief industry here. People had faith in the community, and coal was a great resource to our Nation until oil came in. People built homes, and cities, and towns were built. Business people built banks, stores, bakeries, laundries, churches, schools, and factories. Streets were paved. Utilities built electric-power plants. Water and gas companies spent millions; telephone companies spent millions; hundreds of millions were spent. These 75 towns, I speak of, range from 2,000 to 15,000 population each. So as to give you a real picture of the size of each community I speak of, the 4 cities range from 30,000 to 125,000 population. Every town and city has had a decrease in popula tion since 1939. We lost one Congressman and several representatives on that account which proves the loss in population. These people, who left here seeking work, have settled in many different places. Some went south to Baltimore and Wilmington, Philadelphia, Trenton areas; others went west to Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Cleveland, Detroit areas; some went north to Buffalo, Binghamton, Rochester, Syracuse area; the most went east to Bridgeport, Conn., Hartford, Conn., Newark, N. J., to get work.

The problem is that everyone cannot leave and move to another city to find work, first, because these people have invested life's earnings in their homes, and with no work available, no one is going to move to this area to buy a home or even rent one. Second, those who did go to other cities to find work are doing it the hard way, by paying high room rent, eating out in restaurants, and riding home on weekends, or once a month, depending on the distance from home, to be with their families and to look after their homes. These men who have found work in other cities are hated and snubbed by the natives of those places because there are so many Pennsylvanians already there taking their jobs away and making it harder for the natives to get work, because the factories have found that Pennsylvanians are good, steady workers, and work harder. But the problem is why should over 80,000 unemployed home owners in 2 counties of Pennsylvania be out of work during peacetimes? Must we always have war to give our men steady employment? We do not want war to have prosperity. These men have been unemployed now for as long as 10 years. It started when people in large cities started to use oil and natural gas to heat their buildings, and hard coal has lost its market. It is not a seasonal un-employment, as is the case in other cities when they have changeovers, inventory, etc. This is a case of an area that has lost one of its chief exports, meaning hard coal. We have enough coal left in the ground to supply the Nation for over 100 years, but throughout our Nation people have turned to oil, natural gas, and even electricity to heat their homes, and we have lost our market by 75 percent. Just as the steam loco-motive is almost a thing of the past and diesel electric locomotive has taken its place, so have the hard coal men of this region been affected and all business firms suffering daily because of the loss of the income that these men used to earn. And \$30 a week unemployment benefits' pay is hardly enough for food alone, and after so many weeks it runs out, and then it is relief if you sign your property over to the State. The average weekly pay loss of the 80,000 men at \$15 per day, or \$75 per week, is \$6 million weekly. This not only hurts the workers but it hurts every kind of business here, except the unemployment office.

What the people cannot understand is how our Government can help other countries in Europe and Asia with hundreds of millions of dollars, and our own men who shed blood for our flag and fought for freedom in three wars and are the Nation's taxpayers cannot find a job in peacetimes? Our

people know that it is possible for our Government to solve the unemployment problem in this area because they know that during the war it cost the United States of America \$500 million a day. They also know that our Government could pretend that the war lasted just 1 day longer than it did to help some of our own United States ctizens in time of distress, not with charity or relief, but with a new industry for the whole region to replace the loss suffered by competitive fuels. Why does our Government give out large contracts to build new factories in places where there are no people living at all and no cities, and new towns are being built around these new projects, when here the homes, the streets, the powerlines, the sewage systems, the water, the schools, churches, banks, and hospitals are all built and cannot be moved away from here? All we need are the new factories. When the Government is giving out big contracts, it should insist that they go to this distressed

It is a shame to see so many people who want to sell their homes or even rent them because of the lack of work, but you cannot get people to buy or rent homes where there is no work. Our area is really feeling the depression. Small-business men can tell you better than anyone else. Many say that the early thirties were not as bad as now. A lot of robberies, sheriff sales, fires, unpaid taxes, foreclosures, etc., have hit the region due mainly to the economic condition. Please do not let so many of our good American people and citizens be disappointed. now. Act at once. Forget party These people did their share when politics. the Nation needed them. Regardless of politics, they stood 100 percent behind the purchase of war bonds, Red Cross, Army enlistment, anything to help when our Nation needed help. Our own Congressmen, Democratic and Republican alike, from this region, our own two United States Senators know the conditions and have promised to help, but they need the help of the whole United States Congress because these people are United States' own people. But when they hear how Uncle Sam is helping other countries with millions, their hearts cry with sadness when here they tolled all their lives, willingly did all that was asked, crawled underground on hands and knees for their daily bread in the coal mines, and now some of these men in their late forty's and fifty's are not old enough to die, not old enough for a small pension. They are sick at heart, weary about the future; they can and must be made happy and proud to be living in America, and we can make them proud and happy and ready to do anything that Uncle Sam might need of them in the future. Because a man seeking a job and unable to find one is a depressed man; we do not want depressed men; we want happy men. These are all God-fearing people and always have been. They hope and pray that Congress will look nearer to home.

Over a year ago a group of people, known s N. P. I. D. C.-Northeastern Pennsylvania Industrial Development Commission-went to Washington to get help for this area. But another year has gone by and no relief is in sight yet. Almost every year different groups go to Washington to seek help, such as, the chamber of commerce. They all come back with promising hopes, but we still have the 80,000 men unemployed in the 2 counties in the anthracite area, Luzerne and Lackawanna Counties, and that is a lot of unemployment for 2 counties. firms who feel the unemployment, have laid off men and women and have added to the unemployment situation are such as, transportation companies; railroad companies; department stores; garages; service stations; bakeries, by going out of business; machine shops; manufacturing firms; laundries; building and construction workers; bricklayers; masons; plumbers; electricians; carpenters; lumberyard workers; cafe and restaurant workers; painters and decorators; printers; refrigeration mechanics; roofers; schoolteachers; structural steel workers; stenographers and bookkeepers; dairies; grocery stores; insurance firms; packinghouses; hotel help; telephone operators; and many others. Several beverage companies went out of business. We must stop this before it spreads deeper or further. A committee should be sent here to check the situation at once, not 2 weeks or 2 months or a year, but right now.

P. S .- Enclosed are some of the buildings in some of the cities and towns in the depressed area just to show Congress that these are not just small mining towns, but are proud and well-built cities that once had a great future here and have cost people in this area billions to build. I am only a smallbusiness man who comes in contact daily with at least 50 to 100 people, such as, businessmen and workers, and have heard their troubles for over 5 years. I, myself, do not want any political office or favor. I only want Congress to help these truly 100 percent American people and wish everyone in Congress to see things as we see them and as they truthfully are here. And as a proud man of my community, I want peace, prog-ress, and prosperity. I hope you can send me some encouraging news soon.

Very truly yours,

JOHN K. NAGY.

Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL T. DURHAM

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I herewith include an editorial written by Louis Graves, contributing editor to the Chapel Hill Weekly and former editor of that newspaper. This is a very thoughtful comment on the important subject of civil defense, which appeared in the issue of March 25, 1955:

CIVIL DEPENSE SHOULD BE A GOVERNMENT DIVISION, RUN BY THE GOVERNMENT AS THE ARMY AND THE NAVY ARE

Civil defense—the preparation for the protection of civilians in case of hydrogen-bomb attacks—is either important or not important. If it is not important, then there is no sense in all the goings-on about it—the solemn conferences, the alarming speculation, the exhortations to the people to show more concern about what may be about to happen to them. If it is important, then all this talk, and whatever State and local organization may result from it, are utterly inadequate as preparation.

The persons who are in the best position to know whether or not it is important—atomic scientists, the President and other high-level officers of the Government, the members of the committees of Congress having to do with the defense of the Nation, military leaders, writers who have given serious study to the subject—declare that it is. And they declare it with all possible emphasis.

We ought to trust them to know what they are talking about. Not to have respect for their opinion, when it is virtually unanimous, unaffected by attachments to any party or any class, is to proclaim our lack of

faith in our whole system of democratic government. For the very basic idea of this system is that, by majority vote, we choose as our representatives the persons whom we consider most competent to study the problems of government-defense, foreign relations, the tariff, taxation, and all the restand make decisions about them. Of course When these representatives divide and dispute it is proper, in fact it is inherent in the system, for us to enter the dispute on whichever side we like, and rage and roar to our hearts' content. But when they do not dispute, when they are all agreed on a question vital to the national safety, certainly they deserve our confidence. not saying that a man does not have a perfect right to be a dissenter, even if he be the only man in a million or a hundred million to hold his opinion, but we are under no obligation to listen to him if we do not want to; not for more than a moment in passing, anyhow. Here I am talking not about lone wolves but about the ordinary run of people.

In connection with the danger of hydrogen bomb attacks you hear and read a great deal about dispersal and evacuation. The dispersal of population (that is, the moving out from big cities, for permanent stay) is a long-range policy. It has been under way for several years, quite independently of the danger of enemy attacks, and now more of it is being urged as a means of diminishing the panic and the slaughter in cities if the bombs begin to drop. Evacuation is something very different. It is an emergency operation. It means getting people out of New York or Boston or Philadelphia or Chicago or Detroit or any other big city with the greatest possible speed after an alarm about approaching bombers has been sounded.

If you think you can imagine what a task that would be, you are wrong, for the difficulty of it is inconceivable to even the most daring imagination. And the idea that it could be performed by any sort of makeshift State or local agencies, with the aid of civilian volunteers, is dangerous nonsense. And a makeshift is what any controlling agency other than a division of the United States Government is bound to be.

The hurry-up evacuation of a great city's Population calls for the most thorough, the most serious and the most devoted study, the most intelligent planning. Embracing, as it does, fire fighting, the regulation of traffic, the distribution of masks and the taking of other measures against radiation, medical and surgical services, and all manner of ministrations of relief, it calls for exhaustive advance training not only of technical experts but of administrators capable of directing this colossal and fearful enterprise. Which is not to say, at all, that civilians should not be called upon to help. Of course they should be, for the sake of the efficiency of the operation and for the sake of the national morale, just as the Red Cross and other auxiliary services have been called upon to help in all our wars, just as civilian spotters were called upon by the Navy and served with such remarkable success against Hitler's submarines along our coast, just as civilians are now being called upon to help spot enemy planes.

As it is now, we have an agency called the Pederal Civil Defense Administration, established in the executive branch of the Government 4 years ago "to provide a plan of civil defense for the protection of life and property." The principal responsibility is vested in the States, with the Government providing coordination and guidance. There is the Great mistake. For the Government to stop with coordination and guidance is folly. Overall direction and the major share of the actual performance of the various services embraced in an evacuation—these should be the functions of a personnel employed by the United States Government.

Civil defense should be made a part of the Department of Defense. There should be a civil defense uniformed force, with officers and enlisted men as there are in the Army and the Navy and the Marine Corps and the Air Force. There should be training schools for this new force, just as there are for our other forces. Of course, precedent to all this, and essential to it, is an adequate appropriation of money.

I return to the question: Is civil defense important or is it not important? If it is not important, stop talking and fussing and fuming about it. If it is important, then I, as one citizen, make this plea to the President, to the Members of Congress, and to our other leaders in Washington: Do not keep on trifling with civil defense. Give it the serious attention it deserves. That means: make it a direct responsibility, a definite operation, of the Government.—L. G.

American Interests Build 6,054,831 Tons of New Ships in Foreign Yards—United States Yards Lose \$1,800,000,000

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the extent to which big corporations of our country desert our American shipbuilders and build their ships in foreign yards is astonishing and highly distressing. It is no wonder that our American shipyards are in such a distressed condition for lack of work. It is no wonder that our ship workers are walking the streets unemployed. The very corporations that are ignoring American yards and going abroad to have their ships built are the very ones that will cry loudest for protection in the time of emergency.

Every sensible person must know that our shipbuilding industry and the trained personnel to operate it cannot continue to exist without work. And yet, while claiming all the benefits of American citizenship, these large corporations will build their ships in foreign yards and let our own shipyards dwindle to a state of inadequacy. This is not ultimately to the best interest of the corporations to which I refer, nor is it to the best interests of our country or its people.

The importance of this matter has been recognized by Marine Engineering in an extremely well-prepared and documented article by L. S. Blodgett, editor of that magazine. This article is replete with factual information that supports in every detail the statements and conclusions of the editor. I will not dwell upon all the facts and figures. Yet, there are some I will mention as an illustration of the important figures that are contained in the article.

For instance, in the postwar period ship orders placed abroad have resulted in losses to the shipbuilding industry in our country, employment and purchasing power totaling \$1,800,000,000 and these losses affect every 1 of the 48 States. It is my intention at a later date to ex-

tend my remarks in the RECORD to include facts that will show the detrimental effect a dwindling shipbuilding industry has in every State. Furthermore, the article shows that now only 14 merchant vessels of the 1,347 under construction in the world's shippards are being built in this country. And so I might continue, piling fact upon fact and figure upon figure to show the dismal picture that now exists and prove the distress that follows our neglect of a full and adequate shipbuilding program.

Marine engineering has performed a great service, not only to the shipbuilding industry and its workers but to this Nation of ours, in bringing pertinent facts and figures to the attention of the American public that should awaken it into action. I fully agree with the suggestion that we need a long range legislative program that will:

First. Encourage American shipowners to build and operate ships under the American flag. In 1954 United States flagships carried only 29 percent of this Nation's foreign trade:

Second. Insure a modern flag fleet, adequate shipbuilding facilities, and an effective force of trained workers to meet any national emergency; and

Third. Expand the market for the wide range of materials used in ship-building which originate in every 1 of the 48 States.

I hope this national problem will have the full thought and consideration by the present administration and that a long-range remedial legislative program will result.

The Fallacy of Controlled Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article from the guaranty survey published by the Guaranty Trust Co. of New York for February 1955. This article deals with the subject of controlled inflation. It is well done and worthy of the attention of every Member of Congress. I hope my colleagues will take the time to read and study this article:

THE FALLACY OF CONTROLLED INFLATION

The battle in defense of sound money is never finally won. It is an unending series of skirmishes in which inflation keeps reappearing in new forms and under new names, always with glowing promises. The defenders are often forced to give ground. Occasionally they suffer outright defeat, and the people of one or more countries pay a heavy price for the monetary debasement that follows.

One alluring guise in which the inflationary nostrum is now being peddled is the idea of a governmental policy or program in which new money, presumably in the form of Federal borrowings from the banks, would be continuously created and administered

to the economy in doses sufficient to exert a slight but constant upward pressure on the general price level. This new money, it is supposed, would gently stimulate demand, raise output, sustain employment, encourage investment, and promote growth and expansion. The economy would remain under the beneficient influence of a mild boom, with full employment, large incomes, a high standard of living, and all the other material blessings associated with that happy state of affairs.

AN OLD FALLACY IN A NEW FORM

How much inflation would be needed to produce this economic miracle? A price advance of 3 percent a year is sometimes mentioned as being about the proper amount. At first sight, this does not look large. The general price level as usually measured has often risen more than 3 percent in a year. Such an advance, however, does not continue for long. If it did, the results would be surprising. In the course of a normal working life of 45 years, the price level would be almost quadruple. A dollar saved at the beginning of the period would have a purchasing power of about 26 cents at retirement age. In such an economic environment, what would happen to interest rates, saving, investment, and personal habits and morals?

Proponents argue, however, that losses to receivers of fixed incomes could be made up in other ways, perhaps by direct governmental payments. At all events, they maintain, any disadvantages resulting from such a program of controlled inflation would be far outwelghed by the absence of business recessions and mass unemployment.

Such a prospect prompts the question why so simple a means of sweeping away some of society's most troublesome economic problems has never been tried before. The answer is that it has been tried so many times that it is difficult to understand how anyone familiar with even the highlights of economic history can give a moment's countenance to such a scheme. The labels and details have varied at different times and places, but the essentials have been the same. Controlled inflation is nothing but the old snake medicine of cheap money in a new form. The experiment has been tried again and again, never with the intended results, and often with disastrous ones. In short, the proposal flies in the face of all experience, ancient and modern. It ignores the very nature of inflation.

FALSE PREMISES

The theory of controlled inflation is unrealistic at practically every point. To begin with, it assumes a much more direct and immediate relation than actually exists between the money supply on the one hand and prices and business activity on the other. Money affects these other conditions only as it is spent. Changes in the velocity with which money circulates are often more important as an influence on prices and business volumes than are changes in the amount outstanding, and they are much less amenable to control.

The idea of an economy responding in an orderly and predictable way to measured does of inflation also ignores the vital part played by nonmonetary factors in determining levels of prices and business activity. Money artificially injected into the economy by governmental action can remain largely ineffective as a business stimulant for long periods. Such money does not come into being in response to a specific need, as does money created by a normal bank loan, for example. Hence it tends to lie idle until business activity is stimulated by more positive forces. Then the idle money asserts itself vigorously, swelling demand at precisely the time when such an effect is least desirable. The \$20 billion, or thereabouts, poured into the economy by the Federal Government in the effort to "prime the pump" of recovery during the 1930's had surprisingly little effect at the time, but during and after the war it unquestionably played its part in intensifying the inflationary pressure.

tensifying the inflationary pressure.

The idea of controlled inflation conveniently forgets the disturbing effects of monetary manipulations on business. Changes in price levels affect different commodities and services in different ways. The price structure becomes distorted and ceases to be an accurate indicator of market forces. Businessmen and investors are misled into making faise calculations, and the resulting errors have to be curtailed. This means business losses, reduced demand, curtailed output, and unemployment. It is proverbial that in-flationary booms are followed by reactions. Inflation, unless administered in overwhelming amounts, occurs by fits and starts, occasioning a chain of developments which is the exact opposite of the steady progress dreamed of by the advocates of controlled inflation. If experience shows anything, it shows that an attempt to put such a scheme into practice would tend to amplify rather than moderate the boom-and-bust cycle.

THE POSSIBLE OUTCOME

To the inflationist mind, the reactionary phase of the cycle would be a signal for larger doses of the monetary stimulant. Herein lies one of the most menacing features of the plan, for it is certain that political and popular pressure for such relief would be very strong. It has typically been so in inflationary aftermaths. People look back upon the artificially induced prosperity that has vanished, long for its return, and are ready to resort to almost any expedient to recapture it.

The hard truth that the inflationists cannot bring themselves to face is that booms generate reactions. The latter are corrective movements, and they cannot be prevented without preventing the needed corrections. The longer they are postponed, the worse become the maladjustments that tend to cause them, and the larger the inflationary doses needed to stave them off.

Unless the pressure for more and more infiation is firmly and consistently resisted, somewhere along the line the people are likely to become aware that the value of their money is being destroyed. Then a flight from currency begins. The shrewder members of the population naturally realize this first. There tends to develop a class of professional speculators, and wealth gravitates into their hands. The worst impoverishment is among the masses of the people, who are least versed in economic matters, and hence are slowest to grasp the full meaning of infiation. Sooner or later, however, even the masses refuse to hold money. Then the velocity of circulation rises astronomically, lending its full force to the momentum of depreciation.

The vicious spiral may or may not proceed to the point of total destruction of the currency. Whether it does or not, the inevitable reaction must eventually be faced. By that time, however, economic disruption and stagnation may have reached such a crisis as to produce a Napoleon or a Hitler. Both of those dictators rose to power amid the economic and social chaos caused in part by inflation that got out of control.

These are not theories but historical facts. They describe what has actually occurred, not once but many times, in countries where inflation has been carried to extreme lengths,

Of course, the proponents of controlled inflation have no idea of carrying their program to any such lengths. Theirs would be a moderate program. The amount of new money would be carefully regulated. If the plan did not work, or if it had serious adverse effects, it could be discontinued.

Some of the most disastrous inflations in history have begun in exactly this way. It is

much easier to start an inflation than to stop it. Sound money, like all sound principles, imposes a discipline. Once the principle is abandoned or seriously weakened, the discipline becomes almost impossible to accept.

ADVERTISED DEPRECIATION

One of the most glaring of the proposal's many weakness is the fact that it is an inflationary program. The people would be notified in advance that their money was scheduled to lose its value little by little. They would be given fair warning that anyone who held money, bank deposits, life insurance policies, bonds, mortgages, or any other fixed claim to money did so at his peril. They would be placed on notice that their only chance of safety lay in successful speculation. The flight from money that ordinarily marks the last stages of an inflationary orgy would be invited at the start.

The inflation that followed World War II, bad as it was, could have been immeasurably worse if the people had known all that was to come. Even under the spur of patriotism, who would have bought and held savings bonds if he had known that their redemption price would have less purchasing power than their issue price, so that in terms of real value his investment would yield him a negative rate of interest? Who would have held any money asset if he had known that a few simple transactions in commodity markets would enable him to avoid the loss of a third or more of the value of his property? The saving feature of the situation was that the inflation was unplanned and hence to some degree uncertain. No such mitigating condition would exist in a deliberately planned program of controlled inflation.

OTHER OBJECTIONS

In the face of such considerations as these, it would seem hardly necessary to dwell upon other practical objections to such a program. The problem, for example, of compensating the receivers of fixed incomes, which the proponents of "controlled inflation" dismiss so lightly, would be formidable in practice. To whom would such compensation be given? Would it be limited to those who could prove that they had actually been pauperized by monetary depreciation? Or would it be extended to creditors in general, who, according to the Government's estimates, at the end of 1953 held money claims totaling \$683 billion, nearly twice the amount of the annual gross national product? Would the holders of all these claims, or only selected groups, become wards of the State?

What should be said regarding the morallty of a government that deliberately adopted a policy which enriched some of its citizens by impoverishing others? What would be the economic effects of removing all possibility of prudent investment? What would be the social consequences of destroying the foundations of individual thrift?

These and many other searching questions would be pertinent if there were any serious prospect that a program of "controlled inflation" might become a lasting feature of our economy. They are superfluous when it is considered that such a program would not have the slightest chance of long survival. For "controlled inflation" is almost a contradiction in terms. Speaking of a controlled inflation is much like speaking of a controlled forest fire. The hazard does not lie in the possibility that such a scheme might fasten itself upon the economy, but in the fact that it could do immense damage before it collapsed.

If there were a clear-cut choice between a slow price advance and an intermittent unemployment problem, as the "controlled inflationist" seem to suppose, it might be arguable whether the first evil should be accepted for the sake of avoiding the second. There is no such choice. "Controlled inflation" might conceivably postpone the day

of reckoning. But the postponement could not be for long, and the reckoning would be immeasurably worse when it came. Economic stabilization, within practical limits, is a worthy objective, but the road of currency depreciation does not lead to it.

Prosperity Begins on the Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the Nation's agricultural economy is in trouble and the resulting shrinkage of farm income will have an effect upon the econ-

omy of this country as a whole.

To arrive at a solution, attention must be given to basic defects and the following article by Mr. Carl H. Wilken, consultant to the Joint Committee on National Defense under the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, published in a recent issue of the Country Gentleman, is worthy of the attention of every Member of Congress.

> PROSPERITY BEGINS ON THE FARM (By Carl H. Wilken)

Its foolish to think that we can't have just as much prosperity in times of peace as in wartime. With the greatest productive system in the world, the American people ought to be smart enough to find out how to keep it working at its full rate. It can be cone.

All that is necessary is to make use of the total market that is possible in this country. The key to such a prosperity and the total market, on which it depends, is farm income.

We have neglected this key. Farm income has declined for the third successive year and is unable to play its decisive part in the total market. So our industrial output has had to be cut back, unemployment has reappeared and the national income has Gropped below that of 1953.

You have only to look at certain facts to realize why farm income holds such a key position in our economy. The best proof is found in the parallel tracks on which farm income and factory payrolls run under hormal, peacetime conditions. It is a matter of official record that in the long peacetime period for 1921 to 1938 they held to an approximate ratio of \$1 of cash farm income to \$1 of factory payrolls. In very instance during this period. factory payrolls had to adjust downward to farm income when it declined and also rose in ratio to any increase.

This balance was upset once World War II began. Wage costs and factory employment rose with the imperative demands for arms while farm prices were held down by OPA regulations. This abnormal situation found us in 1944 with \$32.1 billion of factory payrolls compared with \$20.3 billion of

cash farm income.

You'll remember that many economists predicted the usual postwar depression in 1946. One thing prevented it. This was a restoration of the balance that permitted a full operation of our economy. Farm cash receipts rose to \$24.5 billion in 1946. the meantime, the impending end of hostilities had cut back our war needs and factory payrolls dropped to \$25 billion, or their approximate normal ratio with cash larm income.

This laid a sound foundation for the general expansion that followed. The normal

1-1 balance between cash farm income and factory payrolls was maintained until 1949 when, as you will also recall, we had a re-cession. Farm income declined nearly \$2.5 billion and factory payrolls dropped in proportion. The net result was a setback of percent in industrial output.

The renewed military demands and inflationary spurt brought on by the Korean outbreak reversed this downturn, but with unequal effects. The consequent expansion of factory payrolls, coupled with lower farm prices, has created the greatest dislocation between the two in our history. Farm cash receipts for 1953 totaled \$30.9 billion and factory payrolls \$45.8 billion. The disparity has continued through 1954.

For the time being, the loss in farm income has been made up in part by the Federal deficit and increased governmental and private debt. This is the only way it can be.

The existing unbalance between farm income and factory payrolls, together with the spread between prices of manufactured goods and farm-price levels, is the most critical spot in the present economic situation. Factory payrolls can't be cut back to balance with a \$30 billion level of farm income. That would plunge us into a depression. But, as the record shows, we cannot have the total market necessary for peacetime prosperity until a balance is

The vital importance of farm income to industry and labor isn't any new fact. It was noted some years ago by Allen W. Rucker, industrial engineer. In his book, Labor's Road to Plenty, he said: "For practical purposes, the total dollar income of industry and manufacturing labor is limited, if not indeed determined by the existing level of There are a number of reafarm income." sons for this besides the one already cited.

Modern farming, with all its power, equipment and supply requirements, has become an essential part of the industrial market. Its machinery and motive investment stands at \$17.2 billion and its use of power has gone up 70 percent since 1940. Its ability to maintain or step up this outlay means jobs in many factories.

You need to keep one fact clearly in mind to realize the full value of farm in-come to industry. This is the dual role of the farmer—as both a consumer and the operator of a highly capitalized, high-cost business. In this multiple capacity the farmer, according to a competent research study, is 2.4 times as good a customer of industry as the city man.

The effects of farm buying power show up in the official record of retail sales in the United States. They reveal that farm States, like Iowa and South Dakota, spend 70 percent of their income for goods in contrast with only 50 percent for more urban States, such as New York and Pennsylvania. The difference is due primarily to the cash outlay by farmers for power, equipment, sup-

plies, and buildings.

A further light on the business-generating power of farm income is shed in a recent report by the Underground Water Commission of Arizona. Since 1943 there has been a rapid development of the agricultural resources in certain counties of that State, largely through the use of underground water for irrigation. The commission's report, in stating the economic effects, pointed out that each \$1 of farm income resulted in an additional \$1.27 of benefits locally through purchases of machinery, goods, and services. The local community realized \$2.27 for each dollar produced by farming.

The demand for factory goods created by farm income isn't something limited to farmers alone. The last census showed that 50 percent of our population live in towns of 10,000 or under and on the land around them. Most of these towns and and villages are really service centers between the fac-

tories and the farms and derive their sunport from farm income. It is distributed among their dealers and service people with the same business-creating effect as reported in Arizona.

You have seen from the foregoing how much business benefit the farm dollar develops at its starting point in the local community. The effects spread from there through our whole economy. An intensive study of the Nation's record since 1921 shows that each \$1 of gross farm income results in an approximate average of \$1 in wages for the factory worker and \$7 in national income by the time it completes the full economic circuit.

When you put all these factors together you realize why farm income is the key to the total market we must have for peacetime prosperity. It should be evident also that we can have such prosperity only with farm price and income levels in proper balance with manufactured goods and factory wages; otherwise we cannot have the total market that industry requires to operate at

full capacity.

Both industrial leaders and factory workers should be just as much concerned as farmers in seeing that farm prices and farm income are restored to par. Their stake, to put it simply, is how much they will be able to make, sell, and earn. The public also should be correctly informed in this regard. Instead of being told only of the cost of policies to maintain farm income, as the case has been, it should be informed of what these mean in terms of payrolls, increased opportunity, and a higher standard of living for all.

It's time to use some of the traditional American qualities of vision and boldminded thinking. If we do, we will be able to see the full possibilities this country offers for peacetime prosperity and the key part farm income has in creating it.

Advisory Committee on the Watch Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement:

CELLER, AS DELEGATION SPOKESMAN, DEPLORES ADMINISTRATION'S ACTIONS IN WATCH CON-TROVERSY AND CALLS FOR PROMPT CORRECTIVE MEASURES

A strong indictment of recent administration actions aimed at curtailing imports of Swiss watches and a demand for prompt review of the damaging consequences to our national interest are highlights of a 26-page statement filed with the new ODM Advisory Committee on the Watch Industry. The detailed document has been presented on behalf of a delegation composed of 16 Democratic Congressmen, including Representatives Victor L. Anfuso, Charles A. Buckley, Emanuel Celler, Irwin D. Davidson, Isidore Dollinger, Herman P. Eberharter, Sidney A. Fine, Aime J. Forand, Lester Holtzman, Edna F. Kelly, Eugene J. Keogh, Arthur G. Klein, Abraham J. Multer, Leo W. O'Brien, John J. Rooney, and Herbert Zelenko, plus Gov-ernor Harriman, of New York State; Mayor Wagner, of New York City: Commissioner Edward T. Dickinson, of the State of New York Department of Commerce; Commissioner Richard C. Patterson, Jr., of New York City Department of Commerce and Public Events; and First Deputy Commissioner Martin Dodge, of the New York City Department of Commerce and Public Events.

The delegation's spokesman, Representative EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York in his accompanying letter, called on ODM Director Arthur S. Flemming to instruct the members of the new committee to give a new look and full consideration to the Defense Department's recently declassified study of the jeweled-watch industry which found that "no special nor preferential treatment for the industry is necessary." The Congressthe industry is necessary." The Congress-man, in pointing out that the delegation's statement had been prepared prior to the release by the Department of Defense of its long-classified study, also called attention to Dr. Flemming's testimony before the Senate Armed Services subcommittee on June 30, 1954, in which the ODM Director "emphasized the very essentiality which this de-classified Defense report negates."

In amplifying on this charge, CELLER

"We must assume that you were familiar with the Defense findings, and are, therefore, most interested in the source of the facts upon which you based your differing concluaions. Undoubtedly, the report of the Senate Armed Services subcommittee, which was forwarded to the President, was influenced by your testimony. It had about it, shall I say, the halo of your authority and prestige, and probably contributed to the President's decision to accept the Tariff Commission's recommendation to increase the tariff on Thus, we look forward to receiving your comments on this situation and trust that any damage resulting from your statement will be ameliorated at the earliest possible date."

The delegation's statement is highly critical of the ODM report which found that the skills of the four domestic jeweled-watch companies were essential to national secu-It point out that this report runs directly contrary to a comprehensive review of the jeweled-watch industry conducted by the Department of Defense, which determined that all military items produced by the four watch manufacturers can also be procured from nonjeweled segments of the American watch industry and from dozens of the foremost United States companies outside the timing industry. The statement includes an timing industry. analysis of the ODM report's five conclusions. and presents facts and figures to validate the delegation's indictment of the report's findings as being obscure and unsubstantiated.

The detailed document also emphasizes that recent administration actions against watch importers were motivated largely by the ODM report. The delegation claims that, by accepting the flimsy argument of defense essentiality for the four jeweled-watch producers, the Government has "opened a Pandora's box by which hundreds of industries may seck the benefits of high tariffs against foreign competition on the grounds of de-

fense essentiality."

"The administration," according to the statement, "could have used one or more of the direct aids mentioned by ODM-defense contracts, technical training, etc.-which would have avoided the necessity for tariff increases, and would have been in accord with our traditions of fair play and competitive enterprise. Raising tariffs against a friendly nation to achieve such a goal, on the other hand, is contrary to America's long-range interest."

The administration's actions in the watch controversy, according to the delegation's strongly worded presentation, sets a precedent which can easily undermine the reciprocal trade program envisaged by the Con-The document is sharply critical of the administration for frustrating the will of Congress in its efforts to expand interna-tional trade. It states that "the protection-

ist actions taken by the administration in an attempt to assist the four domestic jeweled watch producers is threatening to cause America to turn back the clock, figuratively speaking, to the 1920's in the matter of tar-

The statement points out that the 50-percent boost in watch tariffs last July, followed by other administration attacks on imports, was causing severe injury to the watch importer-assembled industry which brings "over \$250 million yearly into the York area and their nurchase of goods and services result in further circulation of \$150 million annually in the region." emphasizes that the jobs of tens of thousands of workers, many of whom are highly skilled, are jeopardized by the curtailment of imports. The analysis also cites the fact that in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island there are "a sizable number of jewelry manufacturers who furnish parts as subcontractors to the hundreds of watch importer-assemblers. Any Government action leading to a curtailment of their operations is an economic blow to these States as it is to New York.

In its conclusion, the delegation charged: "Apparently, the present situation adds up to the fact that the administration is endeavoring to do indirectly what it cannot and dare not do directly. It is administratively increasing the tariff and setting up all kinds of barriers against importation of a product without consultation with the Congress. Through the various agencies involved, the administration is using subterfuge and unsubstantlated arguments to hamper and obstruct the importation of Swiss watches and watch parts. * *

"We also urge the committee to determine whether the Government moves against importers have actually helped the four domestic producers or have merely injured the importer-assemblers and the Swiss. It is our conviction that these actions have been con-

trary to America's best interest.
"Finally, we respectfully suggest that the new committee conduct full and complete hearings, giving all interested parties an opportunity to appear, and that those in Congress who are interested in these deliberations be kept advised as to the progress of your studies."

Putting Price Tags on Public Information

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I should like to draw the attention of my colleagues to a recent editorial in the Detroit Free Press.

The editorial, published March 25, 1955, is abundantly clear. It needs no further comment other than the thought that it is repugnant to the American tradition for a Government official to use information to which we are all entitled for private gain.

The editorial follows:

PUTTING PRICE TAGS ON PUBLIC INFORMATION

Incidents in which information has been withheld on security grounds only to be sold subsequently in the form of magazine articles or speeches are a fairly familiar story.

The latest instance involves a forthcoming magazine article by Comdr. Eugene P. Wilkinson in which he will deal with tests of the atomic submarine Nautilus. Reporters have been seeking this information for weeks.

Defense Secretary Wilson has promised to look into it, and the Navy has now promised that Commander Wilkinson will release factual data before his article is published.

So far as the Nautilus story is concerned, it appears that proper methods of divulging public information will be followed. However, the prospect that they might not have been illustrates a growing danger which

should concern everyone.

When information to which the public is entitled is offered for sale instead of freely circulated the number of those whom it reaches will be narrowed, and without as many people as possible having all possible access to facts democracy cannot function as it should.

Farmers Who Lived Through the Last Depression Have No Difficulty in Supporting Full Parity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the other day I received a letter from a man in Florida who felt I was being inconsistent by coming out for full parity and the family-type farmer. Here is what I told him:

Through press of business I could not get to your letter until today, and I note you think I am inconsistent when I propose the farm bill, H. R. 748. It may seem so on the surface, but if you lived through the last depression when we spent untold millions on feeding people, reorganizing the banks, and, in fact, every business in the country, you will remember that this great depression started on the farms. In my State wheat was 26 cents a bushel, not enough to cover the cost of harvesting and threshing, and many farmers burned their fields. Stores out there were filled with goods, but they buying power was gone, and in turn manufacturers could not sell and factories closed. At one time there were 15 million people walking the streets for something to eat. WPA and PWA were set up to give jobs. In my State alone in some counties 72 percent of the people were on relief. It swept clean as the businessmen and banks went to the wall. Seventy percent of the banks in North Dakota, South Dakota, and elsewhere in the West closed.

I do not want this to happen again-but if it is necessary to educate the people further, we can let the farms go and no matter what business you are in, it will finally reach you. It will reach you if you have insurance policies or any kind of investments.

You will recall that in the debates on the old price supports, nothing was said about putting the farmer back on his feet, but all emphasis was centered on putting the whole country back on its feet. The plan worked and when the farmer could get a price his buying power returned and factories reopened and the jobless went to work. principal business was farming at that time. and I lost all I had-\$150,000 and some more I had to earn and pay back later. I lost all my land, and when elected to Congress I had to borrow \$100 to get to Washington. I was not alone—if I had been I would have concluded it was my fault, but all went

All parity means now or ever did mean Was that a farmer should receive a price commensurate with what he has to pay out. You can see combines at \$2,000 (in those days) and wheat at 26 cents doesn't work and can't work. I never started farming again. I do raise livestock, and we used to get barbed wire for \$1.75 for 8 rods and 6 cents for our cattle. In the depression, wire went up and cattle down to \$12 per head for good cattle. We used to get good men for \$40 per month, and they worked. Now We pay \$250 a month and the work done is about 25 percent of what we received from \$40 men.

Parity means the farmer's selling price should be kept in line with his expense price.

Of course, if you want the small farms to disappear, schoolhouses vacant, and church monuments to once happy communities, your views will bring that about. If you want all the farm people crowded into the cities to swell the ranks of labor, you are on the way. If you want them on relief rolls you will probably live to see it.

The farmers are blamed for everything. Those who buy bread now at 26 cents per loaf pay the price and then cuss the farmer all the way home. The fact is that this 26-cent loaf of bread will be the same price if Wheat were selling for 75 cents per bushel instead of \$2.23. There is only 31/2 cents' worth of wheat in a loaf of bread and the rest of the cost in labor, transportation, insurance, workmen's compensation, and security assessments. Just follow a load of Wheat from Williston, N. Dak., to your table and see what happens. It is shipped to the grain terminals, and the freight bill must be paid; it is sold to millers, and commis-sion men get a dig at the price—they have to insure the grain and pay their handlers. The millers buy the wheat, and again it is shipped-more freight and switching charges. It arrives at the mill and an immense herd of employees grind it up. They all have to be paid, they must have liability insurance, old-age security, and job insurance. The flour is turned out. It goes to whole-salers and more freight is added. More of this and that until it finally reaches your store. You buy the bread, but the local merchant has to pay rent or taxes; he has to pay his employees, who in turn have all same demands that labor had on the railroads and at the mills. The merchants must add to the price enough to live on or go out of business, and when you walk home with that loaf of bread you have paid 31/2 cents for the wheat and 231/2 cents for the unending line of railroads, trucks, insurance companies, old-age security, liability insurance, and interest.

Of course, you get good and mad, but you can see that it is not the farmer you should be mad at.

There is only one way you can beat this game—and that is the way we had to do it in the early days of Dakota. We raised some Wheat-it was not hauled by railroads, it was not milled by millers, it was not handled by wholesalers or local merchants-we ground it ourselves in a coffee mill if we could find nothing else. Made our own bread, and man alive, if I could buy a loaf of actual bread like that on the American Continent today, I wouldn't ask the price. We didn't put in plaster of parls to keep the bread fresh; we didn't bleach it to make it white; we didn't fill up the holes or bubbles in gluten wheat with water; we didn't add compounds, ingredients, acids, or other synthetic materials that are harmful to human life; we made

even be a comparison. No; I think you are doomed to eat chemical bread, and I am not so sure that some amart guy may not come along some day and offer synthetic wheat. If properly advertised, it will sell. I hope the North Dakota wheat

bread and it was cheap in price, but so far

superior to bread today that there cannot

raiser will then escape the cussing of the bread eaters of the Atlantic coast area.

I don't have time to write as fully as this to everyone, but I will mimeograph this letter and answer other thousands who are after my scalp because I want to maintain on this continent the family-type farm and maintain farm prosperity as the only insurance against another disastrous depression.

The Status of Forces Treaty Should Be Revised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I rise at this time to voice to the House my strong support of the resolution for the revision of the NATO Status of Forces Treaty. I cannot speak too urgently upon this subject.

This treaty may touch the lives of millions of Americans-and touch them intimately and cruelly. Every boy who enters the service-and every boy is subject to call, as long as the present military necessity demands it, every man in the military service of our country will be subject to it.

We are dealing today with a situation unprecedented in our history and foreign to our way of thinking. Our heritage rebels against it; our outlook for the future shrinks from its potential dangers.

The NATO Status of Forces Treaty would subject every American in uniform who commits an offense to trial in the courts of the country in which it occurs. Now, at first glance the full import of this situation may not be too startling. But the danger lies in the fact that there are tremendous differences between us and most of the other countries of the world. Not only are there barriers of language, differences of outlook, of background, and of training separating the individual and his accusers, but there are differences in the legal systems and in the methods of the courts abroad.

Only with the English-speaking countries do we share the common law system in the courts. Elsewhere the civil law or some other legal system prevails.

Now our boys who get into predicaments abroad, whether guilty or innocent, will be at a tremendous disadvantage. First, they will not know the language. Though they may have able interpreters, there will be differences in terminology, shades of meaning, idioms, and legal phraseology-the fine points of the law-that do not readily lend themselves to interpretation or translation. The accused will not usually be represented by counsel of his same nationality. For the lawyer as well as for the victim these differences will present grave diffi-

Yet, so handicapped, the accused must defend himself in a foreign country, where the atmosphere may be hostile, the citizenry inimical. Public opinion might well be against him, a man accused of crime against the country which may already resent his presence, along with that of his fellows, though they be there for the good of all.

Even in England, even there, where the court system has a reputation for excellence, a reputation for fairness, even in England he will be a foreigner indicted, and brought before a panel ofto him-foreigners.

The trouble does not end here. Though we now have concluded status of forces agreements only with the NATO countries and Japan, there will be other countries demanding similar treatment; other, less developed, less friendly countries, countries less conscious of the demand for an equitable court system, of the public demand for justice.

Here lies the crux of the matter: Will justice be done? Or, will there be a mis-

carriage of justice?

What will be the American reaction when our military forces are subject to these things? These men and boys who serve their country abroad, whether through their own will or through a draft system which carries them to foreign lands whether they want to go or not, will be subject to trial and imprisonment under conditions and rulings which are foreign to us in every sense of the word. The reaction of the families and friends of these men will be indignant and bitter. Sympathy for our relationships abroad will decline, and there will be increasingly reluctant compliance with the draft law at home.

To object to this treaty arrangement is not to condone misconduct, but it is to suggest a revision of the treaty, a renegotiation of it, particularly with respect to article VII. It is to suggest a return to the system which was in operation during World War II, whereby a military man accused of an offense would be tried by the military authorities of his own country, an American would be tried by Americans. The authorities responsible for his being abroad would be responsible, if he gets into trouble, for seeing that justice is done.

The resolution which I am introducing is aimed to accomplish this. It would eliminate article VII of the agreement. Its purpose is to bring this about so that foreign countries will not have criminal jurisdiction over American personnel stationed within their boundaries. It urges that all possible steps be taken by the Government of the United States to accomplish that purpose.

Blame for Yalta Cannot Be Shifted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I quite agree with President Eisenhower that the only good that can come out of the so-called Yalta papers is that which will warn us to beware of similar indiscretions or acts of bad judgment in the future.

Anyone who has studied the records of the Cairo and Yalta Conferences, with definite promises to return Manchuria to Chiang Kai-shek on one hand and on the other the perfidious turnabout in handing that same territory over to Stalin, must conclude that secret agreements entered into without regard for solemn commitments and the best interests of the United States are deserving of our bitterest denunciation.

It will serve the public interest best if this infamous deal is kept before the American people as a glaring example of what can happen when leaders are clothed with authority in excess of their regard for equity and should be held up for succeeding generations to examine as the ultimate in diplomatic chicanery

and bad faith.

The following editorial comment, appearing in the Philadelphia Inquirer on March 25, supports this view:

BLAME FOR YALTA CANNOT BE SHIFTED

Gen. Douglas MacArthur's vigorous denial that his advice was sought or given in connection with the Yalta Conference helps set the record straight on who was responsible for the events leading up to Yalta's fateful concessions to the Russians.

It also emphasizes more clearly than before that the Democrats, mainifestly set back on their heels by the disclosures in the Yalta papers, have been trying to salvage some shreds of partisan advantage from the war-

time conference 10 years ago.

When they tried desperately to connect MacArthur, and President Eisenhower, himself, with the disasters at Yalta, the effort backfired badly, but whether that will be a

lesson remains to be seen.

The Yaita papers make it clear that the view of the Joint Chiefs of Staff toward the end of the war was that Russian intervention in Japan was essential. It can be argued this offered an excuse for President Franklin D. Roosevelt's making some concessions to Stalin; it may be doubted that the military chiefs had in mind such sweeping concessions, the giving away of lands that belonged to somebody else, or the refusal to see that Stalin's promises were worthless.

But the Democratic view, at least as expressed in the Senate the other day, seems to be something like this: The Yalta agreements weren't so bad, but if they were bad,

Republicans are in on it, too.

That is a weak argument in any event. The Democrats, notably Senators Lyndon JOHNSON and HERBERT LEHMAN, weakened it further with their vain attempts to make MacArthur and President Eisenhower share some of the responsibility.

JOHNSON said that miscalculations, "if any were made" were made by Mr. Eisenhower and MacArthur. LEHMAN went further and said Yalta could be understood only in the light of recommendations made by the two generals. MacArthur, the New York Senator went on, urgently recommended that Russia be brought into the Japanese war.

President Eisenhower told his press conference that his advice was neither requested nor given concerning Yalta. He did not even attend the preliminary Anglo-American con-

ference at Malta.

General MacArthur let the record speak for itself. He wasn't asked to give his views before Yalta, either. If he had been consulted, he says, he would have regarded concessions to Russia at that late date as fantastic.

MacArthur's dispatches in the fall of 1944when preparations were underway for the

Yalta Conference-make it clear that he thought Japan was just about finished as a result of American victories. In September, he wrote that "defeat stares her (Japan) in the face." A month later he said the capture of the Philippines would be decisive.

LEHMAN apparently based his statements on an entry in the diary of the late James Forrestal concerning a talk the latter had with MacArthur in early 1945, when the General was portrayed as wanting Russia to get into the war. This, says MacArthur's spokesman, was a mistake in editing.

But when LEHMAN, and JOHNSON too, made their big mistake was in trying to twist the Yalta story to take the blame off the Democrats. Their obvious discomfiture at the new evidence of Roosevelt's mishandling of diplomatic negotiations led them to shoot recklessly from the hip.

Inescapably, there is politics in the record and results of the Yalta conference, since the responsibility was born by a politically elected official. Doubtless, as Secretary of State Dulles observed, the controversy will continue "through the ages."

It will be better for the country, however, if the record is soberly studied and mistakes are acknowledged, as a guide to the future.

The Democrats ran into a deserved setback in their first attempt to play politics by shifting the blame for the misfortunes that have flowed from Yalta. The episode ought to convince them they should follow President Eisenhower's advice to use the Yalta papers' to profit by past mistakes, rather than for partisan gain.

Resolution of Wisconsin VFW on Hospitalization for Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, there follows a resolution adopted by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Department of Wisconsin, at its midwinter conference on March 23, 1955:

Whereas free hospitalization and medical care for veterans for non-service-connected disabilities was acquired only after 8 years of concentrated effort on the part of the major veteran organizations, following World War I: and

Whereas in 1926 it was granted with many restrictions such as, where beds are available, answering a questionnaire as to veteran's financial ability to pay, checking vet-erans service records, etc., but fortunately these prerequisites were not too forcibly applied during the interim in 1926 to 1933, when the so-called Economy Act invoked new restrictions, such as clearing out the VA hospitals of many nonservice cases and inauguration of the pauper's oath, as a check on future admissions; and

Whereas the present administration has wantonly accused many veterans of abusing this privilege by taking undue advantage of this free hospitalization and medical-care provision by taking the so-called pauper's oath when actually they were well able to meet this obligation themselves; and

Whereas a congressional subcommittee was appointed and delegated with authority to investigate these claims of the many veterans who had perjured themselves by falsely taking this oath for free hospital care;

Whereas this committee was chairmaned by the Honorable Representative BERNARD KEARNEY, of New York, and after careful and lengthy investigation, came up with these findings: That of all cases hospitalized, only an infinitely small percentage were able to pay for their own hospital care and consequently the charges preferred by the legislators and American Medical Association were ridiculously exaggerated and grossly misrepresented; and it was a pitiful reflection on the honor and integrity of our Nation's defenders, the veteran; and

Whereas the present administration is demanding a signed statement on financial ability of veterans requesting hospital care which are not service-connected cases; and

Whereas this procedure tends to incriminate veterans and presumably makes craven paupers out of men who have served their Nation honorably in time of war; and

Whereas this Nation has been spending millions of dollars in outright grants and foreign aid to nations which were our former enemies, at the expense of the veteran's health and assistance by increased taxes imposd on United States citizens generally, to meet these expenditure: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That our national legislature committee take immediate action to eliminate this so-called pauper's oath in VA regulations and endeavor to liberalize more fully restrictions for admittance for hospitals and medical care for non-service-connected disabilities of veterans at the earliest possible moment after the new Congress convenes; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sen to our national service director, Omar B. Ketchum, our congressional representatives, to Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Harvey Higley, and to the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Tenth Anniversary of Arrest of 16 Polish Underground Leaders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. T. JAMES TUMULTY

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. TUMULTY. Mr. Speaker, if there is to be another conference with the Soviet Union, let our American leaders at that conference redress the following wrong. In accordance with the Yalta agreement the Moscow-sponsored provisional government of Poland had to be reorganized on a broader basis with the inclusion of leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad.

Mr. Molotov and the Ambassadors of the United States and Great Britain. residing in Moscow, were entrusted with the task to cooperate in the forming of a new government along above lines.

It was assumed from the very beginning by the American and British Governments that the most prominent leaders of the Polish underground, at that time hiding in Poland, would eventually enter the coalition. During the war they had fought in close cooperation with the Polish Government in London, a bitter struggle against the Nazi occupants and thus had largely contributed to the Allied war effort.

At the request of the British Secretary of State, the Polish Government in London disclosed for transmission to the committee in Moscow the names and whereabouts of the Polish Vice Premier and Government Delegate for the Homeland, and of the three members of the Home Council of Ministers. The Allied Governments gave assurance that they would do everything possible to insure the safety of the Polish underground leaders.

A short time after the Polish Vice-Premier, Mr. Jankowski and the last commander of the disbanded Home Army, General Okulicki were approached by Colonel Pimenov of the Soviet NKWD, with a request to attend a meeting with Colonel General Ivanov, a representative of the high command of the I White Russian Front. This invitation was confirmed by letter, on March 10, to Mr. Jankowski and General Okulicki. The purpose of the meeting, in Colonel Pimenov's own words, was "the clarification of the atmosphere and the coming into the open of the democratic Polish parties in order that they may take part in the general current of the democratic forces of Independent Poland." Although absolute personal safety was granted by the Soviet representativethe 16 Polish underground leaders, when they arrived on March 28, 1945, at the meeting place-were arrested and flown to Moscow and imprisoned there.

The Soviets committed in cold blood another act of shameless felony. It was only on May 5, 1945, that the official Soviet agency TASS announced the arrest of the Polish leaders. This hap-Pened during the San Francisco Conference, and Molotov himself confirmed the

The British and the United States Secretaries of State expressed grave concern to Mr. Molotov and asked for full explanation. Their intervention remained nevertheless without response, and on June 18, 1945, a trial of the Polish leaders was held in Moscow by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

Following sentences were passed:

First. Maj. Gen. Leopold Okulicki, born 1898, commander of the Polish Home Army succeeding Gen. T. Bor-Komorowski, after the Warsaw rising; 10 years in prison.

Second. Jan Stanislaw Jankowski, born 1882, member of the Christian Labor Party and Vice Premier of the Polish Government in London, appointed delegate in Poland; 8 years in prison.

Third. Adam Bien, born 1899, member of the underground government, Peasant Party; 5 years in prison.

Fourth. Stanislaw Jasiukowicz, born 1882, National Party, member of underground government; 5 years in prison.

Fifth. Kazimierz Puzak, born 1883, leader of Socialist Party and Speaker of Underground Parliament; 18 months in prison.

Sixth. Alexander Zwierzynski, born 1880, National Party, deputy speaker; 8 months in prison.

Seventh. Kazimierz Baginski, born 1890, Peasant Party, deputy speaker; 6 months in prison.

Eighth. Stanislaw Mierzwa, born 1905, Peasant Party; 4 months in prison.

Ninth, Zbigniew Stypulkowski, born 1904, leader of Democratic Party; 4 months in prison.

Tenth. Eugeniusz Czarnowski, born 1904, leader of Democratic Party; 4 months in prison.

Eleventh. Jozef Chacinski, born 1889, leader of Christian Labor Party; 4 months in prison.

Twelfth. Franciszek Urbanski, born 1891, Secretary of Underground Parliament, Christian Labor Party; 4 months in prison.

Thirteenth. Stanislaw Michalowski. born 1903, Democratic Party; proved in-

Fourteenth. Kazimierz Kobylanski. born 1892, National Party; proved inno-

Fifteenth. Jozef Stemler Dabski, born 1892, interpreter of Polish delegation; proved innocent.

Sixteenth. Antoni Pajdak, member of Socialist Party and of Underground Parliament; was not tried in public, and the sentence in his case, was not disclosed.

It is to be noted that in accordance with Soviet procedure the penal sentence is counted as from the day of arrest.

General Okulicki, Jankowski, Jasiukowicz, and Pajdak did not yet return to Poland. Okulicki should be released on March 28, 1955. Jankowski should have been freed on March 28, 1953, and Jasiukowicz on March 28, 1950. According to information-Pajdak was sentenced by administrative decree to 5 years, and if so-had to be freed on March 28, 1950. It should be stressed that the fate of these four prisoners remaining in Soviet Russia is still un-

The remaining leaders were brought back to Poland after the period of their detention in Soviet jails had elapsed. Puzak and Mierzwa were rearrested in Poland, sentenced, and Puzak died in Czarnowski, Urbanski, and prison. Chacinski died in Poland-the fate of Bien is not known, as well as of Zwierzvnski and Stemler-Dabski. Michalowski and Kobylanski acquitted during the Moscow trial, were again arrested in Poland and are detained in prison. Stypulkowski is in England and K. Baginski lives in the United States of America.

In connection with the 10th anniversary of this shameless act perpetrated on March 28, 1945, against the 16 Polish underground leaders steps should be taken to, First, ask for full information as to the fate and whereabouts of those four leaders still kept in Soviet Russia: second, demand their release from prison; third, insist on the liberation of the underground leaders who have been submitted to new ordeals by the Moscowsponsored regime in Poland after their return from Russia.

Natural Gas and Coal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I am including a letter from Mr. M. G. Youngquist, managing director, Coal Heating Service of Des Moines, Inc., Des Moines, Iowa.

The letter follows:

COAL HEATING SERVICE OF DES MOINES, INC. Des Moines, Iowa, March 21, 1955. Hon. Paul Cunningham,

Congressman Fifth Iowa District,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Paul: Natural gas has been an Issue in districts outside of the producing areas for some 20 years, but the big promotions have been in the past 10 years, and I doubt if any political body has as a whole given it very much really serious consideration.

When a coal man approaches the subject he is considered prejudiced. When a Congressman is approached outside the gas-producing area many of them seem to think it's good medicine for John L. Lewis. They forget the real issue is neither coal men nor Lewis and that a lot of innocent people are going to get hurt. Not hurt by the cost of the fuel in particular, but by the cost of neglect in proper regulation of this valuable natural resource. It is of national importance and needs large-scale thinking.

In the first place we are gambling that less than 1 percent of our natural-fuel resources will last for an unlimited time.

We are being lulled into peaceful dreams that in a few short years atomic power will be so cheap and easy to get that it will only require the effort of a pushbutton to replace gas or any fuel.

Few local political bodies have given any thought of safety measures, either in installation, the supply, the storage, the standby fuel, or protection of its citizens in case of a catastrophe. Too little can be done when it is too late, and the time to pay the premium on the insurance policy is in advance planning.

As gas moved into the larger cities the promotion plans were to sell gas cheap to industrial users in order to build up volume. The housing program fitted into this program in that houses were built in mass production, exploiting the savings in no basement or chimneys that would not handle any fuel except gas in most of the projects. The result, millions of homes that in an emergency do not have a chimney that would burn wood, paper, or any other fuel are some of the benefits of this great moneysaving campaign.

Unlike coal, where the fields are proven for a thousand years' supply and where mines are mechanized to produce low-cost fuel, gas production is on a rising plane. Producers of gas must continually prospect to provide tomorrow's supply of gas. It must be recognized that in order to protect users of gas, ample provision must be made for increased costs in order to provide this fuel as the public demands to be served, The Government should not lead them to believe that protection means they will be provided with low gas rates. Their protection should come in an adequate supply of gas, properly distributed both as to safety and fuel needs, with a reserve in mind to protect the Nation should an emergency require prompt redistribution. In a recent conference on fuel needs an executive made this statement: "Gas is protected by Government regulation so that we know rates will be kept low which isn't the case with coal." These people are honest people and the expression is common and maybe it is so. I rather treat the price as secondary and you would soon find that out if the supply was reduced at any time.

If H. R. 4943 takes into account the protection of our national resource, covers orderly distribution, protects against overselling in order to extend the years of best use of this valuable resource, with due regard for the everlasting vigilance necessary to provide tomorrow's supply of gas, then I am for it and will believe you are placing the interest of the people first.

Yours truly,

M. G. YOUNGQUIST.

The Attack Upon Our Republican Tax Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. NOAH M. MASON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, last fall certain prophets of gloom and doom charged that the Republican \$7.4 billion tax reduction and the tax-revision bill—H. R. 8300—favored the wealthy tax-payer and bore too hard upon the workingman. That charge was absolutely false. Those same prophets now claim that the tax bills of last year favored the taxpayer in the upper brackets and discriminated against the taxpayer in the lower brackets; therefore, their \$20 per person tax-cut proposal was only fair. The following breakdown demonstrates the falseness of their charges;

First. A 10-percent cut was made in the personal income tax for all individuals in the middle and lower brackets. That tax cut tapered off to less than 2 percent for the taxpayers in the 3 top brackets. The great majority of taxpayers—85 percent—are in the middle and lower tax brackets. Did that tax cut favor the rich?

Second. All excise taxes, with the exception of those upon liquor and tobacco, were cut from 25. 20, and 15 percent to 10 percent—a cut of \$1 billion to consumers. The working men and women of America and their families constitute 85 percent of the consumers of the Nation. Did that tax reduction favor the rich?

Third. The repeal of the excess-profits tax last year reduced taxes upon corporations \$2 billion. What did the corporations do with the \$2 billion? Every dollar of it was either paid out to the corporation stockholders or was plowed back into business expansion. Since 80 percent of all the stockholders in America receive less than \$5,000 per year income, the dollars that went to the stockholders did not go to the rich. And the dollars that went into expansion provided jobs for the 600,000 new workers

that enter the American labor market each year. Can anyone claim then that the repeal of the excess-profits tax was for the benefit of the rich?

Fourth. The passage last year of H. R. 8300, the tax revision bill, established a favorable tax climate for American business and industry in which to expand. This created more jobs for the workingmen of America. Did the tax revision bill favor the rich?

On the basis of the facts, therefore, do the charges of the prophets of gloom and doom stand up?

A POLITICAL BAROMETER

Mr. Speaker, the recent attack upon the revised Federal Tax Code by the New Dealers in Congress, who—as a result of the election returns last fall—are again in the saddle, is a clear indication of what American businessmen can expect if the New Dealers take over the executive department.

Led by Congressman JERE COOPER, the new chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and Senators HUMPHREY and Douglas, an attempt is being made to repeal the small tax easement upon dividend payments that was made in the new tax code. This was made as a start toward abolishing double taxation upon corporation profits. An attempt is also being made to repeal the new accelerated depreciation tax allowance provision. Both of these provisions were placed in the revised code to encourage business expansion, to provide an improved tax climate for business and industry that would result in the creation of new jobs for our ever-growing number of job seekers.

The revised tax code has already demonstrated its value, because it—more than any other one thing—stopped the downward trend last year and gave the lie to those prophets of gloom and doom who went around the Nation last fall spouting their gloom and doom prophecies. These same men are now in the Senate seeking to repeal the very provisions of the revised tax code that saved us from the predicted recession.

One and one-half million stay-at-home voters in Illinois and 30 million stay-at-home voters in the Nation were responsible for placing these New Dealers back in the saddle in Washington. These delinquent voters had better wake up before 1956, or it will be too late.

Knocking Ike Is Grist for GOP Mill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, the admirers of President Eisenhower in both parties will resent the attacks on our present Chief Executive, particularly when they center on wholesome diversions like fishing and golfing—as distinguished from poker-playing, weekend cruises—which are about the only

relaxation a hard-working President can count on.

And when such partisan attacks bring the President's wife into the picture and include their religious devotions, then it is generally agreed that the American electorate will simply bide their time until such ill-mannered diatribes can be repudiated at the polls.

The attitude of the average Republican is to wait with bated breath for fear that the opposition will realize the mistake they are making and call off the attack before it can be of benefit to the GOP next year. And it can only be presumed that they have forgotten just how much the Republicans served the cause of Franklin Delano Roosevelt by making him the object of their partisan tirades each time he ran and thereby assuring his reelection.

Veterans Do Not Create Wars Which Create Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to again repeat what I have often said before, "Veterans do not create the wars which create veterans." I include herein a letter which I have received from the Paralyzed Veterans of America, and to which I add that I am also disturbed:

PARALYZED VETERANS OF AMERICA, New York, N. Y., March 24, 1955.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE RADWAN: The men in our organization are disturbed by preliminary reports of the Hoover Commission on compensation cuts. Congress has power to declare war. By its acts, men leave their homes to enter the Armed Forces in time of war and peace.

By precedent, by moral intent, a contract was implied: "Leave your home and family and represent this country—It is a just country. If you die, the Congress, as representatives of the people, will care for your widow and orphan. If you are injured, if you lose part of your body, we will compensate you for that loss."

Congress has the power to effect economies. Before it now is the request of Defense Secretary Wilson for more pay for men in service because "we cannot keep these valuable men in the service." Will these men stay if the implied contract is broken? Will they stay if they know they'll be forgotten if injured?

Even top compensation cannot counterbalance the loss suffered by these men. Any amount is a pittance compared to the privilege of seeing, feeling, or walking. There are economy-minded men in many circles of our society who see moneys paid as compensation as a logical place to cut our budget. If this be true, then the United States is lacking in that moral integrity that is so desperately needed in the face of a hostile world. If we forget those who have given so much then we, as a Nation, should be forgotten.

We hope you will take a personal interest in these problems.

Sincerely yours,

MORRIS G. McGEE, Legislative Director.

Special Consideration Under H. R. 1 for Textile Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following letter to the editor of the Boston Sunday Herald that appeared in that newspaper on Sunday, March 27, 1955, written by Prof. Seymour E. Harris,

of Harvard University.

Professor Harris has given more thought, study, and investigation to the textile situation in New England than any other individual. Possessed of this wealth of knowledge and as the expert named by the Governors of New England he has spoken out before many of the committees of Congress to warn them of the immediate danger to the textile industries in that section of the United States by the passage of the reciprocal trade bill as it is now written.

I am hopeful that every Member of the Congress may have the opportunity to read some of his statements made here on Capitol Hill. There is no doubt in the minds of many of us from New England that he is the best qualified person to speak on this most important matter of this session of the Congress.

The letter follows:

LOWER TEXTILE TARIFF TO WIPE OUT NEW ENGLAND JOBS

To the Editor of the Herald:

I was surprised at your strong criticisms of Senstor Saltonstall for urging special consideration under H. R. 1 (the current tariff legislation) for the textile industry. Since I testified four times in the last few months on behalf of the New England Governors on this issue. I would like to present a view in support of Senator Saltonstall. And I make these remarks though throughout my professional life I have not only been considered a free trader but I have even testified against quotas on imports.

But we must not be doctrinaire in these matters. The New England textile industry has lost almost 40 percent of its jobs in 3½ years, and the country has lost 20 percent. I can only repeat what I said to the Senate Pinance and the House Ways and Means Committees and two Federal administrative agencies that it would be the most irresponsible behavior on the part of the Government in these circumstances to cut

tariffs on textiles substantially.

The argument is not against relaxations on tariffs. We all look forward to the day when trade will be less restricted than it is today. But the major obstacles on trade are abroad, not here; our imports have increased by two-thirds absolutely and relatively to world imports since prewar. Over a period of 20 years our tariffs have been cut by three-quarters (though I admit this measure is aubject to some reservations).

There is a tendency to oversimplify the Droblem. You cannot and should not put a heavy burden on the weak and the vulnerable. Miernyk's study showed that more than one-half of the workers who lost jobs in six closed textile mills were still without jobs long after, and most of the remainder were unhappy. Mr. William Sullivan, the indefatigable and able head of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, in-

formed the Senate Finance Committee on March 17 that 236 New England textile plants employing 91,835 workers, were liquidated in the 9 years ending 1954.

The classical theory of free trade rests on the assumption that people move and find jobs or (and) new industries move in and offer jobs. But there are long, long delays. Witness Lawrence with roughly 20 percent of unemployment for 2 years now. Tariff policy should not be allowed to aggravate the adjustment problems.

There are other solutions to the problem of more trade and dollar shortage than destroying industries or at best accelerating their decline. The problems of adjustment should be put on all the people and especially on the strong. Why should the American people subsidize the strong, the exporters, to the extent of \$120 billion over 40 years? Why not yield some of our markets abroad rather than coldly destroy vulnerable industries through increased imports? The former also would help solve the problem of dollar shortage. Foreigners improve their dollar position more easily by penetrating our markets abroad than by capturing our home market.

It is not necessary to go back to the pre-1933 system of tariff negotiation. It is only necessary to include safeguards in H. R. 1, which would protect industries which experience much unemployment or substantial losses of employment against reductions of tariffs.

It is well also to consider the effects of all Federal policies on the New England economy; and the tariff is one facet of those policies. The net effect of these policies—farm, tax, spending, tax amortization, etc.—has been relatively unfavorable to New England. Why introduce another Federal policy unfavorable to this region, one that cuts prices of what we sell just as other policies have raised prices of what we buy? That we must solve the Japanese problem through destroying the textile industry I refuse to admit. In my evidence I offered numerous alternatives.

EEYMOUR E. HARRIS.

Harvard University.

The Advancing South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Decatur Daily:

THE ADVANCING SOUTH

Things are happening in the South. People who live outside the region can perhaps see the changes taking place more readily than southerners. Nevertheless an era of unparalleled progress is foreseen for the South in the next 20 years.

William D. Poe, associate editor of the Progressive Farmer, has one of the most illuminating articles we have seen in the February issue of the journal devoted to the southern way of life.

For instance, population of 16 Southern States increased from 41 million in 1940 to 48 million in July 1954. The South gained 16.5 percent in white population, 1940-50, compared with a gain of 13.4 percent in white population for the rest of the United States. During the same period, the South's gain in Negro population was 1.5 percent,

while the rest of the United States gained 55.6 percent in Negro population.

Mr. Poe continues the number of farms in the South decreased 11 percent, but number of farm owners increased 12 percent, Tenants decreased 37 percent. To make up for loss in labor supply southern farmers increased ownership of tractors 241 percent and motor trucks 165 percent. Southern cash farm income increased from \$2.5 billion in 1940 to \$8.4 billion in 1950.

The South is balancing agriculture with industry. In 1951 the Southern States spent \$2 billion for new plants and equipment. This compared with \$1.7 billion spent in the heavily industrialized Middle Atlantic States, \$452 million in the New England States. Number of employees engaged in southern industry in 1951 was 3 million, compared with 4 million in the Middle Atlantic States and 1.5 million in New England.

Mr. Poe then gives his opinion of what all these changes will mean and summarizes with predictions of 1975 when the Nation's population will range from 190 to 220 million people and it will be necessary to increase farm production by 40 percent to feed this

increased population.

The Nation's total output of goods and services in 1975 will be twice what it was in 1950 and the South's opportunity for growth is clear when it is understood that in the next 20 years the South may expect to gain several thousand new manufacturing plants employing 100 or more workers. Each 100 new factory workers, it is shown, results in the following additions: 296 more people, 112 more households, \$590,000 more annual personal income, \$270,000 more bank deposits, 4 more retail establishments and \$360,000 retail sales annually.

Then quickly Mr. Poe adds this summary; Per capital income of many Southern States will rise above the national average; an increased demand for cotton seems sure to lie ahead; fertilizer requirements for the South in 1975 will be 2½ times the amount consumed in 1950; southern forest products will be in vastly greater demand; the chemical industry will be centered in the South by 1975, one-third of it is here now; use of electricity in the South will increase fourfold by 1975; it is likely that anther major steel mill will be located in the South by 1975. Then Mr. Poe concludes his excellent article by saying the South can surpass many of the achievements predicted. He closes with the late Dean Paul Chapman, who wrote, "No matter how fast the rest of the Nation grows, the South will grow faster."

Decatur people can also take pride in the fact that when Dean Chapman was preparing his series of articles on the South, he came to Decatur. After looking at our industry and agriculture and studying the foundation of what we have been trying to do here, Dean Chapman said it was not necessary for him to go farther, he had found what he had been looking for here.

So you may feel assured our foundation is sound, our roots are deep, and we will reap all of the benefits of southern growth between now and 1975. Our growth isn't likely to be spectacular, but it will be sound and steady if we continue to uphold the economic principles we have followed in the past. We have said that our growth is not likely to be spectacular. But rather the whole picture could change overnight with some other great American industry having decided that the Decatur location is the right location.

Whatever happens, remember this: Our system of farm marketing has no peer in Alabama, and our diversification of industry is the envy of many. We have wrought well in the past and by this experience we can do even better in the future provided we keep our eyes straight ahead on the target of better living for all of our people, city and rural.

Address of Hon. Mario Scelba, Premier of Italy, to the National Press Club, Washington, D. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I am, indeed, privileged to include an excellent talk given by Premier Mario Scelba, of Italy, to the National Press Club and officials of our Government on March 29.

It would be extraneous to go into detail of the great importance of the strong bond of friendship between the people of Italy and the United States. Premier Scelba speaks with extreme clarity for his countrymen on the need for Italy to sustain herself as a leader in the western coalition in Europe.

Mr. Scelba has graciously acknowl-edged the important role of American aid in the rebuilding of Italy and the stemming of the tide of international

communism.

He is worthy of acclamation as an exponent of the principles of freedom and democracy. He has admirably carried on the burdensome tasks of reconstruction by the late Premier Alcide de Gasperi and has displayed keen foresight and imagination in bringing forth programs of his own for the betterment of Italy and the welfare of her citizens. Mr. Scelba's speech commands the attention and reading of all Members of this body.

The address follows:

Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, I am very grateful for your invitation and happy to meet with such a distinguished gathering of American newspapermen. I am happy to have this opportunity for an exchange of views, which I trust will contribute to a better mutual acquaintance. Besides, I can think of no better or more appropriate place than this to convey to the great people of America a message of friendship from the Italian people, and to thank the American public, as well as you personally, for the warm reception extended to Foreign Minister Martino and to myself, as representatives of Italy, as well as to our associates.
Here in Washington I have once more had

the pleasure of meeting with your President, whom I had already known in Italy in the past. As a matter of fact, President Elsen-hower is well known by all of us in Europe, where, for so many years of war and peace, he has been surrounded with great respect and widespread popularity. I have also had the pleasure of meeting your distinguished Secretary of State and other leaders of the American administration. We have met and talked in a cordial atmosphere, which is the fruit of friendship and of community of

I suppose the first thing you want to know-I have been asked this already-Why am I here? Mine is a visit of friendship and good will. I have been asked by many of you gentlemen if I have come here to discuss economic questions, in fact, economic assistance. I would like to point out that any discussion of United States-Italian relations and cooperation cannot but include economic cooperation which is a specific aspect of cooperation in general. However.

speaking of economic assistance, I should, above all, like to say a word of gratitude to the American people. Together with other nations of Western Europe, we have received in many years generous and spontaneous American aid in our reconstruction. It has played a vital part, and without that aid Italy—and we might say the whole of Eu-rope—could not have avoided a major and prolonged calamity. If we had not received American aid, we could not be in a position to announce, as we can and do today, that postwar reconstruction is an accomplished fact and that the Italian economy has already developed well over and above the prewar level.

We sometimes hear from authoritative American observers that, despite all the aid received, we have not yet managed to solve our problems. Frankly, I cansider this approach completely wrong. It was only thanks to your assistance that we managed, with tremendous efforts and sacrifices on our part, to tackle our problems and start solving them. Without external aid our efforts

would probably have failed.

When people ask us how it is that, despite so many efforts, we have not yet fully overcome our economic and political difficulties, they seem to overlook the conditions in which democracy was restored in Italy. We had to face political, economic, and social conditions created by the fall of a dictator-ship, the splitting of the nation in two parts, the clash of armies, and the lack of all authority. It should be also remembered that the Allied authorities brought the Communists into the Italian Government, thereby accrediting them as a genuinely democratic group, and entrusted them with many key posts in the Italian administration. result, in the first postwar election held in 1946, the Social-Communists got over 40 percent of the total vote, an accomplishment which they could never repeat in later elections. This was the situation in which we found ourselves and which we did not

In addition to our postwar political problems, we had also to face our economic problems. First of all, this required the recovery of our economy from the effects of enormous war damages, which destroyed almost onethird of our national wealth, cut down by 50 percent our agricultural production, and brought our industrial production and foreign trade to a complete standstill. But the effects of war, with their economic and political implications, aggravated age-long structural problems, stemming from over-population in relation to resources, from a great gap in the level of economic and social development reached by different regions of Italy, and from persistent balanceof-payment difficulties.

From these conditions, partly natural and partly historical, spring fundamental problems of the Italian economy, such as our low level of per capita income (which as you know is less than one-seventh of the United States level), and the consequent low rate of saving and of capital formation. But in addition to all this, the very fact that, thanks to the hard work in which we have engaged, the Italian economy is once more in a phase of expansion and development, creates yet more problems, economic and political. The impact of all this weighs heavily upon many segments of our economy. As an example, I may quote the housing problem. It has been rendered all the more acute by the destructions of war, by the growth of population, and also by the improvement in living conditions which, particularly in southern Italy, leads to a greater demand for housing. To meet this pressure we have alhousing. ready built or rebuilt over 9 million rooms, and we are now about to embark on a vast additional program of housing construction. The government of democratic coalition, a coalition which has shown itself as the most effective and adequate to meet the nation's needs, is now more than 1 year old. Moving along the broad lines of policy which were laid by the late Premier De Gasperi, with respect both to the government formula and to political orientation, our government has achieved the work of reconstruction and it has settled great problems which were cloud-ing our political horizon. Among others I would like to mention the Trieste problem. the solution of which owes much to the friendly and keen contribution made by United States and United Kingdom diplomacy; the ratification of the Paris agreement on Western Europe: the adoption of many measures of internal legislation of great social significance.

Now that the postwar cycle has been closed, we are focusing our attention on the struc-tural problems of our economy, and are concentrating all our efforts on their solution. To that end Italy has devised and is putting into effect vast programs which will improve very substantially her economic and social structure. Among the most important I will mention the land reform. It has already resulted in the transfer of approximately 11/2 million acres of land from absentee land-owners to hitherto landless farmers. Incidentally, this entails a tremendous financial burden, also in view of the fact that, in addition to the cost of the land, there is an additional very large cost due to basic reclamation work

I should also mention the special program the south (Cassa del Mezzogiorno). which, together with land reform, has the purpose of improving basic living conditions in our depressed areas and to close the gap in wealth and income between the north and the south. From October 1950 to the present date special administration for the South has already committed approximately 400 billion lire, equivalent to well over \$650 million, for its projects.

I would like also to mention our recent tax reform, which is having an almost revolutionary impact on our tax habits, since it involves a new approach and a new spirit on the part of both Government and taxpayers. The overall tax bill, which is at present going through the final stages of debate in Parliament, includes strict sanctions against tax evaders. Its application will lead to the equal distribution of our tax burden. There is already an encouraging increase in tax revenue also as a result of these recent re-

We shall strain ourselves to the limit, in order to tackle our problems with our own resources. We shall intensify our existing policy of encouraging productive investments. In this way we hope to change the Italian economic structure, and will attain a higher volume of employment also as a result of a better distribution of income. you know, we have already presented to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation a development projection of the Italian economy, based on the principles just mentioned. It is not a rigid plan, in the acception of the word which is current in Eastern Europe. This is the product of detalled studies from outstanding experts. Italian or international. Their unanimous conclusion is that no action or reform initiated by any Italian Government can solve the Italian economic structural problems except within a framework of international cooperation. There are countries where there is a manpower shortage and yet where unsurmountable barriers are raised against our immigration. In order to settle our structural problems we need large capital, which we have not. International cooperation, also in the mutual interests of the free world, could and should materialize. We desire to attract foreign investments, and to that end our Government has submitted to Parliament new draft legislation which will encourage foreign investments and insure them an equitable remuneration.

Unquestionably, Italy is making determined progress along the road toward economic development. With respect to 1938, and in constant prices, our national income has increased by 40 percent, our agricultural production by 12 percent, and industrial production by 71 percent. Consumer expenditure, also at constant prices, is increasing steadily throughout the country, and particularly in the south at a rate which is quite unprecedented. At the same time it has been possible to reduce somehow the gap, however still existing, in consumer expenditure between our northern and southern regions.

Economic and social reforms and the defense of liberty under the law are the foundations of the policies that my government is pursuing in order to strengthen democracy in Italy. It is already apparent that antidemocratic forces are beginning to lose ground in the North, where our working classes are comparatively well paid and enjoy advanced standards. The outcome of shop steward elections in many industrial plants gives a definite indication of such trend. On the other hand, the situation requires careful watching in the South, during the present period of transition in economic and social condition. The new horizons disclosed by somewhat higher living conditions lead to higher and higher expectations. This creates opportunities for dissatisfaction which subversive propaganda is quick to exploit.

Some in Italy and abroad have advocated the adoption on our part of shall I say, violent forms of repression against extremist parties and against the enemies of democracy, enslaved to foreign ideologies, as has been done in some countries. However, each country has its own historical conditions, its own experiences and requirements, and we in Italy are firmly convinced that democracy can be defended and must be defended with democratic methods. Our public opinion is extremely sensitive and vigilant on this point. It insists upon respect for law and order, but is strongly opposed to repressive measures that might suggest the return of, or recall, nondemocratic systems.

Gentlemen, I am talking to representatives of the press of one of the world's greatest democracies. It was Thomas Jefferson who said: "I would rather be exposed to the inconveniences attending too much liberty, than those attending too small a degree of it." I quite agree we must not be content with that, and I can say that the Italian democratic state is in a position to defend itself and the freedom of its citizens against any and all threats from the enemies of freedom. The authority of the Italian states is getting stronger, and so is the sense of democracy.

We consider any alarm or concern sometimes voiced abroad completely unjustified. We have a sufficient sense of responsibility to realize what a tragic situation would ensue for the Western World, and what the plight of our Allies would be if Italy, in her key Position in the Mediterranean, did not belong to the family of freedom-loving nations. It is our first and paramount interest to see to it that such a tragedy does not occur, because we would be the first to suffer. At the same time the fact that our foreign friends occasionally feel concerned or alarmed is an indication of their deep awareness of how interdependent we all are and the fate of all depends on the fate of each. The subject of interdependence among nations has never been so vital and urgent as it is today.

A few months ago, during the speech which I made in Rome on Italy's European Policy, I said that when one talks of international cooperation the first thought goes to the United States and to American policy

after the war. The importance of the Marshall plan, which was the first happy experiment of an organized community of nations, was no less moral than it was material. I said on that occasion, and I would like to repat it now, that we are grateful to America not only for her material help, which was extended as by a free and independent nation to other free and independent nations, but also for the example she set of what nations can accomplish if they are united. I would like to emphasize the paramount importance of this aspect of our alliances and communities.

After the Marshall plan, the effectiveness of international cooperation for the security of peace and democracy was proved by the North Atlantic Pact. The Atlantic Alliance, which is the cornerstone of our foreign policy, led to the establishment of an effective system of mutual defense. Military defense, however, while fundamental, is not sufficient alone. Against the compact alinement of the iron-curtain countries with its network of military and political treaties, we must follow an international policy of untiy and solidarity. Peace and freedom must be defended not only with weapons, but with concerted action. Article II of the North Atlantic Pact gives full recognition to these principles, but we must admit that little has been done thus far to implement them.

What I have in mind specifically is the necessity of economic and social solidarity and of coordinated political action. This principle leads to recognition of the fact that no national economy can survive alone. It implies also that if there are weak spots in the economic or social structure of any one of the freedom-loving countries, this weakens the whole community of free nations, just as would occur in any military defense system. Politically, we have in past years experienced how harmful differences, even of method or even only apparent, between the members of our community can be. It is hardly necessary for me to recall how our opponents cunningly exploited the different reactions in various Atlantic nations to the spurious peace campaign waged by the Communists in 1953; or, more cently, the unfavorable effect that lack of unanimity among the European nations regarding EDC ratification might have had on the democratic forces in Germany. Our conviction that international cooperation is essential for the survival of the free world. as well as for the solution of our own major national problems, explains why Italian policies are so passionately European. the present time, we consider the Western European Union not as a terminal but as a starting point towards new forms of union and integration in Europe, which must be worked out without undue hurry but without delay. I would not like to dramatize, but there are no other alternatives for Europe: either integration or disintegration.

That is why Italy, despite the long parliamentary procedure prescribed by her constitution, was the first nation on the continent of Europe to ratify the Paris agreements.

It was also significant, and indeed exceptional, that the entire Parliament, with the exception of the Commuists and their allies voted in favor of the European idea. This indicates that whenever the present Italian Government or any other Italian Government identifies a united Europe with prosperity and liberty, it knows that it is giving expression to the requirements and to the interests of Italy as a whole.

Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, regardless of the fact that we are still at lunch, I have abused of your attention. I have ventured to do so however because I feel surrounded by an atmosphere of genuine friendship, which goes back to some of the most difficult days of our national history. I shall be happy now to answer your questions. Before doing so, however, I would like to thank you once more for your warm welcome, for your friendly and cordial reception, and for your invaluable contribution to the achievement of our common ideals.

Statement in Support of a Bill Extending Certain Veteran's Benefits to or on Behalf of Dependent Husbands and Widowers of Female Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF PLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill into this Congress that would provide that, in those provisions of laws administered by the Veterans' Administration which relate to compensation, pension, retirement pay, and subsistence allowance, the terms "wife" and "dependent" shall include a dependent husband and the term "widow" shall include a widower whenever his condition is such that, if his wife were living, he would be dependent upon her for support.

This is one of the most compassionate requests I may make to you today. I take this opportunity to point out several of the merits of this measure. My sincerity in this case has been heightened by several cases in the First District of Florida of which I would recite one to bring into sharp focus the real need of many wives of the veterans of our wars in defense of this great Nation.

This resident of my district is a disabled female veteran, and her husband, because of physical disability, is entirely dependent upon his wife for support and comfort. It falls upon this woman the responsibility of providing a home for her husband and giving to this disabled man such comforts as life may bring him in his condition. This is a task that she welcomes as part of her matrimonial vows and one which she has cheerfully and fully taken upon herself. Who is this woman? She is one of those upon whom this Nation called for service in the defense of our Nation in the dire years of World War II. I think it is time to remind this House that these women were volunteers in our service. They had put their country above many of the comforts of home and had served beyond the call of duty to their Nation. It is time that we recognized their devotion and their service. It is time that we placed their responsibilities today on the same basis as the responsibilities of those veterans who receive the benefits of the compensation provided by the Veterans' Administration for dependents who cannot care for themselves.

In the bill that I have today proposed such relief would be provided. In the case of the individual I have recommended for your consideration the amount of additional compensation would be in the vicinity of \$27 per month. This is a small amount to each of us individually. This is a large amount to the veteran for whom I would provide some of the smaller benefits

of life.

I believe that this legislation is highly desirable, both on the basis of providing uniformity and because it is sound policy to make the benefits available to the dependent husbands of widowers of female veterans in the same manner as they are available to the wives and widows of male veterans. In view of the service rendered to the country during World War II particularly, and in a lesser extent during World War I, by female components of the Armed Forces, it is believed that such action is only fair and

There are approximately 300,000 living veterans of World War II, and there is no information on which to base an estimate of the number who would be affected by the passage of this legislation. Therefore no fixed cost estimate can be

provided.

These last two paragraphs of explanation of the bill are from the report of the committee of the 81st Congress in support of earlier bills. These statements are true today. They are more true as each year cases occur which place more of the family responsibility upon these female veterans.

It is my most sincere hope this Congress shall make such benefits available to the women who have served our

Nation.

Greek Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, March 25 is the 134th anniversary of the independence of Greece. Under the leadership of Archbishop Germenos, on March 25, 1821, Greek patriots rose and overthrew their Ottoman overlords who had oppressed them for so long. The Greeks have always had to fight for their freedom. Fifteen years ago, Mussolini's legions found that Greek resistance was a hard nut to crack. It later took the full strength of Hitler's armed forces to invest the little peninsula that is Greece-and then only for a time, until the Greek people could help to bring about their own liberation. Hardly was Greek freedom reestablished when Communist-led forces attempted to seize the government. The world will not soon forget that it was the Truman Doctrine which helped the Greek people to stand fast, and with military and economic aid, to turn back and defeat the Communist challenge.

In 1949 I saw at first hand during a visit to Athens how the Greek people joined in the common fight against communism and poverty. Today Greece once again knows peace, and is making earnest beginnings toward a fuller economic life. There is no better symbol of Greek-American friendship than the plains of Thermopylae, once arid but now blooming with rice fields. The Greek children brought garlands of flowers to the American point 4 reclamation expert who had helped in the project, and their elders erected a simple monument of marble to his memory-of the same quarry as the Parthenon marble.

Those Greeks who have immigrated to our country have contributed greatly to the richness of American life. They have brought with them the high tradition of western civilization suggested by such towering figures as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Sophocles.

In my home city of Milwaukee, thousands of good citizens proudly cherish their Greek ancestry. They have con-tributed much to our economic, social, and cultural life, and to the learned professions. In war their sons have served our country brilliantly. Two fine congregations attest to their religious belief.

May two of the world's oldest democracies—the United States and Greece—go on forever in friendly brotherhood.

Support of Housing for the Aged Is Nationwide

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, as indicative of the nationwide interest in H. R. 3919, a bill to provide public housing for the senior citizens of the United States in the introduction of which I have been joined by 12 other members of the Banking and Currency Committee as well as by others of my colleagues, I am extending my remarks to include a few typical letters of the many that I have been receiving, as follows:

FROM NEWARK, N. J.

MY DEAR MR. O'HARA: We, the members of the Essex County Council of Jewish Older Adults, wish to express our commendation and support for your bill, H. R. 3919, which deals specifically with a Federal housing program for elderly people of low income.

We are greatly encouraged and heartened by your recognition of the tremendous need of older people for adequate low-cost housing. Further, your provision for the inclu-sion of single older people in the housing program will correct an inequity in the Federal Housing Act of 1937, which has long worked a hardship on large numbers of older

A number of other community organizations have expressed an interest in the problem of low-cost housing for older people, and we should greatly appreciate your suggestions and counsel as to how we can build up public support for your bill.

It would also be most helpful to know whether a favorable report has been received from the Housing and Home Finance Agency on your bill and when the bill is scheduled

for action by the House Eanking and Currency Committee.

If action has already taken place in this committee, we should appreciate your letting us know which housing bill or bills were reported out favorably and where the bills are now. We should also like to have several copies of H. R. 3919.

Thank you for your interest and attention. Sincerely yours,

SOPHIE ENGEL Mrs. Joseph Engel. Secretary, Essex County Council of Jewish Older Adults.

FROM PHILADELPHIA

DEAR CONGRESSMAN O'HARA: I am delighted to find that you introduced a bill in Congress providing for public low rent housing for older persons. The Philadelphia Housing Association's Committee on Housing for the Aged, of which I am the chairman, has been reviewing over the last year the housing problems of older people and has come to the conclusion that the most important obstacle to decent housing for older people is the gap between the cost of adequate housing and the ability of older persons to pay for it.

We felt that the exclusion of single persons and groups of unrelated persons from public housing worked to the disadvantage of older persons, many of whom are not members of family groups. We have been recommending that public housing presently existing, under construction, or in the planning stage, be made available to single older persons. Making this recommendation, how-ever, we were aware that because of the small overall supply of public housing, admission of single older persons would solve the problem for only relatively few of those actually in need of better housing. We were also aware that the admission of more older persons would reduce the supply available to other groups equally in need, particularly the large families. Moreover, existing public housing is not specifically designed for older people.

We believe that an annual expenditure of \$3 million a year is a small price indeed for the American people to pay for decent housing for its older citizens. Moreover, we think that this sum will repay itself many times by lessened need for institutional and

hospital facilities.

For all of these reasons, we heartily applaud and endorse the introduction of legislation designed to produce good and cheap housing for the elderly which would not curtail the supply available to other groups.

the supp.,
Sincerely yours.
ELLA F. HARRIS,
HOL Chairman, Committee on Housing for the Aged of the Philadelphia

Housing Association. FROM CINCINNATI

DEAR CONGRESSMAN O'HARA: Here in Cincinnati we have a joint committee on housing for the aging, composed of representatives from the Better Housing League and the Community Council on Aging. This committee is trying to do something in the neglected field of improving housing for elderly people.

Mr. Lee Johnson, in his membership newsletter of March 9, 1955, speaks with praise about your bill, H. R. 3919, to provide housing of elderly persons at low income.

Would it be possible for you to make available to our committee one or more copies of this bill? If you have a supply. I would like to request 14 copies, but would be happy to receive just 1 copy.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,
BENJAMIN P. GROVES, Executive Secretary, Better Housing League of Cincinnati and Hamilton County.

FROM SAN ANTONIO

DEAR CONGRESSMAN O'HARA: I read with keen interest and deep gratitude of your understanding of the needs of the aged, expressed through the introduction of your bill H. R. 3919. Those of us who have been in public housing for years are daily faced with a serious lack of facilities for our aging citizens, particularly those who live on our meager-monthly grants. Daily we turn away from the imploring eyes of the single aged person living perhaps in a garage or dark hall bedroom and eager for a small private abode where there is cleanliness and air and heat and even, maybe a small plot for flowers. Our existing public housing was constructed for families and therefore our smallest units (three and a half rooms) are considered too large for the single occupant. Personally, I would rather be a little extravagant spacewise than extravagant in contributing to the continuation of misery and ill health. Better, however, would be the lifting of public housing construction restrictions for relocation only and permitting local housing authorities to immediately construct small units and have the law lift the restriction on single occupants.

Without question, large groups countrywide will support your efforts and we sincerely hope they will meet with success. We now have some 300 aged couples here in San Antonio. Their happy faces shining through the wrinkles is a joy only offset by the dejection and complete futility that overcomes our aged individuals as they seek shelter from us and are rejected.

May your work be fruitful. Sincerely.

MARIE C. McGuire, Executive Director, Housing Authority of the City of San Antonio.

FROM CHICAGO

DEAR CONGRESSMAN O'HARA: As chairman of the planning committee for the aged of the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, I should like to take this opportunity to express the thanks of my committee and my own personal gratitude to you for your sponsorship of H. R. 3919.

It is, unfortunately, true that elderly persons are more likely to be alone than to qualify in Federal housing projects as a family. The need for low-rent housing for single persons in Federal housing projects is desperate and you are to be congratulated for having recognized it and taken action.

Sincerely yours,

LOUIS P. HALLER.

FROM THE MAYOR OF ST. LOUIS

Letter sent by Mayor Ray Tucker, of St. Louis, Mo., to all Members of the Congress from Missouri:

My DEAR SENATOR: It is my understanding that the Honorable BARRATT O'HARA, Democrat, of Illinois, has introduced H. R. 3919 to establish a Federal program of housing for elderly persons of low income. As I understand it, Mr. O'HARA's bill would provide Public housing for elderly single persons, as well as couples, designed specifically for their needs. Further, the bill provides that the Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration may authorize construction of not to exceed 50,000 such dwelling units in the fiscal year of 1956, and in each of the 4 succeeding fiscal years. It would also give the Commissioner the right to approve the remodeling of existing projects in an area Where the need for homes for elderly persons of low income is established.

I thought that I would call the bill particularly to your attention since there is a pressing need for this type of construction in the city of St. Louis. I am completely in agreement with the intent behind the bill and I would appreciate your cooperation and assistance in securing and expediting approval of the enabling legislation, as well as any related appropriations that may be involved.

Sincerely.

RAY TUCKER, Mayor.

FROM SAN FRANCISCO

Telegram from Charles De Limur, president of the San Francisco Center for the Blind, reads:

We are vitally interested in the House bill we understand you are introducing which provides for public housing for elderly citizens. Our single blind who are excluded from admission to public housing desperately need such facilities. We assure you of our heartlest support and any possible assistance.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodle is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not inter-fere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives. each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commis-sioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which I shall be delivered at his residence, I at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at \$1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON	Building	Grant, George M., Ale
OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building,	Christopher, George H., Mo.	Gray, Kenneth J., Ill. Green, Edith, Oreg
Washington, D. C.	Chudoff, Earl, Pa	Green, William J., Jr.
[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated] Speaker, Sam Rayburn	Church, Marguerite Stitt, 2122 Mass. Ave.	Gregory, Noble J., Ky. Griffiths, Martha W.,
Abbitt, Watkins M., Va	Clark, Frank M., Pa	Gross, H. R., Iowa
Abernethy, Thos. G., Miss6278 29th St.	Clevenger, Cliff, OhioThe Jefferson	Gubser, Charles S., Co
Adair, E. Ross, Ind4200 Cathedral Ave.	Cole, W. Sterling, N. Y1610 44th St. Colmer, William M., Miss	Gwinn, Ralph W., N.
Addonizio, Hugh J., N. J	Cooley, Harold D., N. CThe Dorchester	Hagen, Harlan, Calif.
Albert, Carl, Okla Alexander, Hugh Q., N. C	Cooper, Jere, TennThe Washington	Hale, Robert, Maine Haley, James A., Fla
Alger, Bruce, Tex	Corbett, Robert J., Pa	Halleck, Charles A., I
Allen, John J., Jr., Calif Allen, Leo E., Ill	Cramer, William C., Fla454 Tindall St.	Hand, T. Millet, N. J. Harden, Cecil M., Inc.
Andersen, H. Carl, Minn4545 Conn. Ave.	Cretella, Albert W., Conn	Hardy, Porter, Jr., Va.
Andresen, August H., Minn.	Crumpacker, Shepard J.,	Harrison, Burr P., Va.
Andrews, George W., Ala3108 Cathedral Ave.	Jr., Ind. Cunningham, Paul. Iowa	
Anfuso, Victor L., N. Y	Curtis, Laurence, Mass3314 O St.	Harrison, Robert D., I Harvey, Ralph, Ind
Arends, Leslie C., Ill4815 Dexter St. Ashley, Thomas L., Ohio	Curtis, Thomas B., Mo Dague, Paul B., Pa	
Ashmore, Robert T., S. C	Davidson, Irwin D., N. Y	Hays, Brooks, Ark Hays, Wayne L., Ohio.
Aspinall, Wayne N., Colo_Arlington Towers, Arlington, Va.	Davis, Clifford, Tenn4611 Butter- worth Pl.	Hayworth, Don, Mich
Auchincloss, James C., N. J. 113 S. Lee St.,	Davis, Glenn R., Wis2550 South Joyce,	Hebert, F. Edward, Lo
Avery, William H., Kans	Davis, James C., Ga	Henderson, John E., C
Ayres, William H., Ohio	Dawson, William A., Utah	Harlang A C To Flo
Bailey, Cleveland M., W. Va_	Dawson, William L., Ill	Herlong, A. S., Jr., Flo Heselton, John W., M
Baker, Howard H., Tenn Baldwin, John F., Jr., Calif_	Deane, Charles B., N. C Delaney, James J., N. Y	Hess, William E., Ohio
Barden, Graham A., N. C_2737 Devonshire	Dempsey, John J., N. Mex_2500 Q St.	Hiestand, Edgar W., C Hill, William S., Colo.
Barrett, William A., Pa	Denton, Winfield K., Ind Derounian, Steven B., N. Y.	
Bass, Perkins, N. H	Devereux, James P. S., Md_	Hillings, Patrick J., C
Bass, Ross, Tenn	Dies, Martin, Tex Diggs, Charles C., Jr., Mich_The Congressional	Hinshaw, Carl, Calif Hoeven, Charles B., I
Bates, William H., Mass Baumhart, A. D., Jr., Ohio_	Dingell, John D., Mich	Hoffman, Clare E., M
Beamer, John V., Ind110 Maryland	Dixon, Henry Aldous, Utah. Dodd, Thomas J., Conn	Hoffman, Richard W.,
Becker, Frank J., N. Y1727 Mass. Ave.	Dollinger, Isidore, N. Y	Holifield, Chet, Calif. Holmes, Hal, Wash
Belcher, Page, Okla	Dolliver, James I., Iowa3752 Jocelyn St. Dondero, George A., Mich_The Continental	Holt, Joe, Calif
Bell, John J., Tex Bennett, Charles E., Fla1530 38th St. SE.	Donohue, Harold D., Mass_	Holtzman, Lester, N. Hope, Clifford R., Kar
Bennett, John B., Mich7304 Bradley Blvd.	Donovan, James G., N. Y	Hope, Cimora It., Au
Bentley, Alvin M. Mich.	Dorn, Francis E., N. Y Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C	Horan, Walt, Wash
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dowdy John Tex	Hosmer, Craig, Calif Huddleston, George,
Betts, Jackson E., Ohio	Doyle, Clyde, Calif3877 30th St. N., Arlington, Va.	Ala.
Blatnik, John A., Minn	Durham, Carl T., N. C The Lee House	Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md.
Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga Boggs, Hale, La	Eberharter, Herman P., Pa. 3101 4th St. N.,	Ikard, Frank, Tex
Boland, Edward P., Mass	Arlington, Va.	Jackson, Donald L., C
Bolton, Frances P., Ohio2301 Wyo. Ave.	Elliott, Carl, Ala	James, Benjamin F., I
Bolton, Oliver P., Ohio	Ellsworth, Harris, Oreg4301 Mass. Ave. Engle, Clair, Calif3840 Lorcom Lane	Jarman, John, Okla- Jenkins, Thomas A., C
Bonner, Herbert C., N. CThe Dorchester	Arlington, Va.	Jennings, W. Pat, Va.
Bosch, Albert H., N. Y Bow, Frank T., Ohio4301 Mass. Ave.	Evins, Joe L., Tenn5044 Klingle St. Fallon, George H., Md	Jensen, Ben F., Iowa.
Bowler, James B., Ill	Fascell, Dante B., Fla	Johansen, August E.,
Boykin, Frank W., Ala The Washington Boyle, Charles A., Ill	Feighan, Michael A., Ohio.	Johnson, Leroy, Calif.
Bray, William G., Ind	Fenton, Ivor D., Pa3725 Macomb St. Fernandez, A. M., N. Mex. 200 C St. SE.	Johnson, Lester R., W
Brooks, Jack B., Tex Brooks, Overton, La4413 46th St.	Fine, Sidney A., N. Y	Jonas, Charles Raper,
Brown, Clarence J., Ohio_Alban Towers	Fino, Paul A., N. Y	Jones, Paul C., Mo
Brown, Paul, GaBoston House Brownson, Charles B., Ind_	Fjare, Orvin B., Mont	Total Makes M. To
Broyhill, Joel T., Va	Flood, Daniel J., PaThe Congressional	Jones, Robert E., Jr., A Jones, Woodrow W., A
Buchanan, Vera, Pa Buckley, Charles A., N. Y	Flynt, John J., Jr., Ga Fogarty, John E., R. I3627 Chesapeake	Judd, Walter H., Min
Budge, Hamer H., Idaho	St.	Karsten, Frank M., M
Burdick, Usher L., N. Dak Burleson, Omar, Tex2737 Devonahire	Forand, Aime J., R. I4108 Dresden St., Kensington, Md.	Kean, Robert W., N.
Pl.	Ford, Gerald R., Jr., Mich514 Crown View	Kearney, B. W. (Pat),
Burnside, M. G., W. Va Bush, Alvin R., Pa	Dr., Alexandria, Va.	Kearns, Carroll D., Po
Byrd, Robert C., W. Va	Forrester, E. L., Ga	Keating, Kenneth B., Kee, Elizabeth, W. Vo
Byrne, James A., Pa1215 25th St. So.,	Fountain, L. H., N. C3251 Q St. Frazier, Jas. B., Jr., Tenn_Fairfax Hotel	Kelley, Augustine B.,
Arlington, Va.	Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr., 3014 N St.	Kelly, Edna F., N. Y Keogh, Eugene J., N.
Canfield, Gordon, N. J	N. J. Friedel, Samuel N., Md	Kilburn, Clarence E.,
Cannon, Clarence, Mo Carlyle, F. Ertel, N. CThe Washington	Fulton, James G., Pa	Kilday, Paul J., Tex. Kilgore, Joe M., Tex.
Carnahan, A. S. J., Mo	Gamble, Ralph A., N. Y	King, Cecil R., Calif_
Carrigg, Joseph L., Pa Cederberg, Elford A., Mich_	Garmatz, Edward A., Md Gary, J. Vaughan, Va	King, Karl C., Pa Kirwan, Michael J., 6
Celler, Emanuel, N. Y The Mayflower	Gathings, E. C., Ark6377 31st Pl.	Klein, Arthur G., N.
Chase, Jackson B., Nebr	Gavin, Leon H., Pa	Kluczynski, John C., Knox, Victor A., Mich
Chatham, Thurmond, N. C., Chelf, Frank, Ky	Gentry, Brady, Tex George, Myron V., Kans3801 Rodman St.	Knutson, Coya, Minn
Chenoweth, J. Edgar, Colo-	Gordon, Thomas S., Ill	Krueger, Otto, N. Da

., Pa._ a.___4801 Conn. Ave. , Pa__ 2401 Calvert St. Mich_ alif___ Y____ ____2722 N St. nd___4926 Upton St. ____The Congressional -----1627 Myrtle St. ----4519 So. 34th St., Arlington, Va. lebr__ -- 110 Maryland Ave. NE. ----314 2d St. SE. ----The Woodner a_____104 Cockrell St., Alexandria, Va. Ohio_125 Marthas Rd., Alexandria, Va. ass___ calif__ ----110 Maryland alif__ Ave. NE. lowa_2108 Suitland Terrace SE. ich__Methodist Bldg. ns____3541 Brandywine St. Jr., Ohio_.The Mayflower __The Washing-ton House Mich.

630 North Carolina Ave. SE.

7is...3816 Pope St. SE.

7, N. C.

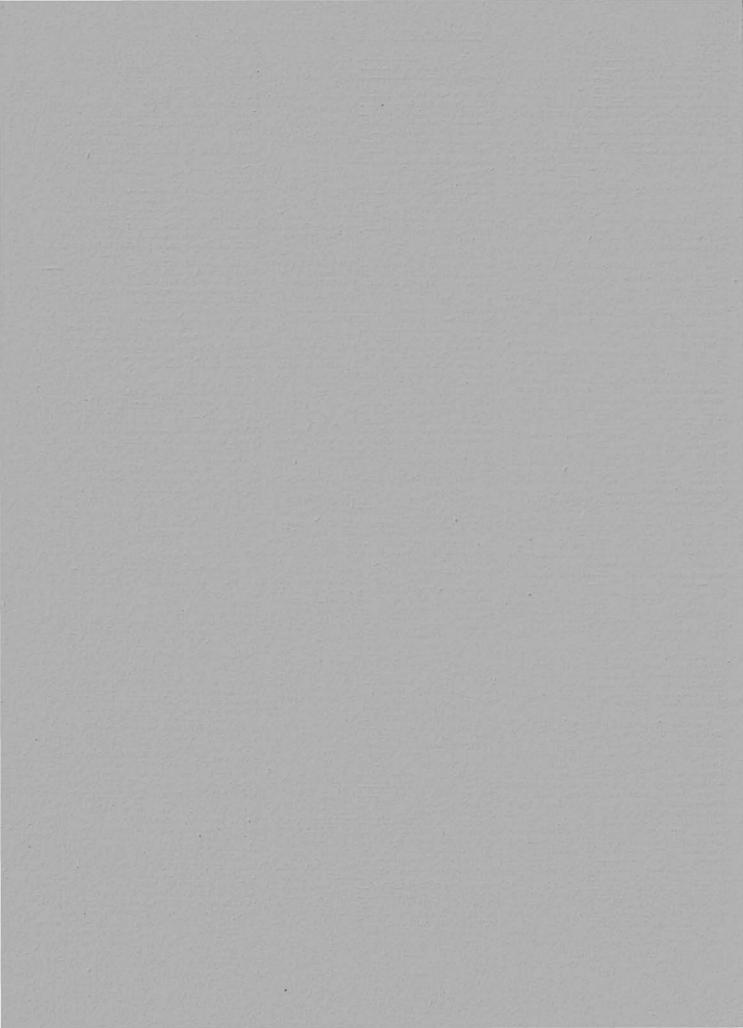
3613 Greenway

Pl., Alexandria,

Va. Ala___ N. C__ n___3083 Ordway St. fo.___ J____2435 Kalorama Road N. Y_ a____Sheraton-Park N. Y_1249 31st St. Pa___ Y...The Mayflower
N. Y. The Gen. Scott
.....3507 AlbemarleSt. Ohio__ iu___ Krueger, Otto, N. Dak ____ The Coronet

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

	Laird, Melvin R., Wis	Pilcher, J. L., Ga	Tumulty, T. James, N. J
	Landrum, Phil M., Ga	Pillion, John R., N. Y.	Udall, Stewart L., Ariz
	Lane, Thomas J., Mass Lanham, Henderson, Ga	Poage, W. R., Tex2309 Skyland Pl. SE.	Vanik, Charles A., Ohio
	Lankford, Richard E., Md	Poff, Richard H., Va	Van Pelt, William K., Wis
	Latham, Henry J., N. Y.	Polk, James G., Ohio	Van Zandt, James E., PaThe Senate Courts
	LeCompte, Karl M., Iowa_Sheraton-Park	Powell, Adam C., Jr., N. Y.	Velde, Harold H., Ill.
	Lesinski, John, Jr., Mich Lipscomb, Glenard P., Calif.	Preston, Prince H., Jr., Ga. Price, Melvin, Ill.	Vinson, Carl, Ga4 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md.
	Long, George S., La	Priest, J. Percy, TennThe Berkshire	Vorys, John M., Ohio2032 Belmont Rd.
	Lovre, Harold O., S. Dak1605 Sherwood	Prouty, Winston L., Vt	Vursell, Charles W., IllThe Congres-
	Road, Silver	Quigley, James M., Pa	sional
	Spring, Md.	Rabaut, Louis C., Mich	Wainwright, Stuyvesant,
	McCarthy, Eugene J., Minn_419 Raymond St.,	Radwan, Edmund P., N. Y.	N. Y. Walter, Francis E., Pa
	McConnell, Samuel K., Jr.,	Rains, Albert, Ala	Watts, John C., Ky
	Pa.	Rayburn, Sam, Tex	Weaver, Phil, Nebr9408 Crosby Rd.,
	McCormack, John W., Mass_The Washington	Reece, B. Carroll, Tenn	Silver Spring, Md.
	McCulloch, Wm. M., Ohio_Westchester Apts,	Reed, Chauncey W., Ill 2009 Glen Ross	Westland, Jack, Wash
	McDonough, G. L., Calif McDowell, Harris B., Jr.,	Rd., Silver Spring, Md.	Wharton, J. Ernest, N. Y Whitten, Jamie L., Miss5804 Nebraska
	Del.	Reed, Daniel A., N. YThe Woodner	Ave.
	McGregor, J. Harry, Ohio_The Westchester	Rees, Edward H., Kans1801 16th St.	Wickersham, Victor, Okla
6	McIntire, Clifford G.,	Reuss, Henry S., Wis2750 32d St.	Widnall, William B., N. J.
	Maine	Rhodes, George M., Pa1809 Franklin St. NE.	Wigglesworth P. R. Mass. 3257 N St
	McMillan, John L., S. C1201 S. Barton St., Arlington, Va.	Rhodes, John J., Ariz	Wigglesworth, R. B., Mass3257 N. St. Williams, Harrlson, Jr.,
	McVey, William E., Ill 3130 Wisconsin	Richards, James P., S. C	N. J.
	Ave.	Riehlman, R. Walter, N. Y_3210 Wis. Ave.	Williams, John Bell, Miss1001 26th Road S.,
	Macdonald, Torbert H.,	Riley, John J., S. C.	Arlington, Va.
	Mass.	Rivers, L. Mendel, S. C	Williams, William R., N. Y. 1241 Pa. Ave. SE.
	Machrowicz, Thaddeus M., 812 Park Ave.,	Roberts, Kenneth A., Ala_4545 Conn. Ave. Robeson, Edward J., Jr., Va_	Willis, Edwin E., La Wilson, Earl, Ind
	Mich. Falls Church, Va.	Robsion, John M., Jr., Ky_1500 Delafield Pl.	Wilson, Robert C. (Bob),
	Mack, Peter F., Jr., Ill Mack, Russell V., Wash	Rodino, Peter W., Jr., N. J	Calif.
	Madden, Ray J., Ind3250 T St. SE.	Rogers, Byron G., Colo	Winstead, Arthur, Miss
	Magnuson, Don, Wash	Rogers, Edith Nourse, Mass_The Shoreham	Withrow, Gardner R., Wis-
	Mahon, George H., TexAlban Towers	Rogers, Paul G., Fla	Wolcott, Jesse P., Mich3707 Thornapple St., Chevy Chase
	Mailliard, William S., Calif-	Rooney, John J., N. Y	Wolverton, Charles A., N. J_1336 HOB
	Marshall, Fred, Minn Martin, Jos. W., Jr., MassThe Hay-Adams	Roosevelt, James, Calif	Wright, Jim, Tex
	Mason, Noah M., IllThe Baronet	Rutherford, J. T., Tex	Yates, Sidney R., Ill
	Matthews, D. R. (Billy),	Sadlak, Antoni N., Conn	Young, Clifton (Cliff), Nev_3202 So. Stafford
	Fla.	St. George, Katharine, N. Y.	St., Arlington, Va.
	Meader, George, Mich3360 Tennyson St.	Saylor, John P., Pa Schenck, Paul F., Ohio3801 Conn. Ave.,	Younger, J. Arthur, Calif_4545 Conn. Ave.
	Merrow, Chester E., N. H Metcalf, Lee, Mont	Apt. 307	Zablocki, Clement J., Wis Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y
	Miller, A. L., Nebr2801 East-West	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower	
	Highway, Chevy	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	DELEGATES
	Chase, Md.	Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE.
	Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave.	Ave.	Alaska. Farrington, Mrs. Joseph
	Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend	Scudder, Hubert B., Calif_4545 Conn. Ave.	R., Hawaii.
	Lane, Kensing-	Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr.,	RESIDENT COMMISSIONER
	ton, Md.	Conn.	Fernos-Isern, A., P. R 2210 R St.
	Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave.	Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. Ala. So., Arlington, Va.	
	Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H.,	Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill	Officers of the House
	W. Va.	Shelley, John F., Calif	Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr.
	Morano, Albert P., Conn	Sheppard, Harry R., Calif	Doorkeeper—William M. Miller.
	Morgan, Thomas E., Pa	Short, Dewey, MoSheraton-Park	Chaplain-Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D.,
	Morrison, James H., La4420 Dexter St.	Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J.	1421 Montague St.
	Moss, John E., Jr., Calif Moulder, Morgan M., Mo	Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla	Postmaster—H. H. Morris.
	Multer, Abraham J., N. Y.	Siler, Eugene, Ky	OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE
	Mumma, Walter M., PaThe Coronet	Simpson, Richard M., Pa_4545 Conn. Ave.	SENATE
	Murray, James C., 111	Simpson, Sid, Ill2100 Mass. Ave. Sisk, B. F., Calif	James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy
	Murray, Tom, Tenn	Smith, Frank E., Miss	Chase, Md.
	Natcher, William H., Ky5108 Bradley	Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St.	John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane.
	Blvd., Bethesda, Md.	Alexandria, Va.	Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St.
	Nelson, Charles P., Maine	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester Smith, Wint, Kans	Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace.
	Nicholson, D. W., Mass	Spence, Brent, KySheraton-Park	J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE. Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St.,
	Norblad, Walter, Oreg	Springer, William L., Ill	Arlington, Va.
	Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave.	Staggers, Harley O., W. Va.	Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St.
	O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y O'Brien, Thomas J., IllThe Hamilton	Steed, Tom, Okla	Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr.,
	O'Brien, Thomas J., IllThe Hamilton	Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo	Silver Spring, Md. Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St.
	O'Hara, Barratt, IllThe Congressional O'Hara, Joseph P., Minn2813 31st St.	Taber, John, N. Y Talle, Henry O., Iowa	Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave.
	Konski, Alvin E., Wis 4201 Mass, Ave.	Taylor, Dean P., N. Y	
	Nelli, Thomas P., Jr.,	Teague, Charles M., Calif	HOUSE
	Mass	Teague, Olin E., Tex6015 Mass. Ave.	W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Ave.
	Osmers, Frank C., Jr., N. J.	Thomas, Albert, Tex2901 34th St.	Roy L. Whitman, 4820 Linnean Ave.
	Ostertag, Harold C., N. Y. 100 Maryland Ave. NE.	Thompson, Clark W., Tex_Sheraton-Park Thompson, Frank, Jr., N. J.	F. S. Milberg, 5032 Massachusetts Ave. E. B. Clark, 604 Bennington Dr., Silver Spring,
	Passman, Otto E. La	Thompson, Ruth, Mich.	Md.
	Adman Wright Ter 117 Carroll St SE	Thompson, T. A., La726 So. Royal St.,	Frank E. Battaglia, 957 East-West Highway.
	* atterson, James T. Conn	Alexandria, Va.	Claude S. Scheckel, 6 East Blackthorne St.,
	Thomas M. Wash	Thomson, E. Keith, Wyo	Chevy Chase, Md.
	Pfost, Gracie Idaha	Thornberry, Homer, Tex Tollefson, Thor C., Wash	Albert Schneider, 7516 14th St. Paul L. Miller (clerk), Shadyside, Md.
	- Mass	Trimble, James W., Ark	Sidney W. Williston (assistant clerk), 1830
	Phillips, John, Calif	Tuck, William M., Va	Longford Drive, Hyattsville, Md.



Appendix

The Administration's Highway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a very able statement made by the Comptroller General of the United States, Mr. Joseph Campbell, in testifying before the subcommittee of the Public Works Committee on S. 1160, known as the administration highway bill.

The statement made by Comptroller General Campbell is accurate, is fundamental, and, coming from such a high authority, deserves the fullest consideration of the Senate.

I desire to compliment the Comptroller General on the very splendid presentation he has made on this legislation.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF MR. JOSEPH CAMPBELL, COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, ON S. 1160, 84TH CONGRESS, BEFORE THE PUBLIC ROADS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS, UNITED STATES SENATE, MARCH 28, 1955

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, the General Accounting Office appreciates the subcommittee's invitation to appear before you and give you our views with respect to S. 1160, 84th Congress, which would create a Federal Highway Corporation for financing the construction of the National System of Interstate Highways.

In the opinion of the General Accounting Office, one of the most important aspects of the legislation is the proposed method of financing the highway construction. The bill would create a new Government corporation to be known as the Federal Highway Corporation. The Corporation would be authorized to issue obligations not to exceed \$21 billion. These obligations would be sold to the general public and, in addition, could be purchased by the United States from fiduciary, trust, and public funds, the investment or deposit of which is under the authority and control of the United States.

We feel that the proposed method of financing is objectionable because the result would be that the borrowing would not be included in the public debt obligations of the United States. While the issuance of the Corporation's bonds would be with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury and the obligations would be repaid from the permanent appropriation established by section 105(c), the obligations would specifically state that they are not obligations of, or guaranteed by, the United States. However, the legislation provides that the Secretary of the Treasury may adance to the Corporation in any fiscal year an amount not in excess of the estimated appropriation for that year and, in addition,

the Corporation would be authorized to borrow from the Secretary of the Treasury not to exceed \$5 billion outstanding at any one Both of these provisions coupled with the permanent appropriation would apparently be to assure the investors of ability to meet obligations, and tend to have the effect of a Government guaranty of the highway obligations, at least in the minds of the investing public. As a practical matter, the obligations would be moral and equitable obligations of the United States, since they would be issued by a corporation entirely owned by the Government. While the obligations would specifically provide that they are not guaranteed by the Government, it is highly improbable that the Congress could allow such obligations to go in default when one considers that credit standing of the Federal Government would be involved.

In addition, the Corporation's activities would not be self-sustaining. It would have no substantial revenues, and funds for paying off the obligations would come from the general fund of the Treasury. The funds available would be measured by future anticipated increases in collections of taxes on gasoline and special fuels.

The fact that the bill provides for a permanent appropriation measured by gasoline taxes does not, in our opinion, establish revenues for the Corporation in any normal use of the term. The gasoline taxes are revenues of the Treasury and go into the general fund of the Treasury. The appropriation provided would come out of the general fund of the Treasury exactly as most of the appropriations made by Congress.

The total amount of borrowings by the Corporation would amount to the very substantial sum of \$21 billion and, in our opinion, would be borrowings of the United States Government, irrespective of the terminology applied. It seems only right that such obligations should be considered, classified, and disclosed as a part of the total borrowings of the Government, that is, the public debt.

It is our opinion that the Government should not enter into financing arrangements which might have the effect of obscuring the financial facts of the Government's debt position. We believe that the highway program—since it in reality is non-revenue producing—should be financed by appropriations made by the Congress. If, to provide these funds, it is necessary to borrow from the general public, we believe that the borrowings should be handled under the existing authority of the Secretary of the Treasury under the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended. This is a normal function of the Treasury Department and in carrying out his assigned fiscal and debt management responsibilities we do not feel that the effectiveness of the Sccretary of the Treasury should be weakened by authorizing other Government agencies to borrow directly from the investing public. Also, under the procedure we recommend any borrowings necessary to fund the appropriations approved by the Congress would automatically be treated and disclosed as a part of the public debt of the Federal Government. In making this recommendation we recognize that a borrowing operation of this magnitude may require changes in the existing statutory public-debt ceiling.

Also, if the direct appropriation method is used to finance the highway construction,

the Congress would be in a position to make an annual review of the progress and changing needs of the road program because money to carry it out would have to be specifically appropriated by the Congress each year. In addition to reviewing the actual needs of the program, the Congress could also consider whether, from an overall picture of revenues and expenditures of the Government, the full amount authorized for high-way construction should be spent in a particular year.

In the event a Federal Highway Corporation is created, the Congress would, to some degree, lose its control over the program. The Corporation would submit annual budgets to Congress under the provisions of the Government Corporation Control Act, but only funds for administrative and operating expenses would be approved by the Congress. The program funds would continue to be available unless the Congress took affirmative action to limit the program expenditures.

I think most of you are aware of the position of the General Accounting Office with respect to Government corporations. We are opposed to the creation of new Government corporations, unless for the most compelling reasons or overriding public necessity. The corporate form of Government activity is objectionable because, for the most part, it is free from the normal safeguards set up by the Congress to maintain adequate control over the conduct of public business and the expenditure of public funds.

Eased on the recommendation of the President's Advisory Committee on a National Highway Program, the new Corporation would have very little duties, outside of the issuance and management of its obligations. Administrative functions would be exercised by existing agencies. The Commissioner of the Bureau of Public Roads would act as Executive Director of the Corporation. The Secretary of the Treasury would designate the treasurer of the Corporation to be established within the Treasury Department and authorized to utilize such Treasury Department personnel as the Board found necessary to properly perform its financial responsibilities.

Consequently the principal reason for the creation of a new Federal corporation seems to be that it would provide an identifiable agency outside of the Treasury empowered to borrow from the public on obligations issued in its name. If the necessary funds are obtained by direct appropriation as we recommend, the need for a new Government corporation would disappear. Any public borrowings necessary to fund appropriations would be obtained by the Secretary of the Treasury under existing borrowing authority.

On the question of indefinite appropriations such as would be established by S. 1160, we feel that the Congress should not as a general proposition authorize such appropriations. When collections are made available for expenditure on a permanent annual basis congressional control of the expenditures and the activities financed thereby are greatly weakened. In 1934 Congress considered this question and passed the Permanent Appropriation Repeal Act. This act eliminated numerous permanent appropriations then in effect and provided that such appropriations be subject to annual consideration by the Congress. However, since 1934 many

permanent appropriations have been authorized. A good example is the Fish and Wild-life Service of the Department of the Interior. Appropriations by the Congress during 1954 totaled \$17 million. Total funds available for expenditure during the year amounted to \$59.5 million. Permanent indefinite appropriations provided \$36.5 million of the difference, or about 60 percent of the total. These permanent indefinite appropriations are obtained from taxes on firearms, shells and cartridges, fishing equipment, sales of migratory-bird hunting stamps, and income received from mineral leases, timber sales, grazing fees, etc.

The feature of the bill S. 1160 which may

The feature of the bill S. 1160 which may raise questions of legality is the financing

method proposed.

Article 1, section 8, clause 1, of the Constitution gives Congress power to lay and collect excise taxes provided they are uniform throughout the United States. The Federal gasoline tax meets this requirement. There is, however, a constitutional limitation on the taxing power of the Congress. That power may be exercised only "* * to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States."

The question is then whether the revenue from the gasoline tax, or an equivalent amount, properly may be appropriated in advance for use in meeting the obligations of the Federal Highway Corporation. The only constitutional restriction on the duration of appropriations is that found in clause 12, section 8, article 1, which declares that no appropriation of money to raise and support armies shall be for a longer term than 2 years. As we have indicated, the Congress has frequently made so-called permanent appropriations. The following are current examples involving tax revenues: Appropriation of amounts equal to social-security taxes; appropriation of amounts equal to revenues derived under the Railroad Retirement Tax Act; appropriation of an amount equal to 30 percent of gross customsduty collections for use by the Secretary of Agriculture; appropriations for conservation of wildlife; appropriations to the govern-ments of the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, and

The case of Cincinnati Soap Co. v. United States (301 U. S. 308), involved a similar appropriation to the Philippine Government of future revenue from a processing tax on coconut oil produced in the Philippine Islands, and the Supreme Court held that an otherwise valid tax might be bound to a valid appropriation of the tax revenues. The Court said that if the Congress chose to adopt the quantum of receipts from the particular tax as the measure of the appropriation, it saw no valid basis for challenging its power to do so.

Another question is the propriety of the purpose for which the tax revenues are to be used. We do not think the legality of Federal appropriations for an interstate highway system can be questioned. It might be argued that the appropriated funds here involved are not to be used for the payment of debts of the United States, since the bonds are not legal obligations of the United States but merely of the Federal Highway Corporation. In the Cincinnati Soap case mentioned, the Supreme Court had this to say as to what constitutes debts of the United States within the meaning of the constitutional provision:

"It is conceded and indeed it cannot be questioned that the debts are not limited to those which are evidenced by some written obligation or to those which are otherwise of a strictly legal character. The term 'debts' includes those debts or claims which rest upon a merely equitable or honorary obligation, and which would not be recoverable in a court of law if existing against an Individual. The Nation, speaking broadly, owes

a 'debt' to an individual when his claim grows out of general principles of right and juistice; when, in other words, it is based upon considerations of a moral or merely honorary nature, such as are binding on the conscience or the honor of an individual, although the debt could obtain no recognition in a court of law" (301 U. S. 308, 315).

Thus, even though the bond obligations would not be legal obligations of the United States, strictly speaking, and would not come within the Federal debt limitation, there is no doubt that they properly may be considered as debts of the United States within the constitutional taxing authority granted to Congress.

We think a future Congress would be free to reduce or repeal the Federal gasoline tax, which would automatically reduce or cut off the only important source of funds for meeting the bond obligations and would preclude or curtail the issuance of further bonds. As we have indicated, however, we think it would be unrealistic to assume that the Congress would permit bonds already purchased to be defaulted.

In the event the subcommittee is to favorably act on S. 1160, we recommend that several provisions of the bill be considered

for amendment.

1. Consideration should be given as to whether the powers of the Corporation are too broad. We would recommend that the legislation be more restrictive as to the functions and duties the Corporation is to perform. Also, consideration should be given to limiting the life of the Corporation to a definite date.

2. Section 105 (d) is contrary to many of the existing statutory restrictions on the investment of trust funds. For example, the unemployment trust fund can only be invested in interest-bearing obligations of the United States, or in obligations guaranteed as to both principal and interest by the United States. If the purpose of section 105 (d) is to permit investment of these and other trust moneys in bonds of the Federal Highway Corporation, existing statutory restrictions on the investment of trust funds should be declared inapplicable to avoid any possible conflict.

3. Section 208 dealing with right-of-way acquisitions should be clarified as to the source of funds for payment of the property acquired. The section provides that the Federal Government will pay 95 percent of the appraised value, or the actual cost, whichever is lower, but the section is silent as to who pays the additional 5 percent. It is assumed that the 5 percent will be paid by the State. We think the section should so provide and also make it clear as to whether the State advances the 5 percent to the Federal Government prior to the payment for the property, or whether the Federal Government may pay 100 percent and then be reimbursed by the State for the 5 percent.

The National Labor Relations Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, IRVING M. IVES

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address by the distinguished Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, Mr. Guy Farmer. Mr. Farmer spoke to the Cleveland Bar Association in Cleveland, Ohio, on March 16, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am deeply honored to appear before the members of this distinguished association of lawyers. A public life such as mine is frequently a lonely one, but I feel at home here.

The NLRB is in a very real sense a law enforcement agency; our function is essentially judicial. The law which we administer is two-sided, impinging here upon employers and there upon unions, restricting in some important areas complete freedom on the part of both to do as they please. Nobody likes restrictions, and it is only natural that our enforcement of the law has not been universally acciaimed by either of these groups.

I am happy to have the opportunity to speak to this group of lawyers because I am confident that I will find among you a deeper understanding of our public responsibilities and a more objective appraisal of our public performance. This is all that we ask or have a right to expect. We are not heroes, and we do not seek a hero's acclaim. But we do welcome public interest and public evaluation of our agency, in order that there may develop a genuine public opinion of our decisions and policies.

Since I have here an audience with the capacity and the will to make fair judgments, I shall attempt to define the proper role of the Labor Board in labor relations and to outline for you my concept of the ideal quasi-judicial agency, by which I mean an administrative agency such as the NLRB which is charged by Congress with the responsibility for enforcing a regulatory statute. I do not pretend that this ideal can be perfectly attained, but it is necessary for us to have an ideal in order that we may act rationally. As Roscoe Pound said, "Making and finding law presupposes a mental picture of what one is doing, and why he is doing it."

1. An administrative tribunal must recognize and accept its natural and legal limitations: The first attribute of a quasi-judicial agency created by a specific statute is that it not try to play God. It is well that we as administrators recognize our limitations and seek to attain a degree of humility in the performance of our public trust. It is a healthy thing for an administrative agency to admit to itself that it does not know all of the answers. This should lead us to be careful in our judgments, to be skeptical of categorical solutions, and generally to search more diligently for the truth, realizing all the while that we may never quite find it. A quasi-judicial agency is no place for a demagog, a dictator, or a dogmatist.

It is not merely that we lack omniscience in human affairs. As ordinary mortals, we are subject to the mundane limitations of time and space, money and personnel. It was the recognition of these limitations that led the NLRB to revise its jurisdictional standards last July. In fiscal 1953, there were about 14,500 cases filed with this agency. and about 3,000 of this number ran the entire gamut of our procedures to final consideration and decision by the 5-man Board. It must be obvious to all of you that no quasi-judicial agency can handle this huge volume of cases and give anything like adequate consideration to each individual case. It is equally obvious, as actual experience confirmed, that the national Board was concerning itself with many relatively insignificant cases involving small enterprises which have always been considered purely local in character. new standards are designed to bring within our orbit all enterprises having any substantial impact on interstate commerce. while withdrawing our hand from small local

I might add that the promulgation of these jurisdictional standards was no new departure in principle. The NLRB has throughout its history operated on the premise that Congress intended that it should follow a rule

of reason in exercising jurisdiction.

There are also limitations of a legal nature upon our authority which do not always

seem to be clearly understood.

The first is a fundamental one which is applicable to all quasi-judicial agencies. Stated in terms familiar to lawyers, it is this: Qusi-judicial agencies have no common-law powers. Of course, I mean by the common law a body of law developed by judicial decision throughout the history of the Anglo-American system of jurisprudence. This body of law is constantly growing and changing, through the process of judicial decision, in response to the growth and change of historical, social, and philosophical concepts. In the field of the common law, judges who interpret (and in the process of interpretation "make") the law have a recognized latitude of decision far wider than any administrative agency. We administer a statute and not the common law. As all judges know, when the legislature speaks on a particular matter, there is little room for the application of common law principles (except to the extent they be specifically incorporated in the statute), the latitude of the judge is severely circumscribed, and his function is restricted to that of interpreting and applying a particular statute to the best of his ability in accordance with the statutory language and intent. If the application of the statute in certain circumstances produces inequitable results, the remedy lies not in rewriting the law by administrative edict but rather in petitioning Congress to amend the law.

In the interest of being precise, I want to make it plain that the distinction which I draw here between the common law and statutory law is not black and white. Even those who interpret a statute must bridge gaps in the statutory language by interpretations consistent with the spirit of the law. But the difference between a common-law court and a quasi-judicial agency is somewhat like the difference between traveling across a wide plain and walking down a narrow street. It is the obligation of a quasi-judicial agency to recognize and respect this limitation upon its own discretion.

Certainly not the least of the legal limitations on the action of a quasi-judicial agency is the authority of the courts. After all, administrative and regulatory agencies such as the NLRB are newcomers in our system of law, in contrast to our courts which have a solid background in our historical past. Our judiciary occupies an unassailable place in our constitutional system, and stands within its sphere on an equal constitutional basis with the executive and the legislative branches of our Government. When Congress established our administrative agencies and vested them with original power to regulate various spheres of activity, Congress was careful to preserve the vitality and the authority of our courts of law. In our own Agency, for example, we make the original decision in a case, but our order has no legal force or effect until it is adopted and enforced by the court of appeals. Before a binding decree is entered in any case, we must convince the court that our decision is supported by substantial evidence and that our interpretation of the statute is correct.

I suppose I might sum all this up by saying that our decisions are not selfenforcing, but are subject to judicial review. But that would not tell the whole story. The statutory scheme, viewed in perspective of our system of law, contemplates a harmonious relationship between the quasijudicial agency and the courts. It is not enough that we must submit our decisions.

to the scrutiny of the courts. It is also a part of the scheme of things that the quasijudicial agency pay proper respect to the Once the courts have spokcourt's opinion. en in unmistakable terms on the construction of a particular provision of the statute, with an opportunity for resort to the Supreme Court, the administrative body must conform its decisional policies to prevailing judicial interpretation. This is not a debatable principle—it is a recognized rule. Yet I find it necessary to emphasize it because there seems to be a general disposition on the part of those who evaluate our decisions to ignore it. For example, four of the decisions made by the present Board which have been rather severely criticized were cases in which the Board's action seemed necessary in order to bring or keep our decisional policies in line with prevailing judicial opinion. In the Livingston Shirt case, we held that an employer who made a noncoercive appeal to employees prior to an election had no obligation to provide a forum for the union to answer his speech. Our decision did nothing more or less than follow a decision of the court of appeals for the Second Circuit overruling the Board's broad Bonwit Teller doctrine. In the Blue Flash case, we held that it was not a per se, or automatic, violation of the act for an employer or one of his supervisors to inquire of an employee concerning his union affiliation or activity, in the absence of any circumstances indicating that the questioning had a coercive effect. We held that there might or might not be coercion, depending upon the context and atmosphere in which the questioning took place. Here again the critical response of some people to this decision ignores the fact that several courts of appeals had said, some on more than one occasion, that the Board's per se doctrine as applied to interrogation was wrong as a matter of law.

In two other decisions, which went against employers, the same consideration came into In the Monsanto Chemical case, we held that an employer must permit access to an employee parking lot for union solicitation in circumstances where there was no other reasonable means of access to the employees; and in the Whitin Machine case. we held that an employer must, upon request, supply information to the union representing the employees as to the wage rates of the employees in the bargaining unit. In both situations, the courts had already spoken so clearly as to the obligations of the employer that there was little left for the Board to do except to apply established judicial precedent to particular facts. difficult to see how anyone who understood the relationship between the Board and the courts could quarrel with these four decisions.

2. A quasi-judicial agency must be impartial: Judge Cardozo states in his treatise, The Nature of the Judicial Process, that "one of the most fundamental social interests is that law shall be uniform and impartial. There must be nothing in its action that savors of prejudice or favor or even arbitrary whim or fitfulness." In sounding this principle, the great judge was speaking not merely of the word of the law, but its ad-ministration as well. This same ideal was expressed long ago in Justinian's "Institutes," where it is said that, "Justice is the set and constant purpose which gives every man his due." In the frame of reference in which the Labor Board functions, justice consists of applying the law even-handedly and impartially to employers and unions, rendering to each what he is due under the Statute, no more to the one and no less to the other. When the interests of two persons or two groups come into sharp conflict, it is not possible to award one side all that it wants without giving the other less than it deserves. This requirement of impartiality is a sine qua non of honest adminstration.

3. A quasi-judicial agency must be judicial: It may appear that this is another way of saying what I have said before-that we should be impartial, but the term "judicial" embraces a great deal more than a mere desire to be fair. Equally important is the capacity to achieve fairness. It requires the know-how, the technique, the temperament, and the philosophy of a judge. In short, the quasi-judge must not only wish to be impartial, he must have the judicial equipment and comprehend the judicial method. The fact that the attributes of a good judge are difficult to define only emphasizes how rare it is that one finds them combined in a single man. Each of us cannot be a Justice Holmes, but in our far less lofty capacities as quasi-judicial officers, we can at least turn our gaze upward toward the heights of judicial excellence.

The need for the judicial method and approach hardly requires elaboration. While I have said that our job is the somewhat narrow one of giving effect to the statutory language and congressional intent, I have never said that this task is a simple one. I decry as much as anyone a mechanistic, pushbutton approach to the administration of the law. The language is not always clear, and the intent is not always plainly discernible. Varying factual situations arise which are not squarely covered by the letter of the law, and which were not within the precise contemplation of Congress when the law enacted. The ascertainment of intention, when that intent is clearly revealed, is not our most difficult task. As Professor Gray said, "The difficulties of so-called interpretation arise when the legislature has had no meaning at all: when that which is raised on the statute never occurred to it; when what the judges have to do is, not to determine what the legislature did mean on a point which was present in its mind, but to guess what it would have intended on a point not present in its mind, if the point had been present." This is where something This is where something more than an IBM classifier is required. This is the point where the judicial method must be employed to reach for a result in harmony with the basic purposes of the written law which we administer.

There are, of course, many provisions of our statute which are so plain and positive in their meaning that we can only give literal application to the literal language. As Justice Holmes so aptly said, "But, whatever the consequence we must accept the plain meaning of plain words." For example, the proscription against holding more than one valid election within a year is quite unambiguous and simple to apply. But, even this forthright proscription is not completely automatic in application. Problems do arise as to the meaning of "valid" in differing circumstances, as well as other questions as to whether and to what extent fluctuations in the number and character of the voting group affect the application

of the statutory proscription.

I could furnish you with many examples of NLRB decisions which do not involve literal application of statutory language, but in which it was necessary to fill in the gaps between the lines. The test of the validity of these interpretations lies in whether or not the spaces were filled by an interpretation which harmonizes with the spirit and intent of the statute as a whole. For example, I might point to our long-standing contract bar doctrine which is a judge-made rule, nowhere alluded to in specific terms in the statute. The act says that employees shall have full freedom to select or reject a bargaining agent, and if this provision were given literal interpretation, we would hold an employee election and permit a new choice every time anybody requested it. But, there is also the basic purpose of the law to encourage collective bargaining and to establish stability in labor relations. Both of these purposes may complement or contradict one another. In order to harmonize them, the Board has held that it will honor a bargaining relationship once properly established during the period of a labor contract, provided the term of the contract is reasonable in duration, normally 2 years. The Board-made contract bar rule has stood the test of time, for it harmonizes in a truly judicial manner the stautory goals of free dom and stability. In the same general area, the Board has held, and the Supreme Court in the recent Ray Brooks case has agreed, that a certification of a bargaining agent following a Board-conducted election is normally valid and binding for 1 year, during which time shifts of employee sentiment are given no legal effect. This is a sensible rule, but it does not appear, in terms, in the statute. It was evolved through the judicial process, and through that process alone.

There immediately come to mind other and perhaps better examples of necessary interstitial interpretation of our statute. may search the statute until you are blind, and you will find no dichotomy between union activity which is protected and that which is not. A literal interpretation of section 7 would lead a fundamentalist to conclude, as some fundamentalists did, that a sitdown strike, a partial strike, or a slowdown were all protected by our law. But, it soon became apparent that such a singleminded interpretation of section 7 would lead to antisocial and intolerable results. So, it came about that, in the Fansteel case, the Supreme Court called a halt to the logic of literalism and held that the sitdown strike was unprotected; in the Sands case, it held that a strike in violation of a no-strike clause was unprotected; and in the Southern Steamship case, it held that a strike in violation of a Federal mutiny statute was unprotected. Following these decisions, the courts and the Board have had to draw the line on a case-to-case basis between union activity which is protected by Federal law and that which falls beyond the pale.

The present Board has had to deal with this same problem. In the recent Honolulu Rapid Transit case, we held that a union was engaging in unprotected conduct when it attempted to conduct a partial strike by having its members work 5 days and engage in a strike for 2 days each week. This occurred in a public transportation system which necessarily had to be operated 7 days a week. We said that the employer had the right to insist that the employees either strike or work. In another recent case, the Boeing Aircraft case, the Board held that the establishment by the union of an employment agency to find better jobs for its members was not an act of disloyality of such character as to constitute unprotected activity within the meaning of section 7. Both of these decisions must withstand the acid test of judicial review. The point is that the issues presented in these cases could not be resolved by resort to literal statutory language. Rather, each emerged as a product of the operation of the judicial Interpretations such as these perish if they are spurious, dishonest, antisocial, or reach beyond the intent of the statute. They survive only if they are arrived at by the true judicial method, which seeks always to reach a result which harmonizes as best it can the basic purposes of the statute with relevant judicial precedent and with the commonly accepted standards of right conduct. These are the forces which shape the progress of the law.

4. A quasi-judicial agency must be independent: An agency such as the NLRB occupies what might properly be described as a delicate position in our governmental structure. It is essential that the quasi-judicial agency understand and maintain its proper position in the governmental scheme. The NLRB was created by Congress to ad-

minister a particular statute, the National Labor Relations Act. Its members are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The funds which we spend are appropriated by Congress upon the recommendation of the President. Our personnel policies are regulated by law and supervised by the Civil Service Commission. Thus, we are in a sense a part of the executive, but this primarily is a housekeeping relation-ship. In our substantive function, we are an instrument for effectuating the will of Congress as that will has been embodied in the statute which we administer. Congress alone has the power to alter or abolish the statute, or to alter or abolish the Board. A quasi-judicial agency occupies a position of public trust, the sole obligation of which is to faithfully implement the will of Congress as it is embodied in the statute which gives it life. This means that there is no more place in a quasi-judicial agency for partisan politics than there is in our Federal courts. The decisional policies of a quasi-judicial agency should not be affected by election returns, except to the extent that political shifts may bring about amendments to the law which we administer.

A quasi-judicial agency is no place for a man who conceives of his position as a vantage point from which to advance the interests of any political party or the special interests of any pressure group. A public member of a quasi-judicial agency has taken a solemn oath of dedication to the public service, and he must foreswear all other goals. This thought is expressed by Walter Lippmann in his recently published book, The Public Philosophy, in the following terms:

The constitutional mechanisms have never themselves been sufficient to protect the executive. And much invention and reforming energy have been applied to finding other ways to insulate the judicial, the executive, and the administrative functions from the heavy pressures of 'politics' and 'poli-The object has been to separate ticians.' them from the electoral process. The judictary must be independent of fear and There must be no connection between the judgment of the courts and the election returns. The civil service, the military services, the foreign service, the scientific and technical services, the quasi-judicial administrative tribunals, the investigating commissions, the public schools, and institutions of learning should be substantially independent of the elections. These reforms were inspired by the dire effects of the spoils system, and they were pushed as practical remedies for obvious evils.

"Yet implicit in them there is a principle which if it can be applied deeply enough, gets at the root of the disorder of modern democracy. It is that though public officials are elected by the voters, or are appointed by men who are elected, they owe their primary allegiance not to the opinions of the voters but to the law, to the criteria of their professions, to the integrity of the arts and sciences in which they work, to their own conscientious and responsible convictions of their duty within the rules and the frame of reference they have sworn to respect."

This is a long quote, but, try as I might, I could not leave out one word. To some this may sound like a sterile concept; to me it expresses a fundamental principle of Government.

I have said that a quasi-judicial agency must accept the natural and legal limitations on its capacity and authority, that it must be impartial, that it must be judicial, and that it must be independent. I have not said that it must be expert in its particular field, because I consider expertness an attribute which is desirable but not essential. Moreover, "expertise," which is nothing more than specialized knowledge and experience, will necessarily be acquired by the

quasi-judicial agency in the process of dealing with a particular phase of administrative law. I have said nothing about the virtues of honesty and diligence and intelligence for the reason that these qualities must be assumed to be present in a quasi-judicial agency which has the essential character which I have attempted to define.

But a quasi-judicial agency cannot approach the ideal of administering justice unless it deserves and wins public support, and by the public I mean a representative cross section of our entire body of citizens and not merely the particular groups with whom our activities are most directly concerned. The NLRB, as one quasi-judicial agency, is constantly beset on two sides by powerful and competing groups. These groups naturally have a keen continuing interest in what we do and are quite vocal in their comments and criticisms of what we do. This is their right, and I would not think of restricting it, even if I could. But I believe that it is fair to say that their attitudes are largely dictated by their own self-interest. Our courts have survived and grown in stature throughout our history because they have behind them the moral support of general public opinion. Unfortunately, our quasi-judicial agencies do not occupy this same solid position in the public mind. Yet, this is a status which we must achieve if we are to survive and acquire the judicial character of a truly public agency.

It is for this reason that I have welcomed the opportunity to speak to this group today, and it is for this reason that I invite public interest in our activities and public criticism of our decisions. We cannot, of course, expect public support unless we deserve it. But it is also true that, over the long haul, a public agency will be no better and no worse than the public expects and, indeed, demands. Unless there is developed and maintained a genuine public view of proper quasi-judicial function of the NLRB, it is not inconceivable that it will some day become a captive of one or the other special interest, or be abolished in favor of some alternative method of regulating labor disputes. I am resolved that by term as Chairman shall not contribute either to the capture or the liquidation of this important quasi-judicial agency.

Address by Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, of New York, at American-Jewish Tercentenary Civic Assembly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered on March 20 at the American-Jewish Tercentenary Civic Assembly, sponsored by the Norfolk Jewish Community Council of Norfolk, Va.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN, OF NEW YORK, IN OBSERVANCE OF THE AMERI-CAN-JEWISH TERCENTENARY CIVIC ASSEMBLY SPONSORED BY THE NORFOLK JEWISH COM-MUNITY COUNCIL, NORFOLK, VA.

It has been a long time—more years than many of you in this room can remember—since I have been in Norfolk. But I am glad

for the opportunity to come tonight to this fine southern city, one of the great seaports of our eastern shore, and to meet with the leaders and members of the Norfolk community.

Like all of you, I am a port city man. Some of my earliest and most unforgetable impressions as a boy are of New York Harbor and of the ships sailing into that harbor and up the broad bosom of the Hudson River.

And I have southern connections, too. My father and his brothers, who came to this country over 100 years ago, settled in Montgomery, Ala. They lived there for many years and sank deep roots there.

Most of my family were Confederates. I wasn't around at the time, but I heard from my mother's and my father's lips the stories of the privations, the suffering, and the tragic sacrifices of those days. My parents moved north after the end of the War Between the States, and I was born in New York, but I have always had a sense of special kindship and sentimental attachment to the part of America below the Mason-Dixon line.

My friend and colleague, Senator LISTER Hill, often calls me the third Senator from Alabama.

My father and his brothers came to this country from Germany in the late 1840's. They came as refugees—refugees from tyranny; refugees seeking and loving liberty. For them America was the land of their aspirations; a land, though alien to their tongue, completely native to their dreams and hopes.

I think the same can be truly said of most of the hundreds of thousands and millions of immigrants who have come to these shores, in the distant past down to the immediate present.

Tonight we observe the 300th anniversary of the first arrival in this country of a special group of immigrants—those of our own faith—that hardy group of 23 Jewish refugees who set foot on the island of Manhattan in September 1654.

They came from Brazil, seeking home, asylum, and freedom of worship.

Manhattan was then, of course, part of the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, presided over by the redoubtable Gov. Peter Stuyvesant. Governor Stuyvesant regarded these new refugees with distrust and dislike. He ordered them straightaway into jail and sought permission to expel them from New Amsterdam—permission from the Dutch West India Co., which exercised most of the powers of sovereignty over the colony.

But the West India Company decided that the Jewish refugees should not be expelled, but should be permitted to remain as long as they did not constitute a burden upon the community.

It was not an easy prospect. This little group faced prejudice and discrimination; but they had known these evils before. They had to win, one by one, the rights which we take completely for granted—first, the right to hold their own religious services and to have their own burial ground, then the right to enter business, and then to own their own homes.

The most vital barrier was breached only a year after the arrival of the 23 by a young man whose name deserves to be remembered in history, Asser Levy. He secured for himself, and then for his fellows—the right to Join the common militia, and bear arms in the common defense—a right generally denied to Jews, not only in New Amsterdam, but throughout the civilized world.

The willing, and even anxious, acceptance of the common obligation of military service led to the grant of common rights; only 2½ years after their arrival, the Jews of New Amsterdam were accepted as equals among equals. They won not only acceptance but inclusion—inclusion in the rights

and obligations of common membership in the community at large.

Such were the beginnings of the Jewish community in America. In each of the 13 American Colonies the story was, of course, different. In many, the progress toward the achievement of equal rights and full citizenship status was slower and more arduous. But ultimately the goal was won, and Jews were accepted as full members of the community of America, distinct in faith, but undistinguishable in the eyes of the law.

Those early Jews, and those who came later, played their sufficient part—and more—in the dramatic story which is the history of America.

They worked, they saved, they fought, they built, they invented, they dreamed, and they created. This was freedom. This was America.

For our contributions we Jews ask no gratitude of America. Instead we are and must be the grateful ones—grateful for the opportunities which have been here given to us and to all others. It should be a source of deep pride to us that we have been able to transmit to our country and to the whole civilized world the ethical and spiritual ideals that have come to us through the centuries.

There is a wonderful continuity to the ideals to which Israel has adhered thoughout the ages. Judaism has a history which is characterized throughout by a deep yearning for liberty—a yearning which sprang from its own bitter experience. Jews seek in spiritual and historic terms not as theorists, but out of the pain of countless generations who have remembered the injunction to bring freedom, justice, and peace to all men even as they themselves were brought to freedom out of bondage in Egypt.

Yes; we, as Jews, must be proud of our ancient traditions, as we, as Americans, must

be proud of our national history.

But both as Jews and as Americans, we have a special obligation to live and work, and to sacrifice, if need be, for the maintenance of those traditions, both ancient and modern. We have a special duty to reflect in our daily lives, a true dedication to the ideals of both the ancient Prophets who enunciated our faith, and of the early Patriots who founded our Nation.

We must never forget that of which we will soon be reminded by the Passover—that our spiritual forefathers escaped from bondage, with the Lord's help and guidance, and wandered for many years until they found, at last, asylum in the Promised Land.

And, so, to the fathers of our country—and our actual forefathers—came here as refugees from religious, political, or economic oppression. And here in America they reenacted the age-old drama of finding the promised land.

In view of these traditions, let us bear constantly in mind the Lord's injunction, repeated again and again in Exodus and Leviticus, but best phrased in the 33d stanza of the 19th chapter of Leviticus:

"If a stranger sojourn in your land, ye shall not vex him. But the stranger that dwells with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."

As Jews, this is our mandate; as Americans it is also our mandate. It was so understood by the early Americans, who founded our Republic, who were steeped, as we are no longer steeped today, in the wisdom and the morality of the Biblical prophets.

George Washington said in 1783:

"The bosom of America is open to receive not only the opulent and respectable stranger, but the oppressed and persecuted of all nations and religions: whom we shall welcome to a participation in all our rights

and privileges if by decency and propriety of conduct, they appear to merit the enjoyment."

Today we have departed far from these injunctions and principles. We have indeed rejected our bold and courageous traditions, in favor of selfish and narrow fears.

I refer, at this point, to our present-day immigration laws " " laws which not only establish unreasonable limits on total immigration, but cruelly discriminate among would-be immigrants on the basis of national origin and race.

Our present-day immigration laws establish myriad obstacles and hazards not only for the would-be immigrant, but even for the casual visitor to our shores—the tourist, the scholar, the scientist, and the student.

Our laws presuppose that every alien is a potential spy, saboteur and criminal—an assumption which is never wholly removed, even after the alien arrives here * * * even after he becomes a naturalized citizen of the United States.

Our laws for admission and exclusion of aliens clearly reflect this assumption. Our laws for deportation are based on the same principle.

Only last year and until very recently, our Government was clapping allens in Jalis—alongside criminals and derelicts—alien visitors and would-be immigrants alike—if there was any irregularity in their admission papers, if there was any question, doubt, suspicion or technical error in their elaborate documentation.

How repugnant this is to our traditions. When Gov. Peter Stuyyesant treated the 23 Jews who arrived at New Amsterdam 300 years ago in this manner, he was quickly reproved and overruled by higher authority.

In this respect, how far have we come in these 300 years? Or how far have we gone backward in the last 10 years?

In that day, 300 years ago, the Jews who arrived at New Amsterdam were, within 2½ years, granted full and inalienable rights as citizens of the colony.

Today, under our laws, every naturalized citizens is, in major respects, a second-class citizen. His American citizenship can be revoked for the performance of acts which a native-born citizen can perform with relative immunity.

Even a native-born citizen can lose his precious American citizenship for acts which are of relatively minor significance or of no significance at all.

A native-born American citizen named Andrew R. Jones, who was born in Texas, was deemed recently to have lost his American citizenship because, while living in Mexico, he took a job with the Mexican National Railway, which is owned by the Mexican Government.

On my desk in Washington, right at this moment, is the case of a woman—an American citizen—who went to live for a time in Trinidad, an island in the Caribbean. While there, she voted in a local election in her community—an election having to do with the improvement of sanitary facilities and roads in her locality. She, too, has been ordered deprived of her American citizenship—the most precious right any of us has or can have—more precious, in my judgment, than life itself.

If the ruling in this woman's case is upheld on appeal—and under the McCarran-Walter Act, it probably will be—that woman will be without a country, without nationality. For this law does not merely take from an American citizen the rights of citizenship. It strips him entirely of his American nationality.

I have cited just a scattering few of the incredible evils built into our immigration and nationality laws. There are many, many more. They are immoral, unjust and cruel.

Moreover they reflect senseless contradictions. The national origins quota system is based on the absurd theory that we should restrict admissions into the United States today to a composite group reflecting precisely the same proportion of national blood strains that existed in America in 1920.

Of course, the theory, itself, is repulsive to the spirit of America. But it doesn't work, in any event. It doesn't work because Great Britain, which under the national origins quota system, is given almost half the total quota of admissions into the United States, is no longer a significant source of immigration. The British don't want to emigrate to the United States today.

Most of those who do want to come to America, and who do succeed in surmounting our own Iron Curtain—or rather our red tape curtain—are from Italy, Poland, Austria, Norway, Holland, Greece, and other similar countries in Europe. But the national origins quota system restricts admission of persons born in those countries to a relative handful.

While we have erected this ponderous barrier of racial and national restrictions against legal immigration from Europe—so that a bare 100,000 are admitted annually—the gates are open wide for illegal immigration across the Mexican and Canadian borders.

According to official estimates, more than 2 million illegal immigrants entered the United States in 1953 across the Mexican border—2 million illegal immigrants from Mexico alone—with no screening of diseased, criminal, and subversive elements.

One hears very little outery of alarm in Washington over this phenomenon against this illegal flood which provides cheap labor for the big plantation farms of the South, Southwest, and Northwest. No, the outery is against any liberalization of our immigration laws which would permit the entry of a few additional worthy qualified and appropriately screened and selected immigrants from Europe and elsewhere.

My friends, there is no more urgent task than that of revising and overhauling our immigration and citizenship laws: to make them conform to the traditions of America and to the principles of decency, humanitarianism, and justice.

I would emphasize here, just in case there is any question about it, that immigration is not a problem of selfish interest to Jews.

The number of Jews in non-Soviet Europe who need and want to emigrate to the United States is extremely small. There may be ten thousand, perhaps, who want to come to the United States and would come if our laws permitted it. Most of that number are refugees and escapees—long-time victims of religious and political persecution and discrimination.

These few are but a minute part of the large number of Europeans who critically need to find homes, freedom, and opportunity in other parts of the world. A reasonably limited number of these should be admitted annually to the United States—on the basis of their need, and of ours.

So let no one think that we as Jews are interested in this problem because we want to bring Jews over to this country. Our interest stems from a higher motive: from our noble and ancient traditions—and from our recent traditions as Americans—the traditions of justice and of humanitarianism. We believe, as Jews and as Americans, that discrimination based on national origin is an evil thing and that prejudice and fear are ignoble sentiments which do not befit us and which do, in fact, demean and endanger us all.

We believe in the tradition of hospitality. We believe in America. We believe that Americanism is not in the blood stream, but in the life-giving air of freedom which we breathe in this land of ours.

Our Judale tradition reflects, in all its parts, a fierce and unyielding faith in freedom, in the equality and dignity of man, in the sanctity of the law, and in equal justice under law for every man.

This tradition is also, happily, the tradition of America—indeed, it is the tradition of all that is best in western culture and civilization. And this is another great tradition which we have need to translate more accurately into our daily practice than we have in the recent past.

The national wave of hysteria which was called McCarthyism was a direct departure from this tradition. It was a violation, even a rejection of that tradition, and of our faith in freedom. It reflected a loss of faith in our fundamental values. That hysteria betrayed a lack of courage to face the difficult and dangerous problems of the present day.

As a nation, we seemingly forgot, for a time, that the strength of freedom and democracy lies in its very tolerance of unorthodoxy.

"If there be any among us," Thomas Jefferson said in his first inaugural address, "who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments to the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

How different this spirit of tolerance is from that shown in the recent past by some of the investigating committees of the Congress!

Of course, I do not advocate tolerance toward overt acts or conspiracies against the safety and security of the United States. Those must be detected by the duly constituted police and punished with the full, unremitting vigor of the law, in the courts of the land.

We must, of course, be eternally vigilant against sabotage, espionage, and genuine subversion. The Communist conspiracy must be effectively dealt with, under law, subject to the principles of our Constitution.

But in my judgment the forces of Mc-Carthyism did as much damage to America during the last 5 years than anything the Communists have ever hoped to achieve with their vile, vain plots, and projects.

The forces of McCarthyism raised the banner of fear in every corner and cranny of America, in every school and library, in every assemblage of public officials, in every Government office and outpost. They poisoned the wells of American politics, with the suggestion that the whole Democratic Party was soft toward communism, and even guilty of treason.

These evil forces divided America not on the real issues of the day—the most urgent ever faced by America in all its history—but rather on the question of who was loyal and who wasn't, who was a person to suspect of softness toward communism—and who wasn't.

They made American championship of the cause of freedom a cruel joke throughout the free world. In the eyes of a good share of mankind, McCarthy became the dominant figure in America.

Senator McCarthy has been eclipsed—temporarily, at least—by the action of the Senate in censuring him last December, and by the action of the American people in electing a Democratic majority in Congress, thus automatically depriving him of his committee chairmanship.

But the forces which raised McCarthy to such eminence in America and the world are by no means defeated. They seem, for the moment, on the ebb, but they are still strong and pervasive. Their effect and influence are still evident in every phase of our national life.

The widespread pall of fear is far from lifted. It still hovers over us. Few men in public life or in government employment,

or even in private life, dare yet to act, to write or to speak without adjusting their acts, their writings or their words to the present-day atmosphere—the atmosphere of apprehension, lest they be charged with being soft toward communism.

Basic questions of foreign policy—our attitude toward China—cannot be candidly and reasonably discussed because of this atmosphere. And there are scores of similar issues where the same thing is true.

It is our task—the task of all of us—to clear this atmosphere and to tear down the curtain of fear which hangs between us and the true ways and practices of freedom.

This is our task above all others. And we of the Jewish faith have a special challenge in this regard. As the guardians of the great tradition of the prophets, as men and women who know from the history of our people the meaning of fear, hate, prejudice and hysteria, we must be in the forefront, in common ranks with all freedom-loving Americans, in the eternal struggle for the sacred cause of freedom.

Difficulties must not daunt us. The strength of the opposition must not frighten us. Concern for our own safety and welfare must not impede us.

We must dedicate ourselves to this holy cause, God's cause—the cause of liberty and of human dignity.

This is the challenge of this tercentenary. This responsibility we dare not shirk. We do not ask the Lord to be on our side. Let us be on His side. Let us then proceed, with strong and active faith, to the tasks before us.

Florida Leads the Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a most interesting speech made on March 19, 1955, by Maj. Gen. S. D. Sturgis, Jr., Chief of Engineers, United States Army, at the dedication of the largest low-level and largest self-powered pumping station in the world, near West Palm Beach, in the central and southern Florida flood-control district. This great station can handle over 2 million gallons of water a minute

Major General Sturgis is a man of great ability and energy, and is serving our Nation in the highest and best traditions of the Corps of Engineers. We in Florida are grateful to him for his leadership in connection with the cooperative central and southern Florida flood-control project which, in addition to protection of life and property, will make possible ultimately by substantial additional local investments, both public and private, the full development of 2 million acres of rich land in the winter garden of the Nation, to the benefit of all the Nation. We are happy that General Sturgis took time from his busy schedule to help us dedicate this large and important structure.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FLORIDA LEADS THE WAY

I am indeed glad to be here to join with you today in observing a most important milestone in the progress of the development of the central and southern Florida flood-

control project.

A few hours ago there occurred at Belle Glade a bond-burning ceremony which marked the end of the evergiades drainage district, whose program although wholly non-Pederal was a worthy predecessor of your present undertaking. For almost half a century that district fought the swamps, building hundreds of miles of canals, wresting out thousands of acres of rich land, and providing homes and livelihoods for some 50,000 people. Now you people are striving alone no longer. You are joined in a grand Federal-State-local coaliation against a relentless and hostile nature.

It is an honor to be able also to join you in public recognition of the outstanding work of the stalwarts of both organizations, old and new-to men like Bert Cole, chairman of the everglades district; to W. Turner Wallis, secretary of the new district, Fred C. Elliott, former chief engineer, Bee Arnold, general manager, and Elgin Bayless; to public-spirited citizens like Ralph Blank, a veteran leader in the flood-control fight, and Luther Jones of the State chamber of commerce; to legislators like Ted David of our host committee, and his colleagues at Tallahassee; to Gov. Leroy Collins; and to those great citizens not only of Florida but of the United States, Senator Spessard L. HOLLAND, legislative father of our Federal project, and Senator George Smathers.

Here in southern Florida the Nation is blessed by a potential treasure house of fertility. Vast areas have remained a wilderness solely because of the problem of controlling the waters. Today the Nation needs increasing access to their potential wealth and the protection of inhabited, productive developments. Our population is growing; our arable acreage is shrinking. We need the stability, the security from recurrent natural havoc, which will permit this great State to make its fullest possible contribution to the national economy.

For almost a century, the people of Florida alone grappled with the problems of this region. Because it is a region almost unique in America, they had little precedent or parallel to guide them. Drainage and flood-control work began as early as 1881. Great progress has been made since the Everglades Drainage District was created in 1905. Through that one agency, more than \$18 million have been invested; in addition, at least a dozen subdrainage districts and many individual landowners have contributed additional financial efforts toward the taming of the area.

Yet time and again nature has seemed to mock all human efforts. In September 1926, hundreds were killed and thousands more injured or left homeless by hurricane and flood. Two years later another disaster took 1,810 lives, injured 1,849 others, and in Palm Beach County alone, caused \$10 million worth of damage. In 1947 property losses were estimated at \$59 million, even though our levees at Lake Okeechobee held firm against the wind tide, keeping lake waters from adding to the losses.

These disasters roused Floridians to greater effort. And at length their faith in themselves and in their land brought the people of all America to their side as allies in construction of the central and southern Florida project.

This project is a demonstration of how, by skillful, forethoughtful planning, flood control and major drainage projects can be designed to provide a full range of water-related benefits and services. It will ultimately make possible the fuller development of 2 million acres of rich land—an area

greater than that of several Eastern States combined. It will permit higher utilization of urban property. It will aid navigation, provide irrigation, preserve fish and wildlife, help control salinity, aid materially in recharging underground reservoirs for municipal water supply, and provide recreation—all in addition to the primary benefits of flood control and drainage.

Today's ceremony, coming only 2 years after the dedication of the levees near Miami, offers visible proof, if any be needed, of the project's steady progress. The pumps in this ordinary-looking structure will help the West Palm Beach Canal to remove floodwaters at a rate of three-quarters of an inch a day from 230 square miles of rich agricultural land by pumping water out of the canal into the conservation area.

The project was conceived on a vast scale, even in this age of great undertakings. When finished it will include some 500 miles of canals—enough to reach from Tallahassee to Memphis. It will include 800 miles of levees—enough to reach from Tallahassee to Kansas City, Detroit, or Trenton. It is indeed one of the greatest and most complex water-resource development undertakings of our time.

It is a well-planned development which can provide many benefits because the people of this State wisely provided for comprehensive development from the outset, and saw to it that the authorizing legislation was broad enough to cover the full range of potentialities.

Of the costs which have so far been allocated, you people of Florida are paying about 40 percent. The costs of the second phase of the project have not yet been allocated. Your substantial contribution has helped win approval for your undertaking from the Nation at large, for the Congress and the general public has now come to feel that willingness of local interests to invest their own money is a desirable measure of a project's worth, and, more and more, appropriations are related to the degree of local support given—not only as regards authorization but in determining priority of annual appropriations.

Just as the Corps of Engineers represents the Federal Government in this undertaking, so the State is represented by the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District, created by the State legislature to act for the people of Florida in all matters relating to the project. This is the agency through which your share of the costs is contributed. It provides the necessary lands and relocations. It will be responsible for the operation and maintenance of the completed works. The establishment of this agency by your State legislature and the appropriation of funds for its operation has been and continues to be a vital, indispensable element in the project effort.

The central and southern Florida project may well prove to be historic-one of the pivotal projects which, in addition to their direct benefits, by example point the way to further progress in the field of water-resources development. During recent dry years, even normally humid regions are becoming increasingly concerned over prob-lems of water supply. Here, by demonstrat-ing the feasibility of comprehensive full-range undertakings within the framework of existing flood-control and major-drainage authority, by providing invaluable engineering experience in this two-way type of problem, and by helping establish patterns for adjusting the complex problems of Federal and local cost sharing in projects of this kind, we may well be discovering the means of helping many another region to realize its full potential production for the strength of our Nation.

Thus the central and southern Florida project ranks with the foremost developments of its kind in America. I assure you that the Corps of Engineers fully shares your eagerness to work out solutions to all impending problems and to keep the program moving on its schedule toward completion. I am immensely impressed at the evidence of new growth and progress I find each time I visit this area. With the State government, the local agencies, and the people of Florida helping to set the pace, the Corps of Engineers will continue to advance the project to the maximum extent permitted by the availability of funds in order that you good people here, the State and the Nation will reap manifold benefits just as soon as possible which will continue increasingly, year after year, for generations to come. Thank you.

John W. Davis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HARLEY M. KILGORE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an eloquent tribute to the memory of John W. Davis, delivered by Eric Sevareid on the CBS radio network last night, March 29, 1955.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. John W. Davis was buried vesterday at the age of 81; another of the dwindling group of towering Americans from a past age of event; great men, like Henry Stimson, who never achieved the pinnacle of public life, the Presidency, when lesser men did; men whose dedication to their country was whole-souled, nevertheless, and for whom the supreme frustration of personal ambition never deflected them away from public services of a monumental nature. The small band of true elder statesmen is dwindling still smaller; their counsel will one day soon be entirely lost, and sometimes one wonders how and when they are to be replaced. This may be illusion, but it always seemed to they represented an influence in our public affairs fundamentally different from the mental and emotional promptings of most men now of the prime and middle age. Because the men like Davis and Stimsonone could add others, like Learned Hand, or the poets Sandburg and Frost-were formed, in their minds, in a quite different

Their views of life were rooted in the long American past, anchored in what seemed to be rock; their principles of conduct and action, their faith in the American vision, were matured before the First World War. which began the present process of anarchy in personal and public principle; nearly all who have matured since that first world slaughter matured in doubt and the shortterm view. They matured in faith and the long view. On behalf of their eternal principles of the free mind, they would join no hasty rationalizations in the misused name of security; they would today, I think, in the face of possible war in Asia, look to the lessons of history, not to the alleged compulsions of strategy, where so many lesser men direct their eyes.

There were eternal verities for a man like John W. Davis and one was the meaning of the American Constitution. He was probably the greatest constitutional lawyer of his time; and he would, if his verities were involved, defend a so-called security risk other men would shun, or even an acknowledged Communist.

Always, the principle was the thing, not the individual, not the pressing needs of the harried present, nor the fleeting charms of popularity. Such men would not bow to the Icons of public opinion, knowing the majority can be wrong; one cannot quite imagine them scrutinizing the public opinion polls, sending careful trial balloons into the air to see where safety lay; or surrounding themselves with ghost writers weighing each calculated word to offend no possible pressure group. They proceeded from principle and hoped the needs of the moment would fit; they did not proceed from the needs of the moment, inventing or adjusting principle as protective coloration.

Such men had a positive effect on their country's course, beyond, sometimes, the influence of those who had taken the great offices in their stead. One wonders, somewhat the course of reconstruction would have been, that period of public disease, had Horatio Seymour not lost the Presidency to General Grant, so vastly in-ferior to Seymour in intellect and vision, One wonders what would have been our course through the frantic twenties, ending in the depression collapse, had John W. Davis not lost the Presidency to Calvin Coolidge, who sat on the White House porch and rocked, impervious to a new idea. Those are the might-have-beens of history, indication in themselves of how wrong the majority can be.

But Davis' life and works were not mighthave-been in themselves. Private life did not frustrate the great lawyer; his works were many, important, and the country is the better for his long and enviable life.

Refugee and Migration Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. IRVING M. IVES

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, Hon. Edward Corsi, special assistant to the Secretary of State on refugee and migration problems, recently spoke at the 25th anniversary luncheon of the National Council on Citizenship and Naturalization at the Hotel Astor in New York City. Over the years Mr. Corsi has served with considerable distinction in a number of positions of important public trust. He is very highly regarded and respected by those who know him in New York State.

I commend to my colleagues Mr. Corsi's remarks relative to the refugee relief program under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, and I ask unanimous consent that his address be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WELCOMING HAND

(Address delivered by Hon. Edward Corsi, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State on Refugee and Migration Problems, at the 25th anniversary luncheon of the National Council on Citizenship and Naturalization, Hotel Astor, New York, N. Y., March 18, 1955)

I have known and worked with the Council on Citizenship and Naturalization since its foundation 25 years ago. Mrs. Ruth

Murphy, its founder, was then a shy youngster with her eyes on worlds to conquer and the movement she inaugurated was destined to make history in the field of naturalization and citizenship.

If I am not mistaken, it was at about that time that the Immigration and Naturalization Services were wedded into a single agency and, here in New York, I was the minister who performed the ceremony.

It was at that time also that the favorite sport hereabouts was to take potshots at the Naturalization Service. I remember there was a director of the service by the name of Sturgis who was literally driven mad by applicants, Congressmen, newspapers, and other interlopers who would not let up on the poor fellow no matter how hard he tried. I mention this in the way of consolation, if any is needed, for present-day commissioners of immigration, administrators of refugee acts, and Special Assistants to the Secretary of State.

We live in a troubled world and, while our voluntary agencies have done much to create better understanding between Government and those who are served by Government, the pains, the frustrations, and the irritations of this world are reflected in the job you and I must do.

When I was a young Commissioner at Ellis Island, we knew just one word: "alien" or "aliens."

They used to tell an amusing anecdote concerning that much-abused word. It had to do with an immigrant inspector hunting for deportable allens in the peaceful counties of upstate New York. The inspector called at a home for the aged and inquired: "Any allens here?" To which a surprised superintendent replied: "Sir, they are all alling here."

Now we have added to the vocabulary of the profession, besides "alien," other appellations more professional even if more contusing: refugee, escapee, expellee, DP; and along with these novel terms a whole conglomeration of alphabetical designations of agencies in the field which baffle even the most expert in the business: ICEM, USEP, RRP, UNHCR, not to mention the identifying tags of the voluntary agencies themselves with which you are better acquainted than I am.

Back of these designations and these terms, however, is the grim story of two world wars in one generation—of the butchery of millions of innocents, the destruction of towns and homes and the wholesale uprooting of humanity by wars, revolutions,

and sheer human idiocy.

The human material with which you and I are mainly concerned today is not immigration as we understand it a quarter of a century ago—the mass of peasants and artisans who poured in endless streams through Ellis Island at the turn of the century. Those were immigrants who had homes and roots in their native countries. What they sought was a better job and greater opportunity for their energies. What we are concerned with today are frustrated men and women without homes and without countries; in other words, the victims of war and persecution who seek freedom and the chance to start their lives over again in a climate of decency and respect for the human person.

These millions are more akin to the political refugees of early America than to the latter day immigrant of my time, who was an economic rather than a political or religious exile. The immigrant from Italy or Greece or Poland at the turn of the century wept as he left his native village on his way to America. While he was eager for adventure and opportunity, at the same time he was reluctant to abandon the hearthstone of his ancestors and the country that he loved. But the refugee of today is homeless, stateless, and friendless. He has nothing to leave behind for which he may shed

a single tear except, perhaps, the memory of loved ones dead in concentration camps, on the battlefield, or in hunger marches on the way to exile and dispersion.

It is with these 38 million people, their future, their resettlement, their integration in new environments and new societies that we are greatly concerned, not only as a matter of humanity but as part of an enlightened foreign policy of peace and security in the world; and, I might add, we are concerned with these people as fellow fighters in the cold war against Communist tyranny in the world.

The story of what America is doing, at home and abroad, to alleviate the plight of these unfortunates should be better known even to many of us who devote our energies to the problems of immigration and resettlement.

The equivalent of \$200 million has already been spent through the foreign-aid program in Germany, Austria, Greece, and Turkey to provide relief to the refugees and facilitate their integration within these countries.

The United States Government is spending now, for the fiscal year 1955-56 the sum of about \$40 million on a dozen national and international projects for the relief of refugees, escapees, and other victims of war and persecution in all parts of the globe. This is exclusive of funds used for related purposes through the regular agencies of the State, Justice, Health, and other Federal Departments contributing to the admission of immigrants to the United States.

These millions are spent on the feeding, housing, caring for the health and welfare of refugees, escapees, and expellees throughout Europe and Asia; they are providing the transportation across the seas, and from country to country, of uprooted men and women on their way to new homes; they are helping to stimulate the flow of migration from the overpopulated countries of Europe to the underpopulated and underdeveloped lands of South and Central America, Africa, and Australia; they are training workers for new jobs and new assignments in countries of immigration; they are providing schools, nurseries, clinics for orphan children or the children of refugee families; finally, they are providing new hope for many who otherwise would rot in the slums and the camps of Europe where there is no hope and no future for them, except a bare subsistence at the hands of government or private charity.

Along with money, America is providing the leadership and the know-how for the constructive solution of the problems of the displaced in the modern world. Thousands of businessmen, leaders of government, social workers, educators, religious teachers are dedicating their lives to the rehabilitation of these people. The ILO, UNESCO, and other national and international agencies. to which we contribute generously, are having a direct impact on the refugee and migration area through providing employment services and training in surplus population groups and improving educational facilities. FOA, ICEM, UNRWA, UNICEF, UNHCR, provide the means of resettlement, integration, and employment of the displaced and his family in all countries of the earth; and in Korea, in Indochina, in the Near East, in Europe and in the Americas, these agencies are busy reconstructing the peaceful fabric of our society and helping rebuild a new world.

Here at home, we have added to the regular flow of quota immigration a special act opening our doors to 214,000 refugees from all over the earth. I refer to the President's Refugee Relief Act of 1953 in which I know you are all interested.

The vicissitudes and travails of this act since its birth a little over a year and a half ago are too well known to be discussed here; and there is no sense of harping on the past if we are to move ahead and get the program on the rails before the bell rings.

From the President down, there is every intention to make good on this act and, unless I am too naive to know what is going on, I can assure you that we will make good on this act; and that, given the public cooperation we need, we will bring in, if not all, at least most of the 214,000 beneficiaries of the law before the law expires in 1957.

I am not resting this optimism on mere hopes and guesses but on what is going on right now in Washington and in Europe in the way of administrative and policy im-

provements to get results quickly.

I am sure you will be glad to know that we have approved a \$16 million budget for the fiscal year 1955-56, which means personnel and operating expenses to handle a full flow of the migration contemplated by the act.

We are preparing to triple our Army investigating staff in Germany by the next 3 months. We have that much new personnel in clearance in Washington now. Sixty additional Army investigators will be in Germany by the end of the month.

We are prepared for necessary staff increases in Italy, Greece, Austria and elsewhere in Europe to meet a full caveload of assurances and applications as they come in.

The Secretary of State and the administrator of the act have already approved administrative changes in field operations in Europe which will be put through shortly and which will greatly speed up and restore confidence in the program, in Germany especially.

We have interpreted the act in liberal terms to encourage greater cooperation between the voluntary agencies and the administration.

We have begun the pre-processing of applications so as to be ready for additional assurances as they come in.

Only yesterday, instructions went out to our Embassy in Rome for the establishment of consular facilities in Trieste to handle the issuance of visas on the spot in that area.

In Italy, the Italian Government is now at work to give us, in cooperation with our own Labor Department, a reliable occupational census of the pool of refugees in that country. We are planning the same for Germany, In Greece and in Austria, we are already in view of a completed program well ahead of the 1957 date when the act expires.

I mention these items to dispel the gloom which surrounds the operations of the act and to dissipate the rumor in certain quarters that our Government has no intention of making the ack work but is simply going through the motions to make people think it

Is working.

I referred a little while ago to the past and I said something about things being different. Among the things that are different today from the things of yesterday—when I came through Ellis Island in the days of uncontrolled mass immigration—is the welcoming hand.

The hand that greets the newcomer today is a little warmer than it was yesterday.

And it is a little warmer because of our social and religious agencies—high among them the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship.

Trade Program in Peril

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following address by the Honorable

ALBERT GORE, in New York City, before the Committee on Foreign Trade Education, Inc., upon the occasion of the receipt of the annual Cordell Hull award:

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, to be chosen for the Cordell Hull award of the Committee on Foreign Trade Education is an honor which has a special significance for me. I have known former Secretary Hull since my boyhood in the little town of Carthage, Tenn. I guess that if I had a real idol, as a boy, that idol was Judge Hull. He was the Congressman from my district, and I have a very vivid memory of the times I used to sit on the grass in front of the court house in Carthage and listen spell-bound, as Judge Hull talked about national and international affairs. Later, when I began to have ambitions of my own, Judge Hull was kind and generous enough to encourage me. He is still my ideal of what an American statesman should be.

In my opinion, one of the greatest contributions Cordell Hull made to the prosperity of the Nation was his conception of what expanded international trade would mean. When Judge Hull became Secretary of State in 1933 our economy was in such a serious decline that it was obvious that some emergency action had to be taken. We and other nations of the world were hiding behind high-tariff walls and trying to outdo each other in erecting barriers to international trade. As a result, the 2-way flow of goods so necessary to economic life and vitality had practically ceased, and our international commerce had become stagnant. Unsalable surpluses piled up, arteries of trade became choked and clogged, and millions of men became hungry and desperate. Our farmers and workers needed jobs, and they needed markets for the output of their labor.

In searching for a cure for this atrophy of commerce, Judge Hull lifted his sights above the ordinary petty squabbles of the domestic market place. He sought to develop new markets abroad which would absorb our surplus production. But he knew that to sell abroad, we must be willing to buy from abroad. So he came forward with the idea of making agreements with other countries to lower some of our trade barriers to their products, in exchange for agreements by those countries to open some of their markets to us.

The basic formula worked so well that it is still in effect. The reciprocal-trade program that Judge Hull gave us is still good—but to remain a living, vital force for the expansion of our economy, it must be liberalized somewhat to take into account present-day situations. Even the best of programs must be kept abreast of the times, must be nourished from time to time with new enthusism and new ideas.

President Eisenhower has asked the Congress to extend the life of the program for another 3 years, and to make some very moderate improvements.

I am convinced that passage of H. R. 1 is the very minimum that should be done to bolster our sagging foreign trade, and to maintain the unity among free nations that we have achieved at such great cost. Failure to take this minimum step would signal a return to the protectionist policies which played a significant part in wrecking our economy in the early 1930's. More than that, it would seriously damage the grand afilance of free nations that stands with us as a bulwark against the spread of communism.

Last fall I went to Geneva as a United States delegate to an international conference on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. While there I had an opportunity to talk to officials of dozens of countries. From these talks I got the impression that the whole free world was waiting to see what direction our international trade policy would take. I am convinced that any indication on our part of a return to protection-

ist policies would cause a stampede among other nations to raise their tariffs and erect any other protectionist barriers they can devise. For that reason alone, though there are many others, it is imperative that the President be given the new authority he asks under H. R. 1, without crippling amendments.

H. R. 1 has passed the House of Representatives, where it got by on a margin of one vote. It is now before the Senate Finance Committee. During the past few days I have been surveying the situation in the Senate. What I learned is most disturbing. The shocking truth is that as of now the President's program is in grave danger of defeat.

I know you are asking yourselves how it can be that this program is in danger of defeat if it is so important to our economic well-being, if it is so necessary to the strengthening of the free nations of the world in their fight against the spread of communism. I, too, have sought an answer to that question, and I think I have a part of it.

With the election of a Democratic Congress last fall it was assumed by most of those interested in seeing a liberalized foreign trade program enacted, that there would be very little difficulty in passing the President's program. But it appears we did not reckon seriously enough with the high-tariff lobby. That lobby has carried on a furious propaganda campaign against the trade program, while supporters of the program, for the most part, have failed to combat this campaign.

Supporters of the program should have been warned by the close vote in the House of Representatives that there was serious trouble afoot. But apparently that warning passed practically unheeded, and while those who favor an enlightened international trade program are snug in their complacency, the high-tariff lobby is busy trying to influence public opinion and win votes against the program with an insidious campaign of mis-information.

This is not the first time the tariff lobby has attempted to sell one-sided half-truths to try to block an enlightened trade program. That lobby has been in business a long time. Even in President Woodrow Wilson's day it was at work, and its efforts became so notorious that President Wilson felt compelled to issue a statement of warning to the country. Because I think that warning would be applicable today, I want to read what President Wilson had to say:

"I think the public ought to know the extraordinary exertions being made by the lobby in Washington to gain recognition for certain alterations in the tariff bill. Washington has seldom seen so numerous, so industrious, and so insidious a lobby. The newspapers are being filled with paid advertisements calculated to mislead not only the judgment of public men, but also the public opinion of the country itself. There is every evidence that money without limit is being spent to sustain this lobby and to create an appearance of a pressure of opinion antagonistic to some of the chief items of the tariff bill.

"It is of serious interest to the country that the people at large should have no lobby and be voiceless in these matters, while great bodies of astute men seek to create an artificial opinion and overcome the interests of the public for their private profit. It is thoroughly worth the while of the people of this country to take knowledge of this matter. Only public opinion can check and destroy it."

It is unfortunate that everything that President Wilson said about the tariff lobby in his day applies to that lobby today. It is unfortunate, too, that President Elsenhower has not emulated President Wilson's warning that the tariff lobby threatens the national interests. President Eisenhower must fight for the reciprocal-trade program and win the support of at least a few Repub-

lican Senators, or it will be defeated. So far the Senate has had only a tepid presidential message, and this seems to have had no effect upon Senators of the President's own political party who last year voted unanimously against the program.

Meanwhile, the lobby seeks to convince businessmen they are likely to be bankrupted by competition from imports, and it seeks to scare labor with the specter of unemployment caused by failure of businesses unable to meet import competition. But industries that really suffer from imports are decidedly in the minority, and in most cases only a few specialty lines in a given industry would have substantial difficulty meeting import competition. But the tariff lobby has tried to freighten all industry and all Members of the Senate by harping on the possible or imaginary plight of a few specialty lines. I insist that this practice has gone too far, and it is grossly misleading and dangerous to our country.

to our country.

Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, In testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee in 1953 stimated that 4.376,000 workers in this country owe their jobs to foreign trade. This is a very significant portion of our working force. Meanwhile, the Randall Commission, appointed by the President to study trade problems, estimated in a staff paper that only 202,000 workers might be adevrsely affected if all tariffs were suspended. Of course, H. R. 1 does not call for the suspension of all tariffs by any means. It only authorizes the President to make selective reductions in tariffs not to exceed 5 percent per year for the next 3 years. But to all of this, th tariff lobby is blind. It overlooks the serious impact a return to protectionism would have on more than 4 million persons whose jobs depend upon foreign trade.

The lobby runs heavy advertising campaigns in Washington newspapers, and now has set off a letter-writting campaign from the home State of each Senator. Some of the letters we receive from constitutents are no doubt genuine. But many more are obviously inspired by the tariff lobby. The lobby has gone to great pains to make the letters seem plausible and genuine, but after you read a few of them you begin to see the same ideas, phrases, and wording coming up again and again.

One letter I got is a prime example of what the lobby can do with its fear technique. This letter, well written and on the surface apparently plausible, came from the head of a very substantial business in Tennessee. The letter indicated this man's business was suffering seriously from import competition, and might be wiped out if H. R. 1 were passed. But what were the facts on imports of his product?

Well, imports were running at about \$13,-000 a year, but exports were more than \$800,-000. The tariff lobby had so misled and so frightened this businessman that he was ready to jeopardize an \$800,000 export business in order to cut off \$13,000 worth of imports. A good trade program would help this man expand his export market.

There you see the picture—the tariff lobby trying to frighten and enlist in its cause even persons who have a very great stake in passage of H. R. 1.

Because there are a few specialty lines in the cotton-textile industry which experience strong competition, the lobby has sought to convince Congress that the whole textile industry is in danger. Cotton-textile workers are one of the prime targets of the lobby. It has created fear of unemployment among these workers and played upon that fear in a most unpardonable manner. It has convinced many of these workers that they are slowly being driven out of their jobs by import competition. But what are the facts?

We produce cotton cloth at the rate of about 10 billion square yards a year. Im-

ports were about a half of 1 percent of that amount, or 50 million square yards, but those imports were far more than offset by exports of 600 million square yards. That is, we sold abroad 12 times as much cotton cloth as we imported. Cotton-textile workers have a very great interest in expanding those markets abroad so they can sell more of their product, and the authority granted the President in H. R. 1 would help to expand those markets.

Coal miners are another group to which the lobby's propaganda is directed. miners are told that the serious decline in the market for coal is due to imports of residual fuel oil from Venezuela. Now no one will deny that the coal industry is in a distressed condition. From 1947 to 1953 it lost markets for 155 million tons of coal. But during those same years the increase in use of residual fuel oil was equivalent to only 11 million tons of coal. So the coal industry must look elsewhere for reasons for the loss of markets for at least 144 million tons of coal. During this same period, coal exports declined by 35 million tons. Recapture of those export markets would answer part of the problem, and passage of H. R. 1 could very well facilitate that recap-

The chemical industry also presents a picture of unreasoned fear. It is one of our fastest growing industries, increasing production by about 10 percent a year as compared to 4 percent a year for all industry. Last year its production was worth about \$20 billion. Its exports were worth just under 1 billion, but chemical imports were valued at only about a fourth as much. In addition, imports are on the decline. Last year they were 15 percent under the 1953 level.

We simply must find same way to inform the public that it is being hoaxed by the tariff lobby; we must find a way to let the people know what is at stake, that their larger interest lies in an expansion rather than in a shrinkage of trade. Otherwise, the program may suffer defeat, and this great practical approach to greated prosperity developed by Cordell Hull will wither on the vine. Then the race to protectionism will start once again and international trade will stagnate. Our economy and the economies of the free world nations will suffer. I can think of nothing that would better suit the purposes of the Kremlin in Moscow.

Looking beyond congressional action on H. R. 1, there is still another important trade battle to be fought this year. On Monday our representatives signed at Geneva a series of agreements for revision of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade which was first negotiated in 1948. These revisions were agreed upon in negotiations with some 34 nations which, together with our own country, conduct about 80 percent of the international trade in the free world. One of the most important documents our representatives signed was an agreement which would set up an Organization for Trade Cooperation to administer the General Agreement. However, before this organization can become effective, it must be approved by Congress. And there, I suppose, we shall face another allout battle by the tariff lobby.

The General Agreement seeks to establish some ground rules on trade among member nations, and they are sorely needed. In many cases tariff rates are not the most serious barrier to the flow of international commerce. Many other trade gimmicks can be employed which are even more effective in blocking our exports than a tariff would be. Among these protectionist devices are exchange controls, licensing restrictions, import quotas, and internal taxes on imports.

One of the main objectives of the general agreement is to bring about a decline in the

use of these discriminatory weapons. In the 7 years since it was first negotiated, the general agreement has been instrumental in curbing the indiscriminate application of these economic weapons. In some cases we ourselves have gotten relief from discrimination after filing complaints based upon provisions in the general agreement.

One case involved the imposition by another nation of a nine per cent sales tax on imported lumber, a tax from which domestic lumber was exempted. After we complained, the tax was applied to domestic lumber as well. In another case, an embargo on American potatoes was lifted by another country after we complained. third case involved the efforts of the British to wean their population away from smoking pure Virginia cigarettes by requiring a 5 percent admixture of Oriental tobaccos. After several protests, based on provisions of the general agreement, the prohibition on the manufacture of unblended Virginia tobacco cigarettes was lifted. A score of other such cases exist-separately unspectacular for the most part, but impressive in total. It is doubtful that we would have gotten such redress in these cases in the absence of the general agree-

As soon as H. R. 1 is passed, I believe it is imperative that we begin to work for congressional approval of the Organization for Trade Cooperation to administer the general agreement. For we are the greatest trading nation in the world, and if we fall to ratify these accords, then the organization will fall apart.

I am convinced that isolation, in whatever form, political or economic, is no longer a safeguard for the United States, but a menace. We can no longer pretend that what we do is irrelevant to those who are with us in the grand alliance of free nations. Our economic position is so preeminent that what we do affects every member of the alliance. It is no longer possible for us to regard trade as solely a matter of domestic politics. Fortunately, we are in a position where our own economic interests and our world responsibilities converge in a trade policy that will permit an expansion of international commerce.

I do not regard the problem of developing an enlightened trade policy as one that we can take or leave alone, but rather as one that presses for an immediate solution. For, in the words of President Eisenhower, "If we fail in our trade policy we may fail in all."

FOA Demise-Need for Action No. I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to call the attention of the Congress to an editorial in the Washington Post and Times-Herald of March 24. The apparent continued inability of the administration to make up its collective mind regarding how the foreign-economic program should be handled will lead to administrative chaos unless affirmative action is taken in the near future. I am informed that rumors concerning the demise of FOA are having a serious effect on the agency's operating efficiency.

The continued and repeated organization and reorganization of these vital functions does not promote the stability and continuity which a long-range technical assistance and development program requires. I proposed last week that the Congress move in conjunction with the administration to establish a permanent technical and developmental cooperation agency to handle the economic technical aspects of our overseas efforts. The desirable goal of achieving foreign policy integration of this program can be accomplished by having the administrator of such an agency as I propose be responsible to the Secretary of State.

We cannot let this program drift and shift any longer. It constitutes one of the most essential ingredients we have for maintaining freedom. In addition, a state of perpetual uncertainty is unfair to the employees of FOA.

I intend to comment on this situation under special order on Thursday of this week.

The editorial follows:

Both Congress and the administration are open to serious criticism for their indecision and basically negative approach to the problem of the future of foreign aid. Despite the urgent need for technical assistance programs in Asia, the organization that is equipped to carry them out is about to be allowed to die. When Congress said last allowed to die. year that the Foreign Operations Administration must be terminated by June 30, 1955, the administration accepted the decision but failed to work out any alternative arrangements. The time has passed when largescale grants are needed, but a strong organization is required to administer the varied programs needed to support our foreign policy in Asia and the Middle East. FOA officials have the experience and know-how for such undertakings, which could be carried forward at relatively small cost. But these officials are leaving the agency now as fast as they can find jobs elsewhere.

A decision apparently is about to be made by default to put what is left of FOA into the State Department after the military aid functions are separated and given to the Pentagon. Just 2 years ago the point 4 operation was taken out of State and put in FOA. Many experienced foreign aid officials were "riffed" at the time, and it must be with mixed feelings that those who survived now prepare for the return trip. FOA may be unpopular in Congress, but it stands for something important overseas and is a significant adjunct of American foreign policy.

Of course, it is foolish to talk much about the future of the agency without knowing what the future program is to be. It is here that the administration is most gravely at fault. It has shown virtually no leadership in the all-important task of preparing for the next phase of foreign aid, a phase that could determine whether a dozen countries will remain independent or fall eventually under the Communist yoke.

If the skeleton of FOA that remains after June 30 is to be transferred to the State Department, certainly it should have the greatest possible autonomy under the Secretary. Political and economic considerations often are intertwined; it will be necessary to provide machinery whereby economic objectives can receive the same sort of attention and emphasis as the State Department is accustomed to give political problems. It would make an administrative monstrosity to dump the economic responsibility on political desk officers.

As important as the new structure that may emerge is the recognition that a different program is needed for each country and that guidance and technical assistance are more important than grants. President Elsenhower in the past has spoken eloquently about the possibilities in this field. Surely it is time for him to exercise his leadership so that a national asset is not frittered away in political compromises between agencies and between agencies and Congress.

FOA Demise-Need for Action No. II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to stress again to the Congress the seriousness of the administration's failure to formulate a foreign economic program The Foreign Operations Administration is scheduled to expire in some 40 days, yet no plan has been enunciated as to how our Government is to continue activities which are key weapons in winning the cold war. I wish to insert herewith a statement by the executive director of the American Veterans Committee, Mr. Andrew E. Rice, on the imperative need for continuing our technical assistance and foreign economic programs.

I intend to comment on this situation under special order on Thursday of this week.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF ANDREW E. RICE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE, BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, MARCH 4, 1955

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, the American Veterans Committee has long been an enthusiastic supporter of United States programs of aid to underdeveloped countries. In addition to endorsing Government and intergovernmental programs, we have participated, through the World Veterans Federation, in carrying out privately organized programs. (For example, last month Dr. Douglas Toffelmier, of Oakland, Calif., one of this country's leading experts in the field of amputee rehabilitation, left for central Java on a mission jointly sponsored by the United Nations and the World Veterans Federation to develop Indonesia's lone orthopedic rehabilitation center. Thus America's skills in helping the disabled veteran and civilian are transferred abroad.)

To this committee, however, I wish to do more than merely restate our support of assistance to underdeveloped countries. In our study of the problem over the past 5 years, certain general principles have emerged which, while I am not at present mandated to give them our unequivocal endorsement, seem to us worthy of most serious consideration by this committee.

The first principle is that programs of aid to underdeveloped countries cannot be arbitrarily separated into technical assistance and financial aid. The goal of our programs should be the all-round economic development of an underdeveloped area. Technical know-how must be accompanied by adequate tools and resources to make that know-how productive. This is the way pri-

vate investment always works; technical skills and financial resources go hand in hand. In the very least developed countries technical training alone may be necessary before any substantial funds can be usefully employed. But beyond a certain level training alone, without resources to put that training to work productively, can only lead to frustration and disillusionment.

Our second point is that financial assistance on a far larger scale than at present is essential if we are to give the underdeveloped countries any real hope that the widening gap between their standard of living and our own can ever be narrowed. America's productivity is moving ahead rapidly on an average more than 4 percent per year. Despite our enormous defense expenditures, our standard of living has been rising. Robert Nathan, the well-known economist (and an active member of the American Veterans Committee) has estimated that we could. If we desired, invest some \$10 billion a year overseas without in any way affecting our own standard of living.

In the light of these facts it becomes almost incredible that our Government has not yet endorsed SUNFED—the Special U. N. Fund for Economic Development. Not only is the economics of this position faulty, but so is the psychology. To argue that we cannot "afford" to invest in SUNFED until an enforceable worldwide system of disarmament has been achieved, is hardly calculated to appeal to the Soviet Union as an argu-

ment for such disarmament.

Thirdly, it seems impossible for private enterprise alone to do the job, for reasons which Dr. Willard Thorp very eloquently outlined to this committee. Certainly private investment should be encouraged in every way possible, but as long as our own country offers so many highly profitable investment opportunities itself and overseas investment is generally so risky, capital will not flow freely abroad. Moreover, as George Woods of the First Boston Corporation so well pointed out, the "export of investment capital by the nationals of capital deficient countries is a difficult fact to explain away to well-informed investors in the United States who are weighing the advantages of investing capital abroad as opposed to making investments at home."

As a subsidiary to this point, I should like to point out that the real channel through which private investment is flowing to underdeveloped areas today is the Internation-The Bank is selling its bonds on al Bank. the private money market in all major financial centers-London, The Hague, Basle, as well as New York-and is having no difficulty at all in disposing of its offerings. Now Secretary Humphrey has announced United States support for an international finance corporation, a proposal first put forward by the Nelson Rockefeller Board in 1951. Although public funds would be subscribed for the IFC, its issue would go directly to private enterprises. IFC, which I hope this Congress will support, would thus indirectly give great impetus to private investment.

The fourth consideration which seems to us important is that within reasonable limits, assistance to any underdeveloped area should be coordinated. By this overworked word I mean that all aspects of a nation's or region's economy need to be developed simultaneously. Uneven development is unsound economically. To grow more crops, but not to have the transportation network to get them to market doesn't make sense. This "coordinated" development approach should extend right down to the village or community level, as in fact is being done in the United States-supported community development projects in India.

A corollary of this viewpoint is that, within the United States Government, the administration of aid programs should be centralized. Whether there is an independent operating agency or an operating unit within the Department of State seems relatively unimportant. Either is far preferable, however, to splitting up aid functions among several Federal agencies which makes overall development planning almost impossible. Incidentally, the United Nations has come to realize this; the last General Assembly, by unanimous vote, changed the previous system of allocating technical-assistance funds to the specialized agencies, to a country allocation system which emphasizes balanced development.

In presenting these four principles, I do not, of course, mean to overlook other important considerations such as the need for long-range planning and, where possible, commitments of funds, the value of people to people contacts, the methods of selecting and training United States personnel for overseas assignment, the importance of multilateral programs, and the like. This committee will certainly wish to give full attention to the lessons which the experience of the past 5 years has taught us.

I would like, however, to emphasize only one final point. Members of this committee have expressed concern, I know, at what they consider the lack of public interest in our aid programs to underdeveloped areas. I will agree that certainly there is a lack of public knowledge, due in part perhaps to the restrictions on a public-information program which Congress wrote into the Mutual Security Act. But more fundamentally, I believe, such lack of knowledge is because development aid is not "newsworthy" in the usual sense of that term. Most Americans are simply uninformed by the news channels on which they rely.

Yet where Americans are informed, they have shown solid support for these programs. Through our own great voluntary organizations, such as those testifying before this committee, they have shown such support. I believe in all sincerity that if this Congress expands our Nation's participation in development aid programs it will find the majority of the American people behind it.

Salaries for College Teachers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include information which has been compiled by the McGraw-Hill Co. relating to salaries for college teachers. I know that all of us in Congress are vitally interested in the profession of education as it applies not only to our public-school teachers, but to those on the college level. I find the information in the article by McGraw-Hill Co. very illuminating, and I respectfully call the attention of all of my colleagues in Congress to the article which follows. The first paragraph is a summary in my own words of a chart which appeared in the article:

SUMMARY BY MR. MATTHEWS

There was recently a chart compiled from information furnished by the Council for Financial Aid to Education, United States Department of Commerce and United States Department of Labor, entitled "What's Happened to College Faculty Salaries?" This chart shows the increase or decrease in real income before taxes of four economic classes of our population, and covered the period

from 1940 to 1954. According to this chart, physicians enjoyed a gain in real income during this period of 80 percent; industrial workers a gain of 48 percent; lawyers a gain of 10 percent; while college faculty members suffered a decrease in real income before taxes of 5 percent during this same period.

COMPILATION BY McGRAW-HILL CO.

This chart tells a story of profound importance to every American. It is the story of the financial beating our college and university faculty members have been taking in the past 14 war and postwar years.

On the whole, this span of 14 years has been one of great and growing prosperity. But, as the chart shows, our college and university faculty members have, as a group, had less than no share in it.

During this period, from 1940 through 1954, the real income of the average industrial worker (that is, what his wages would purchase in goods and services) has increased by almost one-half. Among professional groups, physicians have enjoyed an increase of about 80 percent in their real income. Lawyers, far less favored financially, have had an increase of about 10 percent. But faculty members have not only had no increase at all, over these years of prosperity their average real income has fallen by 5 percent. These figures do not take account of the increase in taxes since 1940.

SENIOR TEACHERS HARDEST HIT

These figures are, of course, averages. For some groups of faculty members it has been better, for others worse. It has been particularly hard on senior faculty members. Between 1941 and 1953 their salaries lost about 8 percent of their purchasing power. Being deeply committed to their careers, they could not respond to alternative employment opportunities as readily as could their junior colleagues. For junior faculty members there was some increase in real income between 1941 and 1953, but only about half as much as the average for the Nation.

PUBLIC COLLEGES FARE BETTER

There are also marked differences In the average financial reward received by faculty members in different types of colleges and universities. A recent study by the Council for Financial Aid to Education indicates that in the last academic year, 1953-54, teachers in privately endowed, independent colleges and universities were paid an average salary about \$1,000 less than that paid to faculty members in tax-supported institutions. The same study indicates that salaries far below the average are especially common for faculty members in the small private liberal arts colleges. This study found that during the last academic year the average salary of all college and university faculty members was about \$4,700.

The special difficulties under which the independent colleges and universities, and particularly the independent liberal arts colleges, are laboring to get back on their feet financially have been discussed in previous editorials in this series. These difficulties underline the need of special help for these institutions to which business firms are now contributing in increasing volume. However, the problem of providing increased salaries is not peculiar to any particular type of institution.

It is not easy to prescribe a precise standard of fair pay for college and university faculty members. This is partly because they put less weight relatively on money rewards than they put on rewards of scholarly accomplishment and prestige. Consequently, they have consistently been willing to work for very modest salaries in relation to the intellectual ability, education and application required. Obviously, however, it is the dictate both of fairness and good judgment to see that faculty members are given a roughly proportionate share

in the general prosperity. Indeed, their crucial role in our society could be made to justify a larger share than this.

DAMAGE TO NATIONAL SECURITY

There is no way to know with any degree of precision what the underpayment of our college and university faculty members over the past 14 years has actually cost the Nation in reduced quality of intellectual performance of those institutions. One reason is that the damage has been minimized by the devoted services of many faculty members who have loyally stuck to their jobs in spite of the great financial discouragement.

It is obvious, however, that, if no grave deterioration in the intellectual performance of our colleges and universities has occurred so far, it is because we have been living on borrowed time. It is time borrowed from faculty members who have, in effect, been subsidizing these institutions by their financial sacrifice. This arrangement is not only a menace to the cultural and intellectual life of the Nation, it is also a menace to our national security in a time when successful national survival may well depend in peculiar degree on the full development and utilization of our intellectual resources. depend on our college and university faculties pre-eminently to provide this develop-ment. Adequate financial reward for such service is an elementary form of national insurance.

Many of our colleges and universities are working hard to improve the financial lot of their faculty members. Business firms are also playing an increasing role of providing the necessary financial assistance. The methods being used by business for this purpose will be the subject of another editorial in this series. However, vastly more must be done, and quickly, to stop the financial beating being taken by our college and university faculty members if the Nation's welfare and safety are to be properly protected.

Death of Walter White Is Mourned by World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, those of us who are dedicated to the fight for the liberal cause and those peoples throughout the world who battle for freedom and equality among men have suffered an irreparable loss in the passing of Walter White. His life and efforts, which have been a potent influence in promoting the cause of democracy within America and in promulgating to other countries the ideals basic in our philosophy, should serve as an inspiration to his own contemporaries and to all succeeding generations to brighten the torch of freedom, for the sake of all men, and to keep it fired always to its full flame.

In all the works which Mr. White accomplished, among my principal regrets is that he did not live long enough to witness the fruition of all his dreams, one of which will be represented in the 100th anniversary, in 1963, of the Emancipation Proclamation, when it is hoped that the more dramatic struggles of his people will be resolved.

The Patent System Is Being Strangled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, as the holder of several United States Patents, none of which, admittedly, are of earth-shaking importance, I have been impressed with the need for improvements in our United States Patent Office. The great technological advances made by this country through the years have been encouraged by a workable patent system. We now find that system bottlenecked and strangled through insufficient appropriations. Under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by the New York Patent Law Association:

THE PATENT SYSTEM IS BEING STRANGLED

The Patent Office must have at least \$15 million for fiscal 1956.

The United States patent system is being strangled by lack of funds to operate the Patent Office.

The patent system is of vital importance to the country. It has been estimated that 75 percent of the jobs in this country today are due to inventions made within the last 50 years; for example: automobiles, air-planes, radio, television, moving pictures, automatic telephones, home appliances, synthetic rubber, plastics, electronics, business machines, aspirin, wonder drugs, cellophane, nylon, rayon, army tanks, guided missiles, proximity fuse, and atomic energy. A large fraction of the income of the Federal Government is based on business which exists only as a result of invention. The outcome of any future war will depend largely on new inventions. And the patent system is the most important stimulus to the making of inventions. When the Government is spending billions of dollars each year for defense, is it not absurd to starve the Patent Office? A single invention may directly save the Government more in a single year than the entire cost of the Patent Office for many

The situation has reached emergency status. While the number of patent applications filed has been steadily rising, the number of patent examiners has been steadily reduced and is now at its lowest level since 1947. Only a few applications for patent filed today will be granted in less than 4 years.

Industry and the patent bar have become aroused. A delegation representing both of these groups traveled to Washington and called on the Commissioner of Patents, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Budget Bureau before the present budget was sent to Congress. Yet the appropriation asked for fiscal 1956 is only \$12 million, only \$500,000 more than the appropriation for fiscal 1955, almost the same as was spent in fiscal 1954, and less than was spent in either of the 2 preceding years.

The Commissioner of Patents has clearly explained the emergency. In his annual report for fiscal 1954, the Commissioner of Patents said on page 2 (matter in parentheses added): "* * it is imperative that the size of the examining corps be substantially increased.

"Nearly 100 more than the average number in the examining corps in 1954 would be required merely to keep abreast of the inflow of new work. The present backlog would remain undiminished. If the corps of examiner assistants were maintained at an average level of 630, which was the number of examiners at the end of 1954 fiscal year, the backlog could be expected to increase by no less than 12,000 cases, so that by the end of fiscal year 1955 about 207,000 applications would be on hand in the Patent Office. (As of January 31, 1955, there were 208,566.)

"A large backlog of pending applications is not conducive to the rendering of proper service to the public."

He said further, beginning on page 3 (matter in parentheses added):

"The adverse effects of reduced employment for a given period of time cannot be offset, in comparable time, by the subsequent hiring of new examiners. While the average workload may be sharply reduced, considerable time is required for new men to achieve the production level of the experienced examiners they replace. * * * In the meantime, the production of other examiners diminishes because they must devote time to training and supervising new men.

From the end of fiscal year 1946, when the workload on the desk of each examiner reached a peak, a period of 6 years elapsed before the maximum waiting time had been brought down to 9 months and the average to 8 months (from 18 months), despite very substantial enlargement of the examining corps in the years 1946 to 1949. It required 4 years to reduce the average waiting time by 10 months.

"Since the end of 1952, when both the examiner workload and waiting time were at their lowest in the postwar years, but still short of the more desirable prewar conditions (4 months' average waiting time in 1938), the average workload has been increasing. A concomitant increase in waiting time has also occurred and, on the basis of present trends, it is apparent that the average waiting time will increase to well over 1 year by the end of fiscal 1955."

The figures show the emergency. The following table shows the need for an increased appropriation in order to reduce the backlog of work, get patents issued more promptly, and improve efficiency by shorten-ing the waiting time between successive Patent Office actions.

	Fiscal year ending June 30				
	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
Applications filed during year Number of applications awaiting action at end of	60, 386	70, 341	75, 271		
3. Applications disposed of (allowed and aban-	96, 836	98, 878	1 116, 392		
doned) 4. Average number of examiners	76, 931 720	72, 082 688	63, 672		
5. Number of applications awaiting action per examiner (2 divided by 4)	134. 4	144	178		
6. Money spent by the Patent Office	\$12, 219, 338	\$12, 129, 581	\$11, 933, 934	\$11, 500, 000	
8. Appropriation asked by Budget Bureau for fiscal 1956.					\$12, 000, 000

140,895 as of Jan. 31, 1955. 2 610 as of Feb. 19, 1955.

There is no economy in refusing to face the facts and make an adequate appropriation. The workload on the Patent Office was imposed by Congress by enacting the patent statutes. Inventors and industry spend their time and money on inventions and patent applications relying in good faith on those statutes. The delay in the issuance of patents is against the public interest. The Patent Office should be permitted to do the work Congress has set for it. There is no economy in postponing services required by law to be provided.

The Patent Office appropriation should be at least \$15 million for fiscal 1956. With a 25-percent increase in patent applications filed from 1952 to 1954, an increase of at least 25 percent in the appropriation is required to provide even the restricted services rendered in 1952, not considering rising costs since then.

BOARD OF GOVERNORS. The New York Patent Law Association. NEW YORK, N. Y., March 23, 1955.

California Battles Colorado Basin Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert a newspaper article which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of March 28.

This article, by Kimmis Hendrick, chief of the Pacific news bureau of the Monitor, impressed me as an impartial evaluation of the forces playing upon the proposed upper Colorado River storage and development. I recommend this article as a pleasant and informative antidote for some of the more partisan insertions that have purported to deal with this subject:

CALIFORNIA BATTLES COLORADO BASIN PLAN Los Angeles.-California is once more

ranging its bigness against the rest of the West to defeat congressional approval of the upper Colorado River Basin project.

President Eisenhower has described the project as "well conceived" and has pledged it his administration's support. But California's Colorado River Association is urging Americans everywhere to ask their Congressman to turn it down.

Headlining the association's latest tract

runs the resounding warning. "A new \$4 billion tax burden threatens you."

Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, and New Mexico, in which originates virtually all of the water of the long-contested river, describe their project as costing \$1,100,-000,000. California declares that hidden costs will add \$3 billion more.

It is on this claim of excessive cost that California-especially the southern part of the State, but with State backingnewing its opposition to the upper Colorado project. It opposed the central Arizona project-effectively-the same way.

DEBATE ON CONCEPTS

Figures used on both sides are controversial, depending on various premises accepted in their reckoning. The Department of the Interior regards the upper Colorado project as economically feasible; California does not. The Upper Basin States maintain that even if the cost will involve subsidy, their future prosperity warrants a national investment. They contend that it will do the Nation no good to let all of the Colorado's water run down to the southwest tip of the map, while the Mountain States remain industrially and agriculturally water shy.

Really, the contest between California and its neighbor States is a debate over concepts. One is the Coolidge era approach to resource development, in which California had no other course than to seek Federal help to build Hoover Dam on a pay-back basis. The other is the newer view that the sounder road to regional development is repayment plus subsidy as a means to long-range economic

California cannot forget that it was the first Western State with enough money and people to underwrite the initial development of the Colorado River. It contracted through numerous public and private agencies to buy power and water from Hoover Dam and it invested two-thirds of a billion dollars in canals, tunnels, pipelines, and high-voltage transmission wires to bring the power and water across the mountains and deserts to the coast.

Northcutt Ely, counsel for the State of California in the pending case of Arizona v. California et al., in the United States Supreme Court, has said that without Hoover Dam, there could not have been any further development of the Colorado in either its upper or lower basin.

TEAMWORK IN 1928

California has not opposed Federal subsidies when they benefited California. The real hurt in the upper-basin project, for a State that does not think in regional terms but rather of its own prospects, is that this one might damage California's investment. Mr. Ely, for instance, has pointed out that the upper-basin project might cut Hoover Dam power production by 30 percent or more.

It might also lesson California's access to Colorado water. This would be a knotty problem. Prior rights to that water were established by the State's southern farm areas long ago, and nobody seems sure what curtailment would do to Los Angeles' industrial and urban prospects. It was Los Angeles Imperial Valley teamwork that got congressional approval of the Boulder Canyon Project Act in 1928, and this teamwork is still deemed essential to the protection of California water interests.

The whole Colorado question is full of such complexities. The upper-basin States have their own, as do the lower. Another illustration is that while the upper basin wants dams at Glen Canyon, Echo Park, and Curecanti for the express purpose of protecting the lower basin's stake in Hoover Dam, California supposes these dams may be detrimental and opposes them.

One phase of the controversy is the fact that ever since the Colorado River compact was signed at Santa Fe, N. Mex., on November 24, 1922, parties to it have differed over the meaning of terms. If California's interpretation of what the compact allocated to the lower basin were sound, the upper basin might not be able to build the project as now planned for it by the Reclamation Bureau.

Neither could Arizona build its central Arizona project. There wouldn't be enough water. Meanwhile, the upper-basin States and Arizona watch California's planning to bring its own tremendous water resources southward from their upstate origin and conclude that California must be merely greedy.

California has long believed that the problem involves a legal interpretation of the 1922 compact by the Supreme Court. It welcomes the case now pending before that high tribunal as brought by Arizona. But the upper-basin States fear that a Supreme Court finding may yield years of incidental litigation, not water, and they would rather have Congress give them their project than wait.

California has intimated, at the risk of getting some questions turned back on itself, that what is really needed is a full-scale reappraisal of the Colorado. But it has given no indication of wanting to lead in the exploration of a regional plan for its development.

It has, however, raised some provocative questions. For instance: What about building great hydroelectric dams in an area that abounds in coal, oil shale, and uranium? Will the competitive market for their power be there in even so short a time as 20 or 30 years?

What about turning salt sea water to fresh? If it is still expensive, isn't a milliondollar dam? (Reverse question: If salt water conversion can be done economically, will California need the Colorado at all?)

Square Dance, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, the third annual Florida square and folk dance convention will be held in Miami Beach April 29 and 30, 1955. Sponsored by the Florida Square and Folk Dance Callers and Teachers Association, the convention will present a full 2-day schedule of activities at the great Miami Beach City Auditorium, with the high points the dances on Friday and Saturday evenings.

An anticipated 2,500 dancers from the eastern seaboard and southern States will attend. A considerable number of dancers will attend from Florida's Eighth Congressional District, among them Prof. Ernest R. Bartley, of the University of Florida's political science department. Professor Bartley, presently on leave in Washington, D. C., under a Ford Foundation grant, is an ardent square dance enthusiast with a hobby of calling the intricate figures. He is very active in the Florida Caller's Association.

There is much misunderstanding of what square dancing today is like. The material by Dr. Bartley attempts to dispel some of this misunderstanding and shows square dancing as the healthy and moral activity that it is:

SQUARE DANCE, 1955

(By Dr. Ernest R. Bartley, member, Florida Square & Folk Dance Callers & Teachers Association, associate professor of political science, University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.)

There are millions of square dancers in the United States today—just how many millions no one can say with accuracy. It is certain, however, that there are few forms of recreation which have shown such a phenomenal growth in the past 10 years. Prior to World War II, square dancing was found in small, widely separated areas of the United States. These areas were, with some exceptions, rural in character. Today square dancing has come of age and is found in every part of the Nation—every State, every large city, and most of the smaller communities and rural areas.

Yet with all its size, the square-dance movement is much misunderstood by many persons. Some self-styled sophisticates view it, incorrectly, as a hayseed proposition, fit only for the unintelligent, unlearned, back-country character. Others imagine square dancing as nothing better than a knockdown, dragout, foot-stomping, and applejack-cornwhisky swigging contest with nothing of grace and devoid of morals.

Today's square-dance movement is a far cry from either of these ideas. Picture, if you can, one mamoth dance attended by all the devotees of this healthful form of recreation, gathered together from all over the Nation. No Madison Square Garden or Cow Palace can hold even a minor fraction of the multitudes who attend. Nothing but soft drinks will be sold for the quenching of thirst—no beer, no wine, no hard liquor. Modern square-dance figures will not permit participants to indulge even a bit in alcoholic refreshment; drink after the dance if you will, but there is an alcoholic taboo on drinking at or before our gargantuan gettogether.

The floor will be a colorful affair. Our millions of persons will be garbed in typical western dress or casual attire. You'll find no suits, no starched collars, no conventional formal dresses—and no bib overalls. Many of the men, who never rode a horse in their life, will be wearing cowboy boots.

The ladies will be wearing dresses with color variety to rival the rainbow and with enough yards of filmy material in the petticoats to circle the earth at the Equator. There'll be very few, if any, plain gingham or callco dresses; milady's square-dance fashions are of the highest order, breath-taking in their beauty. Dresses, hats, boots, neckties, jewelry, shirts—a whole industry has been created in the United States to cater to the dressing needs of these many dancers. Millions of dollars' worth of square-dance clothing are sold every year.

And who will our dancers be? They will come from every State, every county in the United States. The majority who come to dance will come from homes located in the urban areas of the Nation, for contrary to popular belief the major centers of square dancing in the United States are no longer in the rural areas. Many of our dancers will be farmers, of course-producers of cotton, corn, tobacco, rice, wheat, cattle, hogs, sheep-producers of every known agricultural commodity. But dancing with our farmers will be professional persons: doctors (why here's a famous surgeon), lawyers and judges (one from the Supreme Court of the United States), politicians (look, there are some 80 Congressmen of the United States and their wives), scientists (that one over there had a leading role in the development of the atomic bomb), Government workers (the Department of State is well represented), educators (if they were all wearing caps and gowns, we could hold an academic procession that would be blocks long), members of the military (you can't tell the chiefs from the Indians for squaredance regalia has no place for insignia of rank). No profession will be unrepresented.

Dancing will be the businessmen of the Nation's communities—the bankers, grocers, auto dealers, shoe clerks, jewelers, purveyors of hardware and TV sets, photographers. With us will be labor—the skilled and the unskilled—the carpenters, bricklayers, painters, boilermakers, truckdrivers.

And here, too, will be many ministers of the Gospel, for these men of God of many faiths have come to realize that square dancing has outgrown paganism and left its lessmoral days behind. Square dancing is an integral part of many religious youth programs. Some of the callers on the program tonight, and they are goods ones in more than the spiritual sense, will be men of the cloth. Here also will be the recreation leaders of the Nation—the city and county received.

reation people, the leaders of the 4-H and Future Farmers of America, the county agents, the service club people—all utilizing square dancing as a part of the broad scale recreation programs available to all classes and ages of American society today.

Off to one side, and yet a part of the mammoth dance, will be a small and pathetic group of participants. They are the lame, the halt, and the blind. These handicapped persons will not perform the more complicated figures, of course. But paraplegics in wheelchairs will dance and enjoy themselves, wheeling their chairs in rhythmical Patterns, their faces wreathed in smiles. Here a few squares of blind persons will amaze you with their ability to see as they fuse themselves into the great mass of swirling dancers. Some other squares will feel the rhythm through the floor as they dance. for they cannot hear either music or callsthey are deaf. Some squares will be com-posed of persons sick in mind, lifted for a lew fleeting moments to a realm of forgetfulness; square dancing has proved to be of therapeutic value in many of these pitiful

Our callers and musicians for the dance Will be as conglomerate a group as our danc-A few will be professionals, making their living by teaching, calling, and playing for square dances; but most of the callers and musicians are hobbyists, finding in their hobby relaxation from the cares of state, litigation, tending shop, teaching, doctoring, laying bricks, or using a rivet gun. Their Pay is the most precious coin to be found anywhere in the realm—the knowledge that they are bringing healthful enjoyment to the groups with which they work.

These callers invest scores of thousands of dollars annually in public address systems, tape recorders, records (to be used when "live" music is not available), books, and magazines. A whole new phase of the record industry is devoted to square, round, and folk-dance music. Special public address systems built specifically for square-dance calling constitute a small but signficant part of the sales of the electronics industry as do tape recorders. Square-dance magazines, numbering their circulation in the scores of thousands—slick-paper jobs, artistically put together—keep the caller and dancer up to date on the latest developments in the square-dance field. Books by the tens of thousands are sold annually.

Yes, square dancing has come of age. in this complex century, that fact means commercialism, a facet of square dancing that has both its good and bad aspects.

But the square dance today is far more than numbers of dancers or financial returns. Today's square dance continues a basically American contribution to the general world of dance, for square dancing fundamentally American institution.

Square dance is a part of 20th century

American culture, as it was of 19th century life.

And it is one of the very few media in the Nation today which provides recreational Outlets without regard to class. Labor, agriculture, business, the professions—they meet on common ground, without talk of shop, in a square-dance group. Here is a manifestation of American democratic principles so close to the heart of all of us. There is no question of position in the community; this is fun and fellowship based on a common interest. And when the evening of fun is over, you will be surprised that our great square dance closes on the notes struck by this little couplet:

"May the good Lord bless and keep you, no no matter where or when;

May the good Lord bless and keep you, till we meet again."

Tonight there were no cares; we are better prepared to meet the cares of tomorrow.

Behind the Bamboo Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the story from the Southern Cross, a newspaper published weekly by the diocese of the Catholic Church in San Diego, Calif.

This is the story of one missionary who is imprisoned in Red China because he refused to accept dollars from the United States to subsidize a university in Red China controlled and dictated to by the Peiping Government:

BEHIND THE BAMBOO CURTAIN-A MISSIONARY SUFFERS BITTER LASH OF RED JUSTICE

A man languishes in a far-off prison behind the Bamboo Curtain.

But he can't be forgotten. He is an Amer-

ican. He is a priest.

He vanished into that Pelping prison solely because he was a Catholic missionary in Reddominated China. He vanished into that prison July 25, 1951, the victim of cruel injustice. He was left by his Red tormentors to wither away in that jail, forgotten by the

many, remembered by a few.

But Father Harold W. Rigney, the Chicagoborn divine word missionary, will be remem-bered by many now. The injustice of his plight is stirring a storm of protest that soon will be heard by the Red leaders who forced him into prison without charges, trial, or

And indignant San Diegans will join Father Rigney's brother here in adding their voices to the mounting protest. Father Rigney's brother here is Father Francis J. Rig-ney, a lecturer in the history department of the University of San Diego's College for Men.

At the time of his arrest Father Rigney was rector of Fu Jen University, a Catholic university supported by foreign mission funds. It was founded in 1925 at the personal request of Pope Pius XI.

In June 1950 the question of new teaching contracts for the following term arose, but Father Rigney would not accept them since five of the professors revealed their Communist identity and openly attacked the church. Contracts called for salaries, and money was to come from headquarters of the Society of the Divine World.

On July 14, 1950, Father Rigney informed the president of Fu Jen University, a Com-munist and pagan named Chin Yan, that the subsidy of \$12,000 (United States money) a month would be stopped by his superiors if a new board of trustees were not formed, and if the church did not have the right to veto contracts and choose its teaching staff. Father Rigney was informed his terms were unacceptable.

The government later told Father Rigney

that if the subsidy was stopped by the church, he would be responsible to the people's government.

When the subsidy was stopped, the people's government ordered Father Rigney to obtain the subsidy, though the government owned the school and property.

Father Rigney then was placed as a hostage under house custody for the \$12,000 monthly subsidy, and when that did not come he was bound and led into the Peiping jail on July 25, 1951, along with 13 Catholic priests, foreign and Chinese.

Father Rigney's fate remained shrouded in mystery until last June, when a freed Belgian priest said Father Rigney was readied for release but was left behind at the last

One eyewitness described Father Rigney as old, thin, and stooped, although he is only 54.

Father Albert Sohier, a Belgian missionary freed by the Chinese Reds last November, also saw Father Rigney. The Chicagoan was rather broken and passive, whereas formerly he was active and jovial, according to Father Sohier. He also was described as thin and haggard.

Father Rigney was seen in prison the week before last Christmas by Msgr. Tarciso Martina, CPS, perfect apostolic of Yihsien, who was serving a life sentence when released. The two could not speak to each other, nor did they live in the same room. But they showed signs of recognition by winking at each other in the washrooms, workrooms, or during exercise.

That's the story of Father Rigney's sad plight. That's the story of the unhappy fate of the man who was the first American missionary to be appointed to the flying corps in Africa during World War II and who later became chaplain for all Catholic American Air Corps personnel in Africa at

Now a Chicago lawyer, Louis Kutner, the request of Father Rigney's mother who lives in Chicago, is preparing a petition for a United Nations writ of habeas corpus for the priest's release.

The eyes of men everywhere will turn searchingly to the U. N. to see what stand it will take in the case of Father Rigney.

Will the U. N., in its search for peace on a world scale, find time to pause and act in behalf of one man?

Are the rights of an individual as sacred

as the rights of a nation?
On the U. N.'s answer to these questions hangs the fate of many United States citizens unjustly imprisoned in foreign lands.

And San Diegans will join with indignant Americans everywhere to sound an evermounting protest to the U. N. in the cause of universal justice.

An Experiment in Militant Journalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert a very excellent article written by Mr. Houston Waring, editor of the Littleton (Colo.) Independent, which appears in a recent issue of the Nation magazine relative to Cervi's Journal. Cervi's Journal is a weekly newspaper published in Denver.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Cervi is one of the outstanding and most enterprising newsmen of Colorado. As a member of the Fourth Estate, he has covered the Rocky Mountain scene for almost a quarter of a century. Five years ago, Gene Cervi converted his Cervi's Newsletter into a regular printed newspaper. The success of his idea and venture has increased with the publication of each new issue of Cervi's Journal.

As one who has personally known Gene Cervi for over 20 years, I am pleased to see him receive this national recognition. and I commend Mr. Waring's article to all students of journalism:

AN EXPERIMENT IN MILITANT JOURNALISM

LITTLETON, Colo.-Wherever working newspapermen gather, the discussion turns. sooner or later to the feasibility of starting a newspaper in a large city. Marshall Field was the last one to try it—that was 13 years ago. Other publishers have added a morning or evening paper to one already estab-lished, but the Chicago Sun is the only major independent newspaper launched in recent years.

The news and editorial policies of most metropolitan newspapers are conservative. The enormous expense of publishing a large newspaper has made it impossible for anyone but a multimillionaire to enter the field. How, then, is the liberal viewpoint to get a

hearing?

A decade ago Nelson Poynter of the St Petersburg (Fia.) Times suggested that small dailies in big cities might use syndicated offset pages, but the experiment was never tried. Another method was worked out for a metropolitan weekly by Gene Cervi, of Denver, whose Cervi's Journal is now completing 5 successful years. "I got the idea for the Journal 25 years ago when I saw a legal publication at the courthouse," Cervi recalls. "I thought how ridiculous it was to go to all the trouble of publishing a newspaper and come up with something so dull."

Cervi mulled this over for 20 years, and on September 24, 1949, he converted Cervi's News Letter into a regular printed newspaper with a tabloid format and restrained head-lines. "Our formula is very simple," he says. "Just take an ordinary reporting service and breathe some life into it."

His reporting service handles such things as building notes and permits, newcomers to Denver, prominent hotel guests, conventions, chattel mortgages, new Denver businesses, trust deeds, petitions in bankruptcy, local stock quotations, real-estate transfers, car sales, coming events, and brief reviews of books for business. It may sound dull, but Cervi makes it as bright as possible. He provides vital news to several thousand business men who like it packaged in one placeonce a week.

"I think most people look first for the dynamic front-page story, the think piece on the editorial page, and the back page about people," Cervi will tell you. "I have fought against the gossip column, and I don't believe our back page is gossip. If we ever print trivia, we name it just that."

Cervi does not worry if the two big dailies get the news ahead of him. "We print spot news but we interpret it," he explains. "A paper like the Journal must be started by local working newsmen who know their territory. My 20 years as a reporter around

Denver were invaluable to me."

While most papers have given up personal journalism. Cervi has revived it. He attacks people, and he does it week after week. "But I seldom throw a brick through a man's greenhouse unless he has \$2 million," he once joked to fellow-newsmen. Since his page-one piece may be full of opinions, he sometimes warns the reader with a small caption: "An editorialized news report."

The Journal has a circulation of 4,000, and costs \$12 a year. "When a man pays \$12 for a weekly," he says modestly, failing to credit his own flair for writing, "he is going to read it thoroughly, and that means results for the advertisers." "I believe our peak circu-lation will be 5.000," he has said. "If we go "If we go beyond that we shall probably begin to get cautious." Like all honest editors, Cervi strives to keep his independence. His biggest advertiser accounts for only 2 percent of his gross, and so he has not had to do any pussyfooting so far.

Cervi prints 20 pages on extraquality 40pound newsprint and hopes to go to 32 pages this winter. His rates for his 125 advertisers per issue are almost as high as the Denver dailies charge-from 17 to 29 cents a line. He justifies these rates by the thoroughness with which well-to-do subscribers read his paper. His average reader probably has an income 4 or 5 times that of the metropolitan daily.

In order to devote his time to the editorial side of the Journal. Cervi has it printed by a commercial establishment. Thus he does not have to spend an hour or so a day discussing inks, paper, machinery, or the shortage of printers. His staff consists of three advertising men, a bookkeeper who runs the office, a circulation man with a girl assistant, an all-round "girl Friday," and an assistant to the editor. He is proud that they all get "guild wages or better." Fifteen part-time people gather the statistics about bankruptcy, and so forth.

"Ray Campbell, of the Denver Post, says our paper is an anomaly," Cervi once remarked to his friends. "He says we get our readers from the business world and then attack business. We believe in free enterprise, but we point out its weaknesses. We try to bridge the gap between the people and the dwindling dailies. There is a bright future in the next 20 years for young men to start weeklies in the Greeley tradition. would recommend starting in the monopoly towns like Kansas City or Omaha, entering the field with ideas, integrity, and a burning passion. It is not enough to say you are going to fight so and so. You must do it."

The heart of Cervi's formula for a metro-

politan weekly is interpretation and opinion. The opinion is personal, and the editor sees that his readers don't forget it. main editorial will end with the slightly pugnacious words: "My name is Gene Cervi."

That is a principal reason why 20,000 persons in 4,000 offices rush to get the mail each Thursday morning.

HOUSTON WARING.

Senator Gore Receives Cordell Hull Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, March 23, I had the privilege of participating in the ceremonies in New York City when our colleague, the Honorable ALBERT GORE. junior Senator from Tennessee, was awarded the first annual Cordell Hull award by the Committee on Foreign Trade Education.

The Committee on Foreign Trade Education is providing effective leadership in the vital field of bringing the American public to a greater awareness of the importance of a sound foreign trade policy to every citizen.

Senator Gore, who is a native of Cordell Hull's home town of Carthage. Tenn., is a very fitting recipient of the Hull award. Under unanimous consent, I include the text of the award citation, and a copy of an editorial concerning the award, from the Memphis Commercial Appeal:

FULL TEXT OF CORDELL HULL AWARD

In recognition of his national leadership and the great tradition of public service he established in a career of more than half a

century as Secretary of State, as a Senator and a Member of the House of Representatives, and in appreciation of his historic sponsorship of the reciprocal trade agreements program, the Committee on Foreign Trade Education, Inc., salutes Hon. Cordell Hull and inaugurates the annual Cordell Hull award for leadership in building United States foreign economic policy.

The 1954-55 award is made to Hon. ALBERT Gore, junior Senator from Tennessee.

Senator Goze wins the widest public commendation for his wholehearted adherence to the principles of his fellow townsman, Cordell Hull Senator Gorr's service in both the House of Representatives and in the United States Senate has found him in the forefront of those battling for a trade policy in the true national interest. Most notably he led the fight in 1954 to revive the proposed extension and liberalization of Reciprocal Trade Agreements, when shortsighted political interests found it expedient to postpone consideration. Senator Gonz is now the outstanding Senate advocate of a modern United States tariff-trade program.

Award made this 23d day of March 1955, by the Committee on Foreign Trade Education, Inc.

B. A. RITTERSPORN, Jr., Executive Director.

SENATOR GORE LEADS

With the Senate approaching action on tariff policy, the Committee on Foreign Trade Education, Inc., has directed additional attention to the situation by naming the first

winner of the Cordell Hull Award.

Cordell Hull was the chief architect of the reciprocal-trade agreement method in use since 1934. It was given only a 1-year extension of life last spring, and the extension now being considered barely squeaked through the House this spring. Decisions on some other matters of major policy can be delayed through appointment of a commission further study, but in this case the method has already been used. The Randall Com-mission has reported, and the question comes to a showdown soon.

For the committee to make an award in honor of Cordell Hull is good. Presentation now is timely. Choice of the first winner is excellent.

ALBERT GORE, who has followed the Cordell Hull footsteps from the same Tennessee district to the House and then the Senate, has been named for his leadership in building United States foreign economic policy.

Senator Gore, like Cordell Hull, has be come known among other Senators for his wide and deep knowledge of tariffs and for his skillful work on behalf of more international trade. He sees this trade across national boundaries as essential for prosperity of this Nation and for world peace. He considers trade to be a powerful weapon in advancing our methods of managing human affairs against communistic management-

Senator Gore is indeed a leader in forming our economic policy, and we hope there are others like him to claim this award in future years.

Federal Regulation of Natural Gas Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, continuing my efforts to fight for the consumer interest in connection with the proposals to amend the Natural Gas Act, on March 25, 1955, I testified before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee with respect to the vital concern of Cleveland and Northern Ohio in the outcome of the proposals which are before Congress. Over 95 percent of the residents of my district are consumers of natural gas which is distributed by a distributing company serving northeastern Ohio, including the northern Ohio cities of Akron, Canton, and Youngstown. This distributing company derives negligible quantities of its gas from the Ohio and West Virginia fields. The Overwhelming quantities come from Texas, Oklahoma, and the Southwest.

During the past several weeks, the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee has been hearing considerable testimony in support of various bills to release the so-called independent producers of natural gas from the regulation of the Federal Power Commission. The proponents of this legislation argue that it is necessary to protect the public interest in view of the so-called confusion allegedly brought about by the Supreme Court's decision in the Phillips Petroleum case. The testimony in sup-Port of this legislation has largely consisted of experts provided by the oil and natural gas industries. It is possible that their great plea supported by \$1,500,000 "educational fund" may be directed to the public interest, but it would be indeed unusual. The gas consuming public of America better awaken quickly in this tremendous drive to destroy effective Pederal regulations and control. We may discover that the gas consumer's Protection will be completely legislated away.

We in Cleveland are as vitally concerned as consumers as perhaps any Other group in America. For example, the local distributing company—the East Ohio Gas Co.—has had its natural gas sales perdomestic consumer rise from 85,743 cubic feet in 1945 to 195,893 cubic feet per domestic consumer in 1954. And domestic sales have increased in the area of our local distributing company, which is the northern Ohio area, from 46,674,-457.000 cubic feet in 1945 to 131,175,-084,000 cubic feet in domestic sales in 1954. For this same period, industrial Sales have climbed from 30,126,754,000 cubic feet in 1945 to 59,554,879,000 cubic feet in 1954. The total consumption therefore of our northern Ohio gas served principally by this one local distributions. tributing company has risen from 76,-801,211,000 cubic feet in 1945 to 190,729,-963,000 cubic feet in 1954. In analyzing these figures, we find that gas consumption has increased almost 300 percent in domestic sales and almost 200 percent in industrial sales within a 10-year period. Putting it another way, our space heat consumers have increased from 120,709 in 1945 to 539,109, or roughly an increase of almost 350 percent. In our part of the country, gas heat is practically the only source of fuel we use and we do not desire to return to wood stoves. In short, we have been consuming a lot of gas—a tremendous quantity of natural gas of which we have produced very little ourselves. As a matter of fact, our northern

Ohio community has made just about as great a contribution to the domestic economy, to the welfare of the great sovereign States of Texas and Oklahoma, as almost any other section in the country.

Now, it will be undoubtedly mentioned that Cleveland has one of the lowest gas rates in the country and that is true. And there is a very important reason for it. Our low gas rate stems from the prudent activity of our distributing company, the East Ohio Gas Co., in establishing huge areas in the Akron-Canton area for the storage of natural gas. The diminished wells in the Canton, Ohio, area which formerly provided the early gas for our community, are now being used as tremendous reservoirs where gas is pumped in the slow seasons of consumption in the warm weather months and then used during the cold season when it is pumped out of the reservoirs and into the lines of the consumers. Therefore, the northern Ohio distributing company can make a steady and constant purchase of gas into its territory. In addition to that, perhaps no other community in America uses the tremendous volume of natural gas for industrial purposes than we do in the greater Cleveland area. It is mixed with other industrial gases and used by the basic industries of the Cleveland area in the production and fabrication of steel and in the manufacture of coke and in many other industrial ways so that while our domestic consumption has been large, our industrial consumption has also been large. As a large consumer, we are entitled and have received a large quantity consuming price—a lower price—the benefit of large volume consumption. In addition to the maintenance of reservoirs, our local distributing company has done a splendid job of selling natural gas not only as a clean and efficient household fuel but also as a useful fuel for the operation of appliances. We perhaps have more gas water heaters, gas incinerators, gas refrigerators, and gas stoves per capita than perhaps any other community in America. The local distributing company has done a tremendous job of stimulating and extending gas consumption on the basis of its low cost, and we have come to rely on natural gas.

Much has been said about the relatively low price of gas at the wellhead and the high price at the point of distribution to the retail consumer. But it must be borne in mind that the producer digs a well and the gas flows outusually under the natural pressures of the earth. Most of the time the find-ing of gas is an incidental happening a bonus-discovered in the search of oil. The pipeline people must build and maintain pipelines and must maintain pressure through the lines, but the big operational cost features naturally devolve upon the distributor who must build a tremendous distributing system down every street of every city and into every home in which he must maintain an expensive meter. There is a thousand times more earth displaced in the laying of distribution lines than in the drilling of gas wells. And the distributing company must maintain the pressure of gas throughout the system and be sure that it is of sufficient thermal strength to be useful as a fuel. In addition, the distributing company must maintain the huge reservoirs I spoke about, with excessive pumping facilities. It must stimulate the use of gas for space heating and for the operation of household appliances and must in the northern American cities maintain a constant inspection system so that the use of natural gas in a home or in a factory is adequately flued so that there is no resulting danger to human life.

We in Cleveland and in northern Ohio have nothing to say about whose gas we use or where it comes from. It comes through the transmission pipelines and the distributing company's pipelines. We have nothing to say about the price that was paid for it by either the distributing company, the transmission company, or the agents of the wellhead producers. If we had oil furnaces, we could bargain for our oil. It could be trucked into our homes from any part of America, from any oil distributors in our country and we might have a choice of either burning Pennsylvania oil or Oklahoma oil or California oil which is transported all over America by oil tank cars. And if we used coal, we would have the choice of using Ohio coal, Kentucky coal, or Pennsylvania coal that could come from any of thousands of mines, and we could choose between anthracite coal or bituminous coal or design our furnaces to burn coal dust or coal bricks in some form. We could purchase our coal directly from innumerable retail outlets. But when our economy, when our lifeblood, when the very stability and usefulness of our homes depends only on the natural gas which flows through the pipelines into them, then we are completely at the mercy of everyone along the line who has anything to do with that gas, producer, transmitter, and distributor.

It has been declared that we could adequately regulate the price through our State public utilities commission, and this is nonsense. What can the State public utilities commission of Ohio or any other State do about the price of gas before it reaches the State line? The answer is "Absolutely nothing." It would have and does exercise dominion over the activities of the distributing system which is within the State and it can and does review the charges made upon natural gas and the price factors that go into natural gas that is distributed by our local distributing system. But my State cannot exercise any dominion at all or raise any questions at all concerning the transmission cost of natural gas to the Ohio line or at the producer's wellhead in the Southwest. Therefore, the only hope that we have for any kind of check on the reasonableness of the price of gas that comes to us is through the Federal Power Commission, under the Natural Gas Act of 1938, which specifically directs the Federal Power Commission to provide such regulation and pricing as are necessary in the public interest.

Prior to 1947, there were relatively few independent producers of natural gas. After a series of Federal Power Commission rulings, with which I did not agree, and with which most of our northern gas consumers did not agree, there developed on the horizons a great number of producers of natural gas who, relying upon those decisions, considered themselves exempt from the regulation of the Federal Power Commission; and the number of independent companies has continued, and is continuing, to multiply to the end that the price of gas at the wellhead may be freed from Federal control. Everything was fine with the so-called independent producers until the Phillips decision came along and said that it was all wrong; that if gas was intended for transmission in the interstate pipelines it was subject to regulation.

Let us analyze the increase in numbers of the so-called independent producers of natural gas. There were some in 1938, but the fact is that the Federal Power Commission conveniently does not have records of the number of independent gas producers in the succeeding years until the year 1953 when it determined that there were 4,545. The fact is that the number of so-called independent producers of gas did not increase until it became very profitable for them to increase under the subsequent favorable rulings of the Federal Power Commission. Now, just how independent are these so-called independent producers? It looks to me that they are nothing more than the legally divorced spouses of the principal transmitters of natural gas from the Southwest. Although they were legally divorced, we find that they are still very, very much in love. They date each other very frequently and they are not the least bit clandestine about it. They consort together in public places and are represented by the same lawyers. Are they really independent? Who incorporated them and who owns their stock and who controls them and who is their spokesman? And just how much has the Federal Power Commission done to analyze the nature and the character of the so-called independents? The Commission could not have done very much to identify them if it has no records as to their numbers prior to 1953.

There has been considerable talk throughout these hearings on the effect that the Harris bill would have to conserve the natural-gas supplies and at the same time make more gas available at no higher price to the consumer. It cannot do all things for all people. simply cannot. It was pointed out by the officials of the Federal Power Commission that we have reserves that would last 221/2 years at the present rate of consumption. But the fact that is overlooked is that the present rate of consumption is only a fraction of what current increased demands could make it, particularly in view of the anticipated increase in the population and the development of our industry. I doubt whether the present reserves are sufficient to last 10 years. The shoe may end up on the other foot. The great gas-producing States of Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma may someday, sooner than they now believe possible, find themselves in the same plight as Ohio. The wells may become depleted and become useful only as storage bins for gas that might even have to come into Texas and Oklahoma from other States. If that were to happen, would Texas and Oklahoma feel then as they feel now about the regulation of the Federal Power Commission on this important subject?

It has been brought out during these hearings that 45 percent of the gas produced in Texas goes into interstate, while 55 percent remains in Texas. What was overlooked in the discussion is that most of the 55 percent of gas remaining in Texas is pumped back into the wells to be mixed with and prepared with other gas for ultimate consumption in interstate use. The 45 percent estimate on interstate shipment is not correct.

The Harris bill speaks of a fair field price. The fair field price of a substance-any substance in demand-is what the market will pay. A fair field price of natural gas at the wellhead will move the areas of competition from the field-the producing end-to the consuming end in the development of vigorous competition between cities and urban centers needing the gas. Apparently some Indiana communities are willing to get the gas at any price. We cannot bid for gas at the Texas county gas auctions. The struggle which we witness in this hearing is a struggle between the have and have-not areas of this country with respect to natural gas. We call ourselves the United States of America: we are united in the Federal form of our Government in the national welfare, but this process of picking away at the very thing that makes America strong will destroy us. We are an economic unit, and the interdependence of one section of America upon another will strengthen the land.

There has been considerable discussion before this committee on whether or not natural gas produced for interstate commerce is a public utility. As far as the United States is concerned, that question is moot. Under the long chain of Federal decisions, the test of Federal regulation is whether the subject or substance passes through interstate commerce. As far as the consumer is concerned, there is absolutely no question. Most definitions of public utility concern themselves chiefly on whether there is monopolistic control. To the gas consumer of the North, whose natural gas comes to him from a producer over whom he exercises no selection through a pipeline transmitter over whom he exercises no selection and through a distributor over whom he exercises no selection, gas is a public utility. He is at the complete mercy of the people who provide, transmit, and control the flow of natural gas to his home.

I am in perfect agreement with the distinguished trained judicial minds of the United States Supreme Court in the Phillips case. And what are the Southwest producers endeavoring to do now? They do not like the Court's decision so they want to overrule the Court by an

act of Congress. The calm judicial temperament and the wisdom of our highest Court in the Phillips case is being circumvented by regional emotions. History tells us that the upset of judicial decree by intemperate legislative action does not result in ultimate national good.

Now the Federal Power Commission comes here today and tells us that they do not want to fix the wellhead price of natural gas going into commerce. Do they want to escape their public duty? Well, they do not say. The Natural Gas Act tells them what to do and the United States Supreme Court in the Phillips case gave them a mandate. It says the Commission must fix the field price of the wellhead producer. And they have the broadest authority under the law as it now stands to fix formulae, flexible formulae for the pricing of natural gas. It seems to me that the law is satisfactory just as it is. If the Commission arrives at an unjust or arbitrary formulae, the wellhead producer or the transmission line may go to the courts and get the formulae corrected. If the consuming public does not like the formulae. they can go to the caurts and get it changed or they can exercise their public prerogative as voters and dismiss the Federal Power Commission if they disapprove of its work.

Now if it should be decided that the Federal Power Commission must be guided in the factors surrounding regulation and the determination of wellhead price, I have a bill which I think is fair. It leaves the production of wellhead gas under Federal Power Commission control if it is intended for interstate shipment in accordance with present law. With respect to pricing formula, it says that producers of natural gas at the wellhead should be allowed a fair and reasonable return on their investment, and I would be willing to see the measure amended to specifically include a producer's dry-well experience in determining the investment factor. I recognize that a dry well can cost a considerable sum of money. Now, I am not saying that 3, 4, 5, or 6 percent is a fair and reasonable return on this kind of investment-you can get that kind of return on investment today with no risk factor. Why not let the Federal Power Commission take these facts under consideration and allow a producer a fair and reasonable return on his investment which will include the factors of risk, the high cost of dry wells, and problems of reaching transmission points.

I do not know extensively of the terms that surround the whole atmosphere of natural gas regulation, I have studied the problem here and I have followed it for a long time as a member of the Ohio State Senate and as a member of the Cleveland City Council. It seems to me that despite all the talk about escalator costs, fair field prices and favored nations clauses, the issue before us simply boils down to a political decision. Are the people of the sovereign States of Texas and Oklahoma and the other gas producing States of the Southwest which produce the natural gas, privileged to

hatural gas on which they find them-selves? That is the Harris bill. Are the northern consumers of natural gas who have no choice about whose gas comes into their homes going to suffer the lack of any effective public regulation on this important natural resource upon which they have become so dependent? In short, is the public to be served in any

way by the Harris bill? The people of my State and the people of my district do not want to engage in combat with the good people of Texas and Oklahoma and the Southwest. All we seek is peaceful coexistence. seek in natural gas what another distinguished Texan, WRIGHT PATMAN, seeks in other fields, fair and reasonable trade policy. We do not want to pay a tariff on our gas to Texas, Oklahoma, and the other States of the Southwest. We want the good people of the Southwest to get everything to which they are entitled for their enterprise and for the bountiful things the Lord put in their earth and forgot to put in ours. They are entitled to very much consideration for their enterprise and for their risks in drilling for oil and gas-but some of the national interest in the earth of the Southwestern States is something that the Northern public feels entitled to because we are also part of the same United States. We live in the same Re-Public, we feel entitled to participate in the bounties of another part of our Nation at a reasonable cost because the Deople of Texas, Oklahoma, and the Southwest did not put that gas into the

The decision which confronts this Congress is very technical, but it is primarily a political and economical conflict between regions. Should the rights and interests of 88 million people be disregarded in the interest of several thousand so-called independent producers of gas? My bill and a Federal Power Commission which is constrained to work could do the job in fairness to all groups concerned.

Hero in Time of Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, a very courageous but very modest man has returned to my home city in Wisconsin from the Mayo Memorial Hospital at the University of Minnesota. Although he sought no publicity and does not approve the nationwide attention he has been receiving, I want to bay tribute here today to him as a brave man and a good neighbor.

But the Waukesha Daily Freeman can best tell the story, and so, with your permission, I would like to have reprinted in the Congressional Record, so all my colleagues may read it, this story of Ted Goodman, of Waukesha, Wis.:

charge whatever price they see fit for the LOANED HEART AND LUNGS TO PENNY RAE AND EARNED DEVOTION AND RESPECT

(By Sally Sibbald)

warned, "Loan oft loses both itself and friends."

A Waukesha man who "loaned" his heart and lungs to 7-year-old Penny Rae Raymond has lost nothing, while gaining in the gratitude and love of a family, and respect of a community.

Today, the donor, Ted Goodman, 41, is back at home, 522 North East Avenue, and back at his job running the heat treat department at the Quality Aluminum Cast-The recipient, Penny Rae, of 719 East North Street, is in good condition in a Minneapolis hospital, recuperating from the operation made possible by Goodman's unusual loan.

Only 8 days ago, Goodman lay on an operating table at the University of Minnesota Heart hospital as a team of skilled surgeons linked Penny Rae's bloodstream to his. During this essential cross-circulation process, surgeons were able to seal a hole in the muscular wall of the child's heart.

A 4-inch incision was made in Goodman's upper leg where an artery and vein lie in close proximity, in order to insert the plastic tubes that would divert Penny Rae's blood to his yeins. For a full 11 minutes, his heart and lungs took over the task of pumping and purifying her blood, while her heart was made idle and her lungs collapsed.

Goodman, who suffered no ill effects except for an uncomfortable rash, temporary stiffness and a slight limp, returned home Saturday, evening. He was accompanied by Penny's father, C. E. (Bud) Raymond, who is staying with the Goodmans—close friends for the past 3 years—until his wife and only child return from Minneapolis.

"I told the Raymonds several months ago when I knew about the operation, that if they didn't have anyone in the family that could be a donor that I would. And that's the way it turned out," Goodman said.

Raymond explained that the family didn't learn until 2 days before the operation that Mrs. Raymond—who originally was slated to be donor—would be unable to take part. Raymond, in Minneapolis, quickly checked the blood types of 4 other persons who had volunteered to act as substitutes.

"Ted's was the only one that fit, so I called him immediately," he said. "That was Sunday morning about 11: 30."

"It was 5 minutes to 12," Raymond continued. "I said, 'Ted, are you available?' He said, 'You betcha.' He didn't even think about it. I told him a train was leaving Milwaukee for Minneapolis at 1:20, but I misread the train schedule. It really left

"He told me later all he had was a couple gobbles of pork chops, packed his suitcase, took his coat, and rushed to Milwaukee. About that time, I was at the top of his list."

Goodman arrived at Minneapolis at 7:45 p. m. and went immediately to the hospital where he spent Sunday night undergoing numerous tests. More tests, a cardiogram, a chest X-ray, and checkups by 3 or 4 doctors continued Monday. At noon it was learned that Goodman could act as donor and the operation was scheduled for the next morning.

One of the more vivid recollections emerging from the postoperative haze was seeing Penny as he was wheeled from the recovery room Tuesday afternoon. She was in the oxygen tent, he said, but she turned her head toward him and wiggled her little fingers.

"That really made me happy," he said.

Goodman was obviously happy about a card he received while in the hospital. Signed by a New York Daily News reader, it wished him "Godspeed and quick recovery."

But as he spoke, Goodman looked slightly embarrassed. "I don't like all this publicity," he said. "That's not what I went up there for."

Raymond answered quietly, "We know that, Ted. But when you're unselfish people are going to find out about it."

When asked if he had any feelings before the operation, Goodman answered, people have asked that, but I didn't stop to consider my feelings. It was something I offered to do and the opportunity came along to do it. So I didn't think any more about it."

The Minneapolis hospitalization marked the first time Goodman ever had been a patient in a hospital, he said. Nonetheless, he is an old hand at giving blood donations. Five times he has given blood transfusions to friends. "Four or five times"—he can't recall which—he has donated blood to the Waukesha Blood Donor Club. His Minneapolis commitment forced him to miss a March 16 appointment at the Elks Club mobile unit.

You Asked for High Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL J. KILDAY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial appearing in the April 1955 issue of Nation's Business entitled "You Asked for High Taxes." Nation's Business is published by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. It is to be hoped this editorial will be read and digested by not only all members of all chambers of commerce but also by all of our citizens:

YOU ASKED FOR HIGH TAXES

A moaning, previously heard in early

March, swells through the land.

It is the lament of 60 million taxpayers computing the Government's share of history's second greatest national income. After April 15 will come a great silence as the citizens, freed from the tortures of deadline arithmetic, regain their usual complacency about tax matters; a pleasantly comatose state in which cussing those spendthrifts in Washington is an acceptable demonstration of interest in Federal finances.

Meanwhile the Central Government will be spending some \$63,500,000,000 out of a \$305 billion national income.

That is slightly less than 1 dollar out of

5 that everybody has to spend.

To appreciate this proportion, it is helpful to look at 1916, the last year before World War I. That year the Federal Government spent \$783,739,000. In those days the average citizen still regarded the 3-year-old Federal income tax as an amusing fiscal joke on the rich.

Had affairs continued as they were in 1916, the Government would be spending \$6.100,-000,000 today.

Affairs did not continue so. Two world wars and a bloody business in Korea have given us a heritage of costs. A hateful power which purposes to enslave us makes military preparedness mandatory. Thus wars, past and threatened, account for 80 percent of Government's present expenditures.

This fact is frequently regarded as a sufficient answer to the citizen whose interest in taxes goes beyond complaint.

There is another answer:

Demand.

Taxes are high because the public wants them that way.

The anguish of income tax time seems to refute that statement. But the lethargy the rest of the year refutes the refutation.

Government did not grow as it has grown since 1916 merely through its own caprice. It grew because, through the years, citizens have demanded that Government do for them what they did for themselves or left undone in 1916. Unlike the temporary moaning of tax time, the clamor for services is continuous. Some, true enough, is inspired by politicians who foster public wants so that they may win gratitude by satisfying them; but the greater number of services came about because the people petitioned for them.

As a result, in the 2 richest years of our history the Government has been unable to live within its budget—and outside the budget are other commitments so monstrous and complex as to defy tabulation. What would happen in a mediocre year is an unpleasant study in consequences.

This does not have to be, although the

This does not have to be, although the individual is powerless to change it. Groups of individuals can. Many are trying.

It is not rewarding work because, although Budget Bureau documents show logical places to start, every Government service has its defenders. They agree that Government spends too much—but not on their pet project.

So, little is done.

Little can be done until American citizens unite to put national solvency above special interests.

Twice the people have recognized a grave danger. They united—and won two wars.

If they unite again, in the face of a third great danger—they can balance the budget.

Secrets of the Airplane Carrier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, before we consider H. R. 4393 we should take note of all available evidence pro and con the carrier.

I was amazed to read recently that— The Navy is using almost as many defensive aircraft to protect its 17 attack carriers as the Air Force has been authorized for defense of half the continental United States.

This statement appeared absurd to me until I began to check it for accuracy. Much to my amazement, I found it to be true.

I found that each carrier needs about 70 planes for purely defensive reasons. Seventy defensive fighters for each of 17 attack carriers makes a total of 1,190. I also found that the Air Force has been authorized 34 air defense wings by 1957. Each of these wings will have 75 fighters assigned. Thus, the Air Force will have only 1,275 fighters to protect half of the United States.

They tell us that carriers are not vulnerable. But these 17 carriers will need as many fighter aircraft for protection as we are allocating for the protection of our great cities such as Boston, New

York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, St. Louis, Washington, D. C., New Orleans, Birmingham, and Miami.

I think these facts should be brought to the attention of every Member of Congress. Under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I insert in the RECORD the following article presented by Mr. Drew Pearson, Sunday, March 20:

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

NAVY DIFFERENCES

Two discussions have been taking place in Washington, one public, one highly secret. On both depend the safety of the Nation.

Discussion No. 1 was a secret meeting of admirals and high naval officers at which it was admitted the airplane carrier is more vulnerable to enemy attack today than during the last war.

The terrible tragedies that took place on United States carriers, in which men died by the hundreds during Kamikaze attacks, are still fresh in the minds of many. Yet the vital fact that carriers are even more vulnerable to such attacks today than they were 10 years ago was not conveyed to the Congress which must decide whether more carriers are built.

The carrier is more vulnerable now, the conference of naval experts decided, because it no longer can count upon radar to detect approaching enemy attacks. Jet bombers fly faster than World War II planes, and without whirling propeller blades they are harder to detect. Also, higher frequencies have been adopted for search radar, the antennas are too small, and the ships' motion prevents stabilizing the search antenna.

That means, admitted the Navy's top experts at their secret meeting, the chance of warning a carrier against a jet attack is zero. Yet none of this information was transmitted to Congress, which has to decide whether the taxpayers should spend millions on carriers or put their tax dollars in other weapons.

PROTECTING CARRIERS

Best evidence of the carrier's vulnerability is the fact that 70 percent of its planes are held back to defend the task force and only 30 percent can be spared for attacks on the enemy. During the Korean war, for example, the Navy boasted of flying 183,000 sorties. But of those, a staggering total of 128,000 sorties was strictly defensive and didn't drop a single bomb on enemy targets.

The Navy is using almost as many defensive aircraft to protect its 17 attack carriers as the Air Force has been authorized for defense of half the continental United States. Most Congressmen don't know that, not because it's a secret but because they don't have time to read appropriations hearings.

But to defend its 17 carriers, the Navy will use 1,190 fighters. To protect half of the United States, the Air Force has been authorized only 1,275 fighters.

Furthermore, carriers are vulnerable not merely to air attack but to submarines. Of the 36 vessels in a typical task group, 32 are assigned to defense of the group. If the task force sticks together in tight formation to avoid submarines, the whole force can be destroyed by one atomic bomb. But if the ships are spread out to minimize the effect of atomic attack, submarines can slip through the defense. This has got naval strategists in a dilemma.

The Navy's chief argument against Air Force bombers is that they are tied to land bases. Yet the carriers are equally dependent on land bases. In the Mediterranean alone, the Navy maintains more than 40 land-based installations.

What embarrasses the admirals most, however, is that the supercarriers are too big to pass through the Panama Canal. For all practical purposes, this means the supercarriers are limited to one ocean.

Note.—Significantly, Britain, a seafaring nation, has cut its carrier program to the bone, is concentrating on constructing land-based bombers. Russia also is wasting no money on carriers, is feverishly building submarines.

They've Earned the Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial, They've Earned the Raise, which appeared in the March 28 issue of the Daytona Beach (Fla.) Evening News:

THEY'VE EARNED THE RAISE

Congress was on sound as well as politically safe ground in ignoring President Eisenhower's threat to veto a postal pay raise of more than 7.6 percent.

The bill passed by both Houses of Congress gives a haif million postal workers a raise of at least 10 percent. In the lower pay brackets of less than \$4,000 a year it would mean at least \$400 a year, which is more than 10 percent for a salary scale that low.

In one of those rare moods in which the legal and traditional role of the law-making branch came to the fore in the minds of most Congressmen, the reaction to the President's threat was just exactly the opposite of what, seemingly, had been expected in the White House.

In vain did Republican Leader Knowland predict in the Senate that the President would veto the 10-percent boost. The bill passed that way just the same. After the veto, if there is a veto, will be the time and the occasion to figure out what to do.

The vote on this bill is a reminder that it's the function of Congress to pass the laws. It's the President's prerogative to recommend legislation, to oppose legislation, to sign or veto bills passed by Congress. The President has a perfect right to warn Congress in advance of action that he will veto legislation of which he disapproves. In its turn the Congress has an equal right to ignore a veto warning and after that to enact legislation over a veto if the necessary two-thirds strength can be mustered.

Sometimes it's just the desire of many Congressmen to show who's boss in the law-making field that leads them to ignore and finally override the President's will, but the signs are that the action of the majority of Congress on the postal pay increase had a different motive.

For many months the postal workers have been presenting their plea for a raise. Not only Members of Congress have heard and studied this plea. Many plain citizens and some influential ones have heard it, too, and they must have been impressed with the simple facts and the weight of public opinion back of them.

The simple facts are that the postal workers have earned the pay raise. They sorely need the increase. The Nation's economy needs it. It is difficult to ignore these basic needs. The 10-percent increase voted by Congress will no more than bring postal workers' buying power even with the higher cost of living now prevailing.

President Eisenhower has said he would view with "grave apprehension" any bill raising the pay above the 7.6 ceiling set by him.

We think everyone should regard with greater apprehension any pay system or custom which would force upon any segment of our society a substandard scale of living. The fact that most postal workers and other Public employees have been fighting desperately against a lowered standard of living brought about by inflation makes any expression of apprehension over setting things right sound somewhat hollow.

Everyone should be aware, of course, that the postal pay boost won't stand alone. Whether the 10-percent increase stands or is cut down to the President's figure, the postal boost is counted on to set the pattern for a million or more Government workers on the civil service classified lists. They, too, need the money.

Winning Essay in American Legion Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important activities of the American Legion is the annual essay contest. This activity is an annual affair and receives the active support of the entire American Legion membership.

The winner of the State award in the annual contest is Miss Carolyn Parks, a student at Fayetteville High School, who lives in the Fourth District of Alabama, Which I have the honor and privilege of representing. Miss Parks is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Leon Parks, of Route 1, Sylacauga, Ala., formerly Fayetteville, Ala. Her essay was sponsored in the Alabama American Legion essay contest by Sylacauga Post, No. 45, the American Legion, Sylacauga, Ala., whose present commander is W. N. (Spud) Cole. The first recognition which came to this young lady was when she won the sixth district contest, whose vice commander, Mr. Leonard A. Goldberg, is very active and efficient in the Work of the Alabama Department of the American Legion.

The title of the essay is "The Philadelphia Convention." In my opinion it is one of the outstanding literary gems that has been written by a high-school student. Miss Parks shows outstanding promise and it is my information that she recently won one of the Phi Beta Kappa scholarships offered by Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Ala., which entitles her to a 4-year-tuition award.

The essay follows:

THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION

It is the morning of May 25, 1787, and the eyes of Philadelphia are focused upon the statehouse and upon America's ablest statesmen who file up its steps and through the doorway into the halls where, 11 years the Second Continental Congress adopted and signed the Declaration of Independence. Entering now is the impressive Virginia delegation. Outstanding in its midst is the tall, strong figure of George Washi. Washington. By his side walk James Madison, the modest little man whose gentle manner veils a scholar's brilliant mind, and Edmund Randolph, tall, handsome Governor of Virginia. Leading the New York delegation is Alexander Hamilton, only 30, yet recognized as one of the ablest men present. In Pennsylvania's delegation are Robert Morris, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, and 81-year-old Benjamin Franklin. Little do they realize how important a part this shrunken little philosopher will play in the months to come; how raging conflicts will be calmed by his infinite wisdom; how flaring tempers will be soothed by his infectious Passing now are Roger Sherman and William Johnson, from Connecticut; Rufus King, of Massachusetts; John Dickinson, Delaware; William Paterson, New Jersey; John Rutledge and Charles Pinckney, South Carolina. One by one they file by-mer-chants, planters, lawyers, educators-but statesmen all.

Notably absent are the fiery personalities Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry. Thomas Paine, the stanch liberal, is in London. Theorist Thomas Jefferson is serving as our Minister to France, while extremely conservative John Adams serves in the same capacity in London. It is then a rather moderate group who compose this Convention, a group called by Jefferson an assembly of demigods.

Now the procession is ended. The last man has passed through and the doors are closing behind him.

And so began the convention which we today call the Constitutional Convention, because out of it came the document upon which our great American Government is based. And that statehouse where it was born is the building we know as Independence Hall.

At the first meeting George Washington was unanimously chosen president of the Convention, a position in which he never failed to employ his marvelous reserve of poise and dignity. It was resolved at this first assembly that the work of the Convention should be kept secret and no official record should be maintained. There was good reason for this decision. The delegates—aware that the work of this Convention would decide the fate of American Government-felt that undue pressure from public opinion should not be allowed to influence any man present.

The next decision of the Convention was to put aside instruction to amend the Articles of Confederation. Indeed this had been the whole purpose in calling the Convention, but the delegates believed such an attempt would result only in "a futile patchwork." Swayed by Hamilton's eloquent reasoning, they disregarded the Articles and began work on something entirely new.

Experience with Britain had taught the

Colonies to fear a central government having too much power. Yet the men assembled in this Convention were too broadminded not to comprehend the dangers arising from a central government lacking power to function for the benefit of the Nation. The greatest problem confronting the assembly was the States' fear of central government and their desire to be individually sovereign. While the delegates were discussing what would and would not be acceptable to the people, Washington broke in with a brief but weighty speech including these words: "If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, but how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God."

With these words in mind they considered the Virginia plan of government, submitted to the Convention by Governor Randolph. It provided for executive, legislative, and judiciary branches of government, the legislative branch to consist of a bicameral congress with representation based on population or State-tax quotas.

It was only natural that this plan should be supported by the larger States and violently opposed by the smaller ones. For 2 weeks bitter debates raged, until Paterson, supported by the smaller States, presented the New Jersey plan. It provided for a onehouse legislature in which each State would have equal representation.

The delegates favored neither plan, and for a while the Convention seemed doomed. Then at Franklin's suggestion a committee was appointed to work out a compromise, and on July 9 a plan was introduced whereby Congress should consist of a Senate, where each State should have two delegates. and a House of Representatives, where representation would be determined by population. At last the Convention reached a historic agreement—the great compromise.

Again and again during the long hot summer, compromise led the Convention through recurring deadlocks-on representation and taxation of slaves, on commerce, on limiting democracy in the Constitution-until finally, on September 8, a Committee on Detail was appointed to draft the final document. Principal members were Madison, the political expert, Hamilton, and Gouverneur Morris, who was responsible for the beautiful phrasing of the Constitution.

On September 17, 1787, 41 remaining delegates sat in the Convention's last assembly. Many were uncertain about signing the completed document, but, swayed by Franklin's reasoning, all but 3 affixed their signatures to the Constitution and 12 of the 13 States were represented thereon.

As the last delegates were signing, Franklin remarked of the sun painted on Washington's chair, "I have often and often * * looked at that sun behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know it is a rising and not a setting sun."

Truly the sun was rising on America, for the framing of the Constitution of the United States was the birth of modern American government. It was the birth of a Union that has withstood the perils of civil war and depression. It was the birth of a democracy so reverenced by its people that they have fought and died on foreign soil that it might live and grow and embrace all of the freedom-loving peoples of the world. It was the birth of "one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

The Late Paul V. McNutt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very moving editorial published in the Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette of Sunday, March 27, 1955, in tribute to the Honorable Paul V. McNutt, who died re-

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAUL V. MCNUTT

The passing of Paul V. McNutt came as a distinct shock to his host of friends in Indiana, in the United States, and throughout the world.

Mr. McNutt was one of the most gifted men ever born in Indiana.

His powerful intellect, his strength of

character, his magnificent energy, his dis-

tinguished personal appearance, and his moving eloquence all fitted him for the highest roles as a leader of democracy.

He served his State and Nation in many capacities and always with ability and dis-

Except for the peculiar and complex political situation which prevailed in 1940, Paul V. McNutt would almost certainly have been elected President of the United States.

No one who knew him ever questioned his qualifications for that most important of offices.

It is as governor of the State that he will best be remembered by his fellow Hoosiers. It was his brilliant leadership in that office which recommended him to the Nation.

From childhood it was evident that Paul McNutt was marked for an unusual destiny. He prepared himself for the future with care. He wished to engage in the public service.

He was a leader in his college days at Indiana University and his scholarship won him election to Phi Beta Kappa. He was graduated from Harvard Law School.

At the age of 34, Mr. McNutt was the youngest dean Indiana University's School of Law had ever had.

In 1930, he was chosen keynote speaker of the Democratic State convention. When he finished that address everyone who heard him knew that he would be his party's nominee for governor in 1932. He was. And he was elected.

He came to the office of governor in 1933 at the depth of the depression. He attacked the problems of that unfortunate time with such vigor and vision that he inspired the new Democratic leaders in Washington to handle the depression problems on the national front with the same vigor and determination.

McNutt was a strong Governor. He did not evade responsibility or seek to pass State problems on to the Federal Government. He solved them himself with the aid of the State legislature.

As Governor, he set Indiana's fiscal house in order. He piloted through the general assembly a reorganization program to bring State government up to date. He sought and obtained many laws which set Indiana on her future course. These laws with few exceptions still stand as a monument to his knowledge of public affairs.

Before he was Governor, Colonel McNutt, who was an artillery officer during World War I, had served as State and National

commander of the American Legion, After he left the Governor's office he was High Commissioner to the Philippines, and later American Ambassador to the islands. Here he demonstrated that he was an accomplished diplomat as well as a brilliant administrator.

His Federal posts included those of Federal Scourity Administrator, Director of Defense, Health, and Welfare Services, and Chairman of the War Manpower Commission.

The most dramatic portion of the career of Governor McNutt was that which concerned his approach to the presidential nomination.

When the Democratic National Convention met in Chicago in 1932, Paul McNutt had not been elected Governor of Indiana. But already his friends throughout the Nation were mentioning him for the Presidency.

During the convention of 1936 in Philadelphia the Indiana delegation carried its State banner high. Its favorite son had attracted national attention. Whenever he walked through the lobby of the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, where the Hoosier delegation was quartered, every eye followed his magnetic figure. When the late Senator Joseph Robinson, of Arkansas, presented him to the national gathering as "the whiteplumed knight from the banks of the Wabash," the great audience in Convention Hall roared its approval.

The 4 years which followed brought the Indiana stateman to full political stature. He now had an enthusiastic and organized following from coast to coast. He was one of the outstanding candidates for the presidential nomination, and the most colorful of them all. Then, with the war clouds lowering, Franklin D. Roosevelt decided to seek a third term in 1940.

McNutt was the popular favorite for the vice-presidential nomination. But Roosevelt wanted Henry Wallace.

In the interest of party harmony McNutt stepped aside amid one of the most memorable scenes which ever took place in a national convention.

The handsome, distinguished figure took the platform to withdraw his name. The delegates had learned what was up. They cried, "We want McNutt" and "No, no, no" until Chicago Stadium seemed trembling in the grip of an emotional hurricane. This was no planned demonstration. This was the real thing.

At last the masterful orator stilled the tumult and declared that as a good soldier he was obeying the wishes of his Commander in Chief. It was for the talented, ambitious Hoosier the great renunciation.

He proved as gallant as he was able. He uttered no outcry of anguish. He was forever loyal to his party.

His last 8 years were devoted to his extensive law practice and his numerous business interests. His philosophy enabled him to look on life with a screnity which he had not known in the turnultuous years of public service.

Now this Hoosier-born national and world figure will lie in Arlington National Cometery outside Washington where so many of the Nation's great already lie.

To those devoted companions who shared in all his triumphs, his wife, the gracious Kathleen, and his daughter, the lovely Louise, we extended our deepest sympathy.

Farewell to the gentleman from Indiana whose towering presence we shall not see again. But the deeds and scomplishments of his career will keep the memory of Paul V. McNutt alive through the years to come.

Anniversary of Slovakia's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, last week the committee investigating Communist aggression filed a resolution asking the Congress to send the reports and testimony of the committee to the United Na-

Considerable testimony was taken by the committee concerning the subjugation of Slovakia by the Communists. The following is a message of the Slovak National Council Abroad, commemorating the anniversary of Slovakian independence:

Message of the Slovak National Council Aeroad

On the anniversary of Slovakia's Independence, the Slovak National Council Abroad appeals hereby to the suffering nation at home as well as to the Slovaks in the free world.

As representation of the Slovak exile, we find inspiration for our work and struggle in the leading principles of Christian tradition that, for more than 1,100 years, has formed the character of the Slovak nation. This tradition, at the time of their hardest tribulations and persecutions, remained the most secure protective shield for the Slovaks.

The 16th anniversary of the Slovak independence day coincides, alas, with the 16th year of Slovakia's bloody occupation by the Red army and its political helpers. occasion, love for freedom and justice leads us to draw the attention of all nations of the free world to the sufferings of the Slovaks under the present Communist regime and to invoke the understanding of the Western World for Slovakia's right and aspiration to independence. Once more in history and against its will, a political, cultural, and economic slave system has been imposed upon the Slovak nation. It has been deprived of all aspects of self-determination. The helpers of communism, having in 1945 established a totalitarian government in Slovakia, have by their action put themselves on the side of the enemies not only of the Slovak nation, but of the entire Christian culture and the Western World. Spiritually, the Slovak people has always been gravitating towards the West and their Christian tradition is binding them not only to Europe but also to America, where, under God and law, one-third of the Slovaks have found their new and free home. For this western orientation and loyalty to Christian tradition, Slovakia is submitted now to an allthe-stronger persecution from the present Communist regime.

The Slovak National Council makes also an appeal to all democratic nations, imploring them not to close their hearts before the sad realities of the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain and not to let themselves be drugged by the propaganda about the possibility of coexistence between democracy and communism. If the free nations were unable to envisage a final settlement for the worldwide problem of communism on their terms, their passive attitude would have for consequence the enslavement and bloodshed of other nations and an increased menace for the whole western culture and civilization.

While remembering March 14 as a symbol of the State independence of Slovakia, we look toward Central Europe and wish to stress our unshakable loyalty for the resisting Slovak people and render our homage to the martyrs who gave their lives for Slovakia's honor, good name, and Christian tradition. We have to reassure them that our goal is to work and strain for the application of Slovakia's natural right to equality of treatment with other nations. It seems to us that such an equality would be assured only by a free Slovak republic within a federation of democratic nations of Europe.

In spite of many unfavorable conditions in this respect, the Slovak National Council Abroad is indefatigable in informing the free world about the oppressive Communist regime. Thus the truth about Slovakia and her legitimate aspirations for freedom are penetrating into the responsible circles in western countries.

We implore all Slovak exiles to contribute by their work and their sacrifice to speed the day of liberation of the enslaved peoples, including the Slovaks, and to partake in all democratic anti-Communist movements and organizations. One stipulation is, however, to be formulated in such cases, i. e., that the Slovak representation would be recognized as an equal member to the other Central European nations and that its speakers would be able to promote freely the aspirations of the Slovaks toward political independence as the speakers of other nations do.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to mention the highly valuable work of the Americans of Slovak descent with the Slovak League of America on their front. We do it in firm conviction that they will continue in paying attention to the sufferings and struggles of the Slovak nation and will do their best for the liberation and the establishment democratic government in Slovakia. Greatly appreciating the sacrifices and atrains of the Slovaks in other countries of the free world, we desire to keep in close contact with all of them until, by a common effort, we attain our final goal, a free Slovak republic.

Rev. FERDINAND MONDOK. Acting Vice President. Dr. JOSEPH KIRSCHBAUM, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

A National Altar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, JOHN STENNIS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "A National Altar," written by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, the distin-Buished Chaplain of the Senate, and Dublished in the column Spires of the Spirit in the Washington Sunday Star of March 27, 1955. Dr. Harris writes on this subject with his usual clarity and great spirituality.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPIRES OF THE SPIRIT

(By Frederick Brown Harris, minister, Foundry Methodist Church; Chaplain, U. S. Senate)

A NATIONAL ALTAR

The idea of a national altar in the Capital of the Nation is not new. George Washington, who laid the cornerstone of the Capitol, desired that in the new city bearing his hame there should be set up by authorization of the new Government a place of prayer and worship. At last there is such an altar under the white dome. No religious event of 1955 is more freighted with meaning. The hature of this shrine of the spiritual is an amrmation not of any union of state and church, but of the union of the state; and religion. That is the very foundation of our Republic, as those testified who prayed around the cradle of the state.

In no uncertain tones, Washington warned that even the pillars of morality would collapse without a religious foundation. The present Chief Executive began his term of office by solemnly declaring: "The basic doctrine to which we must always cling is that our form of government is founded on religion. It has no sense unless it is based on a deeply felt religious faith." The Congress is is only witnessing to that undergirding belief when, by the combined action of the Senate and the House of Representatives, a chapel of prayer and meditation is now officially established where the more than 500 national legislators can be alone with their better selves and with their God. And so, at the very center of the Republic's life is now designated "an upper room," dedicated to quietness and to prayer that is listening, as well as petitioning, and where the commotion of the big, buzzing confusion of the business of government is hushed. Here is provided a cloister of sacramental silence whose constant invitation is: "Be still, and know that I am God."

Through the resounding marble corridors moves a constant stream of eager and fascinated pilgrims of all ages, from all the States, and from all the earth. The imposing structure, plus the Senate and the House Office Buildings, is a complicated world in itself. Interests and causes so vast in their ramifications that they seem beyond comprehension center on that high hill of the Nation. Life under the dome is hectic, full of tension, and often fraught with a sense of frustration.

Certainly every national lawmaker worthy to sit in one of the seats of lofty eminence, confronted by demands which his mind can scarcely catalog, let alone adequately meet, must cry in his inner spirit: "Who is suffi-cient for these things?" The answer is, of clent for these things?" The answer is, of course, no man is fit to serve his generation unless his faulty, fallible faculties become the channel of a power greater than himself. The only thing that makes sense is God.

The practice of the presence of God is not an opiate, as a false philosophy is loudly proclaiming. On the contrary, it is the one constructive dynamic. All history shouts, as Holy Scripture asserts: "The people that do know their God shall be strong and do exploits." It is the undeniable record of the unfolding centuries that in proportion to the power of religion over the national mind has been the greatness of the Nation and the height to which it has attained in the

scale of achievement.

The new shrine dedicated to cultivating the reality of the God who is acknowledged in the oath and on the currency, and now in the Pledge to the Flag, is not just a pleasant, passing compliment to the Maker of heaven and earth. Sometimes, when a statesman, a philosopher, a scientist or a novelist says complimentary things about religion he is quoted as if it were quite a feather in the cap of things unseen and eternal that so great a person in a patronizing way bows in God's direction. That attitude is arrogant nonsense. There is nothing of that in the Prayer Room in the Capitol. That chapel, which in its vital relevancy to today's problems looms as large as any cathedral, is the national symbol of the august fact that gives meaning to every other room, including the two Chambers of legislation—the awesome reality of God. That is the fact behind every thought of the brain and every beat of the heart and every breath of the body. It is the element in which we have our being. It is the final, irreducible, and unescapable denominator of the universe, God.

It is eminently fitting that in that room are none of the distinctive signs of sectarianism. No device that divides adorns this closet of private communion. It is a place to bow in humility and contrition, a place to kneel if one desires; an altar on which is the opened Book of Books, a lamp for the feet to all who will follow its kindly light. Each one who crosses that threshold brings his own religious tradition as he gazes at the kneeling figure of the Father of his Country, that valiant, reverent leader, still first in the hearts of his countrymen, lifting up his soul to the Father of Lights. In the pictured glass is proclaimed his faith, in the words of a psalm he loved: "Preserve me, O Lord, for in Thee do I put my trust."

It is said by those who knew him best that the great English statesman, William E. Gladstone, in all his brilliant, strenuous legislative career in Parliament spent some time each day in a little nearby church, for a season of meditation and prayer. Who can doubt that in such hours, snatched from ruthless demands on time and strength. was nourished the faith which glowed undimmed even when his reform bill was defeated? It was fresh from a prayer room in that crisis that he said to his gloating foes: "The great social forces which move onward in their might and majesty and which the tumult of your debates does not impede or disturb—those great social forces are against you. They are marshaled on our side." time proved that they were.

In that spirit and with that vision splendid, who can doubt that American legislators, coming with their own contemporary problems and gazing at Washington praying when all seemed lost and the dream of American independence a fading hope, will find the strength to struggle on in other

dark hours of today and the tomorrows?

And so, with infinite satisfaction that the altar is there and the prayer room is there, under the Dome, may it set singing in millions of approving and grateful hearts across all the land, as they think of their representatives entering that Chapel with a sense of utter dependence on the God who hath made and preserved us a nation.

"Sweet time of prayer! Sweet time of prayer! That calls us from a world of care And bids us, at our Father's throne, Make all our wants and wishes known; In seasons of distress and grief Our souls have often found relief; And oft escaped the tempter's snare, By thy return, sweet time of prayer."

In the nearby Chambers of legislation, Members may suggest the absence of a quorum. In the Prayer Room, a quorum is oneand God.

Proposal to Name Garrison Reservoir. N. Dak., Lake Sakakawea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very fine editorial which appeared in the Bis-marck Tribune, of Bismarck, N. Dak., giving well-deserved credit to a great American, Sakakawea.

I am very happy that Mr. John Hjelle, editor of the Bismarck Tribune, has made a substantial contribution to the goal that many of us hope to attain, that of naming Garrison Reservoir in honor of Sakakawea.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S NAME IT LAKE SAKAKAWEA

Senators Langer and Young, of North Dakota, have introduced, according to news story carried in the Tribune Thursday, a bill in Congress which would give Garrison Reservoir the name Lake Sakakawea.

The two Senators are to be commended for this action, and it is to be hoped that the Congress recognizes the sense of what they are proposing and enacts the measure promptly. Certainly there can be no opposition to it.

As the Tribune pointed out earlier in suggesting that Sakakawea's name be given to the big body of water behind Garrison Dam, the designation will have countrywide meaning, inasmuch as the Indian woman has become a legendary character to school children and adults everywhere.

Garrison Dam and the big lake behind it are certain to become major tourist attractions in themselves, the extent of their drawing power upon the travelers of the country depending only upon the effectiveness with which North Dakota promotes them.

By giving the lake the name Sakakawea, the lure to tourists will be multiplied. Here is a name all travelers will recognize and that will stimulate in them a desire to ex-

plore and enjoy.

It was only a short distance south of the southern tip of the lake that Sakakawea joined the Lewis and Clark Expedition, to help it on its way to the Pacific Ocean. Only a few miles south of Garrison Dam the explorers spent the first winter of their expedition.

It would be particularly fitting if the naming of the lake for the Indian girl who played such a historic role in this epic of America were to be consummated on this 150th anniversary year of the expedition, further fixing upon North Dakota and this great water development project the eyes of the traveling public. Appropriate ceremonles might be arranged during the summer at the lakeside.

Tourism is one of the billion-dollar industries of America. North Dakota should get a bigger bite from it. Here's one way to help that purpose along.

The Labor Herald Suspends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. ALLEN FREAR, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. FREAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Labor Herald Suspends."

This editorial was written upon the termination of publication of a weekly newspaper known as the Labor Herald. For over 55 years this weekly newspaper has helped to inform a large segment of the population of Wilmington and its suburbs.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LABOR HERALD SUSPENDS

It is with deep regret that the publishers of the Labor Herald are forced to make an announcement of suspension of publication with this our final issue.

Ever-increasing production costs continue to threaten the existence of many small and some large publications throughout the Nation. These costs can be absorbed for a time, but when they reach a saturation point publishers find that it's no longer profitable to continue their enterprise.

We were gratified by the number of calls received after our suspension of activities was publicized in the News-Journal papers, and to know that at least some of our efforts were recognized and appreciated affords recompense for the years in which we have been actively engaged in the publishing business in Wilmington.

While we were primarily a labor publication, devoted to the interests of the working man and woman, we have always tried to picture the sides of both labor and capital in any argument or controversy, being of the opinion that their problems are synonymous; and when the two enjoy a harmonious relationship, the interests of the Nation and its people are best served.

Capital is merely stored-up labor, and capital, by enabling labor to apply itself in more effective ways, increases the power of

labor to produce wealth and to avail itself of the reproductive forces of nature. When a favorable balance can be maintained, labor receiving its just share for services rendered and capital likewise, prosperity and better living conditions ensue.

living conditions ensue.

Our grandfather, the late A. R. Saylor, founder of the Labor Herald, expressed these same views, and through his conviction that the laborer was worthy of his hire he became interested in the American labor movement and started the Labor Herald.

Through the years the Labor Herald waged many a winning and losing battle for the interests of the working man. Sometimes it received credit and other times it did not; always it lacked the full support of the people whose interests it was representing.

During the past two decades, labor has won for itself recognition unparalleled in the history of this or any other nation. It is our belief that sometimes the privileges gained have been abused by some unthinking elements and we have been as critical of these abuses as we have of those which related to capital, when we believed it to be in the wrong. For the expression of these beliefs we have at times irked both groups and have been referred to in uncomplimentary terms. However, we were not dejected as our conscience was clear and we believed that our type of reasoning was devoted to the best interests of the Nation and its economy.

We have constantly criticized our Nation's fourney down the road to socialism and the ever resulting higher taxes which become necessitated through our social experiments, which in the end, can only succeed in destroying the liberty and freedom which is associated with real democracy. History and economics have proven the falsity of the Marxian doctrine, yet our legislators con-tinue to cater to it because of the popular vote-getting appeal it holds. Many want the Government to relieve them of their God-given privilege of providing for their own welfare don't realize that they are taxing themselves for every benefit derived and in the end the Government gives nothing it can't take away.

The power to tax has always been the power to destroy. Bureaucracy is created by this power and has contributed greatly to the fall of many empires. The exercise of this Government prerogative is a breeder of extravagance and waste, creator of inflation through deficit financing, and finally a harborer of communism, the number one threat which we are nurturing at the same time we are opposing. Prior to the instigation of the Federal income tax, not many of us were affected by taxation and even after its initial inception, few of us were infected by the bite. Wars, threats of wars and our socialistic experiments however saw to it that the bite became deeper. World War II became the instigator of the Federal withholding tax, an easy method for the Government to extract its take from the wage earner before he had seen it. While it's not a hidden tax as are the thousand and one indirect taxes now levied, the average wage earner didn't put up too much kick as he knew it would have to be paid and with-holding was the most practical and painless procedure for easing the burden. Anyway he had never seen the money and had become educated to associte take-home pay as his actual earnings.

The administration of another of our socialistic experiments, "Social Security" is now open to criticism. When this tax started, the employer paid one-half percent and the employee, one-half. Now it has risen to 4 percent and if it's to continue, will necessarily go much higher. True, a limit has been placed on the percentage to which it can go, but like the income tax, there's nothing to stop our legislators from raising the take when more eligibles tap the keg. The worst feature of the "Social Se-

curity" program is that contributions collected are diverted to other governmental obligations and interest-bearing promisory notes are left in the social security till. Chances are that many who become eligible for "Social Security" will never receive it unless changes are made in its administration.

Taxation, while considered a necessary evil, is not popular with even those who are demanding the social gains and many politicos gain office with promises of tax relief. Pennsylvania's present governor was elected to office on his promise of better schools. roads, etc., while at the same time, relieving the populace of the unpopular sales tax. We wondered how his campaign promises were to be kept. Now Pennsylvania motorists are being threatened with an additional cent per gailon gasoline tax and a substantial raise in automobile license fees.

During the 5 years we have spent as editor of this publication we might have opposed some of these so-called social gains to which labor subscribes, but in so doing we have not tried to offend labor or any segment of the population. We have merely expressed our views on what we believe is injurious to the Nation and the general well-being of all.

Even though we're tossing in the sponge we still believe that there's need for an unbiased labor press in Deleware, and we sincerely hope that some other interest, imbued with a spirit that was sometimes lacking in us, can take up the pen in an effort toward cementing a better and more understanding relationship between capital and labor, two of the prime factors in the production of wealth.—The Editor.

Modern Methods of Sugar-Beet Farming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, one of the big news stories of our day is the rapid extent to which American farmers have adopted modern methods of production in order to reduce their costs, and provide a constantly higher and higher standard of living for all Americans.

Too often we take for granted the great advances made by agriculture, letting the impression grow that it is only American manufacturing which is setting an example to the world.

I was glad to see in the Washington Daily News, a Scripps-Howard newspaper, on Tuesday of this week, a newsstory by James Daniel describing the revolution in the sugar-beet fields created by mechanization of sugar-beet harvesting and also of sugar-beet thinning and cultivation.

While this is but one example of what the major American agricultural industries are doing, it is a particularly glowing example, and I am sure that all farming groups will salute the sugarbeet industry.

Let us always remember that for every newfangled and well-publicized invention in the field of manufacturing there is quite likely some unsung and unreported development of as great or greater significance in the field of agriculture, which is, after all, the basic industry of any civilization. Our people must eat, and have the products of American farms and ranches for their clothing and other needs, and the American farmer is still responding magnificently to their needs, as Mr. Daniel has made clear by his story.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Daniel's article be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

UNSUNG UNITED STATES REVOLUTION IN A SUGAR BEET FIELD

(By James Daniel)

Some big news stories—as big a story as a revolution, for instance—don't get reported for no other reason than that they fall outside the conventional news time scale.

Some really great news stories happen over a period of years, gradually, so that nobody is every very sharply aware of what is taking place. One day they are completed. But by then it is assumed that everybody knows all about them. They're news no longer.

Such an overlooked revolutionary news story now in progress tells of the tremendous strides being made in this country in eliminating agricultural hand labor—the old back-breaking stoop-and-squat work in such industries, for example, as sugar beet raislag.

Sugar beets are grown in 22 States—from Onlo to California. Until 10 years ago sugar beet cultivation was a prime user of migratory labor.

tory labor.
Underpaid, ill-treated migrants handpulled each sugar beet, hand-topped it with
a machete, hand-piled the beets to await a
wagon or truck, and then hand-shoveled the
beets in for the ride to the refinery.

Today, 90 percent of beets are harvested by a machine with a big rotary spike that moves down the row, dropping the already topped beets into a truck moving alongside. Even spring thinning and hoeing are rapidly yielding to mechanization.

Here there is no outcry that "automation" is destroying jobs—only relief feit by worker and community that an old chapter in American social history is ending.

In the 19 century most thinkers could see no solution for the problem of the masses who earned their living by brute labor, except to rise up against their masters.

The American poet, Edwin Markham, on seeing Millet's painting of The Man With the Hoe, ironically recalled the line in the Book of Genesis that says God made man in His image, and then penned the indictment from which these lines are taken:

Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground, The emptiness of ages in his face,

And on his back the burden of the world.
"Is this the thing the Lord God made and

To have dominion over sea and land;
To trace the stars and search the heavens

To feel the passion of eternity?

"O masters, lords and rulers in all lands, How will the future reckon with this man, How answer his brute question in that hour When whirlwinds of rebellion shake the world?"

Like Karl Marx, who from a different angle, saw the same contrast between the Man with the Hoe and the man made in the image of God. Markham could not see that in a half-century the man with the hoe would be holding down a good 40-hour-a-week truck drivers' job.

Ninety Percent Parity for Wheat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an illuminating and effective editorial published in the Pendleton East Oregonian of March 24, 1955. It deals with the domestic parity plan for the marketing of wheat.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TWO-PRICE PLAN

The Committee on Agriculture in the House of Representatives has approved legislation that would support wheat at 90 percent of parity. It can be assumed that the same crossing of party lines that prevailed within the committee will result in passage of the legislation by membership of the House and the Senate.

The Eisenhower administration's flexible price supports program for wheat has failed miserably short of its goal to reduce production of that crop that is so greatly in surplus. When it was proposed by the administration it seemed in defiance of a basic law of economics to predict that if a producer were given less per unit of production he would produce less. The contrary thesis that given less per unit he would strive to produce more units has, of course, been proved beyond all doubt. The wheat surplus has not been diminished.

But neither is the 90-percent parity program the answer. By getting more per bushel the wheat grower may be induced to produce less. But it isn't likely. The only certain result will be an increase in the income of producers of wheat.

The answer for wheat, this newspaper has repeatedly said, is in the two-price or domestic parity plan. And it is most encouraging that the House Committee on Agriculture has recommended that there be a referendum by growers on the two-price plan.

The legislation got a boost in recent days when Oregon's Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER informed Marion Weatherford of the Oregon Wheat Growers League that he would support the domestic parity program. Mr. Neuberger's decision is significant because prior to his election last November he had made no decision as to the merits of the legislation. He has come to a decision after a very careful study of all phases of the program.

study of all phases of the program.

Under the domestic parity plan the growers would receive 90 percent of parity for that wheat that went into domestic consumption. For that which went to the export market and for feeding of livestock and poultry he would receive whatever those markets would return.

It is a program of tremendous importance here in the Northwest where we contribute so immensely to the surplus if our wheat does not go to the export market. If the wheat produced in this region could be fed to livestock and poultry there would be no surplus. The two-price plan would permit wheat to go to livestock and poultry raisers who now are transporting corn into the region from the Middlewest.

A recent editorial in the Walla Walla Union-Bulletin said this on the subject:

"From the monthly bulletin of Southern Pacific lines a little item chronicles arrival in Los Angeles in January of a 78-car freight train entirely of yellow shelled corn from the Middlewest. Each car contained 2,000 bushels of corn and the 174,000 bushels were delivered to a grain broker there. It is presumed this shipment was made for livestock or poultry feed and it probably moved between 1,600 and 1,800 miles.

"Grain prices and freight rates are such that considerable amounts of corn from the same area move into the Pacific Northwest for sale as poultry and stock feed. At the same time thousands of acres in this region produce wheat which cannot be moved into consumption under market conditions currently existing.

"A great deal of research has been carried on for the purpose of broadening the market for wheat in the feeding of livestock and poultry. In light of the competition presently given by thhe Corn Belt, it would appear that not only is more study desirable, but some adjustments in the economics of the situation may need to be effected.

"The Pacific Northwest is decidedly closer to the California market than is the Middlewest, but as of now the opportunity for selling wheat for feeding there is decidedly limited.

"One of the first items of business Washington's newly-authorized Wheat Growers' Commission might consider is this handicap under which their commodity is marketwise. A sharply broader demand for wheat in the feeding program of this country would be reflected in a heavier marketing of this region's annual yield and be helpful in the matter of storage facilities, which are feeling increased pressure each year."

Postal Pay Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAM COON

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. COON. Mr. Speaker, I have here an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 29 and also an excerpt from my Newsletter of this week, commenting on the postal pay raise vote. The sentiments expressed in this editorial are identical with those set forth in my Newsletter in explaining to my constituents my vote on this legislation. The editorial policy of the Washington Post and Times Herald is generally conceded to be extremely "liberal." While on the other hand, I am classified by most socalled liberals as practically a "reactionary." For this and other reasons, I would like to insert this editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald and the excerpt from my Newsletter in the Congressional Record:

Recently we voted on whether or not to suspend the rules and pass a 71/2 percent postal pay raise bill. In order for this legislation to come up for a vote at all, at this time, it was necessary to suspend the rules, and to vote for the bill exactly as it had come out of committee. The chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee in a letter to me, said:

"The committee held extensive hearings on this proposal and made numerous beneficial changes in the legislation which was introduced originally as H. R. 2987. In my opinion, this new bill is fair and constructive and is in the best interest of the postal service and the employees."

The President had made a statement before this vote was taken, which made it practically certain, that he would veto a bill which provided more than a 7½-percent pay raise. You recall that last year this pay raise was vetoed becaus a lot of polities was brought into the legislation on the floor so that the final bill was financially unworkable and the President had to veto it.

For these reasons, I voted to suspend the rules and pass the bill. Nevertheless, politics again took over, and the bill was defeated, and sent back to committee. Now we will have to wait. I have taken up a good deal of time on this subject which is one that, judging from my mail, is of interert only to the postal workers. But they have shown such concern for this legislation that I feit I wanted to go into detail so that they would know just what is being done.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 29, 1955]

FORGOTTEN MAN

The forgotten man in the current fight over a pay raise for the 1,600,000 classified and postal employees is the Government worker himself. Politicians of both parties have been trying so busily to garner a few votes for themselves that they have entirely overlooked the realities of the situation and the real interests of the Federal employees. This shabby politicking may well have the same result that it had a year ago—denial of any pay increase at all.

Last week the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee brought to the floor a bill providing a 7.6-percent pay increase for postal workers. The House voted to send this measure back to the committee—in effect, interposing a veto on the maximum increase to which the President has indicated a willingness to grant his indorsement. The Senate, on the other hand, passed a bill giving a 10-percent increase to postal workers-in effect, inviting the veto which the President has promised he would interpose in connection with any pay boost in excess of 7.6 percent. Thus Congress and the White House have reached an apparent stalematewith postal workers holding an empty bag. The classified civil service can expect the same bag to be presented to it-equally empty.

The President clearly has the upper hand in this situation. Those in Congress who favor a 10 percent increase are not numerous enough to override his veto. They are only numerous enough to prevent passage of a bill which the President will sign. The real friends of the postal and civil service employees will move to give them the 7.6 percent which is the best they can get at the present time. The employees would do well to remember that half a loaf is better than no bread.

Textile Business Reported Booming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, as a representative of a great cotton-producing area, I am naturally much concerned about the welfare of the American spinners of the cotton which our farmers produced.

I have been very pleased to note two recent news items which indicate that

the southern textile industry is prospering, despite many loud cries to the contrary.

The Congressional Record of March 23 contains on page A2022 a statement by former Senator Charles E. Daniel, of South Carolina, which says "unheard-of prosperity is predicted" for South Carolina industry, and adds, in part:

Looking at textiles, I see more cause for hope and optimism this year than ever before. Like the other phases of our economy, the textile industry, which is the South's most important industry, has experienced a year of adjustment. With the remarkable expansion of textiles in South Carolina to one of the top areas in this industry in the world, we are working hard to keep our newly won position. We outproduce and outsell any State in this respect.

The New York Times of March 27 contains an Associated Press dispatch which shows that cotton spinning improved in February of 1955, and that production was well above February 1954, when there were few complaints about foreign competition. Under unanimous consent, I include this brief news item in full:

COTTON SPINNING UP-INDUSTRY OPERATED AT 142.5 PERCENT OF CAPACITY IN FEBRUARY

Washington, March 26.—The Census Bureau has reported that the cotton-spinning industry operated during February at 142.5 percent of capacity on a two-shift 80-hour week basis.

This compared with 138 percent during January and with 128.1 percent during February last year.

Spinning spindles in place on February 26 numbered 22,402,000, of which 19,429,000 were active, compared with 22,495,000 and 19,822,000 on January 29 and with 22,897,000 and 19,656,000 on the last working day of February 1954.

Active spindle hours for spindles consuming cotton in February totaled 9,299,000,000, compared with 9.184.000,000 for January and with 8,697,000,000 for February last year.

The Right Honorable Mario Scelba, Prime Minister of Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, like most of the European countries at the close of World War II. Italy faced a gigantic task of national reconstruction. When the fighting ended, there seemed to be insurmountable difficulties to be overcome if Italy were to survive as an independent nation. Resolutely facing this tremendous task of reconstruction, the proud and cheerful Italian people, through their leadership, performed miracles. During these fleeting 10 years, a nation bent with the burdens and tragedy of war has risen again to command world respect. From dictatorship domination, the Italian people have gained democracy and freedom. From chaos they have progressed on the way to orderly, honorable, and

dependable government. From the dark ness of tragedy, the Italian people have moved into the warm sunlight and cheerful life and living to which they have been accustomed for centuries.

This remarkable progress has required leadership and statesmanship of the highest ability. It has required determination, energy, and patience. It has required physical and mental courage. It has required honesty and a fearless comprehension of the problems to be solved. Today we are to meet and to see and to hear from a great Italian statesman who possesses all of these remarkable qualities of leadership.

As our guest here in the Congress to-day, we are honored to have a statesman from Italy who, perhaps more than any other person, is responsible for the reconstruction of the great Italian nation. Our honored guest this afternoon is the Right Honorable Mario Scelba, Prime Minister of Italy. When he arrives, I know that every Member will want to be here to extend to him heartfelt greetings and the warm hospitality of the American people through their Members of this Congress. He is deserving, not only of our praise but of our appreciation.

During her long and glorious history Italy has provided many brilliant and able statesmen. In their time, they served their country so well and with such great ability that they gained the respect of the leaders of nations all over the world. None of these noted Italian statesmen, however, has done more for their country than has our guest today Prime Minister Scelba. In the course of his administration of the Italian Government, he has prevented revolution blocked the progress of communism in his country, and has developed the cause of democracy and freedom in Italy to the extent that communism no longer 15 a threat. While steering this course which has meant so much not only to Italy but to the free way of life, the Prime Minister has reconstructed his country, torn by the chaos of war, 50 that today the Italian people once again are able to see the light of prosperity and happiness. Without his genius of lead ership, Italy could well be, at this hour, under the domination of communism-Having saved his noble country from this tragic fate and having saved the Italian nation for the free world and the free way of life, Prime Minister Scelba has engraved his name forever on the glory pages of history.

Prime Minister Scelba is a humble man, who, like Abraham Lincoln, is responsible for his own education. He worked his way through school and university. He is a lawyer holding a doctor's degree in jurisprudence. He has held many offices in the Italian Govern ment. In 1945, under Prime Minister de Gasperi, he was Minister of Posts and Telecommunications. In 1947, he was promoted to Minister of Interior, an influential position of prestige. After the fall of the De Gasperi government, Premier Scelba formed a government which was approved by the Italian Senate in February of 1954. In the short time he has had control of the Italian Govern ment, he has performed such miracles as the defeat of communism and has saved the Italian people their freedom and

Throughout the United States of America there are many Americans of Italian descent. These citizens have helped to make America the great Nation it is today. They occupy high positions in the learned professions, in Government, in science, in research and educa-They have made great contributions to American art and culture. In my own Commonwealth of Massachusetts, there are many of our citizens of Italian descent. As elsewhere in the country, here in my home State they also occupy important positions of responsibility. Because of their Italian descent, I know these thousands of American citizens are proud of the country of their origin. They are proud of the accomplishments of Prime Minister Scelba. They join with all other Americans regardless of their national descent in welcoming this great Italian statesman to America and extend to him complete and unreserved hospitality. It is their hope just as it is the hope of every American regardless of his origin that from henceforth on Italy and America Will stand shoulder to shoulder in the cause of freedom, the free way of life, justice, and peace. America today is both pleased and proud of its association and cooperation with the great people of Italy in the cause of freedom and peace.

Great Falls, Mont., High School Band

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ORVIN B. FJARE

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. FJARE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Ap-Dendix of the RECORD, I include the fol-

lowing article on the Great Falls, Mont., High School Band:

The Great Falls, Mont., High School Band recognized to be one of the finest in the State both on the marching field and the concert stage. Since its beginning 20 years ago as an extracurricular boys' band under direction of Charles Richards, a long-time Montana resident, the band has gained

steadily in popularity and number. Paul Shull, the present director, came to Great Falls in 1951, and under his tutelage the program has grown from 1 band of 85 to 3 bands with a total student enrollment of 140. These groups and special units from within them make approximately 75 appearances at home and throughout the State

Marching band regularly numbers 95 members, including Drum Major Jerry Polich lich and 6 twirlers. Head majorette is Miss Rosalind Raddle, who has held the Montana State State twirling championship for the last 4 won the Pacific Northwest baton championship in 1953, and ranked in the top 10 at the national twirling festival in 1953. Allas Lynn Hemsing, our 6-year-old mascot twirler, constantly amazes audiences with her spectacular twirling ability, and is a real crowd pleaser.

As a marching unit, the band has several distinctive achievements to its credit. In

1953 the group was invited to make a guest appearance at Montana State University's homecoming celebration, a rare honor for high school bands. The band marched in the annual parade and gave a special performance before the homecoming Last fall marching season was highlighted by a guest appearance with the band of Lt. Dick Smith, former drum major with the famed University of Michigan Band. Lieutenant Smith praised the group for its outstanding musicianship and marching ability. All football half-time shows are pre-pared and arranged by the director and a committee of students so that each show has individuality and originality. Night games permit the use of headlights and colored spotlights for unique effects.

During the concert season the band comes in for its share of laurels, too. It has been a consistent winner of superior and excellent ratings at music festivals under the baton of Mr. Shull. Last year, performing Wagner's Rienzi Overture, the organization received such compliments from adjudicators as "a very fine high-school band, sounding better than many college bands,' and "an excellent, mature sounding band."

An outstanding event in the Great Falls area this past year was the guest appearance with the band of Sigurd Rascher, internationally famous saxophone soloist, who has appeared with such professional groups as the New York Philharmonic and Boston Symphony Orchestras. It was a singularly high honor since it was Mr. Rascher's first appearance with a high-school band, as well as his first performance in Montana. Mr. Rascher praised the band for its musical maturity and versatility.

This February members of the band were thrilled to receive an invitation to participate in the Lions International Convention in Atlantic City, N. J., this coming June. The invitation was extended by the governors of district 37 (Montana-Alberta), who also generously offered \$4,000 from the district to help defray expenses. The Great Falls Band is the first from the Northwest to be so honored.

Plans are being made to make this trip most memorable one for the students. An approximate budget of \$16,000 has been set up to finance a 2-week trip, to include sightseeing in Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, New York City, and Niagara Falls, in addition to Atlantic City. Most of the required funds are being raised through the efforts of the Band Booster Club, an organization made up of band parents. All money is to be raised through various projects and no donations are to be solicited.

Paul Shull is a graduate of the University of Colorado, with both bachelor's and master's degrees from there. He was named out-standing senior in the College of Music by the faculty upon his graduation in 1950.

Burlington, N. J., Celebrates the American Jewish Tercentenary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, on February 23, 1955, I had the great honor and privilege of delivering the following address on the occasion of a dinner in celebration of the Burlington, N. J., American Jewish tercentenary:

It must have been a prophetic vision which led a small band of Jews to a tiny Dutch colony in the New World some 300 years ago. They were seeking what all of us want most at our deepest cores-that sense of human dignity that can only come from freedom. The route to New Amsterdam had been tortuous and, once settled there, this small group of Jewish settlers learned the lesson that history repeats over and over againthe right of freedom is never won handily and outright but must be continually earned by renewal of efforts. That this was done by these few Jews as they fought for the improvement of their status among strangers is only one measure of the contribution that they made in the New World. For the rest. they reintroduced to our hemisphere the ancient tradition upon which our civilization had originally been based, for they brought with them the culture of a people whose remarkable cohesiveness had persisted through centuries of exile and dispersion.

This is, indeed, the hallmark of the subsequent 300 years of the history of the Jews in America. These first Jews, few in number, were the forerunners of sizable groups of Jewish immigrants during the great period of our expansion in the 19th and early 20th centuries, who were to establish their mark indelibly in the fabric of American life. Always, the impelling force that led them onward, as it was also for other newcomers, was the search for opportunity and freedom. The meaning of what America stands for and the meaning of what these 300 years of Jewish life stand for, are thus linked in-

separably.

Escape from intolerable religious, political, or economic pressures and search for conditions of freedom brought most of our ancestors to the New World. Pioneers in a largely unsettled country, they had to struggle to establish the conditions they sought. When the colonists finally claimed the independence of the country in which they lived, they then set about make permanent the conditions under which freedom and democracy can flourish. Our country was fortunate to have among its citizens the gifted men who wrought out the Constitution which established as rights the freedoms they had sought. Even then, of course, the struggle for freedom was un-even, for there are always those who seek its deprivation.

As the Nation spread across the continent in the years that followed, always there were new waves of incomers from across the seas to help develop its possibilities and build its life. Always there were groups of Jews among them. And as the country and its life expanded, new problems arose and new institutions grew to keep pace with their solution. At the same time, as the pioneer country started to mature, it developed a rich culture, always infused with the qualities of geographic or ethnic heterogeneity. The Jews have contributed signally to this culture.

It was partly the group cohesiveness of the Jews that enabled them to make a positive contribution to American life. course, as individual Americans, they have made their own contributions to business and the professions, to science and art. These contributions are indeed vast. though it is as a group that I mainly wish to discuss tonight the contribution of the Jews to the life of America, I want to emphasize that it is almost impossible to separate the contributions of individual and group. For just as there are interactions between groups, so there are interactions between individual and group. To attempt to understand all the multiple interactions that occur is to appreciate the value of democratic life. Moreover, in a country where everyone is an immigrant or a descendant of immigrants and whose people are as heterogeneous as are ours, there is no one pattern of culture. There are, rather, patterns of culture, and we should be proud of our cultural pluralism, for it has contributed to the richness and the variety of American life. For anyone to have imagined that he wanted to assimilate in such a country—lose his identity as a member of his original group—was sheer nonsense, for the reason that this is actually impossible in a country based upon multiple cultures. Assimilate to what? To the dead center of all the cultures that went to make America what it is? If this were at all possible, it would indeed be the kind of uniformity and conformity that we do not want in a democracy.

There was a time when many in America did feel that this kind of assimilation was possible. They tended to disregard or to minimize the cultural contributions of our immigrant groups. Our depreciation of these contributions was due not only to our ignorance but also to our growing pains, which gave us an excessive zeal to prove our Americanism as if it could only be something altogether native and uniform. We are rectifying this error today.

By an unfortunate terminology, we used the expression "Americanization" as de-

scriptive of the process of adjustment to American life. This lent itself to the connotation of assimilation. Now we know that what Americanization really means in a positive way is the interaction of the values

of the various cultures within American life and the contributions that this makes to the

growth of our democracy.

The great waves of Jewish immigration into this country occurred in the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century, as indeed did all sizable immigration to the United States. By 1924, when we began to close the doors on immigration by adopting restrictive immigration policies, the country had benefited by a great influx of peoples and cultures, largely from Europe. The early part of the 19th century brought Jews mostly from Western Europe; the latter part and the early part of the 20th century brought Jews largely from Eastern Europe. In Europe, from which they had come, there had been periods when the ghettoes and the forced segregation had eased, and consequently the culture they brought with them was not only what had been preserved from their ancient homeland but had taken on something as well of the country of residence. Indeed, in our own country, the early Jewish immigrants had been thought of as Germans, or whatever, rather than as Jews.

Settled largely in the great urban centers. these immigrants proceeded to build their own institutions for their adjustment to the life in America. Yiddish literature, press, and threater flourished. Religious schools for children, schools for adult education, hospitals, snyagogues—all these burgeoned throughout the land. Yet these were no mere centers of cultural isolation, despite the fact that they originally arose to meet the needs of those who were unacquainted with American life. As they grew, many of the institutions began to serve people from other groups as well as Jews. Their contributions lay, moreover, in those intangible values which offered nourishment human communion, and thus permitted their members to carry on their workaday lives with greater zest, and in those values which irrevocably made their way into the stream of American culture. We tend to re-gard as unique, for example, the genius of Charlie Chaplin or of Saul Steinberg for their gentle tragi-comic irony. But this characteristic, I understand, is one of the distinguishing features of a whole body of Yiddish literature. These two merely expanded their horizons to take in larger areas of life than that which the writer in Yiddish knew. The fact that we do appreciate these two men of genius in the arts is a

reflection of something in the rest of us which we cannot articulate because we have been influenced by other cultural sources but which we can respond to because it is part of our universal human heritage.

We are able to assess somewhat more tangibly such contributions made by the Jews in public welfare work, for example. Here Jews have been in the vanguard in establishing modern facilities with high standards. Hospitals, clinics, sanitariums, originally set up to take care of Jews, are now among the best in the country and are operated on a nondiscriminatory admissions policy. Orphanages, homes for the aged other community services-were among the varied welfare establishments created. One of the significant achievements was the early federation of various local charities for purposes of fund-raising—a development later taken over in many communities in the United States by other groups of public welfare agencies.

In other areas of public life there have been significant contributions by the Jews. The American labor movement is indebted to many Jews for their leadership. But I especially want to mention a contribution in keeping with the democratic tradition upon which this country was founded—the defense of civil rights. This, unfortunately, arose as a necessity toward the end of the 19th century, when incidents of antisemitism began to appear. As incidents began to spread, particularly when influential men accepted the slanders of the Protocals of the Elders of Zion, leading Jewish organizations arose to combat anti-semitism. Although the original motivation was the defense of their own people, Jewish groups have ever since been among the greatest champions of the rights of all minority groups and of freedom for the individual. There have been exceptions of note in recent months, but they are isolated individual cases.

Meanwhile, in Europe too, the Jews had been making gains. They were coming out of the ghettoes; they were contributing to the cultural and economic life of the countries where they were settled. Before 1939, Europe had the largest number of Jews in the world, some 10 million. The Americas were next, with some 5½ million. In both Europe and America, in the 1920's, a strange kind of madness settled over the people which prevented us from being prepared for the profound disturbances that were even then in the making and which later shook the western world.

The ugly resurgence of racism as a political dogma became entrenched in two once-proud countries of Europe while we were trying to cope with our own problems of economic depression, and soon this dogma had been translated into a policy terrifying in its implications. The racist slaughter directed against the Jews was probably one of the most obscene acts of barbarity in all history. When the holocaust was finally over, we knew that some 6 million Jews had been annihilated, 60 percent of the total Jewish population of Europe, over a third of the total Jewish population of the world. Under such terrible circumstances did America succeed Europe as the largest center of the world Jewish community.

It seemed then in 1946 that America was to be the principal repository and the main standard-bearer of Jewish culture in the world. Many of the remaining Jews of Europe were uprooted and homeless; tagged with the initials "D. P." they were destitute and desperate. This did indeed impose a double task upon American Jewry, which responded with a sense of responsibility that matched the urgency of the times. The task of rehabilitation was undertaken immediately, And American Jewish instituents felt their own sense of responsibility.

Meanwhile, the most momentous development in the modern history of the Jews was taking place. The events in Hitler's Germany had given a new impetus to the Zionist movement, in America as well as elsewhere wherever Jews resided. From the beginning, Zionism had won the support of American Jewish leaders who had sciousness of Jewish history. In the early and formative years of the movement, it did not attract large numbers, but it did have the keen enthusiasm of great Jewish figures whose names made their mark both on American history and Jewish history. Men who were great Zionists were also great Americans. For Zionism itself was an eloquent expression of an American ideal-the right of all people to self-determination.

All through the years of the Hitler terror, the Jewish people of this country helplessly watched the destruction of their fathers and mothers, their brothers and sisters, powerless to stop it. But when the time came and they were able to make a decisive contribution to the rehabilitation and to the resettlement of the scattered and suffering survivors, they became a powerful and vital force, strong enough to influence the course of history. They wrote a glowing chapter in Jewish history, for in 1948, after some two thousand years of dispersion and wandering. the Jewish people restored their ancient homeland. This was made possible by the heroism of the Jews of Israel, who were ready to fight and sacrifice life for freedom. But it would not have been possible had it not been for the dedication, the zeal, the determination of the American Jewish community, mature enough to meet its obligations and to keep faith with the summons of history.

Having won its objective, the American Jewish community did not relax its efforts, and year after year since Israel was established, it has made unprecedented contributions to enable Israel to meet the gigantic tasks it has set itself.

Yet, throughout this period there has been a tiny minority within the American Jewish community which resisted Israel's reestablishment and which has never quite reconciled itself to the existence of a Jewish State. We in Congress are aware of the activities of this small minority. They write us letters. They send us pamphlets. But they will not arouse much sympathy in Congress, or any where else, for they do an injustice to both themselves and to their Christian neighbors. There was never a basis for the fear that the establishment of Israel would in any way affect the status and security of the Jewish people of America. Any such suggestion is an unworthy reflection on the understanding and integrity of the American people themselves. Indeed, the restoration Israel raised the prestige and increased the security of the Jewish community in this country, for the achievement reflected credit and honor on them and enhanced their position in the eyes and minds of all liberty loving Americans. We would like to share with the American Jewish community the credit for Israel's restoration. All of us in America have reason to be proud that we helped bring this state into being. For its establishment has significance not alone for the Jews but for all of us.

The modern world of the West received its values from varied sources—from the Judaic-Christian religious tradition; from Roman law; from Greek philosophy; from the French enlightenment; from English parliamentary democracy. Basic to all of these is the Mosaic code, a humanitarian document upon which our entire civilization rests. We had thought for a long time, moreover, that we were remote in spirit from the Orient; but we are beginning to learn otherwise. The cradle of our civilization was the Mediterranean area—the crossroad of the Orient and the Occident—and

as we are beginning to decry the stress on the materialistic values of the age of technology, we are rediscovering the perennially

human values of the Orient.

When modern Israel was established, it took advantage of what was a unique historical opportunity. It built its institutions upon the basis of its ancient cultural heritage. Symbolic of this is the revival of Hebrew in modern form-a language that it had been thought was useful only to scholars studying ancient civilizations. more symbolic is the fact that classical Hebrew turned out to be adaptable to modern life. Some of the words are used as they were in th classic Hebrew; some have taken on new meanings; and new words have been introduced from the various languages brought in by the immigrants and by other groups living within the area. At the same time, Israel fashioned its political institutions on the political forms of the West-it set up a parliamentary democracy that is a model for that area of the world.

To interpret ourselves to one another is to add to the richness and the significance of our living together. The cultural heritage of the Mediterranean and the democratic tradition of the West-these have meaning for one another because they are both essentially humanitarian in spirit. Because the Jews in America are particularly able to act as interpreters for the rest of us, you have a special responsibility of enlightenment. That for 300 years American Jews have prospered and grown in the responsibilities they have set for themselves is a happy portent. I am confident that you Will continue to work for the enhancement of freedom and democracy everywhere. The tasks that we build for ourselves for the ennoblement of human dignity are among the finest goals that mankind can pursue.

Address by A. J. Hayes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a splendid address delivered before the Minnesota House of Representatives on February 17, 1955, by the distinguished labor leader, Mr. A. J. Hayes, international president of the International Association of Machinists.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

REMARKS OF A. J. HAVES, INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, BEFORE THE MINNESOTA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 17, 1955

Mr. Speaker, distinguished members of the Minnesota Legislature, this is indeed a rare honor you confer upon me today in affording me this opportunity to appear before a branch of the legislature of one of our great States.

In the entire history of the labor movement there have been few labor representatives who have had this privilege.

Unfortunately there is much misunderstanding and many false beliefs regarding the organized labor movement and its leadership, misunderstandings, and beliefs which have developed out of the frequently exaggerated misdeeds of some in the labor movement and the incomplete and inaccurate reporting of some of organized labor's activities

I neither approve, defend, or condone the wrongs which have been committed by individuals or organizations within the labor movement. I do say with emphasis and from personal knowledge and experience that the great good that organized labor has accomplished far outweighs its publicized and exaggerated mistakes, faults, and weak-

Organized labor like many other institutions in our society, has been a great and militant force for good; not only for its members, not only for workers, but for every segment in our society.

The many things it has accomplished over the years of its history have benefited the

whole United States.

The higher wage rates and periodical wage increases for which unions are responsible have increased and extended purchasing power and have stimulated business by the resultant increased demand for services and products.

Shorter hours, vacations, paid holidays have reduced unemployment and have contributed to advanced education and culture and have thus permitted more and more of our people to find the tranquillity and the happiness proclaimed as our goal in the preamble of our Constitution.

Health and welfare plans, pension plans, paid sick leave, have contributed to the improvement of our general health and the minimization of epidemic and catastrophic

The legislation which organized labor has sponsored or supported, such as workmen's compensation laws, unemployment compensation laws, minimum wage laws, social se-curity, and many, many others, have all contributed to the general welfare and constitute one of the mainstays in our bulwark against communism.

Organized labor's participation in the fight for free public schools deserves

lasting recognition in itself.

In addition to all of this, the pressure which organized labor exerts for higher wages and other cost items has kept our industrialists and business interests alert to seek new inventions, shortcuts, improved machinery, in order to maintain desired levels of profit. In this way the labor movement has indirectly contributed to our overall technological progress.

It must be recognized by anyone with proper knowledge and objectivity that organized labor is not only a force for good, but a necessary and essential institution in any free democratic society. However, I do not intend to use this great privilege for any special pleading. Instead, I should like briefly to discuss 2 important matters of general interest and concern to the large majority of the people of our country-actually 2 problems, with which we are confronted at all levels-that is, local, State, and Federal, and which have an important bearing in the world situation. I refer to education and health—two of the major ingredients which go into the quality of our people—our human resources.

I speak about these subjects out of a deep and sincere concern for the general welfare, and I am prompted by the conviction that in the material world the preservation of freedom and democracy is paramount to

everything else. Parenthetically, I am happy and proud to report to you that this view is shared by the overwhelming majority of the officers and members of the organized labor movement in the United States.

In any consideration of the educational and health problems of our country we must, of necessity, take into consideration a very important aspect in addition to our normal concerns. In today's world, we in the United States and our allies which together constitute the free world, must be concerned with the very imminent danger that the communistic world imposes upon our free forms of government and our free institutions. In taking stock of the relative positions of the free world and the communistic world, we come to the stark realization that there is little difference between these two worlds when we compare resources, developed and potential. We also learn that in sheer numbers the communistic world has a tremendous advantage over the free world. In the comparison of this phase alone we come to realize that the people who make up the free world are not expendable. We also come to the realization that the only immediate advantages which we in the United States have are: (1) Our technological know-how, and (2) quality of our people, our human resources.

In order to win any prolonged contest with communism, be it through the medium of a cold war or a hot war, we in the United States and our allies must not only preserve our present advantages but must do everything possible to further develop these ad-The health and the education of vantages. the American people are two of the most important material ingredients in the quality of our people; therefore, it becomes incumbent upon us as a nation to take such actions as may be necessary to improve the general health and to increase the opportunities for better health for more, and more, and more of our people and to improve our standards of education. While it is conceded that this should be done out of our humanitarian instincts, we should realize that it must be done to assure the preservation of our free institutions and a free democratic society.

Certainly, we cannot afford to rest on present standards while the Communists are feverishly at work attempting to minimize and ultimately wipe out our margin of advantage-our margin of safety.

Permit me first to invite your attention to a few of the troublesome problems relating to education. A score of investigations have supplied us with substantial reports of overcrowded schools, inadequately staffed by underpaid and sometimes poorly trained teachers. Here are a few of the important facts.

Almost 9 million children are attending schools in America on a shift basis or are using obsolete or unsafe classrooms. Some are taught in barracks, basements, and rented garages. There are children now finishing the eighth grade who have never attended school on anything but a part-time basis. Five years from now the number of children in our schools is expected to increase by another 7 million pupils.

Last year, we trained 95,000 new school teachers. We needed 203,000. And, because of the low salary scale for most teachers, more than one-fifth of those who graduated and received teaching certificates last year did not enter the teaching profession.

The fact is that of the total tax dollar-Federal, State, and local-only 8 cents goes to the schools now, as compared with 16 cents before World War II.

The consequence of this deterioration of our public school system, of course, is a steady decline in the training of our young people and a corresponding deterioration in the overall quality of our manpower.

Some States are making efforts to cope with this crisis. Others are either unwilling or financially unable to meet the problems of their schools.

We, of labor, believe that the States ought to do all they can to solve these problems. However, we also feel that the Federal Government has the responsibility to assist where the States cannot or will not solve their own problems.

There is a popular illusion that the Federal Government traditionally leaves the school problem to the States and localities. The fact is, the history of Federal action in the field of education goes back to the Continental Congress and includes at least 50 major congressional acts. The Federal Government now finances over 200 educational activities, the largest being the annual threequarter-billion-dollar program for veterans.

We, of labor, are convinced that neither the States nor the Federal Government can afford to ignore the problems of our public schools. It is no longer merely a humanitarian desire to fulfill our obligations to our children, it is now a challenge to the survival

of our American way of life.

If we have the essential education and training, we can continue to outproduce the Communist world-if we at the same time effectively deal with the equally important factor involved in the quality of our human resources. And that is the health of our

Obviously, outnumbered as we are, we cannot for long afford to waste American energy, productive energy in illnesses which could be prevented if adequate medical facilities were available to all of our people and more and more of our people learned to understand the value of good health. Let's take a quick look at our overall health problem:

In 1950—in just 52 weeks—we in the United States lost 540 million man-days of production because of ill health. To workers and their families this represented a loss in wages amounting to \$4,200,000,000. And, there were, of course, corresponding losses of

profits.

But loss of production and profit were not the only cost of our lack of adequate medical care. Millions of Americans are suffering unnecessarily from sickness and disease and hundreds of thousands are dying prematurely every year because the miracles of modern medicine and surgery are not avail-able to them. In the face of our world problem, we cannot afford this waste of American manpower.

The evidence and effects of our health problems can be found in every section and community in our country. The report of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation spells out that fact.

I have no pat answer to the problem. But I am sure of this—that neither our Nation's needs in this troubled world, nor our basic concept of the value of the individual human being—will permit us much longer to tolerate the present situation. And I can see no solution which does not involve more Federal participation.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the Legislature, I have been frank with you today. From what I have said, I believe you can draw a pretty accurate picture of some of labor's major concerns for our country. Despite the efforts of some to keep this country divided into tight little groups, it is becoming more and more apparent to me as I travel back and forth visiting with our members, talking with every kind of American, that there is a surprising and heartening unity among us. I find very few fundamental differences in our goals.

What labor wants is not prosperity for labor alone, not peace for labor alone, but peace and prosperity for every group in our great Nation, for the farmers and store-keepers, for doctors and lawyers and busi-

nessmen and industrialists.

While it is true we have not always agreed on the immediate methods for achieving these goals, I find that the more we visit together the less important our differences

Our strength as a nation is derived from all of us. Because of this combined strength we now occupy the enviable but responsible position as the leading country of the world.

The peoples of many countries-some free

and some who yearn to be free-look to us for leadership and example.

We must continue to prove by our acts as well as our words that the greatest material power in a democracy is not the machine-not the atom-not an ideology-but human beings with souls, human beings who

are not expendable.

Address by the Honorable George Leader, Governor, to the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. GUIGLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks. I include the text of an address delivered to the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania by the Honorable George Leader, Governor, and a resident of the 19th Congressional District. The address was delivered on Monday, March 28:

To the Honorable the Members of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of

Pennsylvania:

Today, I come before the general assembly to discuss with you the fundamental basis of our life together in Pennsylvaniathe economic processes which support our 101/2 millions of people, and which alone give us the promise of material security and a rising living standard against the future.

My theme is the Commonwealth's part in

those economic processes.

Our objective is to use every reasonable power of the State itself, every resource of our dynamic people, every ounce of leadership which we possess in our national councils, to the purpose that our economy in Pennsylvania gear itself once more to an economy of full employment.

We are today declaring war against the shameful waste of human energy and human ability and human capacity to produce, which comes about when men and women find no work when they seek work; when marvelous energy sources like our Pennsylvania coals lie unmined in the ground; when whole communities and regions are scemingly condemned to chronic unemployment, deterioration, and hopelessly prolonged dis-

We are not proposing a magic formula-

single panacea-a cure-all.

We are proposing a new sense of dedica-tion, a new flow of purpose, that will be applied throughout Pennsylvania to give us expanded industries, new industries, more job opportunities, better and happier communities.

This administration, this legislature, are properly concerned with improving our standards of public health, public welfare, public education. We want a good State government, efficient, economical, useful to our people. We want recreation as a part of life—parks, hunting, fishing, clean waters, unspoiled landscapes.

For all these things, our people rightly look to their Commonwealth.

And we-governor and legislature-recognize our responsibilities.

But all such things, desirable as they are, can only come as the return we gather from a productive society. They are the good fruit born by a functioning economy. They fruit born by a functioning economy. are the payment we make mutually to our community from the proceeds of our indi-

vidual initiative and labor.

Our basic job, our most pressing pob, therefore, is to protect the economy of Pennsylvania. We must maintain it where it is strong; shore it up where it is weakened; protect it. build it, strengthen it, expand it.

I regard that effort as the primary task

Today, I will outline to you the things which we believe the State may properly do to meet its task, and some of the things that we must be ready to call upon others to do in partnership with us.

The State government, of course, does not dominate—nor will it ever dominate, I trust—our economy. The National Government has a far greater impact; local governments have an impact equal to our own; but all government is subordinate in our system of economic freedom to the work of our citizens, each striving to improve himself.

But our economy has become so complex that public action, even in the restricted area of State operations, has a vital part, a key position. We can loose and we can bind. We can stolidly accept stagnation, or we can add our contribution, a critical contribution, to a dynamic course of action.

If I know this legislature, if I know this administration, if I know the people of Pennsylvania, I am certain of the choice.

We will act.

This is a very great State, traditionally the heartland of American industry, the keystone of our Nation's economy in the machine age as it was the keystone of our national independence. With so much to be proud of, we are very sensitive indeed if we do not now admit, classify, and correct our short-comings. The quickest way to community disaster is to pretend that all is for the best in the best of all possible States.

Currently, according to the latest classification list of the United States Department of Labor, not one single area in Pennsylvania is an area of balanced labor supply. In plain language, we have some measurable unemployment everywhere. Five areas in Pennsylvania are recorded as areas of moderate labor surplus. Eight Pennsylvania areas are areas of substantial labor surplus. which means that from 6 to 11.9 percent of their labor force is out of work. Twelve Pennsylvania areas are classified as areas of very substantial labor surplus, which means that 12 percent or more of their working men and women sceking employment cannot secure tobs.

The areas of moderate labor surplus (I hate that designation of human beings as surplus, like a commodity) the only such were Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton. Harrisburg, Lancaster, Sharon-Farrell, and York. Every other classified center of population in the State has 6 percent or more

of its people out of work. We know that our coal districts and rail-

road towns have been particularly hard hit. In all the Nation, there are only 9 large areas where more than 12 percent of the working force is unemployed. Four of those nine areas are in Pennsylvania. There are 45 smaller areas of very substantial unemploy-ment in the Nation. Eight of those fortyfive areas are in Pennsylvania.

We know that while we have had substantial industrial growth in Pennsylvania. we have not kept our old lead over the rest of the Nation.

We know that throughout the Nation, communities, States, and regions are in fierce competition for industrial expansion.

We know that energy sources are changing rapidly in our technology; that there great pressure to close obsolescent plants and integrate operations in modern and efficient structures; that an old town, grimy and unattractive, has less chance to attract a new industry than a community which understands and exhibits the art of pleasant living

None of these facts, I scarcely need to tell you, acts automatically in Pennsylvania's favor.

We know, too, while industrial production in the Nation is up 5 percent from a year ago, the number of workers in manufacturing plants is down 4 percent. We are constantly able to produce more goods with fewer man-hours.

This, then, is the face of the problem.
What is our obligation, mine as Governor,
yours as legislators, as we confront it?

Our worst error has been our failure to plan against this day; to understand and thus meet our potential troubles before they

have us in their grasp.

I recommend to the legislature that we create a State planning agency that is capable, in structure and in personnel, of interpreting our future, and recommending to us the steps we should take for our protection and our growth as we move into that future.

Some subjects for their study should be: the effect on Pennsylvania of the St. Lawrence seaway; the effect on Pennsylvania of atomic energy for peacetime use; the effect on Pennsylvania of changes in iron ore supply; coal's future place in the Nation's energy pattern.

The multipurpose development of our principal river valleys—Delaware, Susquehanna-Juniata, the Allegheny, Monongahela, and Ohio.

A functioning State planning agency will, of course, review and make estimates of the State's capital improvements, analyzing their effect on the general economy, their value in relation to population trends, and their proper scheduling in relation to the State's available finances.

If the general assembly will pass the reorganization bill (House bill 1) in workable and useful form, I will promptly submit a reorganization plan which will establish a State planning board that is free to function. Substantially, that means a board that is independent of departmental control, reporting directly to the Governor; free of political control, being nonpartisan in board membership and staff; and relieved of minor administrative burdens that can do nothing except distract it from its high purpose. If the reorganization bill is not to be passed, separate legislation on State planning will be submitted.

Our immediate operating agency in the State's economic program—our line outfit—will be the department of commerce which we conceive to be in fact a department of economic development. As we all know, the potential value of such a department has for many years been lost in the morass of a third-rate publicity operation. That is being changed. The secretary is submitting a reorganization plan to the executive board which will give a sense of direction to the department's work. It will have four divisions; Industrial development; community development; travel and vacation development; and reference and research. It will have five field offices—in Philadelphia, Scranton, Erie, Pittsburgh, and Washington, D. C.

The department of commerce and the State planning board will be able to carry out their duties, as revamped and revitalized, without increasing their combined budget over the amount given them for an ineffective program in the 1953-55 biennium.

We are able to do this because we are discarding frivolities in favor of the essential. No State-paid advertising will be bought,

no clipping services maintained, no lavish State expenditures for self-congratulations will be made.

With a sense of direction, it is our hope that the Department will have, and will communicate, a sense of mission. This is dedicated work for dedicated people.

We expect to awaken and to maintain a sense of civic responsibility and enlightened self-interest which will buy for the State and its areas a promotional advertising program, privately financed, which will be far more effective than anything the State could do itself.

To aid the work of the Department of Commerce in the special field of industrial development we will introduce legislation officially creating an economic development advisory board. It is our hope that the membership of this board will be men who are themselves preeminent in industry and finance, and whose counsel and support will be invaluable to our program and its acceptance across the Nation. This board will require no appropriation. Its expenses will be met from the departmental budget.

An economic program for Pennsylvania obviously must go far beyond the departmental responsibilities of one agency of the State. The work of the Commerce Department must be supported by an inventory of the State's resources; by a program of enabling legislation; by a concentration—in our communities, here in Harrisburg, and in the National Capital at Washington—of all the ingenuity, high purpose, and dogged, everlasting persistence of which we are capable.

As to resources, our best resource is people—the skilled, ambitious, progressive people of Pennsylvania. I find them keenly aware of our common problems, anxious for leadership, ready to participate, already banded together in community organizations of great strength and vigor.

The people themselves, working in their own areas, can do far more than any conceivable staff of State employees.

Consequently, I am recommending to the General Assembly legislation which will strengthen the citizens' organizations all-ready concerned with our economic and community problems, and encourage the formation of such citizens' group in every county in Pennsylvania. In brief, our proposal will call for State aid to citizens' organizations working for industrial expansion and commutity development—the funds to be paid on a matching basis up to 50 percent of operational costs.

Our estimate of the cost of this program to the State is \$1 million a biennium.

It will be seed money in the truest sense, bringing a rich harvest in economic and community return for every dollar spent.

Among the physical resources of Pennsylvania water is perhaps our finest gift. We have taken it for granted, and all to often we have misused it. We know that water is as essential to our lives as air itself; we find now that it is an essential raw material of industry.

This administration will permit no weak-

This administration will permit no weakening, no slowdown, in our State's program to purify its streams. Indeed, we must do more than prevent pollution; we must act positively to develop and augment our water supplies.

I urge the legislature to approve the bill before you that will aline us with New Jersey in a mutual usage of the Delaware, and I urge that we promptly agree upon a dam and reservoir project at Wallpack on the Delaware which will maintain a proper all-year flow of water in that vital river.

I urge the legislature to bring Pennsylvania into a mutual pact with our sister States and the provinces of Canada which border the Greak Lakes. We should adhere to the Great Lakes compact, an instrument drawn to protect the waters which will make our Lake Erie shoreline a seaport with its windows on the oceans of the world.

I urge the legislature to join with me in pressing upon Congress the need for a dam and reservoir on the upper Allegheny, at Warren, as a flood-control and low-flow augmentation structure.

Water is not alone a raw material; it is a highway.

It is vital to the economy of western Pennsylvania that the Ohio be maintained and improved as a great artery for the transportation of coal and steel; it is vital to the economy of the Delaware Valley and its newly established steel industry that the channel of that river be deepened to 40 feet; it is vital to a great section of the electrical industry that the small stream of Turtle Creek be made proof against destructive floods.

This administration will speak for Pennsylvania in these matters—speak vigorously and proudly. We do not come as beggars to the Federal establishment; Pennsylvania pays into the Federal Treasury far more than it receives. We will not accept the withdrawal of the Federal Government's responsibility for our inland waterways; that issue was threshed out a century ago.

The State will do its share, perhaps more than its share, to develop the ports of the Philadelphia area, of Erie, and of Pittsburgh.

The economy of Pennsylvania historically has found its chief support in our mineral resources—first among them, coal.

Here again, we took a great resource for granted.

We have taken more than 13 billion tons of coal out of the Pennsylvania earth. In the last 62 years, we have marketed \$31 billion worth of Pennsylvania coal. No wonder we all are hurt when coal is hurt.

Our error was the common human one when all was well and times were piping times, we did not plan for a future in which the coal industry could no longer support the jobs of hundreds of thousands of Pennsylvanians. We did not diversify our economic base in time.

Now, the problem is upon us in full force. It does not mean that we should write off coal, or the coal areas. It is altogether likely that the slump in coal is temporary; that the future will demand, greedily demand, the energy that is in our many billions of tons of remaining coal reserves and find economical ways, competitive ways, of utilizing that energy.

ing that energy.

Meanwhile, we must guard our anthracite mining operations against the flooding danger that imperlis the employment that remains in them. I strongly urge the legislature to approve the expenditure by Pennsylvanic of \$8,500,000, matching dollar for dollar a Federal contribution, for the control of flooding in the hard-coal mines.

With equal urgency, I suggest that it is time that Pennsylvania support a program of rescarch in the technology and economics of Pennsylvania coal. As a State, we have been most neglectful of the natural resource which was so generously given us.

We will submit legislation creating a non-political expert coal research board, which will receive applications for research projects in Pennsylvania coal to be carried on in Pennsylvania laboratories. Again, we will apply the seed money principle. We believe that an appropriation of \$500,000 for coal research by the State will develop research projects that will expend several times that amount, with the additional funds coming from industry, foundations, and educational institutions.

I shall have more to say, in a few minutes, about developing new industry and additional employment opportunities in the coal areas.

Continuing in the economics of our mineral resource, I urge, as did your joint State government commission, that we go out as prospectors to make a new reconnaissance of the minerals of Pennsylvania. Only one-third of Pennsylvania has been geologically mapped. We may have the potential for new industries, new wealth, new employment, under our feet and not know it. Therefore, I request the legislature to give sympathetic consideration to the preparation of a mineral deposit inventory, and I suggest that the

department of Internal affairs be granted sufficient additional funds, estimated at

\$700,000, for this purpose.

Further, the administration will consider sympathetically any proper changes in our pattern of law regulating the exploitation of oil and gas deposits which will prevent waste and increase production in Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania, which has been fortunate in its mineral deposits, has also been fortunate in the forests which covered so much of our The secretary of forests and terrain. waters advises me that our recovery of timber resources on our State forest lands alone is now sufficient to permit us to market, on a sustained yield basis, 100 million boardfeet of timber each year. We are going to do our part in reviving the forest industries in Pennsylvania. While the timber industry can never be such a massive employer as steel, it can provide many job opportunities-vital job opportunities-in sparsely settled regions where every job counts.

In its highway system, Pennsylvania has a

great resource that men created.

Under this administration the economic effects of this resource, as represented by new highway construction, will be an important consideration. Limited-access highways-expressways, parkways, or turnpikes, as they are variously called-are a very important location factor for industry,

I urge that the turnpike commission expand its network of express highways just as quickly as its revenue prospects permit. Specifically, I urge a prompt decision as to the route of the turnpike from the Pittsburgh district to Erie, with due consideration for the Pennsylvania economics involved. I urge a decision to build, if engineering studies will support a revenue prospectus, the so-called Shortway from Sharon to Stroudsburg, and an extension of the turnpike south through the bituminous coal area, to the West Virginia border.

I fully agree with the basic philosophy that is embodied in the report of the Clay commission which stated that the Nation could not wait much longer for the completion of its interstate highway system; that we need the highways now, before traffic stops in its

tracks.

In my judgment, neither Pennsylvania nor the Nation can afford to let our construction program for major highways fall behind the pressure of traffic and of population. Here in Pennsylvania, no matter what the rest of the Nation does, we must make ourselves competent to carry forward an accelerated program of highway building. We need free-flowing traffic on roads engineered for the demands of the present and the still greater pressure of the future.

We need the highways and the economic

growth they induce.

An extensive State and national highway building program will be a direct economic benefit to Pennsylvania.

It is our cement, our steel, and our labor which will build much of the highway system; it is Pennsylvania steel which goes into the bodies of America's cars and Pennsylvania fabrics which go into their interiors.

The State's highway system also plays a part in maintaining and developing its travel and vacation industry. While the State may justifiably take some part in tourist travel promotion campaigns, in my judgment it can best serve our economic interests in travel by doing the things that are its own direct obligation, rather than talking generalities and printing pretty pictures. By that I mean that we need strong highway zoning legislation to protect our highways and beautiful countryside from the squalid ugliness that mars so many of our roads. We need to construct pleasant roadside stopping places and picinc grounds, and should act at once to lift the ridiculous restriction that limits such roadside parks to one to a county.

We should understand, take pride in, and preserve the historic points, the regional ways of life, the good traditions of Pennsylvania.

The beauty of this State, where man has not despoiled it, is one of the great assets of Pennsylvania. We are not being unduly materialistic when we count it with our potential economic assets

Industrial locations today are not determined by strict dollars and cents balances alone. The community with good housing, good public services, recreational opportunities, good schools, fine churches, starts off with a lead in the competition for industrial expansion.

To aid our communities in the work of redevelopment I will recommend that the legislature appropriate \$5 million for the next biennium to be distributed as grants-in-aid for redevelopment projects. This again will be seed money. Each dollar of the State can be used to match \$2 provided by the Federal Government in its urban renewal pro-With equal contributions by the pargram. ticipating municipalities, it means that \$30 million will be available for public aid to redevelopment projects in the next 2 years.

The housing assistance law of 1949 should be revised, so as to permit State grants-inaid to redevelopment to be used for broadened purposes. The redevelopment process can be used-should be used-to modernize our communities, provide new areas for public use, new commercial districts, new and well-planned industrial sites. The restriction to residential use should be eliminated.

We must also be vigorous in our support of the increased authorization of \$500 million in Federal urban renewal aid which has been recommended to the Congress. this increase is adopted, or a limiting clause in the existing Federal Act is removed, Pennsylvania cities will soon be deprived of an opportunity to share in the national program.

Finally, we must recognize the tragic problem of the areas in Pennsylvania which have become victims of chronic unemployment-recognize it with a new bold series of actions which admittedly contain a calculated risk.

Each of us in Pennsylvania, no matter where we live, has a material interest in such areas.

They drain our unemployment compensation fund.

They draw upon millions of dollars from our public-assistance appropriations.

They cannot pay their way in the public economics or the private industrial enterprise of this State.

More important still, we have an interest as the fellow citizens of the people in the areas affected. We owe it to them, we owe it to our belief in this society, that we not stand by unmoved and unconcerned while hardship is visited upon several hundred thousand Pennsylvania homes, while whole communities deteriorate and decay, while we develop "ghost areas" in whole counties and regions of our State.

Consequently, we will present legislation to the general assembly which, in our be-lief, will make it possible to attract more than \$150 million in new industrial development to our areas of economic distress-and this to begin this year and carry forward through a 5-year period.

We will ask you to create a State Industrial Development Authority, and appropriate to it \$20 million in State funds this biennium.

We would schedule similar appropriations for 1957-59.

The authority will make a finding of public purpose and necessity as to chronic economic distress in those regions of the State which are suffering from continued and severe unemployment. Its operations will be restricted to those areas where such a finding can be factually supported.

It will purchase or receive in gift industrial sites in such areas, develop them for use, and construct industrial buildings. It will lease these buildings on a long-term to companies of good credit standing and high employment potential, on terms that will provide an incentive for the companies to locate in the designated areas.

This is in no sense a giveaway program. Over a period of time the State will get all its money back, plus interest. The dustrial development authority will be able to augment the funds voted to it by borrowing against the security of its properties and leases. Lease payments will begin to flow back in several years, again putting more money in the pot. Local contributions will be encouraged. There will be no local tax exemption sought.

Once again, we use the seed money principle.

With the value of equipment to be installed by the manufacturing lessees, the State's \$60 million investment will predictably double and nearly triple itself.

Such a program is a new approach in Pennsylvania, although other States-competitive States-have used various methods

akin to it.

Its justification lies in necessity.

Its termination will come forthwith if normal economic processes show that they are doing the job.

Gradually, slowly, painfully, the Nation is beginning to realize that these areas of economic decline in a period of national pros-perity are a national problem too.

have properly been concerned with shoring up the economy of such far places as West Berlin, Japan, the Arab countries, South Vietnam.

But we seem all too unconcerned with the economy and the employment potential of Pennsylvania's coalfields.

The current Federal program for American areas of economic distress is sadly feeble. It has no impetus, no drive, no spokesman in the National Government.

I suggest that we need a point 4 program within the United States-a program with punch, a program with vigor, a program that will complement what we are prepared to do in Pennsylvania. We have heard a good deal lately about the "partnership concept" as between the Federal Government and the States. We in Pennsylvania are waiting for the senior partner, the Government of the United States, to put in his chips.

There are some signs of an awakening.

On March 14, 2 weeks ago, the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report had this to say:

"We are very concerned with distressed conditions which persist in certain industries and regions, even in an expanding economy. We believe that action is required now and that much can be done through public works to assist these communities. The Federal Government should recognize its responsibility to those areas and industries by promoting research to discover new products and new processes. Consideration should be given to the possibility of modifying the employment compensation programs to meet the special problems of retraining and readjusting facing those areas. Loans, technical assistance, and, as the President recommends an expanded area development program should be provided those to help them adapt to changed economic conditions."

Those are the words of a joint committee of Congress.

They are good words, to which we can subscribe.

But the National Government, the Congress, can do more.

We suggest that in the national interest the Federal Government use the enormous leverage of its tax system to restore the economy of our areas of chronic unemploy-

When the national interest requires new investment for defense purposes, the Federal Government will grant a certificate of national necessity to the company that is prepared to undertake the investment. Such a certificate permits an accelerated rate of amortization for tax purposes; the enter-Prise can, if it prospers, pay for its new plant

out of profits in 5 years.

We believe the national interest is now vitally involved in finding a new economic base for many areas in our Commonwealth and elsewhere in this country. We, therefore, suggest that the same certificate of national necessity, the same privilege of rapid depreciation for tax purposes, be granted to every new industrial investment made in areas of substantial unemployment, regardless of whether the industry has a connection With defense or not.

Such a provision in the tax laws might well bring a stream of new investment into our areas of depressed economy that would be more effective than any other thing that we

can do.

I urge the legislature to adopt a resolution

so memorializing Congress.

As Governor, I will press it to the fullest

strength of my office.

It is entirely justifiable on the basis of compensation for the reciprocal trade policy; It is justifiable on the basis of the national interest in maintaining a labor force in the coal areas in the event of national emergency; it is justified because these same areas were denied, during the war, an opportunity to expand their economic base because they Were then considered areas of labor scarcity.

Our whole effort is to utilize the full value of our public processes so that we can all gain a greater return from our economic system of individual enterprise. We are creating a climate, furnishing some tools, meeting some common responsibilities, removing some road blocks, developing new channels.

Our success will come only if we are able to mobilize the full strength of the people

of Pennsylvania.

That necessarily means the cooperation of

It means the cooperation of management. It means cooperation between the parties; the good will of every person in authority.
That is what I ask today.

This Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has no reason to be laggard. We are far to the front in technical skills, in industrial research, in the number and depth of our educational institutions, in the home offices of great corporations, in the tradition of productivity. We have huge reserves of capital; We are not owned by absentees.

If we have faltered, it is because we did

not see the obstacles in time.

Now that we see them, we can surmount them and resume our forward march.

I am not asking this legislature, our people, to support a Leader plan or a Democratic plan.

I am asking you to support fullheartedly a Pennsylvania plan.

As Governor of Pennsylvania, I seek the help of the general assembly for a community agreement that will correct the present and protect the future of Pennsylvania and it: people.

Federal Regulation of Natural Gas Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

* Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill in order to protect the consumers of my district and other consumer districts against further exploitation by natural-gas companies. We all know that the Natural Gas Act of 1938 was adopted after extensive hearings held in the interests of finding whether it was necessary, in the public interest, to regulate the transportation and sale of natural gas to prevent further consumer exploitation. The answer in 1938 was yes, and I submit after 13 years that the answer still is "Yes." The consuming public needs protection now more than ever.

Since the adoption of the act the gas industry has expanded tremendously, until today natural gas is one of the great fuels by which America lives. Since its inception there have been repeated attempts by selfish interests here in Congress to amend this law in order to have independent producers and gatherers escape its terms and control. Efforts have also been made in the courts of the land by the gas interests to secure decisions which would hold that the regulation of prices charged by producers and gatherers not to be within the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission. But now in the latest of this series, the now famous Phillips Petroleum Co. against State of Wisconsin decision, the United States Supreme Court has held that the regulation of sales of natural gas in interstate commerce for resale by independent natural-gas producers to be within the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission. A concerted effort by the powerful gas interest to nullify the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States followed and is currently in full bloom.

We will soon be concerned here on the floor of the House with the Harris bill (H. R. 4560), which is one of the bills currently being considered by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of which I am privileged to be a member. That bill is not only designed to exempt producers and gatherers of natural gas from rate control by the Federal Power Commission but would go further and require the Federal Power Commission to allow transmission companies to charge a "fair field price" for gas at rates which have no relation whatsoever to cost. Obviously, since no one can determine exactly what is a "fair field price," the measure, if enacted, will cost consumers millions of dollars over and above rates now permitted by rea-

sonable regulation.

The oil and gas company proponents of the Harris bill claim that there is competition among the independent producers and gatherers and this competition will set a "fair field price." However, a close look at the factual situation of the process of gathering and sale of this commodity shows this not to be the case. The large percentage of the natural gas coming from our Southwestern States, is produced by a relatively few very large corporations who because of their monopolistic control of gas reserves, have almost uncontrolled power to fix the price of gas entering our interstate transmission lines. The Federal Power Commission report figures show that 3 percent of all these producers control 80 percent of all natural gas sold by these so-called independent producers

to natural-gas companies. It follows naturally by the natural law of supply and demand that if we are to have effective regulation of gas rates, we must have regulation from the point of production to the point where the ultimate consumer purchases it.

Supporters of the Harris bill have also sought to buttress their position by drawing an analogy between the price of coal and oil, and that of gas, claiming that competition regulates the price of each. This in my opinion is just not applicable to the situation before us. The analogy falls, when, for example, we consider the differences in the method of transportation between coal and oil and that of natural gas. Coal and oil may be transported by rail, truck or water, enabling the middleman dealer to shop around and give the ultimate consumer the benefit of the cheapest available methods of transportation. Natural gas, however, can be transported by pipeline only. Once established, it is clear beyond comment that these lines cannot be removed from place to place to take advantage of favorable prices. This means that the ultimate consumer has no alternative but to accept whatever grade of natural gas is transported by the sole, monopoly, pipeline company to his area. One is simply not permitted to go shopping elsewhere for cheaper or more economical gas. He buys from a single seller or he does not buy. Since the competitive economic forces in the consumer purchase of natural gas are nonexistent or at best, weak, Federal Government regulation of exorbitant rates is necessary. Furthermore, it is clear that the present regulation of pipeline companies would be completely emasculated unless regulation of producers and gatherers at the wellhead were also present. This was made especially clear to me at the hearings on the Harris bill now in progress before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of which I am privileged to be a member. Under existing law, pipeline companies and producers have continued to expand and have had no trouble in getting financial and other aid in such expansion. The Harris bill, as well as other proposed bills which seek to exempt producers and gatherers of natural gas from rate regulation by the Federal Power Commission, would exempt a large segment of the gas industry from proper regulation and thereby benefits primarily only a few large corporations. Enactment of such legislation gives a new lease on life to the very practices the Natural Gas Act was designed to prevent.

The need for such an amendment is made clear by the mental attitude displayed by the oil interests. This publicbe-damned attitude was summed up by Lt. Gen. Ernest Thompson, representing Texas natural gas interests, who stated at these hearings that if the price for natural gas went beyond the ability of the consumer in our New England section of the country to pay, he could switch back to coal and oil. Mr. Thompson stated:

They could always go back to coal any time they think gas is too high. There still would be a free choice to using coal, oil, or In answer to a question of mine as to: "What happens to the local public utility such as the Mystic Valley Gas Co. in my own district which has invested millions of dollars in laying a pipeline to meet the monopoly's main pipeline in order to service our communities, when the price gets so high for the consumer that the consumer no longer could pay the price asked for natural gas?" General Thompson stated:

They would have to find some other line of business, more profitable.

What, too, of the small investor who has bought shares of stock in this company and has submitted to public utility regulations on the heretofore solid ground that he was assured of a small but steady profit on his investment? Should we do away with the interests of the consumer, the local public utility, and the small invester, by sacrificing him to the greed of the all-powerful oil interest? My answer is no.

It is from this type of attitude expressed by Mr. Thompson, as 1 of 3 members composing the commission which has jurisdiction over oil and natural gas in Texas, that the public-be-damned attitude is most clearly seen and fills me with fear in the years to come for the consumers of our great country. To point out that our consumers need protection from this state of mind is unnec-

essary.

There is no doubt, that over the years, enactment of the Harris bill, whose main ideas were formerly incorporated in the presidentially vetoed Kerr bill, would increase the cost of gas to the ultimate consumer by many millions of dollars. It is likewise indisputable that the objective of the proponents of this kind of legislation is to seek higher prices from the consumer. Natural gas is a wonder-ful resource of nature which has come into great demand since World War II. It was given to us by our Creator for the benefit of all of our citizens. We must not permit its great value, created in large measure by the demand of the people themselves, to be appropriated by monopolies through inflated profits. Reason and justice require that the sales of natural gas to interstate pipelines for ultimate public consumption be subject to Federal regulation in order to assure that independent producers and gatherers receive no more than reasonable prices to meet their legitimate costs, including the market rate of interest upon the capital prudently invested in plant and equipment. In the supplying of natural gas to a utility market these producers and gatherers are not entitled to exact "what the traffic will bear," for the consuming public is itself entitled to the benefits which this great natural resource offers after paying the reasonable costs of labor and capital required to make it available for use.

It is my hope that the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and the Congress will adopt the amendment proposed in my bill. The bill which is proposed by me on behalf of consumers everywhere limits the proposed exemption to small producers and gatherers as defined therein. The statutory minimum below which regulation would not apply will be fixed at not more than 2 billion cubic feet per year. The amendment I have proposed thereby would exempt from regulation approximately 97 percent of the producers and gatherers of natural gas making sales to interstate pipeline companies and yet would leave subject to regulation more than 80 percent of the gas sold by socalled independent producers to natural-gas companies. It is obvious that the few major oil companies of the Nation are a close-knit organization, monopolizing the industry and holding, if permitted, a dictatorship over the consumer.

There are 20 million gas consumers in this country, whose interest in the gas rate is only aroused when their individual rates are increased. The average consumer doesn't know why he must pay more for less and if he inquires, such a deluge of exhibits, figures, and charts are showered upon him that he wishes he had not asked in the first place. Rate structures for natural gas have become highly involved for it is to the advantage of the monopoly to make them this way. The individual consumer usually gives up his investigation by saving that he can't understand the graphs, charts, and technical terminology and that perhaps he shouldn't protest because his individual investment is so small in the overall picture drawn for him. He does not stop to think of the huge collective investment made by him and other gas consumers. The 20 million consumers have presently over \$3 billion invested in gas-burning equipment. The gas producing, carrying, and supplying com-panies—in fact, the entire industry have little more than half of that amount as a total investment. In our democracy it would seem that the interest of the greatest number of people, with the greatest amount of money invested, should be protected first. The history of the gas industry does not bear this out. The monopoly is trying to bring about conditions whereby they are protected and the consumer must pay and pay to satisfy the industry greed which, history shows, never will be quite satisfied.

And what is the relationship of the protection of the consumer against the producer? The consumer's investment is strictly an out-of-the-pocket expense. for which he is guaranteed nothing. He pays for it with his own money and many continue to pay for long periods of time. The producer, on the other hand, is allowed a 27.5 percent depletion charge annually. This means that out of each million dollars collected, there is \$275,000 free of any taxation. While it is quite true that a well will not indefinitely produce large quantities of gas or oil, and perhaps, a depletion allowance is fair, if only to give an owner the opportunity to lay a nest egg aside. But it need not be an ostrich egg. If a well yields a million dollars a year for 5 to 10 years, the owners will have over a quarter of a million dollars tax free for each year and the remainder subject to no more than normal taxation. The allowance, as it stands, practically says that each company or individual who owns an oil or gas well should by some unaccountable reasoning receive preferential treatment given no other industry in these amounts because the life of his income from this source is a limited one. The productive earning period of our American athletes, our writers, our artists—their productive lives are also commercially limited, but they are given no such depletion allowance. My bill would make certain that dominant producing interests, primarily the major oil companies of the Nation, would not be able to assert their monopolistic position in the control of gas reserves to the detriment of the public interest. At the same time it would relieve from the burdens of regulation the small-well owners.

Recognizing the fact that the book-keeping and other administrating procedures of the Federal Power Commission are a burden on a small company it is pointed out that the amendment proposed by me would exempt from regulation by the Federal Power Commission approximately 97 percent of all independent producers and gatherers of natural gas making sales to interstate pipeline companies and yet leaves controlled by fair regulation more than 80 percent of all natural gas sold by these so-called independent producers to natural-gas companies.

The smaller well owners deserve this protection, in my opinion, as nothing would be accomplished by the regulation of them in any event. Such producers do not control sufficient supplies of gas to place them in a position to affect materially the interstate movement or prices of natural gas. Likewise, the regulation of a multitude of small producers would involve time and expense out of proportion to the benefits obtainable therefrom. By enacting my bill the Congress can dispose of the differences that now exist and at the same time assure the consumers of natural-gas protection against unreasonable rates in conformance with the principles of the Natural Gas Act.

The Christian and Debt: A Moral Principle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a very able article entitled "The Christian and Debt: A Moral Principle," written by Dr. L. Nelson Bell, associate editor of the Southern Presbyterian Journal and published in the March 16, 1955, issue of that magazine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Recorp, as follows:

THE CHRISTIAN AND DEBT: A MORAL PRINCIPLE

Is there a moral principle involved in willful spending and in contracting debts where there is no reasonable hope of paying off? We believe the answer is an equivocal "Yes."

The second question is, Can a Government find justification for a fiscal policy which would be morally wrong for the individual? We believe that this must be answered in the negative. Also, it is morally wrong for an individual to use bribery—to try to buy votes for any purpose. It is equally wrong for politicians to try to buy votes by making financial concessions to individuals or groups of individuals.

During recent weeks there has been a hot debate in Washington over extending to tax-payers a reduction of \$20 per individual. At the same time, one of the "economic experts," called in to testify, not only advocates this tax reduction, but at the same time advocates more Government spending.

One can but wonder at those legislators who have been willing to vote for a reduction in taxes which would cost the Government over \$4 billion a year while, at the same time they know that each year finds our budget unbalanced and the national debt increasing to astronomical proportions. This may be "good politics," designed to win the votes of the unthinking, but it is neither moral, nor is it patriotic.

Walter Lippmann, in his new book, The Public Philosophy, writes of the "necessary and natural duties of Government" and specifies these to include order, security, and solvency. From the nature of their implications the loss of any 1 of these 3 can imperil the other 2.

And yet, beginning 24 years ago our Nation was sold a philosophy of national finance and spending which, if renewed, is as sure to bring about our ruin as the wanton squandering of a spendthrift insures his ultimate bankruptcy.

We are not speaking of the inevitable indebtedness caused by modern warfare. Nor are we objecting to reasonable amounts spent for justified foreign aid. But, there has been a willingness to blindly spend for spending sake, a philosophy which teaches that the willful and prodigal increase of the national debt for the sake of placating voters, or "priming the pump," is a justified economic procedure. To this writer such a philosophy comes from minds either unwilling to admit basic economic laws, or from some (and there may be both kinds represented here), who would willfully lead our Nation to fiscal chaos.

True statesmanship demands that our citizens be faced with the facts. The Government does not make the money it spends—it comes from the taxpayers. For those in government to manipulate such funds for Political purposes, or refuse to acquaint the Public with the cold hard facts of debt and solvency, is tragically short-sighted. Social gains are desirable, and some in our country were long past due, but these are gains only when based on sound economic principles.

In some quarters the church has seen fit to foster and further certain economic policies. Never, as far as we know, has a responsible church court warned the Government against the moral and spiritual implications of an ever-increasing national debt. If such a warning is out of place, then the economic policies which have been advocated in some church circles are even more uncalled for.

The recent increase in salaries for the Members of Congress and the judiciary are, we believe, long over due. We, as Christians, could well express our approval of these measures while, at the same time, telling our elected representatives in Washington that the time has come when we should balance the budget and start paying off our national indebtedness.

This we believe to be both basically Christian and also sound economics.

L. N. B.

The Effect of Mechanization on Sugar-Beet Production in Colorado

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GORDON ALLOTT

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article recently printed in the Rocky Mountain News, a Scripps-Howard newspaper printed in Denver and circulated widely in Colorado and Wyoming. This excellent article was written by Mr. James Daniel, the Washington correspondent of the paper, who has had a most distinguished journalistic career.

I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to the fact that although much has been spent by various bureaus of the Government to study industrial development and progress, it seems that even many people here in Washington are not aware of the tremendous strides being made by the beet-sugar producers, who are active in 20 or more of our States.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

No Figures—Nobody in Washington Knows How Mechanization Is Affecting Sugar-Beet Production in Colorado

(By James Daniel)

Washington, March 24.—A serious gap in the Government's knowledge of the sugar industry which could lead to another "trap" for the Colorado and western sugar-beet industry cropped up here Thursday. A Rocky Mountain News check of the La-

A Rocky Mountain News check of the Labor Department, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the Agriculture Department Sugar Branch showed:

Nobody is keeping any figures on the mechanization of the sugar-beet industry.

MACHINE LABOR

Now, standing alone, that may not sound very earth shaking. Everybody in Colorado certainly knows that the sugar-beet industry is rapidly getting rid of "stoop labor." Better than 90 percent of the harvesting,

Better than 90 percent of the harvesting, and possibly 30 or so percent of the spring thinning is now done by machines.

For the hand work that remains, labor is paid better than before, thus sharing in the economies of automation.

With this decrease in toil has come a new community freedom from many of the social problems of migratory labor. There are still migrant workers in the beet industry. But they're fewer and fewer every year and the folks who used to do this hard, backbreaking work are moving up in the social and economic scale.

In fact, the sugar-beet industry is one place where there has been no outcry by labor unions that men were being replaced by machines. The men wanted to be replaced.

NO FIGURES

All this ties in very closely with the Rocky Mountain News' discovery here Thursday.

Seeking national statistics on the extent and speed of beet-sugar mechanization, the News called the usual Government sources. At every turn the answer was:

"Sorry, we're not keeping figures on that."

Washington is a place where if you know where to look, you can get figures on the number of anopheles mosquitos in Central Park, the detailed love life of the rhesus monkey of southeast Asia, or the life cycle of spotted apple blight in the Appalachians.

But about the greatest social revolution going on in a major agricultural industry pursued in 22 States the Government had nothing.

SUGAR QUOTA

Significance of this neglect is this:

In 1947 the beet-sugar industry was gulled, or maybe the word was bumbled, into accepting a quota on its production, on the excuse that if it didn't take the quota—then believed far above its ability to produce—it would be swamped by cheap foreign production.

The industry took the quota and quickly found that it was a ceiling.

Now, the sugar-beet companies find they can only compete with each other, because the entire increase in United States sugar consumption is reserved for foreigners. In fact, 96 percent of the additional new American babies born this year are automatically sugar customers of Cuba.

POOR POSITION

And it is the unmechanized Cubans who are now afraid their costs are out of line, and yelling that somebody has to stop some of the other little Latin American Republics from underselling.

Unless there's some fast official statistics gathering, the United States Government will be in no better position to make up its mind in the next few months how fairly to draw up an extension of the Sugar Production and Marketing Act of 1947 than it was, to Colorado's regret, in 1947.

Disturbed congressional heads are considering whether to take steps to make sure the Government does get together the essential information of the mechanization and cost-cutting in the sugar-beet industry.

Why an Oil Import Quota?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I am including in the Record today an article entitled "Why an Oil Import Quota?" It is prepared by the Independent Petroleum Association of America and is in the form of answers to 10 basic questions dealing with this problem. I believe Members of the House will be interested in the information outlined in this brief statement:

Rising oil imports present a critical and growing problem. In the first 5 months of 1955, total oil imports are scheduled at 1,240,000 barrels daily, 16 percent higher than last year, about double the 1949 rate, and three times the 1946 volume of imports. This trend, unless corrected, can only mean discouragement of domestic oil activities and inadequate oil supplies for our Nation's future needs.

The effects on the domestic producer, while critical, are only secondary. The primary consideration is the ultimate effect on our national security and defense. To avoid increasing dependency on foreign oil and to preserve a strong domestic industry, a solu-

tion to the oil import problem must no

longer be postponed.

Therefore, 21 associations of oil and gas producers have joined in supporting a proposed amendment to the Trade Agreements Act which would (1) direct the President to restrict imports of any commodity whenever they threaten necessary domestic supplies of a natural resource or other material essential to national security; (2) limit oil imports to 10 percent of United States oil demands to assure an expanding domestic industry capable of providing future supplies.

The following basic questions and answers explore Why an Oil Import Quota is the most effective, practical, and acceptable method to combat the ever-increasing rise in im-

Question. How would the proposed oil

import quota work?

Answer. It would hold total petroleum imports to 10 percent of total United States oil consumption, and restrict residual fueloil imports to 10 percent of United States consumption of that product. Quotas would be established quarterly, based on United States Bureau of Mines figures for the same quarter of the previous year.

Question. What would be the net effect of

such quotas?

Answer. Total petroleum imports would be reduced about 300,000 barrels daily from 1954 levels. Unnecessary Middle and Far East imports alone add up to about this amount

Question. What is the basis for the 10-

percent limitation?

Answer. Experience. During the 6-year period 1946 through 1951 total petroleum imports averaged 10 percent of United States consumption, and residual imports were also 10 percent of residual consumption.

Question. How about the quota on re-

sidual fuel oil?

Answer. The domestic industry has always supplied most of the 1,500,000-barrel daily demand for residual fuel oil, and can continue to do so. The 10-percent residual import quota would be much more realistic and practical than the 5-percent limitation in the 1953 Simpson bill. The quota would not only be doubled, but fuel-oil imports for vessels would be permitted in addition.

Question. Is there a precedent for the

quota system?

Answer. Yes. Import quotas are now being used by our Government on a number of commodities such as cotton, sugar, cattle, fish, wheat, cigars, etc. In fact, quotas on oil imports were in effect from December 1939, to January 1943, and again in 1951-52,

Question. Would quotas conflict with our

trade agreements program?

Answer. No. The escape clause provisions of the Trade Agreements Act specifically provides that quotas may be established to prevent injury to domestic industries. oil-import quota would merely implement this principle.

Question. Would such a quota mean Federal control of the domestic oil industry?

Answer, Absolutely not. The Federal Government has always controlled foreign trade by quotas and tariffs. This has never involved or led to Federal control of do-mestic industries. The law would merely limit imports, just like Texas and other States set allowables on domestic supply but with much less difficulty.

Question. Is the quota preferable to other

types of import legislation?

Answer. Yes, for several reasons:

Quotas would not disrupt the present trade agreements program.

Oil import quotas, unlike tariffs, would allow both oil importers and domestic producers to share in future domestic market growth.

Flexible import quotas would permit our Government to recognize Western Hemisphere solidarity, trade with other nations, and defense considerations.

Question. Are other industries supporting the proposed quota?

Answer. Yes. Coal, railroads, and others have already done so. Also, the amendment contains language which will attract support from other basic defense industries. In addition to specific oil import quotas, it would direct the President "* * * to take such action as is necessary to restrict imports of commodities whenever such imports threaten to retard the domestic development and expansion of natural resource industries and such other industries as he may determine to be essential to the national security. * * *

Question. Why should the quota be adopted as an amendment to the Trade Agreements Act?

Answer. Because, as the Trade Agreements Act itself recognizes, essential defense materials should be treated separately in foreign trade policies. This principle was estab-lished in section 2 of the 1954 extension of the act. The quota amendment would make effective this congressional policy.

Also, because all other means of solving the problem of excessive oil imports have proven unsuccessful. Continuing efforts have been made over a long period to find a solution within the industry. Despite these efforts, imports have taken a larger and larger share of the United States market. The executive branch of government has studied the problem and urged restraint necessary to the health and security of Nation. Imports have not been restrained and it is now clear that only the Congress can provide an assured solution in the interests of national welfare and security.

Yalta Release-What Purpose?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to call to the attention of the Congress the following column by Mr. Stewart Alsop, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 25, and the column by Mr. Drew Middleton, which appeared in the New York Times of March 23:

MATTER OF FACT-SENATOR GEORGE AND YALTA (By Stewart Alsop)

It is clear by now that the way the Yalta papers were released amounts to the biggest bit of plain boobery committed in Washing-

ton for a very long time.

Consider the results. This country's best friend abroad, Sir Winston Churchill, has been angered. Opinion throughout world, especially in Britain, France, and Germany, has been alienated at a most critical moment. The Soviets have been presented with fine grist for their propaganda mill.

It might still be argued that this trouble abroad is not too high a price to pay for a useful object lesson from the past. reaction at home is really more significant than the reaction abroad. Almost to a man the Democrats in the Senate deeply resent not so much the fact that the papers were released, as the way they were released. And if we are to have any foreign policy at all, after all, the State Department has got to work with the Democratic majority.

Among those who feel most strongly in the matter is Senator Walter George, of Georgia, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. George is the dominant figure in the present Congress and the kingpin of the bipartisan foreign policy. There is no doubt about the way George feels.

His own public comments have been relatively mild. But he was consulted in detail by Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson before Johnson made his brief but angry speech last Tuesday, attacking the way the documents were released. Johnson was undoubtedly speaking George's mind, as well as that of most Democrats, North and South.

It is also significant that George made his proposal for a meeting of the heads of state without consulting Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in advance. George's proposal springs from genuine conviction. But it is also his way of serving notice that he is quite capable of taking a completely independent line on matters of high policy. The Democrats who have been clamoring for an "independent, democratic foreign policy" are thus now much more likely to get what they want, to the discomfiture of Secretary Dulles and the administration.

This is not to say that George or the other responsible Democratic leaders are going to act like spoiled children where foreign policy is concerned. But the close, intimate, and mutually confident relationship which a bipartisan foreign policy demands has been badly eroded. And it is not hard to see why.

Within the last few weeks, GEORGE has saved the administration's bacon, on the only two really important isues to come before this session of Congress. One was the \$20 tax cut—George's opposition to the compromise Senate bill killed the issue. The other was the Formosa resolution, which GEORGE saved by a single, moving speech, when the administration was heading into really bad trouble on the issue.

Consider the way George was rewarded for all this bacon-saving. He was not consulted before the Yalta documents, ostensibly classified, were sent to his committee. GEORGE has been around Washington for a long time, and he was quite aware that this was a cute way of making public the juicier portions of the documents. He therefore curtly refused to receive them. After this setback, the State Department passed the documents under the counter to one newspaper, and this was then used as an excuse for a general

If this was not a sleazy, sleight-of-hand performance, it certainly managed to look like one. Meanwhile, a third important issue is about to come before the Senate-the administration's reciprocal trade program. Opposition to this program is ferocious, and the administration's bacon can probably only be saved this time if GEORGE is willing to fight, bleed, and die for it. Since the business of the Yalta papers, he is naturally much less likely to do so.

But the worst aspect of the incredible blooper on the Yalta papers is the timingway or another, the Formosa crisis. which has the most dangerous domestic political implications, looks like it is coming to a head very soon. And this is the moment chosen for the State Department to play what the Democrats unanimously regard as a sleazy political trick, thus inviting them to play politics with foreign policy in their turn.

Finally, it is generally agreed that the Yalta papers will not be of any real political benefit to the Republicans, even though they do occasionally show the late President Roosevelt in an unlovely light. This is the irony of the whole sorry business. But the mystery remains-how Secretary Dulles, who has wisely gone to great lengths to establish good relations with Senator George, and who courageously withstood fierce political pressure to release the Yalta papers for the 1954 campaign, allowed this messy business to

CHURCHILL CHIDES UNITED STATES ON YALTA CASE-SAYS PUBLICATION OF PAPERS WAS "UNTIMELY"-VANDALS SMEAR ROOSEVELT STATUE

(By Drew Middleton)

LONDON, March 22.-The United States Government changed its mind over the "untimely" publication of the Yalta conference documents, Prime Minister Churchill told the House of Commons today.

The British Government was informed March 11 that the administration in Washington had decided not to publish its record of the three-power meeting, Sir Winston said. Four days later "we were told publication could not be resisted any longer," he added.

The concern of both the Conservative and Labor Members of Parliament over the publication of the Yalta papers was emphasized by the cries of astonishment and dismay that greeted Sir Winston's statement.

In the view of Government and opposition spokesmen the release of the papers may prevent a meeting between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. By giving the Russians a pretext to make the proposed meeting a platform for their propaganda, publication of the Yalta documents may impede any real progress toward a relaxation of the tension between the East and West, these sources say.

BRITISH PUBLICATION OPPOSED

British opinion in the highest circles is opopsed to the publication by this country of its record of the Yalta meeting. These sources are critical of the United States plans to release the minutes of the Potsdam and Teheran conferences.

"Where will publication end?" a senior

British official inquired today.

Won't the Republicans now ask for the minutes of the secret sessions of the Council of Foreign Ministers since the war and, if these provide no ammunition, for the minutes of all other meetings we have held with the Russians or even among ourselves?

Do they really believe in Washington that the United States can negotiate with any country successfully if everything said in private meetings is to be thrown open to Public?" the source added.

The British policy, as put forward by one of the Nation's most respected statesmen is:

Open covenants secretly arrived at.

Sir Winston's distaste for the whole affair, obvious to anyone in the Commons, was heightened by news that the words, "traitor of Yalta," had been scrawled across the base of the statue of President Roosevelt in Grosvenor Square.

The writing was in red oxide paint and, according to an official of the Ministry of Works it may do "irreparable" harm.

The statue was erected as a memorial to Roosevelt "as a great war leader, a great man of peace, and a great citizen of the world."
It was unveiled by Mrs. Roosevelt in April 1948 in the presence of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, the present Queen mother.

At the time of the Yalta Conference Churchill doubted the wisdom of Roosevelt's policies and he does today. But these doubts do not outweigh in his mind the debt of gratitude owed to Roosevelt for his help in 1940 and 1941.

Although there is much criticism of the issuance of the Yalta documents there is little of Roosevelt in this country. The defacing of the statue introduced a not of blind hatred that is allen to public opinion here.

The Prime Minister gave the Commons a detailed account of the exchanges between government and the administration in Washington about the Yalta documents.

These began last summer when the British were informed of the administration's "wish" to publish papers relating to the big power conferences at Yalta and Potsdam and the United States-British meeting at Malta that preceded the Yalta conference.

GALLEY PROOFS SENT TO BRITISH

The British received galley proofs of the Yalta documents in December. But Sir Winston said sharply it was not the duty of the British Prime Minister or his Foreign Secretary to read through such a "vast amount of material about the past."

"I was consulted on a few points of detail."

Sir Winston conceded.

Sir Anthony Eden, the foreign secretary, with the Prime Minister's agreement sent a message to Washington "deprecating on general grounds detailed record of important international documents being published so soon after the event."

The foreign secretary told Secretary of State Dulles January 12 that while he did not suggest the abandonment of publication he thought it "most undesirable at present,"

the Prime Minister added.

"On March 11 the United States Government informed us they had decided not to publish," Sir Winston continued. "But on March 15 we were told publication could not be resisted any longer. Twenty-four hours later it occurred."

The British Government has not decided whether to publish its own reports of plenary meetings and the foreign ministers conferences at Yalta, Sir Winston declared. These reports are being carefully examined to see whether publication is necessary, he added.

The Prime Minister said that, although in his opinion the British representatives that is he and Sir Anthony-came out of the Yalta report "very well," this did not alter his

conviction that publication was untimely.

Taxed by a Laborite member about a remark attributed to him in the documents to the effect that he did not like the Poles, Sir Winston said he did not rfemember having made any such remark and "if so, it must have been completely out of context."

Anyone who cares to read the documents can see "how again and again I fought for the interests and rights of Poland at Yalta and Potsdam," Sir Winston asserted.

Clement R. Attlee, Opposition leader, asked Sir Winston to negotiate an agreement with the United States to prevent the release of documents on future international meetings.

Sir Winston replied that the Yalta documents might have been influenced by "ac-cidental circumstances" and their release should not be judged as definite United

States policy.

Other ministers and senior civil servants fear the United States Government, at the request of the Republican right-wing Senators, will continue to issue documents on international conferences. They believe that, as a result, the prospects of talks with the Soviet Union or any sort of serious diplomatic negotiation will be reduced.

The Honorable Herbert H. Lehman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I want to join in the many good wishes and tributes to the junior Senator from New York, HERBERT H. LEHMAN, in the celebration of his 77th birthday. I mention this with particular pride be-

cause Senator LEHMAN and I came to Washington in the second session of the 81st Congress to serve the people of New York. We took our oath of office on the same day.

Senator LEHMAN is one of the most active Members of the Senate, and he has brought to that honorable body his vast experiences and the many accomplishments he achieved as Governor of the State of New York. The people of the 10th Congressional District of New York join me in paying him this tribute and in wishing him God's blessings in the years ahead.

I include a tribute to Senator LEHMAN which appeared in an editorial in the New York Times of March 28, 1955:

OUR OWN JUNIOR SENATOR

New York State's junior Senator, as in strict accuracy he has to be styled, reaches his 77th birthday today. In view of his continued energy after so many years of service to the public, the adjective does not seem out of place. HERBERT H. LEHMAN WAS earning a Distinguished Service Medal as far back as the First World War, when he had charge of procurement for the American Expeditionary Forces; he was twice Lieutenant Governor of this State and 10 years Governor; he carried on the vast transactions of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration during and after the Second World War; he has been a Senator since 1950, always to be counted on when a good cause or a good principle needed defense; he has been a successful businessman whose use of his success has been to help the community.

Senator LEHMAN would be long remembered if he had only a half or a quarter of his career on the record. But it is a satisfaction to believe, as well as to hope, that at 77 his work is not nearly done. We give power and credit to youth in this country, as perhaps no other nation has ever done. But we need the mature mind too, which often goes on growing after the body has begun to weaken and slow down. elder statesmen, and we are lucky that we have an outstanding one in our own junior Senator.

Keenotes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include my newspaper column, Keenotes, for March 24, 1955. on the subject of the establishment of a Department of Peace in the Federal Government:

KEENOTES

(By Representative ELIZABETH KEE)

Washington is beginning to refer to Harold Stassen's new job in the White House as Secretary of Peace, which represents a big step forward for an idea long proposed by West Virginians in the Congress.

In fact, the idea for a Cabinet-rank official whose main concern is the achievement of disarmament throughout the world and thus the improvement of the chances of world peace is being called in some quarters here the West Virginia plan because of its active promotion by people from our State, notably Mr. R. M. Davis, of Morgantown, W. Va.

The Stassen appointment does not go all the way toward achieving the West Virginia plan, which provides for the establishment of a Department of Peace coequal with the other departments of the Federal Government. Legislation would be necessary to accomplish that. However, bills to do that have been introduced in each session for a number of years, and the Stassen appointment has inspired the introduction of additional bills of this nature from Members outside of West Virginia.

In doing so, they usually pay tribute to the West Virginia background of the idea.

Mr. Stassen, whose Foreign Operations Administration (FOA) is supposed to go out of business June 30 of this year, has been named by the President to one of the Special Assistant posts in the White House with a broad assignment to work with the National Security Council, the State Department, and other agencies in the development of broad policies which could lead to world disarmament.

In establishing the plan, the President pointed out that, despite the huge drain on the economies of all the nations of the world as a result of the cold-war arms race, neither we nor our allies could consider disarming as long as the Communist countries, with their aggressive tendencies, continue to build up strength. So it is a question of trying to find a basis on which we and they can stop the race to atomic obliteration of mankind.

There is no reason to think that we are very close to such a goal. In fact, all the evidence points in the other direction. But that is all the more reason why every effort should be made-and no effort should be spared-to try to bring about a climate in which world peace can exist.

The job set up by the President and given to Mr. Stassen is a good step in a hopeful direction. We wish him the best of luck, for the very obvious reason that if he accomplishes even a tiny part of the goal set out for the job, we all will be a mite safer.

There is no greater goal for mankind than the achievement of an enduring peace. Like all great goals, it is extremely difficult to reach. Nevertheless, with God's help, we can, and, furthermore, we must.

State Soldiers' Homes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following communication:

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. SOLDIERS' HOME, CHELSEA 50. OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN, March 28, 1955.

Hon. EDITH NOURSE ROCERS, House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN ROGERS: As you no doubt are aware, certain States are contemplating the establishment of soldiers' homes by segregating veterans within the confines of already existing institutions and denoting those sections as State soldiers' homes. The National Association of State Veterans' Homes is strongly opposed to such efforts, which suggest the implication that such action is predicated on desire and intention for collection of Federal reimbursement of \$700 per annum grant per veteran.

There follow excerpts from communications from various directors of State veterans' homes regarding the matter:

Stordock, Wisconsin: "Veterans and de-pendents should be preferred, not classified with the general public. Separate institution for veterans for qualification to obtain Federal allotment."

Soderling, Minnesota: "Veterans' homes should not be confused with any other State activity, and Federal regulations should be set up to limit Federal funds unless soldiers'

home is a separate entity."

Jones, Kansas: "Not in favor of using part of a hospital or home to receive Federal

Cole, North Dakota: "Preferred veteran status must be maintained."

Watt, Connecticut: "Veterans and dependents should always be preferred and not integrated with other activities."
Schmitz, Indiana: "Such a plan should

not be put into operation."

Arnold, Vermont: "Opposes establishment of soldlers' home by segregating certain parts of other State institutions to enable them to be eligible for Federal funds."

Williams, Rhode Island: "Veterans' homes should be separate and apart from any other State owned and operated institution or establishment."

Lange, South Dakota: "Opposes any effort designed to consolidate mental-health homes with State soldiers' homes; they should be distinctly separate institutions.

Berry, Holyoke, Mass.: "Does not favor consolidation with mental health; in favor of committee's stand."

Crowell, New Hampshire: "In favor of

stand taken by legislative committee."

Quigley, Chelsea, Mass.: "In favor of legislative committee stand."

Lindell, Oklahoma: "Against health department or other ruling body having administrative authority over proposed setup. Veteran patients should be kept to-gether insofar as reasonable or possible."

Miner, Nebraska: "Believe legislation should be introduced to prevent this aclegislation

Dunmire, California: "Intent of Federal statutes granting Federal aid to State and Territorial homes would be violated if Federal-aid payments were made under such circumstances."

Reeves, Orting, Wash .: "I think it would be a dishonest stretch of the imagination to apply the name of veterans' homes to isolated wings of mental institutions."

McCrosson, New Jersey: "So long as the veteran is taken care of, it doesn't matter where; and Federal allotment should be ex-

As you will note from the above, with the exception of the last, all directors are uniformly in agreement that payments should be restricted to those States which have complied with the law in establishing separate institutions for the care of veterans who have had wartime service with the United States Armed Forces.

I would appreciate the opportunity to discuss this matter further with you at your convenience, as we feel that a very serious problem is posed which may jeopardize the rights of those States which have already established State soldiers' homes for the care of their veteran population.

Yours very truly, Gen. WILLIAM J. KEVILLE, Chairman, Board of Trustees, Sol-diers' Home in Massachusetts (Chelsea), Chairman, Legislative Committee, National Association of State Veterans' Homes.

Realistic Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced an omnibus social security bill, which would eliminate many of the inequities which now exist under the law.

Specifically it would provide a means whereby the States could combat the adverse effect which our increased cost of living has had upon the recipients of public assistance—the aged, the blind, dependent children, and the physically handicapped. It would allow all States to raise the maximum amount of assistance now paid to persons on public assistance to \$100 per month per qualified recipient. This would be accomplished by means of a change in the present Federal matching formula, by providing for larger Federal payments to the States with low per capita incomes, and smaller payments to the higher income States. It would not decrease the amounts which the States now receive.

This bill also embodies the provisions of H. R. 2993 and H. R. 2994, the 2 bills which I introduced earlier in this session, and combines them together with the above provisions in 1 bill. This omnibus bill also includes provisions which reduce the retirement age for women from 65 to 60 and eliminates the loss of benefits by parents and widows due to remarriage, under the old-age and survivors insurance benefits portion of the act. It provides for benefits for widowed mothers of minor children prior to the age of retirement. Finally, it provides a means whereby a widow who, by reason of the fact that she has had to take care of her minor children and has, consequently, become so separated from the labor market that she could not seek gainful employment, may now receive aid prior to attainment of the retirement age

This omnibus bill also gives more realistic and practical assistance to the recipients of public assistance.

It would give the aged, needy, and physically handicapped the right to earn up to \$50 per month, the same amount which the blind are now permitted to earn. It would also allow the needy and dependent children who are receiving aid to earn up to \$30 per month. Under the present law they can earn nothing. I feel such a change would encourage these children to learn the values of our free-enterprise system, learn the value of money, and help to teach them to become useful members of society.

It provides that the recipient of such aid may own a home with a valuation of up to \$5,000. That there may be no imposition of a lien upon such home, or any other recovery provision, as a condition to receiving aid. It would eliminate practices whereby the public assistance laws of certain States are used to enforce collections from recipients' relatives. Prohibit the States from making Public the names of those persons receiving assistance, and provide that the value of any United States surplus food made available to such persons would not be deducted from the aid for which the recipient would otherwise be eligible.

Because of the uneven residence requirements of the different States, and Without interfering with the rights of the States, this bill provides for the direct payment of the Federal portion of such aid to those individuals who meet all the requirements for State aid except for the residence requirements.

Cinerama Scores Diplomatic Victories in Near East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, FRANCES P. BOLTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, the cooperation of several Government agencies and a public-spirited American motion-picture corporation have recently made notable contributions to United States foreign policy in the Near East. This story should be of particular interest to the Congress because it illustrates how this Government's representatives overseas can make a direct appeal to people—rather than just to their Government-in many parts of the world.

Last year the Communists planned a major propaganda effort for the International Trade Fair at Damascus, Syria. They poured millions of rubles into an elaborate exhibit and shipped in trainloads of the best products of the Soviet Union. It was estimated that they spent the equivalent of \$500,000.

For the full story of our participation in the Damascus fair, I quote a letter from the then Assistant Secretary of State, Henry A. Byroade:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Washington, January 10, 1955. DEAR MRS. BOLTON: This letter is written in response to your request for details concerning effectiveness of the United States Government's exhibit at the recent International Trade Fair at Damascus, Syria. Our exhibit, you recall, was the production "This Is Cinerama" which had previously been shown only in a few theaters in the United States, and whose first overseas demonstration was made possible by Mr. S. H. Fabian, president of the Cinerama Corp. I am glad to be able to report that Cinerama was an outstanding success at the Damascus Fair despite the overwhelming efforts of the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc to dominate the fair with its massive displays of promises, both cultural and economic.

The United States Government has not frequently in the past taken an active part in trade fairs, and at the outset last winter there seemed little likelihood that we would be able to participate as a government, due to severe budgetary limitations. Our Embassy reported to us last February, however,

that United States participation might well prove to be the single most justifiable public relations investment the United States could make in Syria in 1954, and that failure to participate would be interpreted as evidence of American indifference toward Syria and the entire Arab world.

We knew that the Communist bloc would

attempt a costly and impressive array of exhibits and that the fair would be a propaganda battle between East and West. Therefore when the use of Cinerama was made available to us, along with its equipment and technicians, the necessary funds were somehow found by pooling the resources of several Government departments. Particular thanks are also due to Maj. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau and the Air Force for their splendid cooperation in getting the Cinerama equipment out to Damascus in time for its installation for the opening of the fair on September 3.

The hard work and devotion to duty of the United States Information Service staff at Damascus have already been cited in commendation for their part in insuring the success of Cinerama. I should like to cite a few illustrative examples of the impact which this revolutionary technique made in its first overseas showing. By September 10 the following report had been received:

"Success of Cinerama greatly beyond

original expectations.

USIS has been under state of siege for over week with thousands attempting obtain tickets. To preserve building it became necessary shift ticket booths to regular cinemas. Demands of government officials and private organizations have made it difficult to hold even 750 out of daily 4,000 for theater distribution. Crowds of 2,000 or more line up at each theater in hopes obtaining 1 of 100 tickets given there.

"Pressure of crowds even greater at Cinerama theater, despite continued publicity that admission is by ticket only. Squad of 30 policemen proved wholly unable control crowds attempting to swarm in. USIS finally arranged for squad of military police-men who now maintaining order despite fact up to 2,000 persons stand outside walls and hang from eucalyptus trees to see upper half of screen only. One-inch steel guardrails around entrances bent like solder wire and are being replaced by heavier rails.

"Some tickets are being scalped for as much as 10 Syrian pounds, more than New York price.

"Newspapers continually reporting arrival personnages from all over Arab world and Europe who came primarily to see Cinerama.

"Embassy and USIS officers and their wives continually beseeched for tickets whenever and wherever they appear in public.

"Syrian Prime Minister who missed official opening attending tonight's show with famiy. Delegation of 100 newspapermen from Lebanon attended last night. Aleppo Bank has chartered 3 buses to bring all employees for Cinerama showing. Advertisements in cities of Northern Syria inviting citizens there to send self-stamped envelope for Cinerama tickets has resulted in deluge of mail-up to 1,000 letters a day.

"Streets rife with rumor that Communists will attempt to stop Cinerama by sabotage. "Communists only line thus far is that

Cinerama is 'unfair competition.' From a small Arab principality some 1,000 miles away came the report that local mer-chants who visited the fair had this to say referring to the Communist efforts: "In Syria the Americans with a small display were nevertheless able to show the superiority of

American industry and technical know-how." An Associated Press dispatch, was picked up by the New Times of Burma on October 4. It read as follows:

"The special Damascus Fair showing of Cinerama, a wide-screen wonder to the Arab

world, was due to close on Sunday, ending a mad scramble for free tickets to the smash

"The United States Information Service (USIS) showed new movie technique in an outdoor theatre, and it outdrew by far Russia's elaborate pavillion at the 4-week International Fair.
"Only the Communists seemed relieved

that Cinerama was ending its run. Arabs from all over Syria and from Lebanon and Jordan joined in a last panicky rush for

"During Cinerama's run, the USIS office in Damascus had to lock its doors to keep crowds out, even though no tickets were passed out there. Crowds screaming for tickets tore down booths outside the USIS office.

"Local movie houses were then enlisted to handle the distribution. Once 2,000 persons, trying to get 100 tickets, ripped down the marble facade of a theatre box-office.

"Black market scalpers peddled Cinerama tickets for 10 Syrian pounds (\$3.50) each, and a gang was caught printing counterfeits. "The big USIS theatre at the fair seated 4,000. but as the closing date neared, more and more people stormed the gate. Thousands climbed trees and perched on buildings to glimpse the new type movies.

"Many people assumed that Americans in town had an inside track on getting tickets and tried every form of persuasion from bribery to threats to pry some loose.

"Except for Cinerama, the Damascus Trade Pair was dominated by vast exhibits from the Soviet Union, Red China, and other Iron Curtain countries. The Soviet added a free showing of Russian films to their exhibit to compete with Cinerama. But their screen was flat. There were no tricky sounds. People stayed away in droves.

**NYET

"Meanwhile, 2 statues, 1 of Stalin and the other of Lenin, which were to have graced the Soviet pavilion at the Damascus International Fair, were sent home today-unused.

"Fair authorities said it was because of a

money dispute.
"Syrian architects asked 2,000 Syrian pounds to erect the 2 20-feet high statues. The Soviet Embassy here said 'nyet.'

"There the matter-and the statuesrested until the fair closed at midnight on Friday.

"But Soviet officials said Russia is willing to attend next year's fair. So did the other 25 participating countries."

Finally, I am sure you will be interested to know that the United States is participating in a second International Trade Fair in Asia this year. Cinerama was selected for exhibition in the United States pavilion at the fair in Bangkok, Thailand, which opened on December 7. Our Ambassador has reported that tremendous interest is being shown by the people of Thailand. Requests for tickets have been much greater than the 1,700-showing capacity, and consideration is being given to extending the showing after the fair's closing date.

This account will, I think, give you an idea of the great potential value attaching to American representation at international The President's Emergency Fund for International Affairs (Public Law 663), which the Congress established last summer, will help to insure the effectiveness of additional United States exhibits throughout the world. I hope that sufficient funds will continue to be made available in the future for this program which seeks not only to promote American overseas trade but also to demonstrate the dynamism of America's inventive and industrial genius.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY A. BYROADE.

Later, in December, the United States Information Agency presented Cinerama again, this time at the fair in Bangkok, Thailand. The Communists were so infuriated they withdrew their own exhibit. The repeat performance was again a standing-room-only attraction. According to Life magazine:

The big show-stopper was Cinerama, which packed the 2,000-seat open-air theater twice nightly, scaring and delighting the audiences.

The Agency had to hold Cinerama over 2 weeks in Bangkok to satisfy the important customers who could not attend the showings originally scheduled.

Bangkok newspapers began receiving letters, obviously Communist-inspired, condemning the show as a "tedious event" and claiming that the film was only "an inferior imitation of a 15-year-old Soviet cine invention." Further, said these letters, "this pirated device was tried out unsuccessfully at the Damascus Fair where the reactionary local government forced the masses to attend."

That statement drew nothing but laughter from the Thais.

The people of this country owe a real debt to the men and women of vision in the Department of State, the United States Information Agency, the Defense Department, and to S. H. Fabian, president of the Cinerama Corp., for making the story of America live in the minds of our friends in the Near East. These people in the Near East saw the truthful account of the fruits of freedom and the truth overwhelmed the lies of international communism.

Our Military Preparedness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, this body will soon be called upon to make appropriations for the Defense Department, which is charged with the defense and security of our Nation. It is now 14 years since the outbreak of World War II and 5 years since the initiation of the Korean hostilities, and we are still faced with the problem of defending ourselves from outside aggressors as well as endeavoring to maintain peace throughout the world.

In many ways today, security is largely a matter of comparative military preparedness. Our opponents, it is apparent, plan to maintain a tyrannical military garrison for years to come and accordingly we too should have in readiness a larger and stronger military force in spite of the fact that such a situation runs strictly against the current of normal American life and traditions.

Based on the present abilities of aircraft, the distance between the United States and Europe is only 5 hours flying time; and between the United States and Asia about 8 hours. In reality, the dis-

tances of 3,000 and 5,000 miles of ocean respectively have materially changed and with this alteration, our security. We are playing for the highest stakes ever in the history of our country; the security of our own Nation and protection from outside aggression. The concept of security includes not only the strength to enforce peace, but readiness for war if necessary. The degree of this security depends upon our state of milisecurity depends upon our state of miliary preparedness. We need to be ready in hours, instead of months, with millions of men, the world around.

Shortly after the present administration took office and the first appropriation bills were presented to this body following the submission of a new budget, we began to hear much of the New Look so far as the defense of our country was concerned. We were told that with the advent of the atomic age and with new and more horrible weapons, we would be able to buy more defense and security for less money. We were asked to believe that through some mysterious formula recently devised, this country depending primarily on airpower and atomic and nuclear weapons, could deal successfully with an enemy which also possessed the same type weapons, but with a numerically superior air force with tremendous numbers of ground troops. The cuts made in the budget for the Air Force for fiscal year 1954 were restored for the fiscal year 1955; but not so with the Army. The funds provided for the Department of the Army have not been adequate in spite of the fact that we may have to deal with a massive enemy army well equipped and well supplied with manpower from satellite countries.

In order that the Members of this body will have first-hand knowledge of the effect of the cuts made by the present administration in the budget for the Department of Army, I wish to insert at this point a quote from a letter I have just received from a young man who was commanding a rifle company in the infantry battalion I commanded during World War II. This individual holds the Silver Star and the French Croix de Guerre with palm for gallantry in action. He was one of the finest and brightest men I have had the pleasure of knowing. At the moment he is a civilian employee of our Government and is assigned to a post located on one of our Pacific Island outposts. He writes as follows:

I took my first break since coming over here when I took 2 weeks' active duty with the * * * regimental combat team. I have a long story to tell. At the present they are the only combat troops on this island other than the Air Force. I worked with the S-3 and was told by the commanding officer to check any and everything. So I did. Boy, am I glad I did not stay in the Army. It is rough. Under present conditions, they are virtually running a cadre operation. The officers and NCO's are good, but the turnover of EM is so rapid that it is more like a replacement training center than unit training. The effect of the Army manpower cuts are quite apparent here and the regimental combat team was recently placed on a reduced strength T/O.

Mind you now, this is supposedly an advance outpost of the United States and the only combat troops here are ordered to op-

erate on a reduced strength T/O. If any funny business starts again, you will have the same situation that the Army had originally when the Korean fracas started when the * * Division was in Fort Lewis with phantom battalions and had to practice firing off the fantail of the ship on the way over.

In addition, administrative requirements have more than trebled in the money saving drive. Such reports as mess report, fuel conservation, etc., must be made out and all of this is being done on the officers and NCO's own time.

Mr. Speaker, this is the situation as it exists today on one little island in the Pacific which is supposed to be an outpost of our defense efforts. I sincerely hope that when appropriations for fiscal year 1956 for the Department of Defense and more in particular for the Department of the Army are considered by this body in the near future, that each and every Member of this body will remember what this young man has written to me.

The Champions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VERA BUCHANAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include in the Record an editorial entitled, "The Champions!" from the McKeesport Daily News in recognition of the great achievement of the McKeesport High School basketball team in winning the Pennsylvania State championship at Philadelphia last Saturday night.

The splendid play of the Tigers brought the first Pennsylvania Interscholastic Athletic Association Class A championship to McKeesport in 34 years. I think it will be of interest to some of the members to know that the only other McKeesport team to win this State championship—the team of 1921—was captained by my late husband, Congressman Frank Buchanan.

The editorial follows:

THE CHAMPIONS

Gene Danko is a young man, 6 feet 1 inch in height, who ranks 20th in his class of approximately 700 seniors at McKeesport High School and who scored 8 points against Chester Saturday night. His father teaches at vocational school and Gene has ambitious to become an engineer.

Tom Markovich, who tops Gene in height by 2 inches, and serves as cocaptain with him of the McKeesport Tigers, had some trouble Saturday night, although he did get 15 points for his team. He had 4 fouls called on him when he was taken out in the second quarter. With 4 minutes and 11 seconds to go, he returned and got the 3-pointer (a field goal and foul shot) which turned the game into victory.

Stu Heller is the tallest Tiger, measuring 6 feet and 5 inches. He was the high-point man with 19 Saturday. He's the happy-goucky type and he's relatively new to McKeesport, having come here with his parents

from Ligonier. Playing center, he's been up in the totals all season.

Dave Rankin plays at a guard position, his 6-feet-and-1-inch height enabling him to break up opposition plays with regularity. He's a good student and has hopes of enrolling next year at the University of West Virginia.

Glenn Shample, measuring 5 feet 11 inches, is the shortest of the Tigers in a game of giants. And he's the only junior who performed Saturday night. He's been the playmaker, the fellow who begins the Scoring patterns. He got four points for himself against Chester and he'll be back, the pivot around which next year's team Will be built.

George Krajack, 6 feet 2 inches, is the utility man—the one who goes in at any position and holds things firm. He went in for Markovich Saturday night and played

his heart out.
Cornelius P. "Neenie" Campbell, the coach, said, when it was all over Saturday night, that he couldn't take another game like that. He's an old hand at the basketball business, having been an all-American performer in his high-school days at Homestead. He played at Pitt and Slippery Rock and he's been Pointing to the State title since taking over the McKeesport assignment 12 years ago.

There were nine other young men in the squad who went to Philadelphia, all adept at the game and they share in the glory. Many of them will be seen on the team next

year.

So there they are—the championship Tigers-the best high-school basketball team in Pennsylvania and, perhaps, in all the World. What more can we say to them than

You've given us our biggest thrill in years. We're so proud we're almost bursting. This city, Tigers, is yours.

Salary Increase for Postal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GORDON CANFIELD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I enclose a resolution adopted unanimously by the commissioners of the city of Passaic, N. J., urging the enactment of legislation providing for a 10-percent salary increase for our postal employees. I concur in these sentiments and urge that the Congress provide an adequate wage increase to all of our Federal employees

RESOLUTION

Without delay:

Whereas there is now pending before Congress consideration of a pay increase for the employees of the Post Office Department; and

Whereas, in the opinion of the members of this board the rank and file employees of the Department are deserving of the increase of 10 percent which is proposed for them:

Resolved by the Board of Commissioners of the City of Passaic, That we urge the Members of Congress of the United States to adopt legislation granting to the Postal Department employees a 10-percent increase in salary, which they richly deserve; further

Resolved, That a certified copy of this resolution be sent to the United States Senators from the State of New Jersey and to each member of the congressional delegation of the State of New Jersey.

MORRIS PASHMAN, WILLIAM B. CRUISE, BERNARD J. MANNEY, NICHOLAS MARTINI JULIUS J. CINAMON, Commissioners.

MARCH 22, 1955.

American Culture Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDMUND P. RADWAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to include an article which appeared in the Buffalo Evening News, Buffalo, N. Y., under the headline "Copies of Painting at Albright Given to United States Embassies." Such a gesture of international good will is certainly important to the cultural defense of the United States and it is in line with President Eisenhower's state of the Union message earlier this year. I recommend it to the attention of the Congress:

COPIES OF PAINTING AT ALBRIGHT GIVEN TO UNITED STATES EMBASSIES

In an unprecedented gesture of international good will, the Albright Art Gallery has shipped to 50 American embassie abroad large colored reproductions of its valuable painting, "Church at Old Lyme."

The choice of this oil is significant, for it was painted in 1905 by Boston-born Childe Hassam. In that year the Albright

Gallery was founded.

The gifts are in commemoration of the gallery's 50th anniversary, notes president Seymour H. Knox of the Academy of Fine Arts, which governs the gallery, in letters of explanation to American ambassadors in capitals from Tokyo to Rio de Janeiro.

'As we celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Albright Art Gallery," wrote Mr. Knox, "we think of the important work being done We believe by our various missions abroad. that the creative American spirit is an element in fostering the mutual understanding which we all seek."

APPRECIATED BY DULLES

Mr. Knox's sentiments were echoed in a letter of thanks from Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, on behalf of the embassies. The Secretary observed:

"I feel it is very important that our missions should be decorated with fine and representative examples of the American cultural heritage. * * * I want you to know that I appreciate very much your generous spirit in this regard.'

The lithograph reproductions, 30 by 331/2 inches, are the work of the Niagara Lithograph Co., 1050 Niagara Street. Albright director Edgar S. Schenck said the lithography work is "excellent" and the color "close to the original."

Mr. Schenck noted that the lithographers "even made an attempt to compensate for the slightly yellow varnish to give the painting the brilliance it had in its original state."

EMBASSY ART DEFICIENT

The lithographs were a gift from the company to the gallery for the anniversary. Additional copies will be presented to new members during the annual membership drive next month.

Our embassies abroad are notoriously deficient in representative American art, as illustrated by a letter of gratitude received by Mr. Knox from Robert F. Woodward, the Ambassador in San Jose, Costa Rica, who admitted:

"I have been trying to find sources of supply of fine reproductions of paintings of historical subjects and American statesmen for the Embassy walls. The pictures there now are of no significance in American life."

The Ambassador to Norway, L. Corrin Strong, wrote to Mr. Knox from Oslo: "I find that the Norwegians do not know a great deal about our paintings, and the ones we hang in the Embassy have attracted considerable attention."

PAINTED IN 1905

James Clement Dunn, Ambassador to Brazil, in a letter to Mr. Knox, said: "The work of the Albright Art Gallery illustrates both at home and abroad the interest of the American people in their own art and that of other nations. * * * A reproduction of Childe Hassam's 'Church at Old Lyme' on our walls will serve to remind all of us in the Foreign Service of the great cultural accomplishments of the country we repre-

Childe Hassam, a leader of the Impres-sionist movement in America, painted elmshaded Congregational Church at Old Lyme, Conn., on Oct. 17, 1905. The church, built in 1817, was destroyed by fire 2 years after Hassam immortalized it.

The artist was born in 1859. His painting career spanned 50 years. His paintings are included in almost all major museum collections in America, and during his life he received nearly every award available to an artist.

Conventions and the Popular Will

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article written by Senator PAUL H. Douglas, of Illinois, is deserving of our attention. It appeared in the March 28, 1955, issue of the New Republic magazine.

CONVENTIONS AND THE POPULAR WILL

(By Senator Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois)

By next year the campaigns for the presidential nominations of the major political parties will be in full flight. Once again complaints will be heard that the party conventions do not accurately express the popular will and that they are in fact largely controlled by a relatively small group of insiders. Proposals will be made for increasing the popular control over the nominating process by means of the presidential pri-mary. But it will then be too late. Only a few State legislatures will be in session in 1956 and the selection of delegates will be virtually completed before the public can awaken and make its will felt.

If reforms are to be introduced into our process of nominating Presidents, they must therefore in the main be effected prior to presidential years. For then there is time to act. This is a most appropriate year since virtually all of the State legislatures will be in session and the presidential election is sufficiently near for public interest to be easily awakened.

We should therefore take stock of the nominating process by which we select our candidates for the Presidency, of the way in which the delegates to the national conventions are selected, how the conventions operate, and who controls them. We should also consider the comparative advantages and disadvantages of a more direct choice of the candidates by the voters through some form of the direct primary.

When Andrew Jackson convened the first National Party Convention in 1832, it was a big step forward. Prior to that time, the Senators and Representatives of the Federalist and of the Republican-Democrat Parties met in Washington during the legislative session and in caucus selected their candidates. As the Federalist Party began to disappear, control of the dominant Republican-Democrats by the so-called "Virginia dynasty" tightened. Thus Madison succeeded Jefferson and Monroe in turn followed Madison.

The advent of Jackson in 1828, however, brought fresh life into the political proc-esses. Jacksonian democracy expressed the turbulent and equalitarian life of the frontier together with the desires of the lowerincome groups of the eastern seaboard. was a popular movement aiming to make ours a government not only of and for the people, but also by them. As an inevitable part of this program, Jackson and his followers attacked "King Caucus" and the dominance of Congress which they alleged, with good reason, had by the combination between the adherents of Adams, Clay, and Crawford flouted the will of the people in choosing John Quincy Adams in 1825 as President instead of "Old Hickory." They called, therefore, for independent national nominating conventions, and in 1832 the revivified Democratic Party renominated Jackson by this process. This had been made possible by the improvements in the means of transportation and communication. With the advent of the railways, conventions became still more practicable, and under the pressure of public opinion the Whig Party finally followed the example of the Democrats in 1840.

Prior to the Civil War it was through the national conventions that the Democratic city organizations of the Atlantic seaboard made their unfortunate alliance with the southern slavocracy and nominated the succession of so-called dough faces, or northern men with southern principles, namely Lewis Cass in 1848, Franklin Pierce in 1852 and James Buchanan in 1856. It was by means of the national convention that in 1856 the new Republican Party largely replaced the old Whigs who so recently as 1848 had been able to elect a President. was in the Democratic National Convention of 1860 that the Union was really dissolved, for it was there that the South refused to go along with Stephen A. Douglas' program that the territories should decide whether or not they wanted slavery and insisted instead that the National Government, under the authority of the Dred Scott decision, should foster and protect the extension of slavery into the territories and possibly even into the free States themselves. When the Demo-cratic Party split on this issue at Charleston in 1860 and Douglas and Breckenridge faced each other as rival Democratic candidates, the one remaining cohesive national force had been torn asunder. For with the rise of the Republican Party, most of the southern Whigs had felt forced to enter the Democratic Party and a monolithic structure had been started in the South.

It was through the medium of the national convention that in 1864 the Republican Party was transformed into the Union Party and back again into its former self in 1868. It was in the national conventions from 1876 to 1884 that the groups coalescing around Blaine and Grant respectively waged

their bitter personal but nonideological battles for power. It was in the Democratic National Convention of 1896, that a new popular impulse surged into the Democratic Party which was crystallized in Bryan's amazing "Cross of Gold" speech and which, despite the temporary dominance of the conservative groups in the party in 1904 and 1924, has continued to this day.

It was in the Democratic Convention of 1948 that, swayed by the oratory of Hubbar Humphrer, the party ranged itself definitely behind the program of civil rights.

It is therefore seen that national conventions have in the past played an important and at times a highly constructive part in the political decisions of the Nation, Underneath the sound and fury and the apparently nonsensical irrelevancies which distract and annoy the thoughtful, there is a far deeper logic which is at work in most conventions and which is imperfectly seen except by active participants. It is the effort of divergent territorial and class interests and ideologies to find a successful unity without too great a sacrifice of principle. There are many features of the nominating process which lend themselves to abuse and which tend to produce government by the few rather than by the people. Gross mistakes are made, as at the Republican Convention of 1920 when Warren G. Harding was foisted upon the Nation by a coterie of Senatorial bosses. Sometimes inferior candidates are chosen over superior ones. But there is more sanity in the selective process than critics are frequently willing to grant and in making reforms we should take care not to throw the baby out with the bath.

THE RISE OF PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES

Beginning in 1905, under the initiative of Robert LaFollette, progressivism in Wisconsin and the companion movement in Oregon, direct presidential primaries were instituted in a number of States. Here the voters expressed their preference directly for presidential candidates and bound delegates from their Congressional Districts and States to vote for them initially in the national convention. It was these popularly elected delegates who in 1912 furnished the nucleus of the political support for Theodore Roosevelt in the Republican and for Woodrow Wilson in the Democratic Convention.

This innovation was naturally opposed by the professional politicians who preferred the hierarchy of local caucuses, and county, district, and State conventions whereby delegates were named to the national conventions. For in this way, the party leaders believed with good reason, that they could better control the final choice. The party leaders, therefore, in the main fought a delaying action against the introduction of presidential primaries. At times this attitude was one of outright opposition to any direct choice of delegates or candidates while at other times they made the primary vote purely advisory with no binding effect upon the delegates. In still other cases they permitted a popular choice of the delegates but either allowed no designation or an incomplete designation as to whom the delegates were pledged or favored.

As the progressive impulse in American politics weakened during the 1920's, some States gave up the direct primary, while in others the binding quality of the choices was weakened. But the direct primary States still furnished politicians with straws to show which way the winds were blowing and helped them to make up their minds. There is little doubt that the good showing made by Wilson in 1912 and by Franklin Roosevelt in the 1932 primaries helped to swing the conventions their way and that the same was true in the case of Dewey in 1944 and 1948. Similarly the primaries in 1952 confirmed the leaders of the crucial Pennsylvania and Michigan delegations in the belief that Eisenhower would be a stronger candidate than

Taft, and hence tipped the scales of the convention in his favor.

The fear that the 1952 conventions would not result in the choice of popularly approved candidates, but would instead be dominated by the national, State, and city organizations led to a marked revival of interest in some form of the presidential primary. Various proposals were advanced in Congress which will be described later, and New Jersey passed a direct primary law.

Had less popular candidates than Eisenhower and Stevenson been nominated in 1952 there would undoubtedly have been a tremendous upsurge of sentiment for the Presidential primary. Even so, there was enough dissatisfaction with the nominating process and the conduct of the conventions to cause Montana, Nevada, and Indiana in 1953 to provide direct primaries for voting on Presidential candidates and for the pledging of delegates to those candidates who received the popular preference. It is interesting to note that the Montana law was submitted to the voters by referendum in November 1954 and was approved by a vote of more than 2 to 1. The new Indiana law also pledges delegates to vote on the first ballot for those who win in primaries.

In all there are now about 525 delegates to the national conventions who are nominally selected in primaries. However, of that number, about 225 come from the States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, where the party voters do not really have an opportunity to ascertain the delegates' preferences as between prospective Presidential candidates, and these are hence not true Presidential primaries. The remaining 300 delegates. or not far from one-fourth of the total number in each party convention, are therefore the only ones who come to the convention with a clear mandate from the voters of their States as to the candidates they should support.

The 12 States which do have direct primaries of this type are New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, Minnesota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Maryland, and California. Nearly 60 percent of the delegates to the national conventions are, however, not elected by public primaries at all, but are instead selected by State and district conventions composed of delegates from lower political subdivisions.

WHO CONTROLS THE CONVENTIONS?

In the main, therefore, it is the party leaders and not the people as such who still control the conventions and select the candidates. This process is far more democratic than the rather tightly controlled methods by which the political parties in Great Britain and the Dominions select their leaders, but it is still primarily based upon the assumption that the selection of Presidential candidates is party business rather than public business.

Fifty years ago this used to be the practice as regards virtually all public offices of a State and Federal character. The direct primary and the direct election of United States Senators have enormously increased the popular power in these other fields but no such comparable development has taken place in the nomination of our Presidents. The people play only an indirect part in selecting the candidates for what is above all others the one office in which the people are interested.

The insiders who control the machinery of a national convention can within limits significantly control its results. By the chairman granting or refusing recognition for motions, by the switching on and off of the loudspeakers, by control over the music and by the planting of claques in the galleries and on the floor, the stage can be largely rigged for or against a candidate. Many of those who watched the conventions of 1952 on television became aware of this perhaps for the first time. It follows that a

President who controls the party machinery can with that instrument and with the Federal patronage largely dominate the convention of his party and hence either force his own renomination or that of his successor. The renomination of Taft by the Republican Convention in 1912 was thus undoubtedly contrary to the wishes of rank-and-file Republicans.

Similarly, the party leaders from New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois can exert great influence in the final choice. This was formerly evidenced by the great power wielded by Charlie Murphy, Tom Taggert, and Roger Sullivan, the city "bosses" from those States who, with the aid of the conservative leaders of the southern democracy, nominated Alton B. Parker in 1904 and, had it not been for the shift by Sullivan at Baltimore in 1912, would have defeated Woodrow Wilson for the nomination. They also exercised a great influence in the 1920 convention. Behind these political leaders in turn Were the traction and gas combines operating through such financiers as Thomas Fortune Ryan and August Belmont. Similar groups have been influential, although to a much lesser degree, in recent Democratic conventions.

On the Republican side there is little doubt that the big financial interests of the East were largely instrumental in swaying the conventions' choice in 1940, 1944, 1948, and 1952, and that they are now in a powerful position both in the organization of the national party and in those of a very large number of the States.

THE DIRECT PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY VERSUS THE CONVENTION

The proposal for a national Presidential primary was first seriously advanced by Woodrow Wilson and George W. Norris and is now before the Congress in the form of proposed Constitution amendments spon-Sored by Senators Langer, of North Dakota, and SMATHERS, of Florida. The Langer amendment calls, among other things, for the holding throughout the Nation of a Presidential primary upon a given day under which the candidate who received the largest popular vote in the given party primary Would be the nominee. Under this plan the Federal aspects of the electoral process would completely disappear, and a vote in New York or Pennsylvania would count as much as one in Nevada or Delaware. The smaller States which would lose much influence under this method naturally oppose it with the result that it would be virtually impossible for it to be ratified by the States even if Congress were to approve it.

To meet this difficulty, Senator SMATHERS, of Florida has proposed a variant of the Norris-Langer method. His amendment also calls for a national primary upon a given day, but he retains the electoral college principle upon which representation in the national conventions is fundamentally based. The votes in each State would have the same influence upon the Presidential nominations that they now have on the final elections. The small States would therefore be given the advantage they now enjoy through their equality of representation in the Senate.

Turning now to a comparison of these two alternatives, it is obvious that a national primary under the Smathers method would reflect the popular will far more adequately than does the present convention system. But it also would contain grave weaknesses in comparison with the convention system, which need to be considered.

1. The national primary would accentuate conflicts within the parties, whereas the convention system tends to minimize them.

The great merit of the convention system is that in its search for a winning candidate it tends to discard the extremists and bring forward the men around whom not only the party but the Nation as well may best raily. Underneath all the noise, turbu-

lence, and apparent conflict which characterizes a convention there is, as we have pointed out, a deeper search for unity which will best reconcile the conflicting interests and factions. In the final decisions one can see the working of a kind of political vector analysis in which each set of forces helps to determine the final position.

Were we to substitute a national primary, however, extremists would be encouraged to run for the nomination, and sometimes would win, and the conduct of the primaries would be knock-down and dragout affairs.

The issues would also tend to be drawn far more sharply and the losers would not be able to exert the tacit influence which they now exercise upon both the choice of the ultimate nominees and the platforms.

Many people would welcome this polarization of politics on the ground that it would lead to a greater stressing of real issues than the present centripetal tendencies of our 2-party and convention systems. But such a sharper conflict of ideas would only be purchased at the expense of endangering national unity which, in view of the Communist threat to democratic institutions, I do not beleive we can afford. Moreover, despite all the somewhat formless nature of our political groupings and the tendency parties and of the Nation to draw together around the center, we have made as much legislative progress during the last half century as any democracy in the world and have at the same time preserved national unity more effectively than in any country outside of the British Common-

- 2. It is argued that the party leaders commonly know the hidden strengths and weaknesses of the various candidates far more fully than does the general public. They can, it is said, quietly sidetrack men who have strategic weaknesses which would show up either in the campaign for election or in office. They, however, would either not want to wash this dirty linen during a primary campaign or if they did, passions would be so embittered that united action would later be impossible. There is a strong case for quiet rather than noisy judgments to be rendered on such matters as this in political as in social life. But it is also true that this exercise of judgment can be applied unwisely. Worthy men may be rejected because of their very virtues and unworthy men selected because of their compliance.
- 3. The national primary would make it impossible to draft reluctant or modest candidates. Men who were not willing to undergo the ordeal of a strenuous primary campaign would be automatically eliminated from consideration. But these are sometimes the very men who, once chosen, would make the best Presidents. Sometimes as high an office as the Presidency should seek the man.
- 4. Another objection is that the national primary would impose an added burden of strain and expense to what is already an almost crushing load upon candidates. Not only is the Presidency the most exacting job in the world, but the campaign which is required to attain the office is most exhausting. To superimpose a second nationwide campaign would mean that for almost a full year prior to the election the candidates would be subjected to intense physical and nervous pressures, and unless they were supermen, the winner would come to this most important of all jobs in a condition of almost complete physical exhaustion. A good deal of this is already involved in the preconvention campaigns, but it would be intensified by the requirement of a second national election. Additional millions of dollars would also be required to finance the primary campaigns, and the advantages which wealth already possesses in this respect would be intensified.

5. It is obvious that conventions would still be needed to adopt party platforms and that these need to be coordinated with the desires of the presidential nominees. Furthermore, a primary is an extremely poor way to select a vice presidential nominee since no one ever runs for that office, and it is generally assigned to some one who in the opinion of the presidential candidate and the party leaders will balance the ticket by representing a different geographical section and set of interests.

A RECONCILING PROGRAM

The truth seems to be that neither the convention system as it is now operated nor the national direct primary is a satisfactory method of nominating national Presidential candidates. The need is, therefore, to reconcile the two alternatives and, while retaining the good features of both, minimize their respective defects.

Representative CHARLES E. BENNETT, of Florida, and I believe that we have found such a reconciliation. We have introduced such a measure in the last two Congresses and this year have once again submitted it (S. 652) for action. It does not call for a direct national primary but seeks instead to stimulate the States so that they, in increasing measure, will provide for direct primaries as the method of selecting their delegates to the national conventions. Our bill provides that States which agree to operate under the Federal Presidential primary law will receive a grant-in-aid for 20 cents for each vote cast in such a primary. The Federal Government would thus meet the election expenses for the selection of candidates for the most important Federal office. The Federal Government in turn would set up a bipartisan Presidential Primaries Commission of five members who would hold office for staggered terms. A candidate, in order to be certified to run, would have to submit nominating petitions signed by at least 1,000 qualified voters from each of at least three-quarters of the States which had agreed to take part in the program. Candidates so designated would have until March 20 of election years to withdraw, and by March 25 the Commission would certify the names of those still in the race to the participating States.

States which had agreed to come under the system would, in turn, provide for the holding of their presidential primary between April and August. The States would only include on their ballots the names of those who were nationally certified and would only permit each qualified voter to vote in the political party in which he was registered. Increased party responsibility would therefore be provided. The delegatesat-large from a State would be bound to vote for a given period of time for the candidate who had a plurality of the primary votes in the State as a whole. Delegates from the various congressional districts would be similarly bound for the winners in their districts who, of course, might not be the same as for the State as a whole.

There is some question as to how tight the mandate should be upon the delegates. It is, of course, essential that some instructions should be given or otherwise the primary would have no point. Experience has shown that the so-called "advisory primaries" have little meaning or value. But the instructions should not be so ironclad as to prevent the convention from choosing from a number of aspirants, none of whom might have an initial majority.

In its original form, the Bennett-Douglas bill provided that the pledge would be binding on the first ballot and as long as the candidate's vote exceeded 10 percent of the total delegate vote, or until the candidate himself released the delegates. This is substantially the provision which now governs the Oregon and Wisconsin delegations. This created the danger that a convention might

be deadlocked between a number of candidates. The control over the votes of the delegates would thereafter largely rest in the candidates rather than in the delegates themselves, and this might result either in hopeless confusion or in a great deal of improper trading. We have removed this defect in our present draft, which provides that delegates may also be released if their candidate polls less than 20 percent of the vote on the third ballot and less than 30 percent on the fifth.

In my judgment, this plan combines the advantages of a far greater popular voice in the selection of presidential candidates while it retains most of the flexibility of the convention system. The primaries would thus be a first sifting of candidates on the basis of their relative popular support. The running of obscure favorite sons for the purpose of giving the delegation bargaining power would be discouraged. But the delegates could still exercise their independent judgment when the primaries disclosed no clear popular choice. The conventions would still be able to balance the ticket with appropriate vice presidential nominees and coordinate the platform with the candidacies.

No single plan is likely to be ideal in all respects, but we submit that this is probably as good a proposal as can be devised. It has the practical advantage, moreover, of being relatively easy of initial adoption by Congress while it would also permit gradual and voluntary growth within the States. It does not require sweeping and immediate changes. The sponsors of the bill hope that it may receive widespread popular support so that it may be passed this year and hence enable some States to act in time for the 1956 conventions.

We Can Baffle the Brainwashers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in the January 22, 1955, issue of the Saturday Evening Post, appears an article which I include as a part of my remarks, written by Rear Adm. D. V. Gallery, United States Navy, entitled "We Can Baffle the Brainwashers." Admiral Gallery is a gentleman and officer of profound thought and discerning and challenging mind. He knows communism and the dastardly "world-killer" mind of the Communists.

The article of Rear Admiral Gallery is worthy of deep consideration by the President and the officials and officers of the various branches of our armed services and by Members of the Congress.

The reader of this article will note that Admiral Gallery not only knows what he is writing about, but he has the courage of making striking suggestions that may be effective in combating or defeating the Communist "brainwashing" of American prisoners for propaganda purposes.

WE CAN BAFFLE THE BRAINWASHERS (By Rear Adm. D. V. Gallery, United States Navy)

The treatment of American prisoners by the Reds in the Korean war poses the free nations an evil problem. "What can we do about the Communists' hellish brainwashing technique for torturing confessions out of prisoners of war?"

This inhuman method for tampering with men's minds and souls defies all laws of God or man. It lays bare the frightful difference between our western civilization and the godless creed of communism. The Reds used it ruthlessly on American prisoners of war in Korea, treating our men like laboratory rats in a diabolical scientific experiment.

A number of these men, through fear of being tortured to death, gave lip service to the Red creed or signed obviously false "germ-warfare confessions." Now, some of them are being court-martialed or disgraced for cowardice and collaboration with the enemy.

This is happening in a country which let victory in Korea slip through its fingers because of fear, fear that we might touch off world war III, and thus get hurt ourselves. We try our soldiers for cowardice, after a war which we didn't have the guts to win.

There is an uneasy feeling in the land about these POW trials. But the trials are just a small, messy piece of the whole big problem, the piece least worthy of public sympathy. The real problem concerns the many other prisoners who took everything the Red devils could do to them and didn't break. Before we can live in good conscience with those 3,800 men the Reds let come back alive, we Americans have got to face this problem honestly and courageously.

Perhaps, if we wanted to, we could even forget the past, avoid looking our 3,800 ex-POW's in the eye, and just sweep the whole thing under the rug. But the future and the boys who haven't been captured yet make this problem cry out to heaven for solution.

I have no sympathy whatever for a prisoner who squealed on his buddies or who sold them out for his own benefit. We should throw the book at him and disgrace him. I have much sympathy for those who, under torture, gave the Reds military information of the kind we broadcast to the four winds in our magazines and newspapers. I understand and feel sorry for those who signed germ-warfare confessions or broadcast phony peace appeals. But the ones for whom I am really sorry are the boys who clammed up and took it, refusing to sign anything.

To be brutally frank about it, these lads accomplished nothing by their heroism. It certainly didn't bring the United States military victory. It didn't stop the Reds from winning a smashing propaganda victory in the Orient. Through the big-lie technique they convinced the Chinese and many gullible neutrals that we were actually using germ warfare. Now our lads who held out against hellish tortures find public sympathy going to those who broke. The only good that came of their heroic resistance to brainwashing is the internal satisfaction which they themselves will feel from now on. For the rest of their lives they can look themselves in the eye when they shave in the morning and say, "Well, soldier, you took it."

As an American I am very proud of these men. But as an American I'm ashamed of the position we put them in. This must never happen again. We must fix it so that no prisoner will ever again have to endure torture to preserve the good standing of the United States before the other free nations or will feel that an absurd confession extorted from him may be held against him if he survives.

General Dean, captured early in the Korean war, is a brave man. He got the Congressional Medal of Honor. He was never actually brainwashed, but when threatened with it, he decided the only way he could prevent the Reds from getting what they wanted out of him was suicide.

We've got to find some better choice for the defenders of our freedoms than torture, suicide, or disgrace. That's all we give now by our rigid insistence on the Geneva Convention formula. Our military regulations say that a prisoner may state his name. rank, and serial number, but beyond that he must clam up and endure whatever ungodly tortures the Communist devils inflict on him. As far as the regulations go, anything more can bring public disgrace when and if he ever gets home. This harsh rule is uncivilized, un-American, and stupid. It plays right into the Communists' hands, lending credibility to the few confessions which they are able to extort by brainwashing.

All through the whole stinking record of brainwashing in Korea one thing stands out like a sore thumb: What the Reds were after was propaganda, such as germ-warfare confessions and peace appeals. Any military information they picked up was an incidental byproduct. Propaganda was their real pay dirt, and it was to work this lode that

they used brainwashing.

Let's lay this evil thing on the page here and look at it if your stomach is strong enough. Brainwashing is a devilish new process developed by the Russians through experiments on dogs and rats. Their psychologist, Pavlov, found that by regimenting and frustrating animals, and by constant repetition of a set of circumstances, such as ringing a bell just before feeding them, he could condition their reflexes so that the animal's mouth would water every time a bell rang. He discovered he could blunt their natural instincts and replace them with conditioned reflexes of his own choosing.

The Red brainwashers follow this same technique. They first reduce their victim to about the status of a dog or rat. They make you live in solitary filth, deprived of all human contacts. They strip you of all human dignity and deny you food and sleep till you are nearly, but not quite, dead. Torture is used judiciously, with clinical skill. Time drags out into eternity, where you are alone with your thoughts. You become a borderline case between a human being and a rat struggling to stay alive. Then constant interminable repetition of their ideas erodes your brain. Your senses of proportion and values get distorted. Eventually your natural instincts may be replaced, like the rat's, by conditioned reflexes.

If they keep hammering at you that it is raining outside, sooner or later you may believe it. Sometimes, if your torturers are competent, skillful operators, they can eventually lead you out into bright sunshine and you will still think it's raining. A confused and beaten man can even be convinced that the Reds are right—that we are the aggressors and they are the peace lovers.

How much of this torture anyone can take without breaking depends entirely on the individual. No one who hasn't gone through the wringer himself can say where his own breaking point might be. Those who have been broken are the only ones who know. They are the only real experts on brainwashing on this side of the Iron Curtain. Those who took it without breaking are charitable toward those who did. They say, "Maybe they beat those other men harder than they did me."

The men who suffer most from brainwashing are the highest type of men our civilization produces. The Reds apply pressure to both your brain and body till one or the other breaks. If it's the brain, you confess. If it's the body, you die. The better man you are, the worse you get it.

Strong physical specimens of only average willpower get off easy, because they crack soon, before their bodies are irreparably damaged. If you are weak physically, but strong willed, that's not so bad—you will die fairly quickly. But if you are strong both

Physically and mentally, God help you. Occasionally the Reds lose patience with a strong will and quit, so the torturers can work on more productive subjects. But Communist patience is difficult to exhaust.

Men have always been willing to die for a principle. The history of martyrdom from the early Christian days down to the present time proves that simple fear of death cannot break a strong man's will or make him deny his faith. But months of a bare, animal-like existence, with the safe haven of death near, but always just out of reachthat is something new and diabolically different. There is abundant proof that many brave men, perfectly willing to face sudden death, cannot hold out indefinitely against this fiendish half-death. In any large group there will always be a percentage, not cowards or weaklings, but just average human beings, who will eventually break and conless to whatever the fiends demand. When this happens, the heroic resistance of those Who held out becomes a gesture of ghastly futility.

To show that the Communists break even strong characters by brainwashing, I cite three very different types of strong men they have broken. The first is Cardinal Mind-Ezenty. Cardinals are not weak charactersthey certainly are not afraid to die. But Mindszenty confessed in open court to what the Reds wanted. Another strong type is Colonel Schwable, United States Marine Corps. Schwable, a flier of 24 years' ex-Perience, was universally regarded as an outstanding officer in a corps noted for its officers. Fliers are not afraid to die. But Schwable signed a false confession to germ Warfare. A third type is the Reds' own com-missars. Commissars are unprincipled and ruthless, but they are strong, tough characters. They have to be. The Reds break them, too. In the Moscow purge trials the deposed commissars sang like canary birds.

We should know by now that we aren't all heroes and what happened in Korea will happen again. We had better quit burying our heads in the sand and do something to counter it. I don't think the American people want to keep on offering their sons the choice of suicide or disgrace.

There is a simple way out of this grim mess, if we have enough vision and imagination to use it. Recall what happened in the case of Cardinal Mindszenty. Living among the Reds and knowing their methods, he foresaw they might break him, and disavowed his "confession" before he was even arrested. His solemn disavowal and prediction of what they would do to him was published to the world before his confession. The confession, when it came as predicted, was useless for propaganda purposes. Its publication backfired on the Reds and made them look stupid. This points the way for us on the brainwashing problem.

Suppose the President of the United States were to issue an Executive order to the Armed Forces right now, telling our men that, if captured by the Reds, they may sign any document the Communists want them to or appear on radio or TV programs and deliver any script the Reds hand them. Tell them they can confess that the United States poisoned Lenin and Stalin; they can call the President a capitalist, warmongering dog of Wall Street; they can broadcast peace appeals, agree to settle behind the Iron Curtain when the war is over, and sign long-term leases on houses in Moscow. Give the Reds anything they want for propaganda purposes and defy them to use it.

This order would be transmitted to the United Nations with a blistering statement explaining why we had to do it, and serving notice that hereafter statements of our prisoners, made to the enemy, would be a bunch of fairy stories. This statement should be accompanied by several hundred affidavits from our men who went through

the brainwashing process that will stink to high heaven. Properly publicized, this could put the Reds on the defensive in their cold war with the free world. It would spotlight the inhuman atrocities of the Communists and bring out the grim fact that the Geneva Convention, which has more or less governed the warfare of civilized nations in the past, is useless in dealing with godless fiends like the Communists. We should hammer home, on the Voice of America and at the United Nations, that this Convention worked after a fashion in World Wars I and II, when we were fighting human beings of more or less our own background and type. Even the Japs believed in God and a future life. But now that our enemies are ruthless, godless devils, we have to release our men from Geneva Convention restrictions.

Worldwide publication of such an Executive order would make the Reds look ridiculous on this side of the Iron Curtain when and if they attempted to use brainwash confessions in the future. It would leave no further motive for brainwashing except sadism. I'm sure there are many sadists in the Communist ranks, but maybe the perverted sexual urges of Red interrogators will be satisfied sooner if our boys agree with their obviously false accusations.

Some people object that our disavowal won't penetrate the Iron Curtain, so the Reds could use these confessions to convince their own people that we were committing atrocities. They don't need them for that. They can manufacture confessions for the benefit of their own slave peoples—make them up out of whole cloth. They need confessions to convince guilible neutrals, and our disavowal will reach and impress them.

As long as we stick to the rules we had in Korea, the Communist devils, bound by no rules of God or man, will makes us look stupid. What chance has a lone GI prisoner against a battery of brainwashing Communists? Look at the record in Korea. By sticking to our outmoded Geneva Convention rule under impossible conditions, we let the Reds persuade millions that we had flouted all civilized rules and used germ warfare.

The germ-warfare charge was an easy bill of goods to sell in Korea and China, where many diseases are epidemic. What could be simpler than to blame them on United States germ bombs, producing many actual victims of the diseases to prove it? They didn't need actual confessions to do this; they could have manufactured the signatures as well as the confessions. Behind the Iron Curtain it made no difference whether Colonel Schwable actually wrote his confession or whether the commissars simply announced that he did. Slave peoples have no choice but to believe.

Their reason for wanting actual confessions was so they could publicize them, transmitting them to the United Nations, to raise doubts in the minds of our timid neutral friends. They succeeded in this diabolically well. They used the very organization which the free nations have set up to preserve peace and foster understanding among nations to spread lies about us and stir up distrust and hate. From a purely technical point of view, as a propaganda operation, it was a slick job.

In propaganda the Reds were always slick and we were clumsy. Through brainwashing they were able to broadcast peace appeals by our men. What kind of appeals did we broadcast? We pleaded with 22 of our men who had actually transferred allegiance to the Reds, "Come home, all is forgiven." When one of them did come home, we court-martialed him—just as the Reds predicted we would. How stupid can we get? That blunder will be a windfall to the Communists' propaganda for many years.

We missed one marvelous chance to make bums out of the Reds during the long-winded truce negotiations in Korea. One of the issues on the exchange of prisoners was whether we would force thousands of unwilling former Reds to go home. There were 70,000 prisoners who wanted to go back, and 100,000 who didn't. We haggled for months about this.

We could have stopped the haggling and made the Reds look foolish very simply. Suppose we had secretly loaded all the 70,-000 confirmed Reds into our amphibious fleet, landed them behind the Communist lines and just turned the whole rabble loose. Then we announce to the world, and the Chinese in particular, "These rats are so worthless that we are giving them back to you for nothing. For negotiating purposes they aren't even worth one American prisoner; you can have them free." Think of the loss of face this would involve in the Orient for every one of those 70,000. The Reds, carried away by their own germ-warfare lies, might have taken drastic antiseptic precautions.

But we can't think like that. We follow the book; our actions are unimaginative and perfectly predictable. The Reds know it, and use us as if they owned us. They sold the Big Lie on United States germ warfare to the whole Orient.

Many people ask, "Why did the Reds go to so much trouble extracting confessions which they didn't need in China or Korea, and conducting classes in POW camps to educate our men?" Some of our prisoners have a startling answer to this question. They say maybe the Reds were looking 10 or 20 years ahead, hoping for another depression in the United States.

What you have drilled into your brain in a POW camp stays with you the rest of your life. Maybe you don't believe it for a long time. But 10 or 15 years later, if what the Reds predict about a depression comes true, then maybe seeds the Reds planted will take root and sprout. This may seem farfetched to us who live from year to year. But it isn't to Asiatics, who look at centuries as we do at months. It is typical of the difference between our propaganda and theirs.

Moralists may object to my proposal, on the ground that it is always wrong to tell a lie. A lie is a deliberate false statement, made with intent to deceive someone who has a right to demand the truth. What I am proposing would be done with intent to deceive nobody. It would be done to prevent colossal deceptions such as the germwarfare lie, which all the Reds in China still believe. It would be given worldwide publicity beforehand, so the Reds would look foolish if they verified our predictions by producing this kind of confession. Past performance indicates they are far from stupid in propaganda. They are much smarter than we are.

Besides, the only truthful answers which the Reds have a right to demand from our prisoners are "name, rank, and serial number." If you insist that we must deal with devils on a moral basis, you can say, "This is a moral twist to the big lie technique." Call it the "sea of lies" if you want—lies that are harmless because we predict, identify, and authorize them; daring the enemy to use them.

Others object that this proposal would open the floodgates for a lot of military information. I don't believe it. In the first place, the Reds have access, through our magazines and newspapers, to more authentic military information on technical subjects than they can digest. The public-information branches of all three services compete with one another for press space, and the easiest way to sell a feature article on a military subject is to tell an editor, "This hasn't been released before; you're getting a scoop." If I were in the Red navy, I could easily make a reputation in Moscow as the greatest spy in history. I

would get assigned to Washington as naval attaché and simply do a rewrite job on stuff I can buy on any newsstand.

In regard to tactical information, no prisoner knows anything that can really affect the outcome of world war III. That will be decided by natural resources, production capacity, and things that the Communists know all about from the atomic scientist, Doctor Fuchs and others like him. To protect their own frontline units, most of our prisoners only have to keep their mouths shut for about a week. After that, tactical dispositions on the front have changed so that they can spill all they know without affecting the outcome of even a local battle one way or the other. Those who know things that might affect the future of the war, such as future tactical or strategic plans, must not be allowed to subject themselves to the risk of capture.

It makes fine reading in the newspapers when General MacArthur wades ashore right behind the first assault wave or General Patton barges into an enemy-held town in the lead tank. But it's a badly miscalculated risk when we permit them to do this. Sure, it's good for morale—of a limited number of front-line troops, and also of the generals concerned. But think of the shot in the arm it would be to enemy morale if they were captured. And think of the really vital military information their capture would jeopardize.

MacArthur is a brave man, and so was Patton. But they were never brain-washed. No one can say just how much they could have taken before they broke. Major tools of the brainwashing process are degradation and humiliation. Obviously the higher a prisoner's rank, the further you can degrade him, and the easier it is to humiliate him. We say you must tell "name, rank, and serial number," but if I were ever captured, those are the three items I would do my damnedest to conceal. Maybe I could give my rank as RADM and claim it meant "radioman."

All our ideas about military security require a drastic overhaul. Our GI's and all our citizens know too much. We should tighten up on military information and pass it out only a need-to-know basis. This would help to protect our prisoners as well as our secrets, because you can't betray a secret if you don't know it.

We might also revise our ideas on what constitutes collaboration with the enemy in the light of what goes on back here in these United States. Back here, during the Korean snafu, Peress stopped a Senate committee cold, when they asked him if he was a Communist, by invoking the fifth amendment. Soon thereafter he was promoted to major and given an honorable discharge. When our captured soldiers are being brainwashed, there is no law this side of hell they can invoke. All they can do now to stop the torture is to confess—or die.

Our present policy of dealing with some of our own prisoners of war is a windfall to the Communists. Compare how we treat a brain-washed GI with the treatment guaranteed by the Constitution even for criminals. A soldier who had an obviously false propaganda confession tortured out of him can be tried by court martial for giving "aid and comfort to the enemy." A criminal who has a true confession beaten out of him by the police goes scot-free if he can prove that he was forced to tell the truth about an actual crime. This is one of the American rights that our soldier was defending when he got captured. I wonder how he feels when a false confession, extorted by the Reds, is produced before a United States military court composed of men who have never even seen the Reds face to face.

We didn't even brief our men consistently in Korea on what to say if captured. The Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines all had their own ideas on this question and different units of the came service differed. The briefings given to our men going into battie varied all the way from zero to carte-blanche advice: "Spill anything you know; they know it, too." The "name, rank, and serial number" briefing was stateside stuff that you got from people who knew they would never be captured. Some units avoided any briefing whatever on this question "because telling the men about Communist tortures would be bad for morale."

I agree that frank briefing on brain washing for men who may have to face it probably won't make them very happy. But that's no excuse for burying our heads in the

sand and trying to ignore it.

When all the brain washers want is agreement with their ideas, their job is relatively simple. They just put the heat on you until you sign what they want. Then the interrogator has documentary proof for his commissar that he is a shrewd operator. But if they go after military information, the job is much more difficult. They have to evaluate what you say, cross-check it against known facts, and make up their own minds, Their conditioned-reflex technique doesn't cover this. They may have to go back to the dogs and rats in their laboratories and conduct further experiments to find out how they can tell when the animal is behaving truthfully rather than the way they have

Some of our expert interrogators and psychologists say there is no use trying to deceive expert interrogators; you just have to clam up and refuse to answer. If you lie, they will find you out. Our boys who went through brain-washing say that on military information, they could get away with evasive or false answers. But when the Reds demand a "Yes" answer to a propaganda question, you either give it to them or else.

conditioned it to act.

We can't give our boys shots so they won't be hurt when tortured, get weak when starved or become dopey from lack of sleep. But maybe we can save them from enduring these tortures rather than confess to obvious lies. The least we can do is to assure them that whatever they say or do under these circumstances will not help the enemy, because we have disavowed it ahead of time. We can thus relieve their minds of the gnawing fear that what they say will be held against them when they get home. All our boys whom I have talked agree that was perhaps the worst fear that haunted them during their ordeals, That is one dragon we could slay forever with an Executive Order.

This is one of those things on which it seems we have nothing to lose and a lot to gain. The Communists, even if they continue their brainwashing, can't treat our men ay worse than they have. At the very least, we will insure that none of our men endures the ordeal of brainwashing through fear of being stigmatized as a traitor if he signs an obvious fairy tale.

General Dean, in his book, makes this very significant statement: "One of the first things I noticed was that these people were much more anxious to have me say what they wanted me to say than to extract any really new or useful information. Pressure on me was greatest to agree to perfectly obvious falsities." Many other ex-prisoners agree that the only real heat put on them was to extract false confessions for propaganda purposes.

Our present military regulations are designed to protect military information, and all evidence shows that the Communists don't use brainwashing to get military information; they use it to get propaganda material. Why should they bother trying to extract military information from our prisoners? In a battle to conquer mankind with an idea, it doesn't pay off. If an expert interrogator pries the location of your artillery battery out of a prisoner, they may destroy or capture your battery. But under

present conditions, if he pries a false confession out of him, he may capture the minds of 300 million Asiatic people.

There is no power on this side of hell that can prevent the Reds from brainwashing and breaking a certain number of our men. But we can cut the ground out from under them for propaganda purposes, and thus destroy the usefulness of brainwash confessions. We might spare our men a lot of heroic but utterly futile resistance to torture in the future, and insure that never again will the Communist devils be able to make us look as bad as they made us look in Korea.

To leave the solution of this problem in military hands isn't fair to anyone concerned, including the much-maligned military brass. Military men have a Spartan code of ethics of which they are justly proud, and the American people rightly expect them to live up to it. If we leave this problem in their hands, we can expect a Spartan solution, all wrapped up in a neat little ball of military wax, such as "name, rank, and serial number," for foot soldiers and the bombardier of a B-47 alike.

The problem is only partly military and it is much too big for any such pat solution as that. We have to educate the American people to realize that we aren't playing a game any more, a game that can be run by gentlemen's agreements and international pacts. We are in a life-and-death struggle with a godless system bent on world domination, a system which regards human dignity as a zero quantity.

Against the brainwashers the Geneva Convention is as obsolete as the TNT bomb. It is our duty to the future defenders of our freedoms to find a better answer to it.

Columbia University Conference on the Place and Future of the Creative Arts Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, on March 26, 1955, I had the great honor and privilege of participating in the Second Annual All-Student Conference on the Place and Future of the Creative Arts Today presented by the Columbia University Student Council. This council is made up of the students of over 15 schools on the Columbia campus. It is the conviction of the organization that only through such events as this can student interest in world affairs be stimulated.

I include here the program of the conference, a letter from Owen S. Rachleff, student chairman of the creative arts conference, and a letter and speech by Prof. Peppino Mangravite, dean of the School of Painting and Sculpture. Columbia University, in the city of New York

Columbia University is planning for the establishment of a 15-story art center building on Morningside Heights in New York City which will involve the work of the leading artists of our country. A short statement of the concept and the vision of the proposed arts center is included here also.

Some of America's outstanding cultural leaders participated in the 2-day conference. Many able statements were made, among them the brilliant presentation by Professor Mangravite.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY STUDENT COUNCIL PRE-SENTS SECOND ANNUAL ALL-STUDENT CON-FERENCE ON THE PLACE AND FUTURE OF CREATIVE ARTS TODAY, MARCH 25 AT 3 O'CLOCK, LOW MEMORIAL LIBRARY

Introductory remarks, W. Emerson Gentzler, assistant provost.

President Kirk's message, read by Gedale B. Horowitz, chairman, Columbia University Student Council.

The Conference as We See It, Owen S. Rachleff, chairman, Creative Arts Conference. Symposium 1, "What Is the Place and

Future of America's Great Art Institutions? Speakers: Lloyd Goodrich, associate director, Whitney Museum; John Gutman, assistant manager, Metropolitan Opera Co.; Lincoln Kirstein, director, New York City Ballet Co.; Lawrence Languer, codirector of the Theatre Guild; George Marek, artist and repertoire director of Victor Records; Robert Saudek, producer of CBS's Omnibus; Louis Untermeyer, poet, anthologist, and writer; moderated by Norris Houghton, codirector of the Phoenix Theatre.

(Intermission of 15 minutes.)

Symposium 2, "What is the place and responsibilities of the artist in society?" Speakers: Leonie Adams, poetess; Edmund Bergler, psychiatrist; Salvador Dali, painter; Morton Gould, musician, conductor; Fannie Hurst, novelist; Elmer Rice, playwright; Daniel Schneider, psychiatrist; Blanche Yurka, actress; moderated by Maurice Valency, playwright, educator.

(First day's activities terminate.)

Saturday, March 26, 11 to 1 o'clock

Lectures on music and theater arts in Casa Italiana and philosophy lounge, respectively. (Programs will be distributed then.)

Two to four o'clock

Lectures on literature and plastic arts in Casa Italiana and philosophy lounge, respectively.

Subscribers will go to the lectures they have selected.

Symposium 3, "What have America's contributions been to the creative arts?" To be held at approximately 4:15 in low library. Speakers: Louise Bogan, poetess; Bosley Crowther, film critic, New York Times; Lillian Gish, stage and screen actress; Harriet van Horne, television and radio critic, New York World-Telegram and Sun; Doris Humphrey, modern dance choreographer; Robert Schnitzer, international exchange program of ANTA; Sigmund Spaeth, editor of the Music Journal; James Johnson Sweeney, director, Solomon Guggenheim Museum; Frank Thompson, Jr., Congressman from New Jersey: Ralph Walker, architect of Voorhees, Walker, Smith & Smith; moderated by Douglas Moore, American composer, Mac-Dowell, professor of music, Columbia.

The conference is terminated.

COMMITTEE ON THE CONFERENCE OF CREATIVE ARTS

Owen S. Rachleff, 1956, chairman, conference; Elinor Murray, 1955, vice chairman, conference; Gedale B. Horowitz, 1955, chairman, Columbia University Student Council; Edward Cohen, Kent Horner, Barbara Mc-Gowan, John Plate, Sandra Schenker, Karen Sethur, Francis Stanton, Tom Watkins,

Our special thanks to Leopold Arnaud, dean of the school of architecture; Oscar J. Campbell, head of the graduate English department; W. Emerson Gentzler, assistant provost of the university; Robert Harron, assistant to President Kirk; Richard Herpers.

secretary of the university; Peppino Mangravite, dean of the school of painting and sculpture; Douglas Moore, head of the music department; Milton M. Smith, dean of the school of dramatic arts; and many other faculty, administration, and students of Columbia.

> THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY STUDENT COUNCIL,

New York, N. Y., March 29, 1955. DEAR MR. THOMPSON: On behalf of the Columbia University Student Council, the faculty, and administration we wish to thank you for your participation in our Conference on the Creative Arts in America, this past weekend.

The general feeling both in the press and in our public seems to be that our event was an admirable success, informative, lively, and with lasting values. We think you did much to contribute to that success and feel strongly that the future of our arts will be bright and healthy with your continued support and interest.

We would like to keep you posted on similar occasions, and most of all would like to feel that we have made a new friend for our council. Again thank you very much.

With kindest regards, I am, Respectfully yours, OWEN S. RACHLEFF, Chairman of the Committee on Creative Arts.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK. SCHOOL OF PAINTING AND SCULPTURE, New York, N. Y., March 28, 1955. Frank Thompson, Jr., House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN THOMPSON: Last Saturday you graciously requested that I send you a copy of my remarks at the Columbia University Arts Conference. I am attaching it herewith. For your information I am also sending you copy of a letter I wrote to Mr. Theodore Streibert, of the United States information agency, 2 days before I had the pleasure of meeting you.

Yesterday, Sunday, I spent some time in elated perusal of H. R. 4307, your bill for establishing a national symbol of America's least explored assets: The power of creative imagination as exemplified in our arts.

What you propose is the filing of a void in the life of our democratic community. Indeed it has been a conspicuous lack in our political diplomacy and in our relations with other peoples of the world.

I cannot conceive anything more devastating for the Communist ideology of the fettered spirit than a concrete encouragement of our national arts by our lawmakerstheir paternal affirmation that the creative act of the American artist is still dynamic and free would be salutary particularly at this time.

There are creative statements in your bill which must reach the vast body of the American pepole, lest the kernel of what you propose should fail to germinate in the arid soul. Your reminder to educators that they cannot afford to forget the "element of understanding as opposed to mere knowledge" is a source of strength to me since I have painted, written, and lectured about it for the past 28 years. I first expressed such views in Washington, D. C., in 1926 with the sympathetic support of Dr. William Alanson White, John Dewey, Agnes Meyer, Duncan Phillips, and Samuel Gompers. But that was during the false aesthetic evening of our Nation. Now, you are professing it during its "morning period." For the good of the perceptive life of these United States, I fervently hope you will succeed.

You will note in my letter to Mr. Streibert that I am scheduled to go to Europe early in

May as aesthetic ambassador for Columbia University. How much more proud I would have been if I had also represented the creative artists of my country.

My sincere best wishes for the success of your bill, H. R. 4307.

Cordially yours,

PEPPINO MANGRAVITE. Departmental Representative.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK, SCHOOL OF PAINTING AND SCULPTURE, New York, N. Y., March 24, 1955. Mr. THEODORE STREIBERT,

United States Information Agency, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. STREIBERT: It has been brought to the attention of my office that the United States Information Agency is preparing art exhibitions to be shown abroad.

You may know that Columbia University is planning an arts center national in scope. To broaden the university's interest in the plastic arts and to stimulate closer relationships in the creative activities of European universities, I am scheduled to visit England, France, and Italy during the coming months of May, June, July, and August.

Dr. Grayson Kirk, president of the university, will plan meetings for me with academic leaders, scholars, and artists in the above mentioned countries. During my sojourn abroad it is also our plan to acquaint European art schools and universities with the creative work being done in the School of Painting and Sculpture of Columbia Uni-

In view of our creative activities and accomplishments in the field of art education, we feel that Columbia University should, with other American institutions of high learning, have some participation in the splendid plans for art exhibitions which the United States Information Agency is preparing.

Sincerely,
Peppino Mangravite, Departmental Representative.

P. S .- The enclosed exhibition catalogue lists paintings and sculpture by 22 of our students, 4 of whom are Fulbright Fellows, 2 are Prix de Rome winners, 1 a Pulitzer Scholarship, another a French Government Scholarship, and 5 others have won major awards for creative painting and sculpture.

REMARKS BY PROFESSOR PEPPINO MANGRAVITE AT THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY SECOND AN-NUAL ALL-STUDENT CONFERENCE ON "WHAT HAVE AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTIONS BEEN TO THE CREATIVE ARTS?"

Mr. Chairman, I do not believe that I will be able to stick to the 3 minutes allotted to me. How can I? I am a painter, and paint is my means of expression.

I use words only as self defense, and since the artist in America is often accused of one thing or another, I am apt to use lots of words-rational words, logical Aristotelian words, liberal arts words-in order to defend him. And, tragically enough, the artist in this country, until yesterday, has been on the defensive. Therefore, if anyone will point his finger at the artist and say, "J accuse," I will never stop talking.

Mr. Chairman, you are an artist yourself, and you will agree that we cannot be fettered by the skills of linguistic ambiguities.

It is tragic that the American artist should talk so much, when he should be sympathetically encouraged that he can speak best through the visual language of drawing and painting. I have already consumed 1 minute and a half of your precious time,

Time has been precious to America. It has wanted to grow old so fast. How could America, until yesterday, have spared the time to contribute to the creative arts?

No, I do not think that we have contributed much of importance to the visual arts. What fresh visual image of your world do you recall that, until yesterday, had not been imported from the Old World? Words, and the mark of the sharp ax on the stump of the aging tree have been, until yesterday, some of America's great creative arts.

Until yesterday, our world was brown in color. The architect imported his metier, and built brownstone houses. It was proper for the women to dress in brown and fitting for the men to wear black. Sousa's band was brown, and our elders' thought were so brown that they could not see the new color in the poetical metaphors of Walt Whitman.

To the American male of yesterday, if you had had the courage to say to him that your son was studying to be a painter, he would have thought: "What a queer duck," but would have said: "What waste of time." And now, in this anxiously desperate mid-century, it is all different.

James Johnson Sweeney, for whom I am pinch-hitting today, would have said that art in America is now in its "morning period." In a lecture he recently delivered in Canada, he said, "Today art in the United States is certainly in its morning period. That is its hope. In other quarters of the world, too often we see artists shackled by a nostalgia for their evening, or high-noon period of yesterday. One of the problems of contemporary art in Italy and in Greece is the difficulty both artists and public have in forgetting their morning art of centuries ago. In other countries, such as Spain and England, the problem seems to be in forgetting their late afternoon art of a century ago."

I will tell you now what I think that our contribution has been to the creative arts. We have created men like James Johnson Sweeney who do not consider time too precious to devote to the encouragement of our "morning period" of art. That is an immense contribution. You remember that, until yesterday, we were being exposed to vicariously experience the senility of someone else's "evening."

What the United States have long needed is a Johnny Appleseed of aesthetic attitudes, to uphold the self-respect and dignity of the contemporary artist. What we have needed is a disseminator of fresh visions and a believer in the aesthetic strength of America's "morning period."

Indeed, everywhere in these States there are signs that the creative arts are in the ascendant.

Columbia University is preparing the creation of an arts center, where, in its studies and laboratories, in its studies and workshops, in such a community of universal thinking and creative activities, the poet and the painter, the playwright and the architect, the scientist and the composer, the scholar and the sculptor will strive for new syntheses.

If, next year, your son will take up painting in such a company, your friends will no longer think that he is wasting time, but probably admire him as their forebears admired the pioneers who clear the dark forest.

Meanwhile, Sweeney is in Pittsburgh sowing contemporary aesthetic seeds. Great fellow, this American Sweeney: He has belief enough in the living American artist to extol him in two different places at the same time. Mr. Sweeney's kind is greatly increasing in the American community.

With institutions of high learning realizing the need to supplement the liberal arts with the creative arts, and the American male boldly extoling the delectable aberration of the artist, watch for a fresh and youthful image of America. That will be America's contribution to the creative arts.

Mr. Chairman, I rest my verbal case.

THE CONCEPT AND THE VISION OF THE PRO-POSED ARTS CENTER—BRIDGING THEORY AND PRACTICE

The guiding aim of the proposed Arts Center at Columbia University is to build a bridge that will bring into closer communication two major groups in the arts. The first group is made up of the professional creative artists, architects, musicians, playwrights, and producers. In the second group are the students, the scholars, the critics, and historians of the arts.

The harmonious integration of these two groups is an ideal that has intrigued mankind ever since the first successful attempt was made in fifth-century Greece. Rarely, if ever, has it succeeded since; in this country it has probably never been attempted before on a scale as ambitious as the present one. Certainly it could not attain the full measure of its aim except in a city comparable with New York or without a strong affiliation with an educational institution.

As stated by the chairman of the advisory committee for the Arts Center, Mr. Curt Reisinger, "bringing together under one roof the vast intellectual resources of a great university and the extraordinary wealth of artistic ability and facilities of this great metropolis seems to promise virtually unlimited possibilities for the development of the arts in this country."

The 10-story building proposed for the arts center on Columbia's Morningside campus will provide much-needed extended facilities for teaching, experiment, practice, and research in five already-flourishing schools and departments of the University: Architecture; dramatic arts, including television, radio, motion picture, and film production; painting and sculpture; music; archeology and the history of art.

The new center will contain classrooms, workrooms, libraries, studios, and theaters for students in these creative arts. It will be a place where music can be heard and performed, painting and sculpture exhibited. studied and created, drama and opera rehearsed and performed, ideas exchanged, books studied, wise counsel obtained. It will provide theater and other facilities for the extracurricular activities of the under-graduates in Columbia College and Barnard, as well as for formal academic training on the undergraduate, graduate, and professional levels. With different schools and departments living side by side in the same building, a strengthening measure of integration is bound to be generated spontaneously, Gradually, interdepartmental and interschool educational programs will be developed.

NEW YORK, THE CULTURAL CAPITAL

Located in the cultural capital of the country and the professional center of all the arts, this new educational center has incomparable advantages in providing its students with close access to the rich artistic resources of New York City—the museums, galleries, concert halls, studios, libraries, and the great host of professional and practicing artists available here.

It will be a bridge with two-way traffic, as Mr. Walter Kerr expressed it from the standpoint of the theater at the Bicentennial Conference on the Arts at Columbia last November—"not only the movement of the university toward the professional theater but the professional theater toward the university." Broadway needs the university as a training ground, he said, now that nearly all other training grounds have disappeared.

New York is the only place where this kind of mutual interchange can take place. Only in New York are there as many great names available—not only in the theater but in all the arts—to come to a university arts center

to lecture, to counsel, to join in common projects and enterprises.

As an example of the way this two-way action would operate, it is planned to construct an experimental theater for the center which will be available to professional producers and directors for trying out new plays of unusual artistic promise but not warranting a Broadway tryout.

It has been said that one of the most important features of the proposed arts center is that it will meet the need of intellectual background for the creative arts, which are at present struggling for reorientation, new affirmations and meaningful expression in the troubled world of today. To bring the arts together in this fashion is ideally the function of a great university. Only in such a climate may be found the resources. intellectual capacity, spirit of free inquiry, perspective, and broad range of interests required. The wisdom and vision inherent in a great university can bring mutual understanding and inspiration to the men and women working in the various creative arts. Their close daily association in the "common rooms" to be provided in the arts center will not only suggest integrated approaches, but may very well result ultimately in new art forms and techniques.

Columbia's long and fruitful background in the arts—its distinguished teachers and alumni in all fields of the arts—are assurance that here will be found a stimulating setting.

WHERE ARTISTS AND SCHOLARS MAKE COMMON CAUSE

Plans are designed to carry the influence of the arts center beyond the metropolitan area, for it is hoped to establish here an Institute or Seminary for the Creative Arts. This institute might well become a kind of national source for original research and productive communication as important in its sphere as is the National Science Founda-tion to scientific research. As one of the ways in which to give this institution im-mediate practical importance, its directors would invite men and women of the highest creative accomplishment to reside for specified periods of time at the center, where they would carry on their work unhampered by formal academic duties. They would thus be able to guide and to inspire students in a unique community of creative scholars.

TO MAKE ART MORE MEANINGFUL

For the proposed arts center building several choice sites on the university's Morningside campus are under consideration. It is estimated that the cost of the building will be about \$6 million, a part of which has already been contributed or pledged. An additional sum of about \$3 million will be sought for endowment and for scholarships.

Genuine as is the need for a building to integrate the arts at Columbia, true progress will come not so much from mere existence of facilities as from the coming together of great minds in the proper setting, their interaction, and their effect on students.

A national institution guided along the broad paths described above, will open limit-less possibilities for the encouragement of creative talent and for the spread of the understanding and enjoyment of art throughout the United States.

We of this Nation have an enviable opportunity to encourage and fortify the recent resurgence of interest in the arts so strongly in evidence throughout the country. To develop the finest potentials of this resurgence there is a need of intellectual leadership. This is the function which the arts center is being set up to perform.

"One of the problems of our age," said Lewis Mumford at the Bicentennial Arts Conference, "is not merely to restore the arts to a central place in life, but to restore life to its full dimensions to a central place in the arts."

The advisory committee for the arts center has faith that friends of the arts everywhere will catch the greatness of this vision and wish to share in its realization.

Advisory committee: Curt Reisinger, chairman; Oscar James Campbell, executive vice chairman; Ralph F. Colin, Norman Cousins, William J. Donovan, Frank D. Fackenthal, Charles Garside, Donald F. Hyde, Lincoln Kirstein, Henry Allen Moe, Richard Rodgers, Roger L. Stevens, James Johnson Sweeney, Robert Whitehead. University members: Leopold Arnaud, Grayson Kirk, John A. Krout, Douglas Moore, Ernest J. Simmons.

Hon. Edna F. Kelly, of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I have great pleasure in inserting the following article by Ann Cottrell Free, of the North American Newspaper Alliance, on our very charming and lovely colleague, EDNA KELLY:

Washington, March 26.—Edna Flannery Kelly represents nearly 400,000 Brooklynites and a piece of real estate known as Ebbets Field in the Congress of the United States.

But this Democratic Member of the House labors under the same hardship as do many of her neighbors—except the Dodgers—of not attracting the strongest beams of the national spotlight. The publicity mills across the river in Manhattan seem to grind more constantly than those in Brooklyn where nearly 3,500,000 people live.

Representative Kelly is in there pitching, as the record shows and as her constituents know. Otherwise the voters would not have returned her to Congress three times in a row.

This dean of the Democratic House women Members is well equipped to play to the grandstand if she cared to. She is easily the most beautiful woman Member of Congress. Tall and slim (5 feet 7½ inches tall and 138 pounds), she has long black hair, now beginning to gray at the temples, deep dark eyes and classical features. She is 48 years old

Though women are often accused of not being able to make up their minds, she ran for Congress the first time because "the men couldn't make up theirs." When a vacancy occurred in the 10th District in 1949, her fellow members of the Democratic executive committee of Kings County couldn't decide whom to nominate.

"O. K.," she said, "to settle the question, I'll run."

She had gone into politics as a widow and working mother. Her son and daughter are now in their early twenties. Soon after the death of her husband, City Court Justice Edward L. Kelly, in 1942, she became research director for the Democratic Party in the New York State Legislature. She brought an academic background as well as "savvy" in everyday politics to the job. She is a history and economics major from Hunter College in New York.

"I was aware of the economic problems of the working mother when I came to Congress," she says. One of the first bills she introduced was one to grant tax relief to widowed working mothers, and widowers, too. Since she's been in Congress, she has worked for legislation providing equal pay for equal work. Though she has voted 100 percent for labor-backed bills, she recognizes that the big job is to get organized labor to accept the equal-pay-for-women principle.

EDNA KELLY is in the enviable position of being global in her thinking without neglecting the folks at home. As wrapped up as she is in her work as a member of the powerful House Foreign Affairs Committee, she is close enough to home to spend most weekends there.

Her foreign affairs record shows she has been motivated by humanitarian feelings as well as those of national self-interest.

"I sponsored in 1951 a direct grant of wheat from our surplus to India because there was a famine," she recalled. She then contended that the delay in Congress in sending the wheat, and then on a loan basis, could be one of the reasons India has been reluctant to aline itself with the West.

Mrs. Kelly also sponsored legislation to

Mrs. Kelly also sponsored legislation to make the United States a member of the Intragovernmental Committee for European Migration. As a result, thousands of refugees and surplus populations have been moved, free of charge, to new homes and a new life.

An economic aid program that is more than token, she feels, is needed for Asia. She is now studying the administration's proposal to add an additional \$200 million to the amount appropriated last year. This would make a total of \$915 million.

"I believe," she said, "in giving enough.

"I believe," she said, "in giving enough. If a man needs a plough, give him a plough. He is the man we must reach."

Her main foreign policy interest, however, is in Europe; she is chairman of the House subcommittee on Europe. She believes in Germany being rearmed, but she cautions, "We may forgive the past, but we cannot forget."

Mrs. Kelly has the opportunity to visit Europe officially this summer, but she admitted she thought she'd stay home this time. Her son is about to become a father and she a "working grandmother."

Sclerosis Researcher Makes Important Find

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the Philadelphia Inquirer: SCLEROSIS RESEARCHER MAKES IMPORTANT FIND

(By Joseph F. Nolan)

A Philadelphia woman research worker for the first time has been successful in isolating and culturing an organism she believes to be the cause of the dread disease multiple sclerosis.

Announcement of the work has been disclosed by Miss Rose Ichelson, director of research on multiple sclerosis at the St. Luke's and Children's Medical Center, Thompson and Franklin Streets.

She told the Inquirer she had been able to grow and propagate the so-called spirocheta myelophthera, which she believes to be the probable cause of multiple sclerosis, a disease that produces dimmed vision, paralysis of varying degrees, and loss of equilibrium, and able to prepare and filtrate antigens (a substance that stimulates the pro-

duction of antibodies or reacts to them), and that the research holds great promise for successful treatment of the disease.

Her work at this stage is believed by her to be a definite means of diagnosing multiple sclerosis and will not for the present be used in the treatment of the aliment, she said.

BORN IN BUSSIA

Miss Ichelson, a native-born Russian, who came to this country in 1922, said she started work on the multiple-sclerosis problem back in 1951, when she was sent specimens of the spinal fluid of patients for study.

She said that after inoculating the specimens with a culture mixture and letting them stand for 5 days she was amazed to "see something wiggling around in the specimens." It was then she identified the "wigglers" as the spirocheta myelophthera.

She has been able to preserve the same culture for years; and several months before coming to St. Luke's she was able in her home laboratory at 5841 Christian Street to improve the culture medium.

OUTSTANDING CAREER

Miss Ichelson is a graduate of the Bacteriological Institute of Poltava, Russia. From 1923 to 1927 she was bacteriologist at Mount Sinai Hospital here, and from 1927 to 1929 she did postgraduate work.

From 1929 to 1937 she was bacteriologist at Presbyterian Hospital and then joined the staff of the Pennsylvania State Department of Health. From 1939 to 1945 she was director of a special research department of the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, and from 1942 to 1945 did special work for the Government.

From 1945 to 1947 Miss Ichelson did private work in her own laboratory and at the Temple University School of Pharmacy. In 1947 she became chief bacteriologist at the Jackson Memorial Hospital, Miami, Fla. She became director of research at St. Luke's in 1954.

Miss Ichelson is a member of the National Society of American Bacteriologists, the Eastern Chapter of American Bacteriologists, the American Public Health Association, the Pennsylvania Public Health Association, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the New York Academy of Science.

Boston Naval Shipyard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following:

REMARKS OF ABRAHAM GREEN, TREASURER, BOSTON NAVAL SHIPYARD BETTERMENT ASSO-CIATION, MARCH 30, 1955, WITH THE MEM-BERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION

In June last year we met with you in this room to alert you as to the condition that existed at that time at the Boston Naval Shipyard and asked you for your support.

A plan for united action was formed by you. This joint action of your delegation was directly responsible for new construction, conversion, and repair work when it was most sorely needed.

The employees of the Boston Naval Shipyard are grateful for this type of combined

Now we are here again to alert you to new dangers and to present a plan, and to enlist your combined active support.

The following speakers will bring you up to date and suggest a plan of action to revitalize this most important industrial asset to Massachusetts and the Nation.

REMARKS OF JOHN S. GANNON, SECRETARY OF THE BOSTON NAVAL SHIPYARD BETTERMENT Association, on March 30, 1955

Members of the Massachusetts congressional delegation, we are here today to alert you, and ask your constitutional support, in stopping this disgraceful disintegration of taking our Navy out of business. The Navy, gentlemen, is your responsibility. May quote in part the Constitution of the United States, article I, section 8: "That the Congress shall have power to 'provide and maintain a Navy'.'

The present directives issued by Secretary of Budget and Department of Defense would seem to be contrary to the Constitution. For example, the directive directs the rope walk to be closed August 1, 1955.

This, gentlemen, is not a manufacture of rope for public consumption in competition with private industry. On the contrary, this is an institution of research, of chemical analysis and testing for new products and improvements, and to maintain readiness for expansion and for mobilization potential.

Also our chain shop that was established in 1800 is now on the road to extinction. In the year 1800, 155 years ago, chain was made by blacksmiths and the Navy used this plant and its inventions and has developed 90 percent of the chain links used on naval vessels.

The die-lock chain now being used for the Forrestal-type carrier is another prod-uct of the Boston Naval Shipyard, and is now being built at the chain shop, and at the present time is the only chain shop in the country that has the facilities and know-how to produce this type of chain.

The directive also takes other components affecting all shops in the Boston Naval Shipyard, one being just as important as the other to our national defense and security.

Every administration and Congress since 1800 has seen fit to hold these components

intact as part of our Navy.

I would like to draw your attention to the facts that the rope walk, chain shop, and the other components have serviced our fleet continuously since their first institution through wars, peace, and depressions.

Gentlemen, I ask you, is this the time to take our Navy apart, in face of the grave situation in Asia and in the rest of the world?

Now I would like to present Mr. O'Donnell, president of the Boston Naval Shipyard Betterment Association. Mr. O'Donnell.

REMARKS OF CHARLES O'DONNELL, PRESIDENT, BOSTON NAVAL SHIPYARD BETTERMENT AS-SOCIATION, ON MARCH 30, 1955.

Members of the congressional delegation of Massachusetts and invited guests, you have listened very attentively to the conditions now existing in the Boston naval shipyard caused by the directive to take the Navy out of business. Time did not allow Mr. Gannon to expand on the various components, and the word "disintegration" of the shippard was used in his talk. These components, a copy which I now hold in my hand, indicate the extent of this disintegartion.

Is this a reorganization of our defense? We feel that this is not organization-this is disorganization of our Navy.

The fleet must be served by skilled workers and the components to do the job on short availability of the ship.

These ships cannot be standing by, waiting for parts from all sections of the country, such as propeller shafts, electronic equipment, special castings that have to be made

on short-term notice. These casting jobs can be accomplished in the foundry, processed in the machine shop, and assembled on shipboard in a matter of hours.

All these components are not like standard brand groceries that can be stocked and inventoried. On the contrary, these components are made by Navy specifications, fabricated, and assembled to meet any emergency of the ship.

Gentlemen, you would not allow your disabled fire apparatus to stand by idly in need of repair. Then why our naval fighting This is certainly not conducive to maximum efficiency and mobilization potential and cannot be in the public interest.

We the employees-and taxpayers-were led to believe that the reorganization program was for the purpose of preventing duplications of service, and for the reduction of cost. In the directive it has been set forth that the cost must not be considered, and that it is not the functions of department heads to try to justify these essentials. Again may I repeat, Is this in the public interest?

The President has stated in his directive that the components proven essential and in the public interest would not be removed.

We the employees of the Boston naval shipyard concur with the President's essential components and ask you, the Massachusetts congressional delegation, to band together and request a meeting with the President in the presence of your committee to present our case on the essentials of the components in question, so that the Boston naval shipyard may continue to serve the fleet as it has done in the past 155 years.

The Staff of Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a statement which I made today during the hearings on H. R. 2851 before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture. This bill would provide for the processing of grain into forms suitable for distribution to needy persons in the United States. I wish to impress upon my colleagues the importance of this measure, and the need for immediate favorable action being taken.

The statement follows:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am deeply appreciative of this opportunity to appear before this distinguished committee in behalf of H. R. 2851. This bill is similar to H. R. 2824, which I have introduced, and to bills which various other Members have sponsored. It would provide for the payment by the Commodity Credit Corporation of the cost of processing wheat and corn into a form suitable for home or institutional use (for example, flour and cornmeal) for distribution to needy persons in the United States under authority of either section 407 or 416 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended. Under the present law, wheat and corn cannot be processed into flour and meal respectively at the expense of the Commodity Credit Corporation prior to distribution in the United States.

Mr. Chairman, in my opinion, this legis-lation is a must. In West Virginia, we are

experiencing a depression. All throughout the coal-producing sections of that State are idle tipples, idle railroad cars, deserted shafts, and mine after mine closed down. During the past 3 years, at least 150 commercial mines have closed in the State, idling thousands of miners. Add to these the thousands who depend on coal for a livelihood-railroad workers, storekeepers, service station owners, and a host of othersand we begin to get the picture of a real depression in coal-producing areas.

When I think of the distressed conditions prevailing in my State, I am reminded of the Biblical plagues of Egypt. There can be no greater affliction than that of unemployment, starvation, privation, and want. and it is most perplexing and paradoxical that such a situation could exist in a land of plenty. Thousands of families are withfood, unemployment compensation checks have been exhausted, more and more demands are being made for free lunches in the public schools, and the specter of poverty stalks the countryside. Many of these families have barely been able to keep body and soul together with surplus food commodities which have been made available. In my 4 counties-Boone, Kanawha, Logan, and Raleigh, which have a population of 446,466—there are a total of 85,829 men, women, and children for whom surplus commodities constitute the principal source of food supply. This is almost 20 percent of the entire population in my district. are 250,000 persons certified to receive commodities in West Virginia, and this figure represents one-eighth of our total popula-

These people are of a noble race. They are good taxpayers, they are hard workers, they make excellent soldiers, and they are American to the core. Our Government has a responsibility to them. The precept that we are our brother's keeper has been assiduously followed with reference to our fellow human beings all over the world, but charity begins at home; and while we have been liberal in providing a helping hand to our brothers in foreign lands, we have been, in a manner, negligent concerning our own flesh and blood. Under title 2 of Public Law 480 of the 83d Congress, certain surplus agricultural commodities may be made available to meet famine or other urgent relief requirements overseas. Wheat, for example, has been shipped overseas under authority of this title as both raw wheat or as flour, depending upon the needs of the particular situation. It would be a serious indictment of governmental policy to continue to fail to provide flour for our own needy peoples.

At the present time certified individuals are being given butter, shortening, cheese, milk, rice, and beans. I and my people are grateful for these, but bread is the staff of life. The average American does not know what it is to sit down to a meal without bread. The recipients of surplus commoditles have every right to expect and demand that flour be supplied them. The wheat with which our storehouses are bulging has been procured with money from the taxpayers' pockets, and when the American taxpayer needs this grain for his very existence it is only right that it be provided. The cost of processing grain would likely be no greater-if, indeed, as great-than the cost of keeping it in storage, and I am sure that it would be far better to pay whatever cost is necessary to provide hungry people with food than it would be to continue wasting the taxpayers' money in warehousing costs.

In the days of Pharach, Joseph, in his wisdom, advised that food be stored during the 7 plenteous years for use against the 7 years of famine, and "in the 7 plenteous years the earth brought forth by handfuls" and "the 7 years of dearth began to come, according as Joseph had said. And the dearth was in all lands, but in all the land of Egypt there was bread * * * and Joseph opened all the storehouses."

Mr. Chairman, there is a virtual famine in some areas of our own country today; but, unlike the land of Egypt in Joseph's day, there is no bread, and unlike Joseph who opened all the storehouses, we are foolishly keeping them closed. Is this justice?

Shakespeare, in that magnificent work of genius, the Merchant of Venice, placed in the mouth of Portia these words:

"The quality of mercy is not strained; it droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven upon the place beneath * * * it is enthroned in the hearts of kings; it is an attribute to God Himself; and earthly power doth then show likest God's when mercy seasons justice."

Mr. Chairman, our people ask not for mercy; their plea is for justice. I urge the committee to act favorably upon this legislation in order that the unemployed and their children may have bread.

I am grateful, again, for this opportunity and privilege to give you this expression of my views on such an important matter. You have been kind to listen. With your permission, I shall include a letter which I have just received from Mr. Waggy, West Virginia State supervisor, division of commodity distribution. The letter follows:

"Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD,

"House of Representatives,
"Washington, D. C.

"DEAR CONGRESSMAN BYED: We have understood that it might be possible to receive flour processed from Government wheat for distribution to needy unemployed families. We have 250,000 persons certified to receive West Virginia, and flour commodities in would greatly add to the diet of these persons, in that we now have butter, shortening, cheese, milk, rice, and beans.

"We get numerous requests daily for flour for distribution and would appreciate it very much if this item could be made available.

"Yours very truly,

WILLIAM WAGGY "State Supervisor, Division of Com-modity Distribution."

Integration in the Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, one of the most serious problems facing the country today has been brought about by the decision of the Supreme Court last May involving the question of intergration in the public schools. This is a problem which is not going to be easily solved. There has been a growing amount of so-called propaganda which has been forced upon the public by various groups in support of the integration movement. Of course there has been a great deal of discussion on both sides of the issue, but it is of particular concern to me that so much of the material appearing in the press is taking the position of misinterpreting the views of a large segment of our population. A number of articles have appeared recently in nationally circulated publications which have been giving an entirely distorted view of the feelings of the people of the South. It is abundantly obvious to me, and I am sure to all thinking people, that most of these reports are taken from a very small segment of the Southern population and are blown out of proportion by those who seek to present a spectacular point of view. I do not feel that this is fair nor does it represent a true picture, and it is certainly incumbent upon those who know the facts to properly present this information in its true perspective. There are a number of these polls being taken and it seems to me that the American people ought to be aware that they are only samplings of a very minor group and do not represent the thinking of the vast majority of the people in those States concerned.

I would like to refer to the attention of the Members of the House a splendid editorial appearings in the Tuesday, March 29, issue of the Farmville, (Va.) Herald, dealing with a typical example relating to the problem I have presented. I wish to herein include in my remarks the editorial written by Mr. J. Barrye Wall, editor and publisher, and also incorporate thte letter to which he refers: (From the Farmville (Va.) Herald of March 29, 1955]

THE STORY THEY WILL PRINT

We are indebted to Lynn Shelton, editor of the Halifax Gazette, for further information on the misrepresentation of the South, published in the Saturday Evening Post on February 18 from the pen of Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle under the heading "The South Will Like Integration." Mrs. Boyle, the wife of a University of Virginia professor assumed to tell the Nation through the Saturday Evening Post that many southern people were afraid to speak in favor of integration, and in fact would approve it in schools. And she was billed by the Post as a typical southern woman expressing a typical southern viewpoint.

Mrs. Boyle is a dues-paying member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. She attended the NAACP convention in South Boston in 1952. Her article was biased and did not represent the opinions of people in the South. Her statements misrepresent the South and mislead the uninformed readers of the Post in

other parts of the Nation.

The Reverend C. M. Webber mentioned in Editor Shelton's letter will be remembered as a Methodist minister appointed by Bishop Oxnam, of New York, as minister to labor in Virginia. He continued to serve for a number of years in this capacity in spite of honest disapproval of the officials of the Methodist Conference of Virginia. Affectionately known in labor circles as Uncle Charlie his activities were never thought by this writer to have been of value to labor, capital, race relations, nor of religion.

These are examples of what is happening to the people of the South (the people of both races). NAACP propaganda is pub-lished by a nationally circulated magazine as the typical opinion of the people of the The vehicle is then closed to the publication of a contrary opinion, which we believe predominates. Unless the Post opens its pages to some writer representing the southern viewpoint, a vast majority of the people in the United States will have been

The appointment some years ago of Rev. Mr. Webber, contrary to the good judgment and wishes of the Virginia Methodist Conference, is an example of what happens when local people lose their autonomy, even in the church.

In our opinion the sovereignty of the States has been abridged by the United States Supreme Court's decisions. Further implementation will fall into the field of legislation, which is the power of Congress, not the judicial power.

As a matter of broad principle Congress should test the authority of the United States Supreme Court to further implement their decisions with power of law. There are many cases, yet to be decided, in many fields of endeavor, which may be vitally affected by this procedure. If the Supreme Court can pass upon the constitutionality of law and then effect law, it has in effect changed the Constitution in an unauthorized man-

Congress has the power to make laws; the Supreme Court has the right to interpret law. The powers of Congress may be in the balance, and the freedom of Americans challenged.

[From the Farmville (Va.) Herald of March 29, 1955]

LETTERS TO EDITOR

DOES MRS. BOYLE REPRESENT THE SOUTH?

EDITOR FARMVILLE HERALD:

I have read with a good deal of interest your editorial of last Friday and another recent one by you on segregation in the

Saturday Evening Post.

It may interest you to know that on the Thursday after the Post article by Mrs. Boyle came out, I called her in Charlottesville and verified the fact that she attended a 3-day State NAACP convention in South Boston in October 1952. I covered that convention for the Associated Press, and the memory of a lone white woman and the Reverend C. M. Webb stuck with me. When I saw her name in the Post and her picture I recognized her.

So I asked her over the telephone if she was a dues-paying member of the NAACP and she replied she was, but had been only a short while. I published this information

in my paper.

A request went to the Post from an official of the university suggesting that a person familiar with the typical viewpoint of the southern people be asked to write an article from that point of view. I have a copy of the letter from the Post, which said that 23 other southerners had asked to do a rebuttal, but that the Post policy was not to publish rebuttals.

I was so fired up that I sat down and wrote the Post, sending them clippings from my newspaper disclosing Mrs. Boyle's affiliations, and all I got was the same reply.

It is a patent fact that the only side the national publications will carry on this issue is the side of the NAACP. As much feeling as I have for the Post (they carried a story on my paper, you remember), I know now that they do not have as much editorial integrity as your paper or mine. For I know both of us have strayed afield at times and have felt compelled by that same journalistic candor to react, make right, or in short give the other side of the story.

I have always decried sectionalism, but the idea you put forth about a southern association with a big voice seems the only answer to get the southern viewpoint across and make it felt. We need badly a southern slick-print magazine with circulation-and it would have circulation, too.

Again, congrats on your editorial. after them. I think our people are looking to the press for leadership and I'm doing my level best to keep dead aim on the targets.

Sincerely yours,

LYNN SHELTON,

Editor, Halifax Gazette. South Boston, Va., March 25, 1955.

(EDITOR'S NOTE .- In 1953 the Saturday Evening Post published a feature story on Editor Lynn Shelton, featuring his community leadership as a weekly newspaper editor, his fearless editorial policies, and his journalistic honesty. The Post is in an untenable position.)

CIO Supports H. R. 12

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to insert in the Record excerpts from the testimony of Walter Reuther, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, before the House Agriculture Committee on February 25 in support of H. R. 12.

Mr. Reuther and members of the CIO are cognizant of the fact that the drop in farm income has unquestionably contributed to the recent high levels of unemployment. It is this economic interdependence of farmers and workers which prompted Mr. Reuther to testify in favor of H. R. 12.

Following are some of the more important excerpts from Mr. Reuther's testimony which I urge my colleagues to study and consider before they vote on H. R. 12 in the near future:

In his desperate effort to win support in the cities for his program to reduce farm price supports, Secretary of Agriculture Benson has led in misrepresenting the effects of the price-support program upon the consumer. It is commendable that the actual facts to the contrary in this regard were set forth by the majority of this committee in the report which the then chairman of this committee, Representative Hope, submitted to Congress last year. The CIO is happy to join in endorsing these findings. We know that even in 1947, the best postwar year for agriculture, 70 percent of all farm families earned less than \$3,000. We also know that most of the price we pay for food does not go to the farmer and that the effect of price supports on the prices we pay is very small. Even if dairymen got their feed grains free, it would mean only about 1 cent a quart savings on milk. The effect of the difference between the 75 percent and 90 percent price support levels for corn and wheat on the price of milk has to be measured in fractions of a mill, which means that no savings whatever will be passed on to the consumer.

Aware of the lessons of history, we know that the welfare and destiny of farmers and wage earners are closely interrelated, that each depends upon the prosperity of the one to lift up the living standards of the other.

The CIO will not attempt to tell the farmers what kind of agricultural program they should have to protect their interest. We do, however, offer our assurances that we will give to farmers our full backing in their efforts to obtain agricultural policies which will both provide the Nation abundant production of food and fiber and assure farm families full parity of income. This pledge is made unequivocally and without reservation.

There have been times in the past when we have found most of the farm organizations and a majority of Congressmen from rural areas arrayed against us in our efforts to protect the interests of American workers, but we have never allowed legislative defeats to blind us to the fact that farm prosperity is essential to the prosperity of industrial workers and the Nation. We are confident that the day is not far off when farm organizations and an overwhelming majority of legislators from rural areas will realize that the reverse of this is also true—that the farmers of the Nation can prosper only as

the working men and women who purchase the products of the farm are also prospering.

The present administration appears to us to be responding to the plight of the farmer with the same disregard it has shown toward the growing ranks of unemployed workers in our cities. Only last week, in the face of the farm situation I have just outlined, Secretary Benson appeared before this committee and insisted that "the overall financial condition of agriculture has continued sound."

Admittedly, the farm problem is complicated and even the experts may hold differing opinions over the best way to solve it. But of one conclusion there can be no intelligent challenge: A drop in farm income of \$1.6 billion over a 2-year period with the end not yet in sight does not indicate a sound financial condition. It is not sound for agriculture and it is not sound for the national economy as a whole. The Commerce Department has estimated that a \$1 billion drop in farm income results in a drop of \$240 million in farm spending for buildings and machinery. The cutback has already been felt, and its effects are cumulative. is important to remember just how important farm purchases are in our total economy. Farmers normally use more steel in a year than goes into the output of automobiles; more petroleum than any other industry; enough raw rubber annually to put tires on 6 million cars, and enough electricity to meet the needs of the cities of Chicago, Detroit, Houston, and Baltimore combined. Agriculture also consumes great quantities of chemicals and other materials. is clear why agricultural purchasing power must be maintained if a faltering farm economy is not once again to drag the rest of the economy into a farm-led depression.

What the administration and its trickle-down economists fall to understand about present-day economic needs is that as the productivity of our economy rises, the incomes of both farm and city families must continually rise if they are to be able to buy the increasing flow of goods and services which the rising efficiency of our industrial system makes possible. Our present troubles are due to the fact that too much of the profits have been going to the top and staying there. Wages and farm income have not risen fast enough to keep up with rising production.

This economic philosophy prevents the CIO from having any sympathy whatsoever with the theory of the present administration that the way to sell more farm products to low- and middle-income families is through a reduction in farm prices that in turn will reduce farmers to insolvency. Recent developments do not support such theorizing. Throughout this period of falling farm prices, the prices which farmers and consumers have had to pay did not go down but held near-record peaks. The CIO be-lieves that this situation is patently unjust and must be corrected. We know that the farmer, like the worker, is entitled to a just return for his labor which will permit him to share in the better life made possible by our increasing productivity. We believe that the answer to our economic needs involves raising the buying power of millions of our families without tearing down the standards of others in the process.

The CIO therefore fully supports H. R. 12 and similar bills to reestablish 90 percent of parity price supports for basic agricultural commodities at this time. I want to make it clear, however, that CIO's historic position has been that the farmer is entitled to full 100 percent parity of income. Anything less than that will deprive the farmer of a fair opportunity to realize his just place in society.

The CIO does not agree with the administration that a very large carryover of wheat, corn, and other reserves of foods and fibers

from year to year must necessarily be considered a burden. We regard a properly administered reserve of food and fiber as a worthwhile form of consumer insurance that is better than money in the bank. In the time of drought or other crop failure, a favorable bank balance will not feed the hun-Such reserves are the same kind of national protection which we have set up in the form of strategic stockpiles of metals and minerals. It is important to note that the cost of maintaining the reserves of agricultural products has been small in comparison to that of the stockpiles of rubber, tin, and other reserves required for armament. The cost of carrying these insurance reserves and holding them off the market is quite properly a charge on the Public Treasury, since neither farmers nor industry should be asked to pay for protecting the entire Nation against the risks of unforeseen dis-

Actually, the CIO is not ready to accept the notion that we have a farm surplus so long as millions of our families are living on diets that are below the safety line. Nor can we regard abundant food production as a calamity so long as half the world goes to bed hungry every night and all of our output couldn't begin to feed the world's hungry nations adequately. The overall need for the food we produce is clearly evident. Instead of cutting back production, we must devise more efficient uses for that portion of our harvest that is surplus to our own national needs. Rather than blaming farmers for inefficiency, as Secretary Benson has done, we should be grateful for the enterprise they have shown in producing abundance.

Whose Money Is It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the March 13, 1955, edition of the Washington Post and Times Herald:

WHOSE MONEY IS IT?

Representative Stewart L. Udall thoroughly deserved the general acclaim he received from his fellow members on the House Committee on Education and Labor the other day for his striking analysis of the school-aid problem. He provided some much-needed perspective on the issue which constitutes the essential difference between President Eisenhower's school-aid proposal and the formula sponsored by Senator Hill and Representatives Bailey and Kearns—whether the principal additional financial burden should be borne locally or by the Federal Government.

Mr. UDALL put his finger on what is apparently the nub of the President's objections to direct Federal grants-in-aid to the States—the fact that this will tend further to unbalance the Federal budget. "Did they ever mention the national debt?" Mr. Eisenhower retorted to critics who objected that his program placed increased indebtedness on already overburdened States and school districts. "I'm afraid," commented Mr. UDALL, that "the President's advisers have confused the Federal debt with the national debt. The Federal debt, as we well know, is some 278 billion; the national debt is the sum of the debts of Federal, State, county, city, and school district governments. Once we have agreed that the

classrooms must be built, the Rubicon is crossed, and the only question that remains is where the funds shall be raised to accom-

plish the agreed purpose."

Thus the problem, as this newspaper has suggested from the beginning of the controversy, is basically a bookkeeping one. We share Mr. Udall's view that just as the burden of financing schools was originally shifted from local districts to counties and State governments, it needs now to be shifted, in part at least, to the Federal Government. The reason is that the Federal Government has the revenue resources, while the States and the localities have not. And the problem has become a national one with a disastrous impact on the whole Nation.

Worthington C. Miner To Be Awarded the Honor of Television Man of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, at Los Angeles, Calif., on Monday, April 4, the board of directors of the new Mount Sinai Hospital and Clinic will officially honor Worthington C. Miner as the television man of the year.

Mr. Miner's selection for this singular honor is best described from an excerpt contained in the scroll he will receive:

For enlightenment in the field of medicine and surgery through the presentation of Medic of which he is the executive producer. For 15 years of public service through the

medium of television.

Worthington Miner is not only a distinguished Broadway producer and director, but one of the few men who can claim the honor of being the first to pioneer in television, which has become the greatest means of communication known to mankind in the entire history of the universe and a medium through which more people reached in every walk of life than are reached through the combined efforts of the printed page, the mails, motion pictures and radio.

To Worthington Miner belongs a good deal of the credit for the almost universal acceptance of television and the advantages now enjoyed by mankind because of it.

In 1939, when no one in the world outside the field of electronics owned a television receiving set, Worthington Miner and a group of inspired pioneers gave unselfishly of their time and their talents day in and day out, experimenting with every phase of television communications in a tiny studio located at 15 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City. These men thought they had reached a singularly important milestone when in 1940 they successfully telecast a 15 minute dramatic playlet beamed from their Vanderbilt Avenue studios to the Chrysler Building 5 blocks away.

It was Worthington Miner who directed and produced this first telecast of a dramatic playlet in the history of the

world. It was through the inspiration and success achieved in this original experimental studio that a similar one was established in the Hollywood hills that same year by Don Lee and another in Schenectady, N. Y., and at Pittsburgh, Pa.

When we consider that these sacrifices and experimentations on the part of Worthington Miner and the men associated with him in 1939 has given to America its tremendous network of television channels, its thousands of hours of free entertainment made available to millions of Americans and a medium through which the President of the United States can constantly be in face-to-face contact with his constituents, then certainly some recognition should be extended to Mr. Miner even beyond the important citation he is scheduled to receive next Monday.

Mount Sinai Hospital and Clinic where Mr. Miner will receive this award is the newest of Southern California hospitals to be constructed here and will officially open in June 1955. Though it borrows its identity from the mountain upon which Moses communed with God and so received the Ten Comandments, that govern the lives of all men of good will, as a hospital it will draw in true American fashion no discriminatory lines of race or creed.

Faith in Persons and in Authority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on March 18, 1955, Harry P. Cain, Republican Senator from the State of Washington, 1946 through 1952, and since then a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, addressed the Seventh Conference on Civil Liberties.

The following are a few excerpts from his analysis of problems raised by the Federal security program. They appeared in the March 28, 1955, issue of the New Republic magazine.

I commend them to the attention of our colleagues:

FAITH IN PERSONS AND IN AUTHORITY

If the world of the present comes tumbling down, as it has the power now for so doing, those who remain alive must begin to build another home for the living from the ruins. The only possible tools to be in our hands in the beginning will be our courage and self-respect, and a hoped-for mutual trust among Americans.

Unless we remain enthusiastic about being Americans; unless we have confidence in our Government, we aren't likely to see any universal peace established and we aren't going to win any war which may engage us.

If this be so, we ought to reexamine the status of our enthusiasm and the degree of confidence we hold for those in authority.

For the present, millions of citizens * * *
have become bewildered and troubled by the
contradictions between stated purposes and
administrative results. * * *

Had you chosen recently between being indicted for a capital or infamous crime or being held to be a loyalty risk, there would have been no choice to make. From the indictment, you would have been found guilty or acquitted; sentenced or released through language and methods everyone can understand. From the allegation that you were a loyalty or security risk, you might have long wellowed in the wilderness of despair and mental torment without determining what the charges were all about, or where they came from. Please note my use of the tense. Future consequences from recent refinements in the employees' security program remain to be seen. * * *

If an ambition is to achieve uniform and consistent standards and procedures throughout the Federal structure, I can think of no sounder way to approach the problem than through a detached and distinguished nonpartisan commission of some sort. * * *

In utter sincerity, I do maintain that political considerations in security questions have been the major source of our discontent and diminishing confidence in authority since the close of World War II.

There is no reason to say that one political party has been more responsible for this mischief than the other. National campaigns have revolved around who was going to do what to whom in these fields. There has been no agency within the several administrations and few individuals who have been considered to be disinterested and objectively minded. The charge and countercharge are the weapons employed by partisan minds everywhere. One party is maligned for having attempted too little and the other party is criticized for having attempted too much. Republican and Democratic Party supporters mostly restrict their views to what their articulate spokesmen say. The independent voter picks and chooses from competing headlines.

A commission would have a far better chance of having its judgments considered on their merits. Much of what is good today is disregarded, held suspect, or neglected because it is written off as being politically inspired. The commission could stop most of this. It would, I think, place the greater emphasis on what rather than who is right and best for the Nation in the complicated equations which are the ingredients in the realm of internal security. * *

Regardless of who future managers are to be, there remains much to be thought about. * * *

Every applicant for the Federal service and every employee within that service has been required to state whether he is currently or has ever been a member of any organization listed by the Attorney General.

Is it not proper to explore the desirability of eliminating that portion of the question which relates to memberships which were resigned or renounced or which lapsed prior to the listing which was first made public in 1947? * * *

If an individual's conduct, attainments, and attitudes have been above reproach during the past 8 years, or since 1947, is it not a legitimate calculated risk to assume that he had been a loyal citizen during the years which went before?

The Attorney General's list ought, in my judgment, to be liquidated through procedures which our country supports. The merits of the charges against any listed organization should be adjudicated. Sanctions should apply to those who remain as members after an organization has been found to be guilty as alleged by the Attorney General. * * In my opinion, no organization should be listed unless it is simultaneously announced that prosecution will be initiated in the case within a period of several months. * *

The complete measure of a government, like that of an individual, can only be judged

by the fashion in which it assumes and fulfills its unenforceable obligations. * * * We expect and pray that our Government

We expect and pray that our Government will be just in its treatment of every citizen not because the laws of our land so require in every instance, for they do not, but because that Government wants and will remain determined to be just.

Premier Mario Scelba of Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, Washington is host this week to an honored guest and one of Europe's leading statesmen, the Honorable Mario Scelba, Premier of Italy. I am pleased to draw the attention of my colleagues to the warm welcome which has been extended by our Government to this distinguished guest from abroad.

Premier Scelba is not only a friend and ally of the United States, but is a firm believer in democratic methods and ideals as represented by our country. The hand of welcome and friendship extended to him in Washington is sincerely appreciated by freedom-loving people everywhere and by minority groups in this country. It will unquestionably help to cement the friendly relations between the United States and Italy and to strengthen the forces of the free world.

Having been born in Italy and serving in that country as an officer of the OSS during World War II and having maintained contacts with that Government since then, I can state without hesitation that the United States can have no greater friend and ally than the Republic of Italy and the people of Italy.

We are deeply honored to have had Premier Scelba as our guest today in this Chamber and to listen to his address. His words were a source of encouragement to all of us.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to insert into the Record an editorial from the Washington Star of March 28 and an editorial and news article from the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 30 concerning the visit of Premier Scelba. They are as follows:

[From the Washington Star of March 28, 1955]

WELCOME VISITOR FROM ITALY

When Mario Scelba became Premier of Italy in February 1954 political observers felt his regime would be a brief one. Nearly 14 months later he is still in office, his prestige heightened by nine votes of confidence in the Italian Chamber of Deputies. Mr. Scelba is an official visitor in Washington this week. He has brought with him a record of outstanding accomplishments, especially including his part in the settlement with Yugoslavia of the Trieste dispute and in gaining parliamentary ratification of the Paris accords.

As leader of the Christian Democratic Party, Premier Scelba heads a coalition government in which rightwing Socialists, Liberals, and Republicans also are represented. With this group supporting him thus far,

he has successfully fought off the opposition of the aggressive Italian Communist Party and its scattered leftwing followers. As with most coalitions, however, there are political strains within it and even among the Christian Democrats there are strong rivals to Mr. Scelba's continued authority. The problems of Italy's domestic economy probably pose the greatest threat to the country's political stability, although the Premier has said there are "clear signs of improvement lately." Still, Italy has more than 2 million unemployed and a per capita annual income of only \$370. A program of land reform and modernization of agriculture are politically controversial issues.

The Italian Premier, in his own words, has not come here to ask "further sacrifice" by the American taxpayers. He is, however, anxious to increase the investment of American private capital in Italy and his government has pushed through legislation designed to facilitate such investment. His visit here will provide an opportunity for a full discussion of his objectives and of his country's needs.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 30, 1955]

ITALY'S STRONG MAN

A large share of the credit for the emergent stability in Italy belongs to Premier Mario Scelba, who is an honored guest in Washington this week. It was his vigilance as Minister of the Interior in charge of the police in 1947 and 1948, at a time when Italy was very nearly in the Red clutches, that denied the Communists an opportunity to convert their "soft" policy into one of revolution. Similarly, it has been Premier Scelba's ability to conciliate the center parties in the precarious Christian Democratic coalition during the year his government has been in office that has brought economic progress in broader tax legislation, land reform and the attraction of foreign investment.

Significantly enough, this lawyer-newspaperman-politician, who earned the reputation of being a tough cop, got the greatest hand at the National Press Club yesterday when he pledged: "We in Italy are firmly convinced that democracy can be defended and must be defended with democratic methods. Our public opinion * * insists upon respect for law and order, but it is strongly opposed to repressive measures that might suggest the return of, or recall of, nondemocratic systems." This was an impressive rebuke to the neo-fascists.

Americans long have had a warm spot in their hearts for Italy, not only because of its cultural heritage, its friendly people and its contribution of many distinguished citizens to this country, but also because American aid has played an instrumental part in the safeguarding of free institutions there. We could help even more, without financial outlay, by revising the discriminatory provisions of the McCarran Immigration Act. It is a source of pride to this country, as well as to Italy, that first the de Gasperi government and now the Scelba government have aided the quest for European unity through partnership in NATO and such moves as the Trieste settlement and ratification of the Paris treaties. Premier Scelba will have the encouragement of Americans as he moves more vigorously to extend land reform and other measures to promote more social and economic democracy.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 30, 1955]

SCELBA STRESSES FREE EUROPE'S NEED FOR INTEGRATION

Italian Premier Mario Scelba declared yesterday that free Europe's only alternatives are "either integration or disintegration."

In a speech to an overflow National Press Club luncheon, the visiting statesman stressed "the necessity of economic and social solidarity and of coordinated political activity" in the belief that no national economy can survive alone.

The Premier, speaking in Italian, called his visit to the United States one of friendship and good will. He expressed gratitude for American aid and stressed Italian economic moves such as land reform, tighter tax laws, new housing and new investment including use of foreign funds.

Scelba termed the Atlantic alliance the cornerstone of our foreign policy but declared that military defense, however, is not sufficient alone. He suggested that article 2 of the NATO treaty, calling for economic and social cooperation, be put to use.

Although the Premier gained a reputation when he was Interior Minister for tough treatment of Italian Communists, he yesterday rejected violent forms of repression against extremist parties and against the enemies of democracy.

In discussing Italian communism, Scelba said it should be remembered that the Allied authorities (at the end of World War II) brought the Communists into the Italian Government, thereby accrediting them as a genuinely democratic group.

Scelba met yesterday with Foreign Operations Chief Harold E. Stassen, Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey and Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson. It was learned that the American officials, in discussing Italian economic and unemployment problems, stressed their interest in promotion of public works, vocational training for unskilled unemployed and measures to encourage private foreign investment.

Today the Premier will call on Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, be the luncheon guest of Vice President RICHARD NIXON, visit the Senate and House, be the honor guest at an Italian Embassy reception and leave for New York by train.

Ethics in Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, March 20, it was my honor to speak before the Beth Israel Brotherhood, of Worcester, Mass., at their breakfast meeting in the synagogue vestry.

The meeting was directed by the program chairman, Mr. Jacob Shulinski and I have been requested to include my address, which follows:

ETHICS IN GOVERNMENT

For the last few years, and rather especially during the last presidential campaign, we have heard a great deal about the subject of ethics in Government.

The circumstances of persistent atomic danger to our individual and national life seems to be encouraging a reexamination of our whole moral fabric these days, and that is unquestionably a good thing.

The accompanying public realization that neither private nor party political ambition is a valid excuse for unethical and immoral conduct appears to have inspired our legislative bodies and political parties to seek the higher code of ethical standards the public is demanding. The appreciation of this prac

tical fact has led to the bipartisan creation of congressional committees to investigate and make recommendations for moral improvement in the fields of modern politics and Government.

There is no argument whatsoever about the need and desirability of a continuing high standard of moral conduct on the part of public officials, political parties and candidates. It is true, of course, that the major responsibility for the guidance of public and private morality lies with our religious and educational institutions and parents. However, there is no doubt that the conduct of public officials is also a powerful example influencing the general public toward higher or lower moral standards.

As a matter of fact it seems to me there are currently some very substantial reasons why ethical standards in American politics are perhaps more important to us today than ever before. The Federal Government has grown by leaps and bounds in the last few decades, until now it touches the life of each citizen.

Citizen at innumerable points.

As Senator Paul Douglas, of Illinois, chairman of a congressional committee which investigated ethics in the Federal Government, remarked: "What could be tolerated when government was small cannot be endured when government is big. For its consequences, if not its causes, can be relatively worse."

Big government, and none of us can deny that we do indeed have big government, affects the income and the welfare of individuals, of groups, and of industries. Members of Congress make the policies which govern the activities of big government, but the administrative officials have a great deal of discretion in interpreting the policies and applying them to specific situations. Furthermore, interested parties or groups are seldom content to let the wheels of government turn unassisted, but are ever present to put pressure on the Congress or the administrators to secure decisions favorable to their interests.

It has been pointed out that corruption in government occurs most often in what have been called the action-laden areas—areas where government action or inaction can make or lose fortunes for individuals or corporations. The letting of contracts, the collection of taxes, the making of loans, the fixing of rates, the issuance of licenses or certificates, the allocation of raw materials, the granting of subsidies—these are the kinds of Government activity which should be examined most carefully for evidence of corruption.

In addition to the increased influence of the Federal Government upon our national life and the resulting increased consequences of any corruption in Government, there are two other aspects of public morality which distinguish the present from the past.

For one thing, major scandals in the past have occurred at times when we were technically at peace, though they may have taken root in war or immediate postwar periods. At the present time, however, we are virtually in a state of war. It is obvious that we cannot afford to let the efforts of our Federal Government to establish a peaceful world be diminished by the stealthy drain of corruption in public office.

Furthermore, there are serious implications in the realm of international relations. The United States holds a commanding position of leadership in the free world. Any deviation from the course, any slackening of effort, any failure to live up to the demand for world leadership would result in serious repercussions in the other free nations. If through corruption in public affairs, the American people lost confidence in their own Government and accordingly were rejuctant to make the necessary sacrifices asked of them by the Government, there would be a very real danger that our effections.

tiveness as the leader of the free world in the fight against Communist aggression would be perilously impaired.

We should never forget, as I said, that public officials set powerful examples. The quality of the men and women who hold high public office shapes to some extent the character of the entire Nation.

I am pleased to say that an overwhelming number of impartial witnesses, from all walks of life, appearing before congressional committees investigating the subject, unhesitantly stated their conviction that the vast majority of our public officials are truthful, conscientious, and honorable men. They also unanimously testified that all in all, ethical standards in the National Government are at least as high as they are in business and the professions.

Public officials are, however, still human beings and, therefore, always vulnerable to the temptations which affect persons in other occupations. In truth, there may be extraordinary conditions and circumstances attached to political positions which make it relatively harder to preserve the trust of public office.

This fact was rather pointedly described by the late Harold L. Ickes, when he declared: "I have never known a public official to corrupt himself." After all, for every bribe, favor, or other consideration accepted by a Federal official there must be someone who tenders that bribe or favor to him.

That man is just as guilty of wrong-doing as the man who accepts the consideration offered. I am sure that all of us who think the matter over would agree that there is no reason that we can easily put into words for condemning the behavior of the public official while tacitly condoning the actions of the private citizen—and yet, that is what many of us do.

There is an old maxim to the effect that experience is the best teacher. We have had some experiences with corruption in the Federal Government and there are lessons which we have learned from it.

The first lesson we have learned, or perhaps it is better to say the first lesson of which we have been reminded, is that public officials are apt to show favoritism as a result of personal economic ties with businesses or individuals affected by the program they are administering. This category covers those officials who accept bribes or gifts or favors of one sort or another which are valuable in a financial sense.

Employment, both past and future, is another possible source of corruption in Government. In recent years, more and more businessmen have been brought into the Federal Government, creating at least the possibility that, consciously or unconsciously, they might favor their former employers in the administration of their programs.

A more common occurrence is future employment with private firms affected by decisions in which the public official is taking part. There have been several cases, in recent years, where shortly after a large loan was made to a corporation by the Federal Government, one or more of the employees of the Federal loaning agency resigned to accept employment with the private firm, usually at a considerable increase in salary. The most serious aspect of this practice is that it casts doubt on the impartiality of the Government agency involved, both in the particular case at issue and in all other cases before the agency.

Political appointments, too, are potential sources of trouble. There is some evidence to support the theory that political appointees are more prone to temptation than are career civil-service employees. Also involved are the caliber of the appointees, the political sniping to which they are subject, and the attacks on programs because of the politically selected officials who are administering them. In a somewhat different area,

there have been cases in which officials apparently have been misled by their personal friendships,

Administrative faults are responsible for some of the corruption which occurs in Government. Weak organization and dispersion of authority at the top invites subordinate officials to indulge in questionable practices.

Poor procedures or the lack of procedures are responsible for creating a climate in which corruption can flourish. When laws, regulations, or policies are inexact or couched in vague general terms, it becomes easier for an administrator to fail to observe the public interest. Then, too, there is a tendency in regulatory agencies to be less zealous as they grow older; there is an atmosphere of tiredness and routine performance of public duties.

These are some of the major lessons we have learned about corruption in the Federal Government. We have found, also, that corruption is most likely to appear after a major war, when there is a relaxation of effort and a careless attitude of "Let's get back to the good old days." All of us hope that corruption will receive no further stimulus from that source.

After examining some of the problems and some of the sources of corruption in Government, the logical question to ask iswhat shall we do about it? There have been a number of suggestions and I would like to tell you a little about some of them. We should remember that no one measure can be expected automatically to eliminate corruption.

Strengthening existing laws and plugging loopholes is one of the suggested remedies for corruption. It is proposed that the criminal law relating to bribery should be extended to provide that payments of something of value to a Government official, with the intent of having him use his influence with some other official, should be included in bribery. Bribes should include offers of employment and other considerations as well as cash payments, and penalties should be The laws governing conflicts in interest could be strengthened relative to private income, participation in making contracts, disqualification in certain cases, and speculation by Government employees. The Administrative Procedure Act might be amended relative to conflicts of interest, discussion of future employment, divulging of information, and a bar on the appearance of former employees before their agencies on any case within 2 years. Lobbyist registration laws also could be strengthened.

Another proposal which has been made is that all top administrative officials should be required to disclose all income from all sources, both public and private, and including gifts and loans. Disclosure often accomplishes more than criminal sanctions.

Existing standards of conduct for public employees should be enforced at all times, and every effort should be made to improve the general quality of Government employees. This probably would involve providing more adequate salaries, better promotion opportunities, improved means of weeding out the inefficient and incapable employees, and an effective loyalty-security program. The cooperation of our schools, universities, and communities, as well as the Congress and the Civil Service Commission would be necessary in this regard.

Improvement of administrative organization is an obvious remedy to some of the situations which are conductive to corruption. There should be clear lines of authority and the means of administrative control should be clear and effective. Congress can help by clearly defining the limits of executive power, by making laws more precise, and by providing adequate safeguards for the public interest.

Another possible procedure is the establishment of codes of ethics. There have been several proposals along this line, the argument being that they would be useful to those who "blunder into wrongdoing" through ignorance and would bolster the consciences of those who were tempted to stray from the accepted ethical standards. The Senate Subcommittee on Ethical Standards proposed including items regarding all business discussions to be held in public buildings during working hours, the disqualification of officials in a decision affecting a previous employer, and a prohibition against becoming deeply involved, either financially or socially, with persons outside the Government who might be affected by agency decisions.

A court of ethics to hear complaints about improper practices of public officials and to secure redress to the ordinary citizen has been proposed. There is relatively strong backing for a Commission on Ethics in Government, to be composed of persons appointed partly by Congress, partly by the Presi-

dent.

This Commission would not only investigate moral standards, but also would recommend measures for improvement. Related to this proposal is another for the creation of a nonpartisan citizens' organization to perform much the same functions.

These are the primary reform proposals now up for consideration. All of them are receiving study and are being pushed with varying degrees of vigor. As I have noted, no one proposal can be expected to provide a cure for the problem of corruption in Government. Certainly, some of these proposals if put into effect would improve the ethical standards in the Federal Government.

However, the greatest force to influence the observance of higher ethical standards in Government lies within each of us as individual citizens contributing to a higher national morality. If each of us in our pri-vate and social lives adheres to the divine laws of right conduct and right reason the betrayers of public trust will not long be tolerated in public life. We all have an individual responsibility for the manner in which our public business is conducted. If we increasingly accept that responsibility, we can remain confident that this Nation and this Government will retain the moral character and strength to survive in triumph over the immorality of Communist atheism. It will be only by a preserving demonstration of moral integrity as a people that we will be able to successfully guide ourselves and the civilized world to peaceful understanding and prosperous progress in an atomic age.

Loud Speaker of Appeasement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from Human Events of March 26, 1955, entitled "Loud Speaker of Appeasement," and an article from Human Events of March 26, 1955, entitled "They First Make Mad," by Medford Evans.

LOUDSPEAKER OF APPEASEMENT

The elevation of Harold Stassen to the position of Secretary of Peace and Disarmament this week has not—indeed, far from

it—disarmed his multitude of critics in Congress and the prospects of political peace about the matter are rated zero.

The fact is that Stassen enjoys the dubious distinction (even among those who laugh at him) of ranking high among American apostles of appeasement. Stassen critics have all along attacked his giveaway and But. foreign handout proclivities. those who don't like him relate his expensive generosity abroad to a matter more serious than the budget, namely, disarmament. That includes atom power, the bastion of our security. (See article section of this issue, They First Make Mad-International Control of Atomic Weapons, by Medford Evans, for dissection of the dangerous proposal for an atomic pool designed to share our atomic power with the rest of the world.)

Stassen, as merciless analysts see him, is close to those businessmen who, while essentially patriotic, nevertheless listen to the swan song of big contracts and business abroad, as promised by the internationalist politicos. There is fear here that the reckless Minnesota maneuverer will try to lead the United States into vetures not consonant with our defense security.

Experts on atomic-power problems view with concern the recent statement of J. J. Hopkins, president of General Dynamics Corp., who advocated building atomic reactors all over the world, among other place, in India.

In any case Stassen's career—or rather careering, as some put it—in the past few years has not been marked by caution concerning trade abroad in products useful to Soviet Russia.

Last year, before Congress, Stassen uttered in substance a strange doctrine, that internal unrest in Russia arose from lack of consumer goods and therefore American restraints on trade with Russia should be modified to alleviate it. The record shows that Stassen has constantly sought to break down the embargo on strategic goods against Soviet Russia.

Such ideas and actions of the recently appointed Secretary of Peace and Disarmament explain why people in Congress intend to give wary attention to the gentleman. His initial proposal in his new job, a new giveaway program of \$8 billion for Asia, is said to be merely a promise of what is yet to come.

Whatever Stassen may actually accomplish in the next 2 years, there is no doubt that he has captured a powerful sounding board by his new position. And in a developing situation of international crisis, the words of the man from Minnesota will bear scrutiny.

"THEY FIRST MAKE MAD"-INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF ATOMIC WEAPONS

(By Medford Evans)

I

Harold Stassen's new job as Presidential assistant in charge of disarmament, may be a way of providing for Harold Stassen. Little else can be said for it. The United States is ill-advised to promote disarmament talks at a time when only armament can offset hostile hordes of manpower.

The Soviet Union inspires hysteria over radio-active "fallout" to promote atomic disarmament. They get enough aid from United States citizens without our giving a man Cabinet rank to coordinate the effort. The best that can be hoped is that so far as actual accomplishment goes, Mr. Stassen will continue as usual.

The isolationists have won a victory in principle. The United States will now go it alone. The recent UN London Conference on disarmament brought "no progress." President Eisenhower reported. Great Britain has decided to make H-bombs; France desires

nuclear weapons. But, the United States will make a new effort to liquidate her own superiority. It is not without precedent that the Prime Minister of Great Britain should have made the only rational and courageous statement about the situation.

On March 1, 1955, Sir Winston Churchill asserted:

 "The United States has many times the nuclear power of Soviet Russia."

2. "Moral and military support of the United States and * * * possession of nuclear weapons of the highest quality and on an appreciable scale * * * is the policy which [Great Britain has] decided to pursue."

3. "The nuclear superiority of the Western powers [must] be stimulated in every possible way."

While Sir Winston was saying these things, which were noticed everywhere and nowhere seriously contested, the United States was still negotiating secretly to share with the enemy (over whom nuclear superiority is desired) the science and technology by which nuclear arms are produced, and trying to pool with that enemy significant quantities of the special material on which the manufacture of nuclear weapons depends.

The United States has offered to an international bank, in which Soviet Russia has been asked to participate, 220 pounds of plutonium, said to be "not of weapons grade." The material, this time, is not called "denatured." That word was already hurt when (1954) Robert Oppenheimer told the Gray Board: "I know of no case where I misrepresented or distorted the technical situation * * * The nearest thing to it * * * is that in the * * * Acheson-Lillienthal report, we somewhat overstated what could be accomplished by denaturing." This time, no one has stated—over or under—what "not of weapons grade" might mean in practice.

The Prime Minister, however, has stated: "It is now the fact that a quantity of plutonium, probably less than would fill this box on the table—it is quite a safe thing to store—would suffice to produce weapons which would give indisputable world domination to any great power which was the

only one to have it."

The Prime Minister did not say what such a box might weigh. It would probably weigh about a ton. The United States may have offered somebody a down payment on world

domination.

This is one consequence of the "Atoms for Peace" plan in President Eisenhower's speech before the United Nations General Assembly. December 8, 1953.

The President proposed a world bank of atomic energy. Nations with fissionable materials and scientific and technical information to invest would merge resources in 2 pool from which needy nations could borrow. Power development would be emphasized and construction begun in powerstarved areas. The United States, Britain, Canada, and the Soviet Union would contribute according to their abilities, and China and India would receive according to their needs. The atomic weapon would be taken out of the hands of the soldiers and put into the hands of those who will know how to strip its military casing and adapt it to the arts of peace. Private conversations between representatives of powers would settle the practical details.

Almost at once the Soviet Union announced its "readiness to take part in such negotiations," and a series of secret talks began between Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Soviet Ambassador Georgi N. Zaroubin, once Igor Gouzenko's boss in Canada. The talks have presumably not been concluded. They are still secret.

11

United States participation in an atom pool is radically wrong for two reasons: (1)

it undercuts, confuses, and eventually destroys our whole defense program; and (2) it not only fails to establish a basis for negotlating international differences, but actually inclines to provoke new differences and aggressions.

The atom pool makes our defense program seem either silly or wicked. In order to arm effectively it is necessary to keep clearly in mind at all times how and why we are to

make the effort required.

The "why" is the logical and widely held belief that communism is essentially an implacable commitment to world power, that the United States of America is the principal obstacle in its path, and the U.S.S.R. is the main bulldozer in its possession.

The "how" is the new look in the Pentagon (also an Eisenhower creation) based on skillful use of airpower and atomic weapons, to compensate for inevitable inferiority in man-

power and to permit economies.

People could understand Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH when she said, "My answer to the big question of 'how can we get more defense for less spending' was this: we have developed and are developing atomic weapons other than just the bomb that will provide much greater destructive power or defensive power if you prefer to put it that way. than weapons of the past."

People can understand that, but they cannot understand a proposal to share the revolutionary materials and information which make this kind of defense possible with the only potential enemy who makes any large-

scale defense necessary.

If the Russians are the kind of people with whom we can cooperate in an atomic energy laboratory, then they are not the people against whom we should spend \$60 billion a year.

There is no point in saying, "Oh, the laboratory will be devoted to peaceful develop-ments." Our best scientists have repeatedly assured us that practical developments coming out of a research laboratory are un-predictable. "Scientific research can flourish only when it is done for its own sake and hot with consideration of its practical application," Dr. Albert Einstein said in an interview with the Washington Post (published August 3, 1947). Dr. Einstein's own historic role in the development of the atomic bomb, Which he did not at all anticipate when he formulated "E = mc2", is probably the most famous illustration of the fact that research scientists do not know what the practical consequences of their researches are going to be.

Thus, if we went into an atomic research laboratory with the Russian we would have no way of predicting or controlling the practical developments that might occur. whole history of science shows," Dr. T. R. Hogness has said, "that the great boons to humanity which science has produced came, not as a result of a direct search for them, but rather as byproducts of a much wider search—the search for knowledge, for understanding of nature, for truth itself."

Dr. John R. Baker has said: "No planner could make the right guesses."

By the same token, of course, no planners can confine the results of an international atomic energy laboratory to "peacetime uses of fissionable material." They cannot do that anymore than Dr. Frederic Joliot-Curie could prevent his own researches from being of great value to the Military Establishment of the United States.

About the only plausible generalization suggested by history concerning the probable by-products of research is that military applications seem to come a bit sooner than civilian, presumably because it is easier to destroy than to build. It is a long road from the uncontrolled explosion of a 16th-century petard to the controlled explosions in a 20thcentury Cadillac.

Another feature of research is that one observer of an experiment may get an idea missed by others, and the members of a partnership may have different degrees of success in exploiting a common discovery. The discovery of fission in Germany in 1938 was exploited by the United States over Japan in 1945. If atomic information had not been pooled (by free publication and exchange of information) down to World War II, the A-bomb probably would not yet have been developed. It happened that we got it, but we got it by virtue of previous international cooperation, and specifically by virtue of an experiment performed in an enemy country.

Our scientists quickly recognized that this was a two-way street and cut off publication and exchange of information to keep Germany from learning from us as we had learned from her. That may seem ruthless, but we recognized the hostility between us and the Nazis and concluded it was unwise to collaborate with them. There is nothing in nature which says that in a common atomic laboratory with the Russians we might not miss the significance of a discovery which they would get. Likewise, they might miss something we saw.

It is assumed, however, that we have at present more to contribute to the joint venture than they have. This means we have to assume good faith all around to go into the thing at all, while they might be going into it for what they could get out of it. If we are trusting and they are not. then we will lose relative advantage and they will gain.

No one can predict with certainty what will happen if we go into an international laboratory with the Russians, but if the assumptions on which our defense program is based are correct, then in this venture we may look a lot like the young lady of Niger,

"Who smiled as she rode on a tiger. They returned from the ride

With the lady inside,

And a smile on the face of the tiger."

On the other hand, if past assumptions of implacable Communist hostility are wrong, then we should frankly admit it, and reduce our Military Establishment to the modest dimensions required for occasional police actions in a world where the great nations are united. To try a joint venture with the U. S. S. R. into the most sensitive and hazardous nuclear researches, and simultaneously to maintain unilaterally a crushing burden of arms against the U.S.S.R., can only mean the dissolution of military and civilian morale in the United States.

A few Americans think we dealt harshly and dishonorably with the Canadians and the British in 1946 when we cut them out of our main atomic program, in which they had originally been full partners. Whether we were right or wrong in this, the fact that we did it should remind us that the Russians could conceivably do the same thing to us. They could cut us out of any atomic laboratory in the Eastern Hemisphere.

III

This danger is increased by the fact that the Eisenhower plan ignores the distinction made by the Acheson-Lilienthal plan between safe and dangerous activities. Recall that the essential feature of the Acheson-Lilienthal plan was the establishment of an international Atomic Development Authority at all times in control of the atomic-weapons potential of the world, through monopoly of all dangerous activities-i. e., those which might lead to the clandestine production of weapons. Other activities, more remote from weapons production, were to be labeled safe and left to the individual nations. The Acheson-Lilienthal report emphasized the importance of this distinction, and indeed rested its claims to practicability largely on

the assumption that the dangerous activities could be readily identified and confined to installations owned and operated by the international authority.

The Eisenhower plan is supposed to be the reverse of the Acheson-Lilienthal plan so far-but at this point it would be helpful to amend the terminology. Responsibility for both plans was, of course, divided. But, in the main, both plans were due to Robert Oppenheimer. At any rate that is the published opinion of men like Eugene Rabinowitch and Ralph Lapp, who in this sort of thing probably know what they are talking about. Accordingly, I shall call the Acheson-Lilienthal plan Oppenheimer plan I, or Op I for short, and the Eisenhower plan Oppenheimer plan II, or Op II.

Oppenheimer Plan II is supposed to be the reverse of Oppenheimer Plan I as far as the assignment of unquestionably dangerous activities is concerned. That is, under Op II the international Agency would be dependent while the national projects would remain independent. But though this reversal of Op I is implied by Op II, the latter actually ignores the distinction between safe and dangerous activities. It not only ignores the verbal distinction, but by its emphasis on atomic power insures that the distinction

would be difficult or impossible in practice. It may be presumed, therefore, that the international agency will engage in dangerous activities. At the same time dangerous activities will certainly continue to be carried on by the individual nations. Thus a continuous transmission belt of dangerous activities from nation to agency to nation will be established. The result will be not an armaments race with defined lanes for the runners, but an armaments scrimmage in which the spectators and many of the particpants will never know who has the

"For every kilowatt generated in safe reactors," says Op I, "about 1 kilowatt must

be generated in dangerous ones."
"A special purpose," says Op II, "would be to provide abundant electrical energy in the power-starved areas of the world." But the plan makes no reference to the problem of where the safe kilowatt would be produced and where the dangerous kilowatt would be produced, and what would be the connection between the two.

Op II does say, "The ingenuity of our scientists will provide special safe conditions under which such a bank of fissionable material [as proposed] can be made essentially immune to surprise seizure." But this somewhat starry-eyed protestation leaves many questions unanswered. Who are "our scientists?" Americans only? If so, how do we know the Russians will not outwit them? On the other hand if Russian scientists are included in the first place, then against whom are the safeguards provided? In either case what is the basis for the assertion that essential immunity to surprise seizure can be built into an atomic development installation?

One is reminded of the hopes aroused by the use of the term "denaturing" in Op I, and of the somewhat embarrassing sup-plement released about 2 weeks later, with the statement: "Denaturing, though valuable in adding to the flexibility of a system of controls, cannot of itself eliminate the dan-gers of atomic warfare." There is, of course, no way to make an alloy of 1 part plu-tonium and 1 part international idealism, or 1 part U-235 and 1 part national loyalty.

Enrico Fermi once said, "There is no denying the fact that the possible use of plutonium for aggressive warfare constitutes a difficulty for the industrial uses of atomic energy that is much greater than any technical difficulty that we can foresee. The problem of preventing this use is essentially political and not technical." Surely it must

be disturbing that a political leader like President Eisenhower should so blithely consign to "our scientists" a problem that one of the greatest of scientists has said is

essentially political.

While Op II is inferior to Op I in the matter of definition of safe and dangerous activities, in a perhaps yet more basic matter the two are alike. That is in their common adherence to a doctrine of strategic balance. It is an assumption of each that what is desirable is an even distribution of power throughout the world. The acceptance of this assumption is what makes it so vital to those who do accept it that neither the national nor the international agencies should be in military hands. For it is of course a very rare soldier who is able to understand that it is just as important not to have an advantage over your enemy as it is for your enemy not to have an advantage over you. This is not because soldiers are unintelligent, but because the idea is so extraordinary.

It is not the Christian idea of loving your enemy, for it is not advanced on a Christian If it were advanced on that basis, basis. then a great train of consequences would ensue, far other and more important than any so far considered. Suffice it to say that while the duty of Christian love may or may not involve the perfect renunciation of force-we think it does not-it can never be reasonably construed to involve building up adverse forces. Our Lord enjoined Peter to put up his sword, not to make sure that the high priest's servant had one just as sharp. before we take it for granted that Christ taught pacifism we should digest the injunction recorded in Luke 22:36-"He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one.

Certainly the Soviet oligarchy has never shown any signs of understanding a policy of strategic balance. We affect impartiality, they are frankly partial to their own interest; the resultant is of course not neutral but

in their favor.

The particular application of the principle of strategic balance emphasized by Op II is in the field of electrical energy. national Atomic Energy Agency is to "provide abundant electrical energy in the power-starved areas of the world." This means China and India. The Indian physicist, Prof. Megnad Saha, as cited by the British physicist, Prof. P. M. S. Blackett, in Fear, War, and the Bomb, "estimates that per capita energy available in India, from other than human labor, is about one-sixtleth of that available in America." It is small wonder that India's U. N. Delegate Krishna Menon listened with such rapt attention to President Eisenhower's proposal. What is not so clear is why any powerplants, which rational benevolence would lead us to subsidize in such a powerstarved country, would have to be atomic powerplants. If they need power so badly, and it is really our duty to see that they get it, there ought to be quicker ways than experimentation with fissionable materials.

The case of China is more difficult yet. is certainly a power-starved area. Blackett estimates its current resources as only slightly more than those of India. Should we participate in the construction of atomic powerplants there? The suggestion has been made

at least twice in the past.

In December 1945, Dr. Oppenheimer told the Special Senate Committee on Atomic Energy that "if in China, where I understand we are prepared to help with the generation of power in the Yangtze Valley, it were possible and sound to establish atomic power, it would be a very good thing to do that through the U. N. Commission." And later the same month, at a roundtable conference sponsored by the Institute of Pacific Relations "a scientist who had worked on the bomb" declared, "One operating uranium pile in China might be convincing testimony

to the Chinese, as well as the rest of the world, that we do not intend to monopolize atomic power for our own selfish national interests."

What about Russia itself? It is a powerstarved area compared to the United States. Should not the first concern be to establish a balance through equalizing these 2 nations? Blackett has written: "It is true that the development of atomic power may prove a long project. But the Soviet Government is in the habit of taking long views. On any hypothesis, the bridging of the gap between the power resources, and so the standard of living of the U.S.S.R. and America must take a long time. Any conceivable way of shortening this time is likely to be seized upon with avidity." That is credible.

The case against strategic balance can be stated simply. Atomic warfare is not a sport in which fair play requires us to arm our enemy, and fissionable material is not a crust of bread or cup of water which in charity we should distribute to friend and foe alike.

Operating an atomic laboratory with power-producing quantities of fissionable material is like driving a nitroglycerine truck or running a cobra farm. It is tricky business, and you don't want to go partners with just anybody

To ask the American people to go partners in this kind of business with a power which they believe is their mortal enemy is to inparalyzing confusion. In this frame of mind you cannot fight, you cannot prepare to fight. This is to stare frozen at the snake.

IV

Of course, if the plan succeeds diplomatically, we can afford-we would even -the relaxation of our own military potential which it involves. We would see the same relaxation in the Soviet Union and Red China. Diplomacy is always better than war while it works, and unless there is some probability of war there is no need for a military establishment. So if you could always be sure of your diplomacy you would do well to eliminate your armed services.

But then your diplomats themselves need threat somewhere in the background. They need to "negotiate from positions of strength." If they negotiate the strength away they are soon through negotiating. So it is not altogether simple. The diplomatic consequences of the proposal to create an atom pool, and of the pool itself if it is created, are more difficult to estimate than are the military consequences.

Diplomacy may seek two kinds of effects. It may be genuinely pacific, or it may be it-self a kind of psychological warfare, aimed at putting the enemy at a disadvantage without the pain and expense of shooting, bombing, No one measure can be seriously intended to simultaneously placate and em-barrass an enemy. The Eisenhower plan has been praised for doing both but is not well adapted to do either.

The Trojan War began when the goddess of discord tossed into a feast of the gods a golden apple inscribed "for the fairest." It is the nature of a prize to inspire contention. The first prize established by the Eisenhower plan would be the international atomic laboratory itself. We have already noted how national representatives might take from such a laboratory the militarily valuable information and materials which might be generated there. The value might be commercial, and still tempt the partners to try to outwit each other in their manner of taking it out of the business for their individual benefit. Such things have been known to happen.

So long as each thought he was winning this contest of wits the surface would be preserved, but if one of the partners decided he was losing he might be provoked into attempting seizure or destruction of the atom pool itself. At any rate such a pool is not

merely a place where "the great powers of the earth, both of the East and of the West, may cooperate; it is also something else for them to fight over.

But the feature of the plan which would most notably provoke aggression is the provision for building atomic powerplants in 'power-starved areas." We have already from time to time expressed fears that the Communists might take aggressive action in How much more would they be tempted if to the human resources of India were added one or more atomic powerplants. Red China is said to be now in possession of arms and commodities which we gave Chiang Kai-shek. How long would Nehru be likely to retain independent possession of a powerand-plutonium-yielding nuclear reactor?

Renunciation of a claim is often the way to peace, but renunciation of a responsibility more probably leads to disorder and strife. In October, 1945 President Truman referred to the atomic bomb as a "sacred trust." this he was ridiculed in some quarters, but the danger we now face is due to failure to live up to that trust, not to recognizing its

If this Atoms for Peace plan be regarded not as a sincere attempt at peacemaking. but rather as a maneuver in the psychological war, it is still not well advised. is not good propaganda for the United States of America, for the simple reason that it makes the U.S.S.R. sound quite rational by comparison. Consider the two positions as follows:

(1) President Eisenhower says, "The United States knows that if the fearful trend of atomic military build-up can be reversed this greatest of destructive forces can be developed into a great boon for the benefit of all mankind." In the same speech he says, "* * * the United States stockpile all mankind." In the same speech he s, "* * * the United States stockpile atomic weapons * * * increases daily. The development has been such that atomic weapons have virtually achieved conventional status within our armed services."

(2) The Soviet Union might well say to that, if reversal of a trend of atomic military build-up is what you want and you have yourself a stockpile that increases daily. then surely you have it in your own power to reverse the trend. Why don't you reverse it? The Soviet Union does say: "If some small part of atom material is to be directed to peaceful aims while the main mass of the materials-the quantities of which are constantly growing—is to be directed to the production of more and more atomic weapons, then the threat of atomic war will not lessen in the least. * * * It is necessary that not some part but the whole mass of atomic material be directed completely to peaceful aims, which would open up unheard-of possibilities for the progress of industry, agriculture and transport, for the employment of the most valuable atomic discoveries for the improvement of machines in many fields of their employment and for further and higher progress in science.

How do we answer them? Do we tell them we cannot direct all our atomic resources to peacetime uses because we do not trust the Soviet Union? They may say to us: Look, you brought up the subject. Your President is the one who said: "* * * allow all peoples of all nations to see that, in this enlightened age, the great powers of the earth. both of the East and of the West, are interested in human aspirations first, rather than in building up the armaments of war.' you mean it or didn't you? The Soviet Union may well say it to us. They do say:

"The Soviet Union is deeply convinced that mankind must and can be spared the horrors of an atomic war. Special responsibility for the solution of this problem rests with those states which already possess the States is the power which by its own admission has given atomic weapons virtually Conventional status within its armed services. "Is it possible," asks the Soviet Union, "to speak of the necessity of easing international tension and at the same time to pass by the problem of prohibiting the atomic weapon?"

And the best our Secretary of State can do by way of reply is to say in effect, "Oh, you misunderstood us, but come, let us talk about it privately, lest the citizens of the world overhear us." Mr. Dulles' exact words: "The Soviet Union seems not to have caught the spirit of the President's proposal. Its very purpose was to find a new and clearly feasible basis which will permit of actually getting started. It has long been evident, and the tone of the Soviet response makes it even clearer, that little can be achieved by the continuance of public debate."

Mr. Dulles may say if he likes that the

Soviet Union does not understand. But if the representatives of the Soviet Union are trustworthy men, then their logic is in-escapable. And if they are not trustworthy, We have no business going into private nego-

tiations with them.

The fact is we are now conducting such negotiations. Dulles and Zaroubin are discussing secretly the proposal to pool atomic materials and information, and the Soviet counterproposal to outlaw atomic weapons. By the time public debate is reopened-in order to get the congressional approval which the President said he was sure of-We may be sure a provisional arrangement Will have been made from which we can retreat only with monumental embarrassment and into which we can advance only with final recklessness. We may be sure of this because the commitments implied by the Eisenhower speech of December 8, 1953, are themselves either to be broken with chagrin or kept with peril.

we agree with the Soviet Union that helther is to use atomic bombs, it is probable that they will keep their word. We would surely keep ours and the result Would be the loss of our equalizer. If we continue these negotiations, we shall hardly avoid making some kind of pledge not to use the bomb. Propaganda which involves us in this train of consequences is not good propa-

When I was an English teacher I occasionally got themes which made just no sense at all, and from students who could talk Quite sensibly in the hall, who were certainly neither morons nor avant-garde artists.

The only explanation that ever seemed plausible occurred to me when we were studying Paradise Lost. They couldn't un-derstand it. It just did not make any sense to them. Then I thought: Well, that's it.
They are good kids. They have been told
Milton is great and they believe it. But
Milton does not make any sense. Therefore, the way to be great is not to make any sense. They think: This English teacher is O. K. Anyhow, he dishes out the grades. You got give him what he wants. He seems to like Milton, who obviously makes no senseso you give the English teacher a theme that makes no sense. Maybe it's great. Maybe he'll like it. It's a shot in the dark, but what you going to do?

Something like that is the only possible explanation of the American public's acceptance in principle of the proposals that have been made for international cooperation With the Soviet Union in the field of atomic energy. From the point of view of the United States, such proposals make no sense at all and never did make any sense. Apparently the majority of the American publie still believe that nothing connected with atomic energy is supposed to make any sense. So long as we assume that, we will probably go on allowing our policy to be determined

by certified security risks and propagandized by their journalistic and broadcasting asso-

Unless Mr. Stassen has a suggestion.

The Surplus Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. HARVEY, Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Peter Edson, from the Washington Daily News of March 30, 1955:

THE SURPLUS PROBLEM

The idea that United States farm surpluses can be sold competitively on foreign markets is taking a beating.

The House Agriculture Committee has issued a report highly critical of Agriculture Secretary Ezra Benson for his alleged heavyhanded control over the foreign disposal program. Actually, Mr. Benson has been doing everything he can to move the surpluses.

Restrictions written into the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 limit his work. But the underlying cause is that the market is just not there.

American competitive prices are too high. Dumping and export subsidies to American farmers are ruled out as bad policy.

Where American surpluses are forced on foreign markets they frequently disrupt nor-

mal world trade patterns.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles ran into this problem during his recent trip through southeast Asia. In Burma he found a severe economic dislocation on rice.

Burma always had been a heavy exporter of rice to Japan. But since the end of the war the United States has been shipping Japan wheat. Due to the presence of American troops in Japan there has been a considerable shift in the Japanese diet from rice to wheat.

For every such dietary convert and for every American wheat shipment to Japan, there has been a corresponding drop in Burmese rice exports to Japan. Burma has a rice surplus it can't sell.

It will take years for Asian countries to diversify their agriculture to meet these changes in trade patterns. Burma and other food surplus countries caught in a similar squeeze may be forced to make barter deals with Red China and Russia to move their

Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, commander of NATO, has revealed another example of how American restrictions on surplus food exports make it difficult to combat Communist influence in Europe.

The United States now will sell surplus foods for foreign currencies. But there is an American requirement that half of the shipment must be carried in American vessels. To Britain and the Scandinavian countries with large merchant fleets of their own, this requirement merely raises the delivered price to the foreign buyers.

Russia, however, will let countries buying her wheat haul the grain any way they want. Russia has no surpluses to begin with. But the Communist Government takes grain away from its own people just to beat the United States in foreign trade deals. Russia thus uses foreign trade as an economic and psychological weapon.

Under the Trade Development Act passed by the last Congress, \$700 million were appropriated to finance the disposal of American farm surpluses for 3 years. Another \$300 million were appropriated for outright gifts of food surpluses for foreign disaster relief.

The total of \$558 million worth earmarked for disposal so far represents only about 8 percent of the \$7 billion worth of surpluses now on hand. Exports are now about 4 percent above pre-war levels and 10 to 15 percent above 1952-53. But the outlook for the coming year is not much better than this year.

The apparent congressional intent to raise price support levels to encourage the production of even bigger surpluses does not seem to hold much hope for improving the situation.

Are We About Ready To Repeat the Sin of Yalta?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, if a Big Four meeting at top level is to be held in the near future to consider the serious problems which confront the free world, a meeting which will include Russia as one of the Big Four, Russia who is the very source of the present threat to world peace and stability, it is time to give grave and serious consideration to such meeting and what can result from it for the people of the United States, as well as all other freedom-loving people in the world, including those who are now enslaved behind the Iron Curtain and look to us for deliverance.

Once such a meeting has been held and our Nation irrevocably committed to specific agreements which we are honorbound to abide by, it is too late to bemoan the fact that the results of the conference are unsatisfactory to the American people and their duly elected representatives. We as a free nation will not stand for or tolerate another

Now is the time to be informed of exactly what will be included in the agenda of such a meeting and whether we may be assured that any conclusions agreed to at such a conference will not be binding upon the people of the United States of America until ratified in proper treaty form by the United States Senate. This was not done with the Yalta agreements.

Also, now is the time to insist that the United States Congress be properly represented at any meeting at top level between the Big Four. The people of the United States are entitled to this representation and assurance.

Unless these precautions are taken prior to the next Big Four meeting, we could be faced with another Yalta, as reviewed in the following excellent editorial by David Lawrence:

THE SIN OF YALTA
(By David Lawrence)

The sin of Yalta was not contained in the offhand comments by heads of governments as revealed in the Yalta papers.

The sin was embedded in the secret decisions to carve up and award territories before World War II itself was ended.

The sin was in the flagrant denial of a great principle—the right of peoples every-where to establish governments of their own choosing.

This betrayal of human rights has since been perpetuated at other international conferences—at Fanmunjom and at Geneva—where the people of North Korea and the people of Northern Indochina, respectively, were condemned to slavery. It is the same tyranny that was imposed in 1945 upon the peoples of the so-called satellite states of Eastern Europe.

Are we about to repeat the vice of Yalta and engage again in more of these four-power conferences where the President of the United States makes agreements committing the American people to courses of action on which they have no opportunity to vote through their elected representatives in Congress?

It was the violation at Yalta of the spirit and the letter of the Constitution of the United States which left a blot on American history.

Although the official records of the Yalta Conference were withheld from the American people under one pretext or another for 10 years, it is amazing that there are misguided Democrats in Congress today who are assailing their own Government for bringing about at last the release of the Yalta papers.

Naturally European statesmen favor suppression. They have been steeped for centuries in the artifices of secret diplomacy. They believe in expedient deals made in the privacy of such conferences as have been held at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam.

America has three times in history been caught in the same dilemma—the sacrifice of many thousands of American lives for professed ideals only to see such ideals abandoned at the conference table.

The famous 14 points constituting the war aims of the Allies in World War I—including the right of self-determination of peoples and the demand for "open covenants openly arrived at"—were torn up at Versailles in 1919.

The famous Atlantic Charter—pledging, as one of the war aims of World War II, the right of all peoples freely to choose their own government—was torn up at Yalta in 1945.

The famous resolution of the United Nations in 1951 declaring Red China an aggressor in Korea was torn up at Geneva in 1954. The same aggressor was awarded possession of a vast area in Indochina while millions of innocent people were delivered into bondage.

The Constitution vests in the President of the United States the right to conduct relations with other governments. But it vests also in the Congress—as a coordinate branch of the Government—the right to declare war and to "advise and consent" in the making of treaties of peace.

There were no Representatives of the Congress of the United States present at the Yalta Conference.

There were no members of the press admitted to the Yalta meetings to tell the people of the world in detail what their representatives were doing.

It is not difficult to understand why some European newspapers are shocked by the persistent pressure in America to compel the publication of the long-suppressed documents of the Yalta Conference. The American attitude toward full publicity of the public business is rooted in the concept that the people do not delegate to a single ruler

the right to make commitments in their behalf

The European idea, on the other hand, seems to be that the head of a state is a sort of absolute monarch, and even now the talk there is of a big four conference "at the summit."

The American people do not recognize that anybody with sovereign power sits in for them "at the summit." or anywhere else.

Ambassadors and ministers of the United States are stationed in all the capitals of the world. This is an informal and confidential means of communication. Any proposals that can lead to a better understanding in the world among nations can be made to or by such diplomatic representatives and can be referred to the President and the Congress for approval or disapproval.

There is no right on the part of the President to sit down with any foreign ruler and make a binding agreement unless Congress has delegated such particular power to him, or unless there is an opportunity for the Senate to advise for or against ratification.

The sin of Yalta was its secrecy and its disregard for moral and constitutional principles. A few individuals usurped the power that belongs only to free peoples. Nobody should be permitted to barter away the ideals of the American people on the altars of expediency.

The Great Debate on Reclamation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. B. F. SISK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, there has come to my attention an article which has been prepared by my good friend and colleague, the Honorable Stewart L. UDALL, who ably represents the fine State of Arizona in this Congress. It is my understanding that this article, entitled "The Great Debate on Reclamation," is being distributed to Congressman UDALL's constituents through the press and will be available for publication tomorrow.

Congressman UDALL'S statement so ably and clearly presents his views and so finely outlines the tremendous values of reclamation to our country that I believe it deserves a place in the RECORD and I request permission to insert it in the Appendix, so that it may receive a wider circulation.

In making this request, I would like to note further that I am in full agreement with the statements made by my honorable colleague and that I believe they reflect the views of many others who are sincerely interested in the future of the reclamation program as a tremendous factor in the development of the West and the economy of the Nation.

The article follows:

A CONGRESSIONAL REPORT
(By Representative Stewart L. Udall)
THE GREAT DEBATE ON RECLAMATION

There is a rising tide of antireclamation sentiment here which threatens western development. If the upper Colorado project gets to the floor, I suspect that discussion of this bill will be only part of a larger debate on the future of reclamation itself. To some extent this debate has already begun, and it seems essential to me that we

keep close watch on the forces and arguments marshaled against us, for the West's continued growth is closely linked to the future of reclamation.

At the outset, we must recognize that at nominal cost groups of farmers have, where conditions were favorable, brought water to much of our western land without Government aid of any kind. Since 1902, however, the Bureau of Reclamation has constructed many projects too large to be tackled by local interests alone. Naturally, the easiest and most promising works were built first—projects like Salt River, Boulder, Grand Coulee, and Central Valley of California.

It is now apparent that the projects yet

It is now apparent that the projects yet to be built (like central Arizona, and upper Colorado) are relatively hard projects where repayment by the water users may take longer and the Government must assume greater risks. However, this should not be a fatal stumbling block, as Teddy Roosevelt originally conceived the reclamation program as a bold, risk-taking venture—a western equivalent of eastern projects to develop rivers and harbors.

Until recent years, as the easy projects were completed and more difficult ones tackled, the reclamation and budget people here tended to liberalize the ground rules so that projects previously regarded as unfeasible financially could qualify: basin-wide accounting plans were approved: repayment periods were extended; and the principle was established that farmers could build power dams and use the net revenues to pay off prohibitive water costs.

It may be that the antireclamationists have been emboldened by right hand versus left hand actions within the Elsenhower administration. While the President on the one hand endorses upper Colorado and Fryingpan, his budget director has been busily drafting new regulations which would probably prohibit similar future projects, his Interior Secretary has exhibited a lukewarm attitude toward reclamation, and his proposed appropriations for new construction next year sets the lowest point reached since 1950.

The opponents of reclamation have burst upon this scene opportunely and now dispute its accomplishments and seek to discredit the entire program. Their chief spokesman, Raymond Moley of Newsweek magazine, calculates that the way to beat reclamation is to pit East against West and he is out to sell his arguments to Congressmen from the populous Eastern States. Moley has turned out a pamphlet denouncing the sorry record and waste of the Bureau of Reclamation.

We fully expect that the water resources task force of the Hoover Commission will shortly join this chorus. Its chairman, former Governor Leslie Miller of Wyoming, boldly strode into our upper Colorado hearings 2 weeks ago and bluntly testified that in his opinion the entire plan—including the participating projects in his own State—was economically appearance.

economically unsound.

The trouble with these sincere people is that pencil in hand, they look at the entire reclamation venture from the narrowest perspective, merely in terms of money directly paid into or out of the Treasury. Like overprudent bankers, they are so intent on these debits and credits that they fail to take into account the tremendous values produced where the economies and living conditions of entire valleys are transformed by successful reclamation projects.

In their excessive prudence, they overlook the millions of dollars of flood damage that would be sustained periodically by farms and cities if the reclamation dams were not in place.

(Not long after it was dedicated the new Falcon Dam on the Rio Grande stopped a disaster-bent flood in its tracks and saved a substantial part of its total cost.) They Point to the current farm surpluses and say the new farm acres are not needed. This is fainthearted thinking that misjudges the surging growth of our country and the re-

sourcefulness of its people.

The corner stone of the reclamation program has been interest-free loans, a feature particularly condemned by these critics who fail to note that the principal invested Will come back manyfold when new valleys are opened up to farmers and fresh sources of income are created. It is a fact that acres put under cultivation by the Bureau of Reclamation produced total crop values in 1953 alone of nearly \$1 billion.

Nor do these people concede that a substantial part of the \$3 billion we have expended thus far on reclamation will eventually be directly repaid, while the full \$7 billion the Government has spent at the same time on national rivers and harbors projects has been paid out without ex-

pectation of direct repayment.

Who, we might ask, are these "debit and credit" men who cry "failure"? Need we men who cry "failure"? Need we westerners bother to answer them at all when our green valleys mock their words, our prosperity mocks their logic, and our cities and farms testify they have misread our history?

How Communism Came to China-Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following is part I of a speech recently delivered to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council by Dr. George K. C. Yeh, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Re-Public of China.

Nothing I could say would improve or embellish this comprehensive statement on one of the great historic tragedies when the United States lost one of its most loyal allies, and communism won her over to the Soviet Union as an ally and Red China came into being.

Following is part I of Dr. Yeh's speech: Mr. Chairman, members of the Los Angeles

World Affairs Council, ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to speak before this distinguished body of American citizens who are specially interested in international relations. I am particularly happy to be on the Pacific coast where the interest in Asia, and particularly in the affairs of China, has always been very keen and widespread. Pacific is today no longer an ocean but a lake and this great city is one of America's windows to the Far East. What happens or may happen on the other side of this great lake may have a more instantaneous impact on the lives of the people who live here on this side of it.

I propose to speak to you this evening of how communism was introduced into China and how it developed there. The facts I shall bring to light are not widely known in this country. If my account of them should run into a number of unfamiliar dates and names, which I shall avoid as much as possible, it is because China's sad experiences with communism are not better known.

I should like to recall with you that it was not very long ago that the Communist movement in China had been considered in this and other countries as a mere agrarian reform movement. A well-known American radio commentator once said that the Chinese Communists were "agrarian radicals trying to establish democratic practices." Another Far Eastern expert once wrote: China is not like any other country, so Chinese communism has no parallel elsewhere. You can find in it resemblances to the 'grassroots' populist movements that have figured in American history." So, to these gentlemen at least, the Chinese Communists were not Communists at all; they were very much like the Democrats or, for that matter, the Republicans in this country, except that they carried guns and occupied a territory of their own.

Some of you may have read that Stalin told former United States Ambassador Harriman in June 1944: "The Chinese Communists are not real Communists. They are 'margarine' Communists." Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov said the same thing to Gen. Patrick Hurley and Donald Nelson in August of the same year when the last two gentlemen were in Moscow on their way to China on a very important diplomatic mis-"Although," sion. declared Molotov, Chinese Communists call themselves Communists, they had no true or real relation to communism; they expressed their discontent by taking the name, but if their eco-nomic lot was bettered, they would forget that they were Communists."

Stalin and Molotov were, of course, lying. It suited their purpose at the time to say that the Soviet Union had nothing to do with it, though they knew very well that the Communist movement in China was a Soviet-sponsored and Soviet-financed movement from the very start. The strange thing is that the world believed them because what they said happened to harmonize with the general tenor of the "grand alliance" period during the later part of the last war.

Happily very few people today are still under the delusion that the Chinese Communists are "mere agrarian reformers." But we should be profoundly mistaken if we think this propaganda line is dead and buried. It is not. Recently it has appeared in the press in another but equally beguiling form. We are now being told from time to time that Mao Tse-tung is a potential Tito. We are also being fed with the alluring notion that the West can wean Communist China from the Soviet Union by a reasonable and flexible policy, namely, by America's recognizing the so-called people's government of China, as the legitimate government of China, by admitting it to the United Nations, by lifting or relaxing trade controls, etc. Another variation on the same theme is that Mao Tse-tung and his fellow comrades are patriotic Chinese, and that sooner or later they would break away from Moscow. All this betrays a basic misunderstanding of the Chinese Communist movement.

The Chinese Communist movement, it must be remembered, was not an indigenous development in any sense of the word but an allen imposition. It began in 1919 when the newly founded Communist International. the so-called Comintern in Moscow sent to China one Gregori Voitinski, who was chief of its Far Eastern Bureau. Upon his arrival, Voltinski sought out the two leading Chinese avante garde thinkers of that time-Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao, both professors at the National Peking University. Neither Ch'en no Li was a Communist. But they had written articles in praise of the Russian October revolution. Like many na-ive idealistic men of the time the world over, Ch'en and Li fell under the spell of the Russian revolution with its glorification of the common man, its championing of small and oppressed nations, and its promise of secuhappiness, and equality. urged them to start a Communist movement China. With funds supplied by him, Ch'en Tu-hsiu organized in Shanghai a Socialist Youth Corps, a Marxist study group, and a foreign-language school. This last was a school devoted to the study of the Russian language in order to prepare the students to read Communist works in the original. This was the beginning of the Chinese Communist movement. Voitinski's part in founding the Chinese Communist movement is fully recognized by the Soviet Encyclopedia (cols. 657-658, vol. XII, 1928 edition), which credits him with organizing the first Communist cells in Shanghai, Peiping, and Canton. Upon his return to Moscow in 1921, he was made chief of the far eastern division of the Soviet Foreign Office. In the 1930's he was placed in charge of the Soviet Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Close on the heels of Voitinski came other Comintern agents. In the spring of 1921, the Comintern sent to China a Dutch Communist by the name of Maring. His mission was to find an ally for the Soviet Union among the various political groups in China. He traveled far and wide. July 1921 found him in Shanghai trying to call a meeting to organize a Chinese Communist Party. Thirteen young men responded to the call. They forgathered in the classroom of a girls' school in the then French concession of Shanghai. In the midst of their meeting, the police cracked down on them. They later met to conclude their deliberations in a boat on the waters of a lake in Shaohsing.

Most of them were in fact no more than an ill-assorted group of faddists who, like most young people of that turbulent period in China. were ready to accept any theory against the foreign exploitation of China. Among them was a young and not too prepossessing fellow called Mao Tse-tung. He was from the interior province of Hunan. His knowledge of communism at that time did not go beyond the reading of the Communist manifesto by Marx and Engels in a badly translated Chinese version. Yet he felt he was qualified to be a charter member of the Chinese Communist Party.

Thus, if Voitinski was the father of the

Chinese Communist Party, the Dutch Communist Maring was the midwife who brought the baby into the world. This weakling of a babe could not have grown to manhood and maturity and become the object of wooing today by some of the world's proud and leading powers, were it not for Soviet Russia's continued loving care and patronage.

The so-called Chinese Communist Party was then not so much of a party as the nucleus of one with not more than 50 founder members. Ch'en Tu-hsiu was made its secretary-general. With a monthly allowance of \$US25,000 made available by the Comintern. the party began to organize railway workers in North China and seamen in the south. So successful were its initial efforts that in the following year (1922) it instigated a crippling seamen's strike in the British Colony of Hongkong.

In spite of the promise shown by the Infant Communist Party in China, the Soviet Union had no illusions about it. The men in the Kremlin knew that if the party was to exercise decisive influence in a country as vast and populous as China, it must ally itself with some political group which had enjoyed a large following. This was in accord with the "theses" which Lenin had submitted to the Second World Congress of the Comintern in 1920. The "theses," in which Lenin outlined the strategy to be followed in colonial and semi-colonial countries, may be summarized as follows:

1. Colonies are essential to the existence of the capitalist or imperialist powers.

2. To overthrow capitalism the first step be to promote revolutions in the

3. Inasmuch as the proletariat in the colonies are weak, the proletariat must co-operate with the "bourgeois-nationalist revolutionary elements.'

It was Maring's mission to find in China this "bourgeois-nationalist-revolutionary" group with which the new Chinese Communist Party could cooperate and from which it could draw strength. He found the Kuomintang to be precisely such a political group. The Kuomintang had been founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and was working to overthrow the government in Peiking and to rid China of western exploitation. At a special plenary session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in August 1922, Maring presented a plan for the muchdesired Kuomintang-Communist collaboration. No decision, however, was reached. A few months later Moscow Intervened. The Comintern passed a special resolution ordering the Chinese Communist Party to take immediate steps to effectuate the Communist-Kuomintang collaboration along the following lines: (1) Members of the Communist Party should enter the Kuomintang as individuals; (2) The Communist Party itself must preserve its absolute political and organizational independents; and (3) the Communist Party should support the Kuomintang so long as the latter's policies were "objectively correct." In other words, the Comintern strategy was to infiltrate and subvert the Kuomintang in order to take over its leadership.

Maring approached Dr. Sun Yat-sen for the purpose. In August 1922 a Soviet delegate, Adolphe Joffe, came to China to negotiate with the Chinese Government in Peking for the resumption of diplomatic relations between China and the Soviet Union. In January 1923, Joffe, on his way to Japan for a rest, stopped in Shanghai and had a series of conversations with Dr. Sun. The result was the well-known Sun-Joffe Declaration. In this declaration, Dr. Sun had made it clear that he did not favor communism and that communism was incompatible with the cultural pattern of China. Yet Dr. Sun accepted the Soviet offer of military and financial assistance as well as the proposal of admitting individual Communists to the Kuomintang. Why?

Because first the Soviet doctrine of overthrowing imperialist domination seemed pertinent to the Chinese situation. China had been a victim of foreign exploitation for over a century. If there was a way to get rid of western domination, China of course would welcome it.

Second, the conspiratorial nature of international communism was not then well understood. Dr. Sun was told that what China needed was a national-bourgeois revolution to overthrow the yoke of imperialism and not a proletarian revolution to usher in communism. Little did he realize that this was deception and double-talk. The Kuomintang in its anxiety to achieve immediate results did not know then, as so many people do not know now, that the process of taking over an existing government by the Communists was called the nationalbourgeois revolution, and that the process of converting that government into a Communist dictatorship was to be the proletarian revolution. Whatever the revolution may be called, the objective is always the samethe capture of political power by the Communists.

Third, in 1921 the Soviet Union had tried to soften the rigor of wartime communism by introducing what was called NEP or the new economic policy. Under the NEP there was a revival of private enterprise and private trading. At the time Maring and Joffe approached Dr. Sun the NEP was in full swing. In order to dispel the Chinese leader's misgivings, Joffe told one of Dr. Sun's most trusted and loyal assistants, Mr. Liao Chung-kai, that inasmuch as the Soviet Union did not itself practice communism, why should China be worried about communism? When Mr. Liao asked. "Would communism ever come to Russia?" Joffe re-

plied that there would not be any communism in Russia for a long time. Liao inquired what did Joffe mean by a long time. Did he mean 5 years, 10 years, or even a generation? Joffe's answer was, "Perhaps a hundred years." Liao Chung-kai was no longer in doubt.

In October 1923, 9 months after the Sun-Joffe declaration, the Comintern sent to China a man who was to play a leading role in Chinese politics in the next 4 years. He was known the world over as Michael Borodin, but this was not his real name. He had, before the Russian revolution, lived in the United States and attended Valparaiso University in Indiana. It is not known whether he had ever become an American citizen. For a time he conducted a school for Russian immigrant children in Chicago. He went back to Russia during the revolution and later served as a Comintern agent in Turkey. He had already shown great talent as a conspirator and organizer.

Such was Borodin's background. He came to China as an adviser to Dr. Sun in Canton. Soon after his arrival in Canton, he drafted for Dr. Sun a plan for the reorganization of the Kuomintang. The plan was put into effect in January of the following year (1924). The Communists were formally admitted to the Kuomintang. It was Dr. Sun's understanding that once in the Kuomintang the Communists would act as loyal Kuomintang members, taking orders from its leadership, bound by its discipline, and deriving inspiration from its guiding principles. Indeed, in Dr. Sun's lifetime these new Communist recruits did behave as if they were loyal Kuomintang members.

After Dr. Sun's death in 1925, the Kuomintang was left for a short period with no leader of sufficient prestige and authority to enforce discipline on the members of the party. With no one to fear and with nothing to restrain them, the Communists lost no time in taking over control of the party, the Central Executive Committee, the highest policymaking and administrative organ of the party. Some of Dr. Sun's most trusted followers were expelled from the party, or removed from positions of influence, or exiled. This was engineered by the Soviet agent Michael Borodin.

At this juncture loyal members of the Kuomintang rallied around the person of Chiang Kai-shek. Still a young man in his thirties, Chiang soon became the leader of all those who were distressed by the spectacle of Communist ascendency. He was determined to save the Kuomintang from Communist domination. His chance came on March 20, 1926 when the Communist planned a military coup d'etat. He moved swiftly. few hours he rounded up most of the leading Communists in Canton. The Russian advisers were put under house arrest. Borodin was at that time in North China. Learning of the news he hurried back to Canton. The feud was, however, soon patched up. Chiang's purpose then was a limited one. It was to recapture the leadership of the Kuomintang from its Communist elements. He therefore caused the adoption by the Kuomintang central executive committee of a resolution debarring the Communists from holding key positions either in the party or in the government, forbidding them to call meetings in the name of the Kuomintang or wilfully distorting the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen to suit their own purposes, and requiring the central committee of the Communist Party to hand over to the Kuomintang a list of those Communists who were at the time members of the Kuomintang. Communist political commissars attached to the armed forces were removed. A number of undesirable Soviet advisers were also removed from their positions. It was obvious that Chiang Kai-shek at that time was not powerful enough to go all out to clean up the Kuomintang of all the Communists and the Kuo-

mintang itself still had need of Russian assistance. Meanwhile both the Russians and the Chinese Communists submitted to the limitations thus imposed upon them with apparent good grace. They did so because Stalin believed that it was still useful to maintain the Moscow-Canton entente. Russian advisers in Canton were also of the opinion that it was still to Russia's interest to keep the Communists within the Kuomintang. Stepanoff, one of the military advisers in China, stated in his lengthy report to the Kremlin that both parties still had need of each other to achieve its common objective of overthrowing Western imperialism.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen had given his life to the cause of national unity and independence and democracy. He died with his concern for the future of China on his lips. It had been his ambition to lead a revolutionary army in a campaign to crush the feudal warlords who controlled North and Central China. In 1926 Chiang Kai-shek, having trained a small but highly disciplined army. decided to carry out the late leader's wishes by launching a northern expedition against the warlords. In this he was strongly opposed by the Chinese Communists and their Russian mentors. Their ostensible reason was that the whole project was a military adventure for which the Nationalists were not ready. The real reason, however, was something else again. The Communist hold on Canton was considered insecure. A great deal of work was still required to consolidate the Communist position in that region. If there was to be a northern expedition, it should not be undertaken until Canton had been made into an impregnable Communist base from which the Communists could operate. Premature dispersion of resources and personnel would be inimical to the Communist cause. Moreover, there was another and by no means minor consideration. Chiang had already become too strong militarily to lend himself to Communist control. So long, however, as he remained in Canton he was dependent on Soviet aid, and it was still possible to bring pressure to bear on him. once he had brought the rich Yangtze Valley under his control he would be independent of Soviet assistance. He would then be in touch with the United States and Great Britain. And what was more, military successes would so strengthen his prestige that he might be tempted to break the Moscow-Canton entente and purge the Kuomintang of Communists. Therefore, the Russians and their Chinese stooges used every means at their disposal to frustrate Chiang's plan of unifying China.

But Chiang was not a man who could easily be deflected from the course of action on which he had set his mind. In spite of Russian and Chinese Communist opposition, he launched the expedition in July 1926. His success was immediate. Within a few weeks his armies had already pushed their way to the heart of the Yangtze Valley. By the first of September the great cities of Hankow, Hanyang, and Wuchang—collectively known as Wuhan—were in Kuomintang hands.

While Chiang, as commander-in-chief of the expeditionary forces, was busily engaging the enemy at the front, Borodin transformed Wuhan into what Stalin then proudly called the "revolutionary center" of Under Borodin's expert direction, the central executive committee of the Kuomintang was reorganized in such a way as to become virtually his tool. In open defiance of the resolution barring Communists from holding key positions in the Kuomintang and in the government, two leading Communists were appointed to vital ministries—that of labor and agriculture. From the vantage point of these two ministries, the Communists set out to organize labor and peasants. Within a short time the rich provinces of

Hunan, Hupei, and Kiangsi were transformed lato a veritable pandemonium. A reign of terror was officially declared. The whole area was now under Communist control.

In its heyday, that area was the world's Prize concourse of Communist agents, fellow travelers, and frustrated idealists. French Communist leader, Jacques Doriot, the American Communist leader, Earl Browder, and the British Communist leader, Tom Mann, were all there to do their part. M. N. Roy, the young Indian intellectual and Communist, represented the Comintern and shared with Borodin the responsibility of directing the revolution into Marxist chanhels. In faraway Moscow, Stalin and Trotsky debated on the nature of the Chinese revolution. Stalin believed that the China of 1927 was the Russia of 1905 and therefore the Communist should still operate under the Kuomintang banner. Trotsky, on the other hand, contended that the China of 1927 was the Russia of 1917, that the time had arrived for the Communists to unfurl their own banner and organize "workers', peasants', and soldiers', Soviets" in order to establish a proletarian dictatorship.

In the meantime Chiang was preoccupied With battles in the field. He ignored Wuhan. At the head of the advancing armies, he Proceeded to march on Nanking and Shanghal. In March the Communists in the armies attacked foreign residents in the city of Nanking and murdered a number of British and American consular officers and missionaries. This was a diabolical plot concocted by the Communists to embarrass Chiang and to provoke foreign intervention. In Shanghai, the Communists, under the leadership of Chou En-lai, taking advantage of the void created by the evacuation of northern troops, took control. When Chiang's armies entered the city in the latter part of March he found the Communists Openly declaring that the Kuomintang revolution in China was merely the February revolution in Russia and that Chiang Kaithek was no more than another Kerensky.

How Communism Came to China-Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following is a continuation of the speech of Dr. George K. C. Yeh, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China:

Chiang arrived in Shanghai toward the end of March. He now could have a breathing space and decided to remedy the situation at once. After conferring with his commanders, he came to the conclusion that unless he acted quickly the Communists would get out of control. On April 12, 1927, he acted. Communist leaders were arrested. Communist labor unions disbanded, and Communist armed groups disarmed. In the course of the fighting many Communists were killed. Chou En-lai escaped to Hankow. In July, 3 months after the Shanghai purge, the Wuhan revolutionary regime was at an end and Borodin was forced to fiee overland to the Soviet Union.

Thus the first attempt on the part of the kuomintang to coexist with the Chinese Communist Party came to grief. Dr. Sun had admitted the Communists to his party in good faith, hoping that they would cooperate in the movement to rid China of the warlords

and place the country on a united and democratic basis. This painful episode showed that the Communists are fundamentally incapable of acting in good faith. They must destroy the party with which they seek alliance in order to command the resources of their ally for their own ends. They must do all they can to discredit the leaders they have agreed to serve in order to capture the positions of these leaders. All this is part and parcel of the Communist code of ethics. a code which, as laid down by Lenin in his speech delivered before the Young Communist League in 1920, regards morality in the Communist movement as independent of any other morality and "entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat." It is clear to the Chinese who had lived through that period that coexistence with Communists is not possible. To a Communist, you are either his enemy or his comrade, but never can you be his friend or remain a neutral.

I hope I have made it clear that the Chinese Communist movement was not an indigenous movement. The problem of the Chinese revolution formed one of the focal points in the Stalin-Trotsky struggle in the 1920's. Both Stalin and Trotsky were convinced that "the road to Parls is through Peking." Their difference did not lie in the objective but in the strategy and tactics to be used to attain that end.

After the failure of the so-called great revolution of 1924-1927, Stalin sent his young and brilliant lieutenant. Lominadze, to China in an attempt to put the Chinese Communists back on the right track. Lominadze was a firm believer in armed insurrection. Under his direction a series of abortive insurrections were staged, beginning with the Nanchang uprising of August 1, 1927, and ending with the bloody Canton commune in December of the same year. The Communists suffered grievous losses in both these ventures. Moscow subsequently condemned them as adventurism and putschism. The men in the Kremlin seemed to have forgotten that they themselves had authorized these armed uprisings.

Out of these failures emerged Mao Tsetung, the present Communist chieftain in China. Mao, though already a man of no mean stature in the Chinese Communist movement, had played no spectacular role in the Wuhan revolutionary regime. After the July debacle, he was ordered to return to his native province—Hunan—to lead a peasant revolt. The revolt was crushed. Mao escaped with a few hundred men to the remote recesses of the Chinkan mountains on the Hunan-Kiangsi border. He gradually rose to be the leader of the so-called power faction of the Chinese Communist Party.

A series of circumstances favored him. The newly established National Government in Nanking, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, was preoccupied with the task of unifying China. This involved the suppression of the remnants of the feudal militarists. In consequence, civil war raged in many parts of China. No one paid much attention to the ill-armed band of desperadoes led by Mao Tse-tung. In fact, Mao's band was no different from the numerous bandit hordes which ravaged the countryside at that time. Nobody could have imagined that this small-time bandit chieftain could one day emerge as a menace to world peace and security as he is today.

Mao Tse-tung made most of his opportunity. Step by step he extended his power. He augmented his forces by what he called land reform. This meant the wholesale slaughter of all those who happened to own a small plot of land. He made the life of the people so miserable that they had no recourse but to follow him. By 1930 and 1931, when the National Government, having completed the military phase of the unification, began to deal with Mao, he was

already too strong to be easily suppressed, Meanwhile the Japanese, as if purposely to prevent the National Government from eradicating the scourge from the face of China, decided to invade Manchuria. From then on the National Government was obliged to give the major part of its attention to the problem of Japanese aggression. The Communist-suppression campaign temporarily fell into abeyance. In November 1931 Mao Tse-tung established what he called the Soviet Republic of China in the border region of Kiangsi and Fukien Provinces.

I would not tire you with an account of the various military campaigns which the National Government launched to counter the Communist menace. Suffice it to sav that toward the end of 1934 the Communist forces under Mao Tse-tung were so routed that they were forced to fiee from their base in the Kiangsi-Fukien border region to northwestern China in order to establish a new base within communicating distance of the Soviet-dominated Outer Mongolia. took more than a full year to complete the much-publicized long march. By that time Communist ranks were so depleted that another government campaign would have brought them to extinction or sent them on another long march across Outer Mongolia to Russia. That this did not happen was principally due to the intrigue of the Soviet Union. Let me narrate briefly how it was achieved. The rising tide of nazism in Europe at that time posed a direct threat to Soviet Russia. In the East the Japanese invasion of Manchuria had brought Soviet Russia face to face with aggressive Japanese militarism. In order to relieve the Japanese pressure on the Soviet Far East while Moscow's fear of Nazi Germany was acute, the Kremlin urged the Chinese Communists to make peace with the National Government under the slogan of "United Front Against Japan." The upsurge of nationalistic sentiments was such that an all-out war against Japan, which the Generalissimo had striven to avoid or postpone until China was ready for it, became inevitable.

In July of the next year war with Japan broke out. The Communists, following the strategic line laid down in 1936, entered upon a period of phenomenal military and territorial expansion. Instead of abandoning the policy of armed insurrection against the National Government, instead of abolishing their own form of government and their own independent army—all of which they had promised to do at the beginning of the warthey stepped up their antigovernment activities in all directions. The National Government, on the other hand, did its best to carry out the united-front agreements. Its army offered resistance only when it was forced to do so in self-defense.

In 1941, after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States entered the war against Japan. It was then the official policy of the United States to support the National Government. But this, unfortunately, was not consistently carried out. As the war progressed the Chinese Communists were painted in certain influential circles as democratic and progressive, while the National Government of China was called reactionary and feudal and corrupt. Certain American diplomatic and military officers in China were unfavorably impressed with the performance of the Chinese Government and of the Chinese army, forgetting that when the United States entered the Pacific war China had already fought against a vastly superior military power for 4 long years, single-handedly and without appreciable outside assistance. After 4 years the stress and strain of the effort had begun to tell. Naturally, there was war weariness and confu-In their dissatisfaction with the Chision. nese Government, a number of American diplomatic and military officers formed an

exaggeratedly high opinion of the Chinese Communists whom they in fact knew very little and understood still less. There was a time when the United States even seriously thought of arming the Communists with American weapons because, in the words of General Stilwell, the Communists were "really fighting the Japs."

It is undeniable that American criticism of the Chinese Government had done much to impair its authority and prestige in the eyes of the Chinese people. The effect on the youth and the intellectuals was particularly

devastating.

I am recalling these facts not for the purpose of recrimination. That would be futile and harmful. No one is more conscious than myself of our indebtedness to the United States. No one is more conscious than myself of China's own failings and shortcomings, of the egregious errors and blunders we had ourselves committed during the war years. But I would be less than frank if I failed to mention this unhappy episode in Sino-American relations.

The story of the Japanese surrender is all too familiar. On August 9, 1945, the day after the dropping of the second atom bomb on Nagasaki, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. Five days after the Soviet entry the war was at an end. Soviet armies swept into Manchuria against practically no Japa-They soon took full possesnese resistance. sion of the Chinese northeastern provinces. Firmly entrenched, they began a systematic dismantling of the magnificent industrial plants in Manchuria. They vitiated the Potsdam Declaration and the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Friendship concluded in 1945 as a result of the Yalta agreement. They armed the Chinese Communists with vast quantities of captured Japanese arms in They had pledged themselves Manchuria. to evacuate Manchuria within 3 months after V-J Day and allow the Chinese Government to take over Manchuria. As a matter of fact. 3 months after the Japanese surrender no Chinese Government troops were allowed to enter Manchuria. The Russians had denied the Chinese Government the use of its own railways and ports in Manchuria.

Immediately following V-J Day, Chinese Government troops had a 5 to 1 numerical superiority over the Communists. They were also much better equipped. If they had im-mediately embarked on a Communist-suppression campaign they could have held the Communists in check as least. The Soviet arming of the Chinese Communists in Manchuria shifted the balance of military power. American effort to mediate between the Chinese Government and the Communists further worked to the Communist advantage. The period between November 1945 and the end of 1946 was a crucial period. It was touch-and-go. It was wasted on futile negotiations under the auspices of the mission under General Marshall.

Here again I must say that I have not the

least intention of criticizing the Marshall mission. Nor do I imply any disrespect for General Marshall himself, who undoubtedly tried to do his best to make a democratic. united, and strong country out of China. Of General Marshall's great human qualities and good intentions there can be no doubt. Ambassador Leighton Stuart, another great American and friend of China. who had played a leading role in the mediation, has recently written in his illuminat-

ing book Fifty Years in China:
"We Americans mainly saw the good things about the Chinese Communists while not noticing carefully the intolerance, bigotry, deception, disregard for human life. and other evils which seem to be inherent in any totalitarian system. We kept Communist meanings for such objectives as progressive, democratic, liberal, also bourgeois, reactionary, imperialist, as they intended that we should do. We failed to realize fully the achievements to date and the potentialities of Chinese democracy. Therefore, we cannot escape a part of the responsibility for the great catastrophe-not only for China but also for America and the free world-the loss of the Chinese mainland."

Mind you, this comes from a man who counted among his friends many Chinese Communists and who, next to General Marshall, had also favored a coalition government in China with the best of intentions.

Let me repeat that I have no desire to rake up the dust of the past. If we try to do that we shall lose the future. We have to think of the future and not of the past. The past is useful only as a point of reference for the future.

Let me also say that the mainland of China would not have been lost if the Chinese Government forces had stood their ground, if the inflation had not set in and if the generals and politicians in the Government had remained united. The loss of the mainland of China, was disastrous not only to China but also to Asia as a whole, because without a free and united China there can never be a peaceful Asia. Today, we are building up Formosa as a rallying point for all the free Chinese. We know Taiwan is only a small island. We know our own resources and man-power are limited. But we have good reason to believe that the millions of people on the Chinese mainland are with The anti-Communist Chinese prisonersof-war in Korea had made this amply clear to us and to the world. The 13 million overseas Chinese are with us, too. Visitors of Hong Kong, Manila, Bangkok, Singapore, and other centers in the Far East where Chinese traders congregate, can tell you of the overwhelming pro-free China and anti-Communist sympathies of these people. In free China, we have today one of the most determined anti-Communist military forces in all Asia. In numbers our Armed Forces may be small in comparison with the Communist hordes on the mainland. But we are en-couraged by the old Chinese saying: "Though there are only three families remaining in the Kingdom of Ch'ü, it is the Kingdom of Chin that will eventually vanquish the mighty Chin." It would be foolish to suppose that this is an easy task. It would be still more foolish to lose heart and courage or to suppose that the Communists on the mainland would stay on for-

We believe that the existence of a free China is indispensable to the existence of a free Asia. It stands as a beacon of hope to the millions of Chinese behind the Iron Curtain. As I have just said, so long as mainland China remains under Communist domination there cannot be peace in the Far East and no country in Asia can be safe from Communist aggression. To uproot communism in Asia, there cannot be a policy of containment. The Chinese mainland must be restored to freedom and to the Chinese.

Nowadays we hear much of peaceful coexistence. It always fills me with wonder and amazement to hear people talk, with a glibness that almost amounts to lightheartedness, about the possibility of living peacefully together with the Communists. We in China know better. I have shown that we in China had tried to coexist with the Communists, not once, but twice. During the first trial (1924-27) the Communists pretty nearly took over political power. During the second trial (1937-45) they actually succeeded in capturing power. I hope the lesson is not lost on our good friends in the West.

At this point the audience may want to raise the question: Do you want to plunge the world into another war in trying to recover the mainland of China by force of arms? That question has been asked in London, Paris, and New Delhi. I can assure

you that we have no such thought. We do not believe that any attempt on our part to liberate China from Communist domination would provoke a global conflict. On the contrary, it may well prevent a global con-

There is a difference between a policy to prevent war and a policy to avoid war. British and French policy before 1939 was to avoid war by appeasing Hitler's Germany. By so doing, war became inevitable. has been avoided by running away from it. There is no surer way to lead the enemy into aggression than to show him that we are too soft to fight.

The fact is that the Soviet Union is no more anxious to engage in a global war than the free world. After all the Russians suffered more in the last war than anybody else, except possibly Germany. Soviet Russia is just as vulnerable to weapons of mass

destruction as any other country.

If the Soviet Union does not relish the prospect of another global war, it is not averse to using local wars as an instrument of policy. Indeed, since the end of World War II, local war has become the most useful and effective weapon of Soviet conquest. The civil war in China, the Korean war, and the war in Indochina are cases in point. Whenever and wherever a victory could be scored or some advantage could be gained you can be assured that the Soviet Union and its puppets would pursue their objectives with relentlessness and determination. On the other hand, if they stood to lose they would immediately beat a retreat by preaching the virtues of peaceful coeixistence. The retreat is but a temporary expedient. It is in line with the Leninist formula of "1 step backward, 2 steps forward "

To prevent a world conflict it is necessary to create world conditions more favorable to the free world. We must devote all our energy (a) to strengthen the unity of free world; (b) to avoid making further concessions of any kind at any moment and in any place; (c) to wrestle the initiative from the Soviet bloc and thus obviate the necessity of making little concessions here and there; and (d) to build up a balanced and coordinated strength adequate to meet Communist aggressions at all points of the globe.

It is no secret that the free world is at present far from being united. countries which are firmly anti-Communist like yours and mine, there are countries which regard themselves as neutrals, and there are also countries which, though anti-Communist, cherish the delusion of coexistence. It is clear that this kind of setup can never cope with the Communist menace. The Communist world, let me remind is one highly integrated and coordinated unit, receiving orders from a single center-Moscow-pursuing a definite objective, and animated by a common program of action.

Because of all this, the Communists have made phenomenal gains since the conclusion of the last war. In Asia, their gains have been particularly spectacular. At the recent conference in Geneva, the Communists have by means of negotiations brought some 77,000 square miles of territory rich in resources and manpower under their in resources and manpower under swing. Some 12 million helpless people in Victnam are now being reduced to a state of abject slavery. The situation in Vietnam is indeed critical and is liable to deteriorate quickly.

The problem of building up the necessary strength for the free world is of course difficult one. It involves military, political, and economic considerations. It must begin with the building up of the military strength of those countries which occupy strategic positions and which are definitely and irrevocably anti-Communist. Unless we are certain that a country is definitely on our side, that it will be willing to fight against communism when and if it must, it is dangerous to extend aid to it. Besides its own will to combat communism, there are also other factors which must be taken into account before there can be any assurance that the aid given will be effectively used. There be, for instance, a necessary degree must of internal security against Communist infiltration: there must be signs of a viable economy; and above all there must also be a stable and popularly supported government in control of the country. The United States is now the leading ald-giving country in the world. But its resources, though vast, are not unlimited. For this reason, it is necessary, in my opinion, that its aid programs must first be directed to those areas and countries whose strategic positions and internal conditions are best qualified to make the most effective use of the aid given.

Before I bring my speech to an end, I would like to touch upon, briefly, the important role that education plays in our fight against communism. This is a vital subject. If we want our youth to be prepared to fight communism, they must be told why and how. They must be made to feel that the free way of life will bring more happiness to themselves and their children. It is a well-known and startling fact, particularly in Asia, that Communist infiltration has been most successful in schools, Particularly in the last years of high school and the first 2 years of college. Communism is not just a school of philosophy like confucianism. It is a system of thought and action, basically different from ours. Unless We can convince our younger generation that our system must be better, that the Communist system will not hold out any promise of goodness and happiness, we may yet fail eventually in our fight against communism.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have told you how communism was introduced in China and how it developed, and how in my opinion, communism may be combatted without resorting to war. The experiences that my people have gone through have been bitter and tragic. It is for this reason that I have welcomed this occasion to speak to you this evening. China and the United States have been allies in the last 2 wars. The people of China have always cherished the most friendly feelings toward the American people. I am sure that my people will be glad to learn that their experiences of suffering, of having been made a victim of communism have been made known tonight to a distinguished American audience like this and in Los Angeles. Mr. Chairman, I thank you.

A Eulogy to Walter White

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. POWEIL. Mr. Speaker, the shocking news of the passing of Walter White reached me in Washington at a time when I am unable to return to the city to join the many thousands who paid their final tribute of respect to a man who gave his heart and soul for the full freedom of all human beings, irrespective of race, creed, or color. It will never be the fate of Walter White that "the evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones," for his goodness outstrips all

evil, and as long as history lasts, and there is the cry for full human freedom, Walter White's name will be echoed down the corridors of time as the symbol of a true champion of human rights.

In recent years many distinguished citizens, because of their identification in the struggle for human rights, have been designated as Mr. Civil Rights. Walter White was truly the one man in these United States who had the right to receive the coveted title of Mr. Civil He lived, breathed, and walked civil rights. He was not called Mr. Civil Rights, but without his courageous fight for full freedom, advancing where others, in fear, retreated, the cause of dynamic democracy would have been lost long ago in the United States, and perhaps the world over. Without Walter White, civil rights would have been sleeping in the laps of the forgotten past. He magnified civil rights to such a degree that the walls of prejudice, segregation. and discrimination came tumbling down in the Army and the Navy, in our educational system, our judicial bodies, and in both high and low places of the government and especially in the Capital of the

He, like others, has served his day and generation and has now fallen asleep, leaving behind the most formidable organization for human rights in all the world. The debt we owe to him can never be paid in words, but we can accept the mantle of responsibility which he wore so nobly in championing the rights of the disinherited and the downtrodden.

Here it can be said of Walter in the words of St. Paul the Apostle, another fighter for human rights: "I have fought a good fight; I have finished the course; I have kept the faith."

TRIBUTE DELIVERED AT THE FUNERAL OF WALTER WHITE, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, BY CHANNING H.
TOBIAS, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, NAACP,
AT ST. MARTIN'S PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL
CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY, THURSDAY,
MARCH 24, 1955

A memorial service will be conducted in Walter's honor at the annual convention of the NAACP at Atlantic City next June, therefore my tribute at this time can be brief.

There is a very real sense in which Walter White needs no spoken eulogy. Nor is it important that a material monument be erected to his memory. A Man Called White, his autobiography, tells a large part of his life story, and a new book written by Walter but yet to be published entitled "How Far the Promised Land" will complete the picture. But the true story of his services is to be found written in the hearts of those whom he helped to liberate from the bondage of second-class citizenship.

Together with Mary McLeod Bethune I was with him when he protested to President Franklin D. Roosevelt against Jim Crowredistribution centers for our soldiers returning home from service in the war, and heard the President tell him that the Pershing Hotel of Chicago, taken over for a center, would be returned to its owners, and that the Theresa Hotel of New York, under consideration for a center, would not be taken over, and that Negroes would be accommodated in the regular redistribution centers without discrimination. Largely as a result of this protest and subsequent efforts by Walter White, Thurgood Marshall, Roy Wilkins, Louis T. Wright, and others

associated with them, servicemen of color today bear the arms of their country as Americans and not as Negroes.

I sat beside him in President Harry Truman's office in the summer of 1946 when he struck a telling blow against mob violence which resulted in the appointment of the President's Committee on Civil Rights—the committee that after a year's work issued the memorable report entitled "To Secure These Rights"—a document that moved the conscience of America into aggressive action against double standards of citizenship based on race.

Along with Arthur Spingarn and Theodore Spaulding in a room of the Commodore Hotel in this city I heard Walter's plea to Presidentelect Eisenhower to do away with racial discrimination as far as his executive influence could be used to that end. In spite of the fact that Mr. Eisenhower was flying the next day to Korea, he prolonged our visit from 15 minutes to an hour. I was not, therefore, surprised that one of his first appeals after assuming office was a strong personal word calling upon the District of Columbia to set the example for the rest of the Nation in abolishing racial discrimination. Today the hotels, the restaurants, and the public utilities of the city of Washington operate on a nondiscrimination basis. No wonder that Ralph Bunche, who once said that he did not wish to rear his children in Washington because of racial segregation, now says that because of the changes that have come about in recent years he would have no objection to living there again.

These are but a few highlights of what Walter accomplished in top level conferences. They are important because they illustrate the method of the NAACP in dealing with controversial issues growing out of discrimination. It is a method that blinks no facts and engages in no double talk. But it is also a method that does not make use of rabble-rousing as a technique. It recognizes progress when it comes to pass, as will be seen in Walter's new book, How Far the Promised Land, already referred to. Finally it is a method that looks forward to the completion of Lincoln's work of emancipation and the realization of his dream of freedom for all in the true American way.

Looking this way today and wanting to be a part of this tribute are sharecroppers of the deep South who are no longer voteless; dining car waiters and pullman porters who are now privileged to serve their own people as they do other people without discrimination; public school teachers whose salaries are no longer determined by the color of their skin; servicemen in every department of our defense forces who have been liberated from Jim Crowism; workers of all kinds who now enjoy union protection; children who have been lifted to a plane of selfrespect by the Supreme Court decision in the school cases; and thousands of white people who have been liberated from the blighting evil of race prejudice. I am conscious of the presence of this vast unseen audience.

Also the leaders of millions of the darker peoples of the world like Nehru of India; Matthews of South Africa; Mkrumah of Gold Coast; Azikiwe of Nigeria; Tubman of Liberia; Haile Selassie of Ethiopia; Manley of Jamaica; Magloire of Haiti; and others join us in this tribute.

If Walter could have one word to say to us now, I imagine it would be something like this: Board members, staff, constituency and friends of the NAACP close ranks and go courageously ahead to the accomplishment of the unfinished task with assurance of ever-growing support from all those who cherish the ideals for which we stand. As one of those fortunate enough to be with him in the office for a little while on the day of his departure, I saw in him again that characteristic mixture of protest

and optimism which leads me to conclude with that great poem of Walter's mentor and predecessor in office, James Weldom Johnson:

"Lift ev'ry voice and since
Till earth and heaven ring.
Ring with the harmonies of Liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise
High as the list'ning skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark
past has taught us.

Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us.

Facing the rising sun of our new day begun, Let us march on till victory is won.

"Stony the road we trod,
Bitter the chast'ning rod.
Felt in the days when hope unborn had
died:

Yet with a steady beat, Have not our weary feet

Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?

We have come over a way that with tears has been watered,

We have come, treading our path thru the blood of the slaughtered,

Out from the gloomy past, Till now we stand at last

Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

"God of our weary years,
God of our silent tears,
Thou who has brought us thus far on the
way;

Thou who has by Thy might Led us into the light. Keep us forever in the path, we pray. Lest our feet stray from the places, our God

where we met Thee, Shadowed beneath Thy hand, May we forever stand. True to our God True to our native land."

[From the New York Herald Tribune of March 23, 1955] WALTER WHITE

Walter White was one of the most important leaders in one of the most important struggles of his day. As executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he was regarded as a leader and spokesman for the American Negro, a man who had long ago earned the affection of his own people and the respect of others.

In his iong service to the Negro, Mr. White had seen the virtual elimination of lynching, the enactment of fair employment laws, the reduction of discrimination, the outlawing of segregation in the Armed Forces, the approach, heraided by the Supreme Court decision, of racial integration in the Nation's schools. For all these objectives he had labored zealously and devotedly; he crusaded not by inflaming passions or by preaching violence, but by putting his faith in democratic ways and the conscience of his fellow citizens. And he lived to see his faith and hope justified.

Walter White might have led a different

Walter White might have led a different life, apart from racial strife. He was but one-sixty-fourth Negro and could have, if he had chosen, remained a white man to the world. But his people needed him and perhaps he, too, needed them. With their help and the help of other friends, he accomplished much. If, when he died, much still remained to do, none knew better than Walter White that freedom is a never-ending job.

[From the New York Times of March 23, 1955]

Walter White was the adviser of statesmen and soldiers, in peace and war. His work for the Negro was enormously effective over more than three decades. That he was the author of President Roosevelt's Executive Order on Fair Employment Practices in war industrise is but one evidence out of many of the weight of his counsel and his vision. In his post of executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People he was at the center of the conflict between bigotry and democracy which the so-called race question involves. Considerable progress has been made, in recent times here, in resolving this conflict. A great deal of what has been achieved can be directly traced to his influence.

Blue-eyed and fair of color, Walter White did not need to identify himself as a Negro. He did so deliberately, and in its way this act made a special mockery of race discrimination.

[From the Baltimore Sun of March 23, 1955]

Walter White devoted all his mature life to the struggle to eliminate the legal, economic, and social handicaps resting upon the Negroes in many parts of the United States. He sought, that is, to have the principle that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights accepted in practice as well as in theory.

In the beginning, the fight was up a steep hill. In some parts of the country the Negro was held to be a lower order of being and hence not worthy of the full protection of the law as accorded to white men. Accused of crime, he could be lynched with impunity and often was. Great national organizations, such as the Ku Klux Klan, were largely intended to keep him in his place.

Walter White's methods were not violent. He enlisted the support of able lawyers, both colored and white, to fight the battles of the Negro in the courts and in the press. He s instrumental in extending the scope and influence of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and was its recognized spokesman. In the face of constant rebuff and frequent defeat, he struggled on. He chose the ground for his successive skirmishes with great care and, as the years passed, the victories came gradually to outnumber the defeats. The most massive of these triumphs was the Supreme Court decision of last year outlawing segregation in the public schools. This was a personal victory for White because it was he who discovered and brought into the action the young Baltimore lawyer, Thorogood Marshall, himself a Negro, who steered the case through the courts.

All this is the more remarkable in that Walter White, though proudly acknowledging his Negro blood, was a blond. He was whiter, even, than most of us. He could easily have passed, as the saying goes, into the ranks of the dominant race. Instead he chose to remain among the Negroes, fighting their battles and, in the end, winning their victories. We do not pretend to understand his full motivation for this remarkable devotion, but we are certain there was an element of nobility in it.

[From the Baltimore Sun of March 22, 1955]

Walter White was a fortunate man. He recognized his mission in life at an early age, he bent all his talents to it over the whole span of his manhood, and he saw his crusade marked by one success after another. The mission was to secure to American Negroes the economic, educational, and social rights enjoyed by other Americans. And he lived to see what was possibly the most profound vindication of his long fight, the Suppreme Court decision abolishing segregation in the public schools.

Not many men are blessed with so clear a pattern in their life's work. Yet the pattern was only dimly seen when Walter White toined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as a young man of 25. In those early days of the fight against white-hooded bigotry and flaming intoler-ance the first task was to eliminate the pattern of violence. Men of good will everywhere were active in that part of the fight, but over the years Walter White could claim credit for much of the success. The race riots of Arkansas in 1919, when 200 Negroes died, and the lynchings of the 1920's, ranging from a dozen or more to as high as 64 each year, are now things of the past.

In later years the NAACP's efforts, under Mr. White's leadership, were devoted to securing Negro rights through laws and regulations, national and local. In the periodical press, before congressional committees, in dozens of court cases, the battle to chip away discrimination went on. Not all the battles turned into victories. Many, including this newspaper, felt that the NAACP's attempts to secure legislative redress for the Negro's social plight were extreme and clashed with equally valid individual rights.

But if Walter White's crusade was militant it was also conducted within the framework of law and order. The implications of all that has been won are still to be accepted and worked out. But one great chapter in the Negro's fight for equal rights closes with the death of the most effective leader that cause has seen.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 24, 1955] WALTER WHITE

It was given to Walter White to enter and experience much of the promised land to which he led his people. As a boy in Atlanta, Ga., he knew at firsthand the horror of race rioting and the ugliness of a lynch mob. He lived through racial discrimination in housing and schooling and recreation. But before his death the pattern of race relations in the United States had undergone a tremendous transformation. Violence against the Negro had virtually disappeared from the South. And segregation in public facilities had been declared by the courts of the land to be in contravention of the Constitution.

As executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Walter White played a dynamic part in effecting this change. And as a man. Nordic in appearance and predominantly of Caucasian ancestry, who chose freely to identify himself as a Negro, he played a dramatic part in helping his fellow Americans to understand the folly of race prejudice. He gave his life to a heroic cause now well on its way to triumph.

[From the Washington Evening Star of March 24, 1955] WALTER WHITE

Some leaders are made by their times, and Walter White was one of the number. In & different era than our own "age of confusion" he might have chosen different work. Conditions being what he knew them to be. he rose to their challenge and, heading the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, waged a campaign of reform and correction which already is historic. His cause was good, and he did not spoil it by unworthy methods. Americans of all groups recognized him as a spokesman for millions. He lived to see many of his objectives written into the law of the land. Even more important, perhaps, he saw them accepted into the standard pattern of American thought and American behavior. Thus, he served the entire national community and, beyond that, the high ideals of democratic civilization throughout the world. [From the New York Amsterdam News of the house, and men patroling the streets March 26, 19551

WALTER WHITE

When Walter White died at his home last Monday night the entire world lost a dedicated champion to the cause of freedom. As the executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. White had spent 37 years of his life fighting lynchings and Jim Crow and all of the other more subtle forms of racial Oppression. But his interest in mankind did not stop with the race question in America.

Mr. White was a genuine humanitarian ready to do battle for the victims of tryranny Wherever he found them. He knew the evils of colonialism from his firsthand contacts With that system and he wrote and spoke

out against those evils.

He recognized the stifling dangers of communism to the aims and dreams of free men and women and he pointed out those dangers in his speeches and in his newspaper columns and during his radio broadcasts.

Negroes of America have lost a fearless leader in the long and uphill struggle for full citizenship rights and privileges in the Passing of Mr. White, and mankind has lost true and tested advocate of freedom and liberty.

All of us shall miss him and his courageous leadership and counsel in the unsettled days that are ahead.

[From the Washington Evening Star of March 24, 1955]

WALTER WHITE'S MANY WORKS—A TRIBUTE TO A DEVOTED AND TIRELESS MAN WHO Worked Miracles in the Difficult Field OF RACE RELATIONS

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

Twoscore and nine years ago a fearful thing happened in the city of Atlanta, Ga. a race riot.

Out of that tragedy came inspiration for a career that has meant so much for the Negro race—and for the white race, too.

A boy of 13 stood guard at the window of his home with his father. Each had a pistol. They were ready to defend their home and their family-a mother and five girls. But the oncoming white mob was diverted when a volley burst from the Negro home next door.

As a result of that experience, the boy. Walter White, decided that, though white of skin, blond of hair, and blue of eyes-he was only one-sixty-fourth Negro-he would cast his lot with the Negro race and devote his life to them to do what he could to stop such horrors as race riots and lynchings and to abolish discriminations of all kinds. He could have passed for white.

Now he is dead, at 61, in New York. The hewspapers are recalling how much he has done for his race in the years between with his work for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. For the change—for better relations between the Paces, for an end to lynching and riots, and for the crumbling walls of segregation—we all owe so much to Walter White.

His life and what he did with it has special meaning for another who was a boy also in Atlanta in 1906 at the time of the race riots, a few years younger than the boy, Walter White. For way back across the years there is a point where somehow the two lives meet—though neither knew the other then because of the ordeal through which Atlanta went that left its mark upon the young minds of each—and, if you please, upon their Bouls.

This reporter cannot tell now whether it is remembered experience of the time or something he was told then and afterward that has become the same as memory. It is all like a long-forgotten dream, a dark atmosphere of night and whisperings about

with rifles and shotguns.

Nothing happened in our neighborhood. After Walter White had graduated from Atlanta University, he became active with the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and. in 1918, went to New York as assistant secretary of the association. He had attracted the notice of James Weldon Johnson, who was then secretary of NAACP.

The other young man became a newspaper reporter after college and got another rude awakening when he worked in a small southern city where an atrocious lyn curred. That left another mark. where an atrocious lynching oc-

Before this time and for many years after. Walter White was on the frontline for his race. He visited the scenes of lynchings to gather the facts for his association as the basis for the campaign he directed through the years to stamp out this crime. Personally, he investigated 41 lynchings and 8 race riots and from one adventure he barely escaped with his life.

All through the years he was working also for removing discriminations of all sorts against his race. It was many years ago, in 1929, that he became secretary of NAACP when Mr. Johnson retired, so that he long had been a familiar figure here in Washington lobbying for antilynching legislation, for a fair employment practice law, and for an end to segregation.

One devoted and tireless human being can work miracles, if he keeps forever at his cause, as did Walter White. So in time the various waves that he stirred up here and there all over the country finally washed up last year into the great white building here where sits the Supreme Court of the United States.

Its decision banning segregation in public schools was a memorial to Walter White.

It was, now that he has gone on, a sort of final chapter in the story that had began twoscore and nine years ago back in Atlanta, Ga.

One who was there then, too, and who came later to know Walter White and to admire his courage and his patience and his understanding, wishes herewith to say:

"Farewell and thank you."

A message from President Eisenhower to Mrs. Walter White declared:

In the death of your husband, Walter White, there has passed from the contemporary scene a vigorous champion of justice and equality for all our citizens. His devoted service to his race over a period of 40 years was tireless and effective. Permit me to express to you my personal sympathies in your loss.

A telegram from former President Harry S. Truman said:

I am deeply sorry to hear of the untimely death of Walter White. Please express my sincere sympathy to his family.

President Magloire, of Haiti, declared in a cabled message:

The people of Haiti mourn the passing of this great friend of our country.

In a statement on the sudden death of Mr. White, Arthur B. Spingarn, president of the NAACP, noted that Mr. White's "daring and courage in exposing lynchings in his early years with the association contributed greatly to the disappearance of that frightful crime and national disgrace. Guided in its course by his leadership, the NAACP won for Negroes of the Nation the recognition which established for all time their birthright and dignity as American citizens."

Gov. Averell Harriman declared in a telegram that-

Mr. White rendered invaluable service to our country at home and abroad. His life has been an inspiration to all of us.

In behalf of the citizens of New York-

Said a message from Mayor Robert Wagner to Mrs. Walter White-

I extend to you and the family of Walter White our deepest sympathy. Our Nation, State and community have lost one of our greatest leaders whose entire life was dedicated to securing equality for all mankind. His whole life epitomized his belief in God's precept, "love thy neighbor."

Hulan E. Jack, president of the borough of Manhattan, New York City, told Mrs. White in a telegram that-

Your late husband left behind an invaluable and proud record of achievement which brought the hearts and minds of people closer together in the struggle for recognition that all of us are equal in the sight of God. The Nation has lost a great leader and his passing will always remain as a monumental heritage for all people to honor and revere.

A message from James P. Mitchell. United States Secretary of Labor, to Mrs. White said:

Mr. White made a great contribution toward the promotion of brotherhood and the elimination of discrimination in our country. You may be proud of his contribution to the strengthening of our democracy.

Dr. Ralph Bunche, Under Secretary of the United Nations, declared in a tele-

I have never known a man more dedicated to service of his fellowmen, more inspired by and more ceaselessly devoted to a cause. The American Negro, the American society as a whole, and American democracy, will be forever indebted to him, a stalwart champion of democracy, of human rights and dig-nity, an American in the proudest and richest tradition of our country, a patriot in the finest sense, a man of wisdom and unflinching courage, a warm and human personality. Walter White was above all a being of greatest goodwill. His name will be writ on the list of those who have contributed signally to the progress of our Nation.

Heman M. Sweatt, who, as the result of NAACP legal action, was the first Negro admitted to the University of Texas law school, in 1950, said in a message:

I speak for the hundreds of Negro students in the integrated colleges throughout the South whose lives have been enriched because of Walter White's love for us. is no death for one whose life repelled the winds of fear and whose spirit remains to chant the commands for a people marching determinedly onward into a new sun of freedom

Among the hundreds of other tributes paid to Mr. White are these:

Senator HERBERT H. LEHMAN:

He will be sorely missed in the battles that lie ahead and the whole liberal cause has suffered an irretrievable loss in his death.

Lester B. Granger, executive secretary, National Urban League:

Mr. White's contribution toward guaranteeing and buttressing the American Negroes' citizenship status has been of incalculable proportion.

Langston Hughes, author: America has lost a great man.

Judge and Mrs. Irvin Mollison:

The country has lost a great public servant. For a quarter of a century he was in the forefront of the struggle for equality for all Americans.

J. J. Singh, president, India League of America:

So long as there is discrimination and inequality among men in any part of the world the name of Walter White will be remembered with admiration and reverence.

Robert R. Nathan, chairman, Americans for Democratic Action:

By his courage, wisdom, and tenacity in fighting for the rights, not only of American Negroes, but of all oppressed peoples, he became an international symbol of all that is best in American democracy.

James L. Watson, New York State senator:

The loss of Walter White to the world community will be felt for many years to come.

Adolph Held and Charles S. Zimmerman, Jewish Labor Committee:

The oppressed and underprivileged the world over will miss him as spokesman for racial justice and freedom. America lost in him one of its greatest sons and democracy one of its stanchest defenders.

George Meany, president, American Federation of Labor:

On behalf of officers and membership of American Federation of Labor may I extend our sympathy on the loss of your distinguished officer Walter White who devoted his life and efforts to his work. The fruits of his labor will be an everlasting tribute to his memory.

Walter P. Reuther, president, Congress of Industrial Organizations:

No one, we suppose, will ever know how many Americans of all races, colors, and creeds were inspired by Walter White to fight for equal justice, equal rights, and equal opportunity, but that number must be legion. We regret that Walter White did not live to see his dearest dream, the end of segregation in our public schools, completely realized. In his name and in his spirit we of the CIO pledge ourselves anew to an unremitting fight for the abolition of segregation and discrimination in our land. That would be the best monument a grateful America could erect to a great American. We can and should do no less.

Harold J. Gibbons, president, St. Louis, Mo., Joint Council of Teamsters, AFL:

It is perhaps symbolic that his death came at the time when many sections of America were at last experimenting with new, vigorous methods of democratic living and learning as a result of the work of Walter White and his associates. With his death, he now belongs to the eternal struggle of man to understand himself and his fellowmen.

Jacob S. Potofsky, general president, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, CIO:

His personal character, his intrepld courage, his flaming eloquence, his immolation in a great cause won the support of presidents. Not only the colored people of America but all who bear the proud title of American regarded Walter White as a truly great American, in our best tradition.

A. Philip Randolph, president, and Ashley L. Totten, secretary-treasurer, International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL:

Walter White will long be remembered for his brilliant leadership, oneness with mankind, and humanitarian spirit. We share with you the loss of one of the noblest men this world has ever known. Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, founder and president emeritus of the National Council of Negro Women—(to Mrs. White:

No words can express what I feel in the passing of our illustrious champion, your devoted husband, my beloved friend. He lived to see the fruition of his unsurpassed courage and faith.

William J. Trent, Jr., executive director, United Negro College Fund:

The Nation and the Negro have suffered an immeasurable loss.

Lewis O. Swingler, editor, Memphis (Tenn.) Tri-State Defender:

Walter White's fight for Negro rights gained importance of worldwide proportions. * * * His was a passion that democracy must speak for all Americans regardless of race or creed.

Mrs. Sidney Hillman:

He did more than any man to help break the chains of oppression, discrimination, and segregation which bound colored Americans with whom he voluntarily threw in his lot.

Mrs. William Thomas Mason, president, National Council of Negro Women:

Walter White will be a symbol to men and women everywhere. His manifold achievements will be a beacon light for all who come after.

David J. McDonald, president, United Steelworkers of America, CIO:

His life truly mirrors the best in men who devote great abilities and unswerving energy to their fellowmen. * * The things he has accomplished in a rich lifetime will help all men in the future to enjoy a fuller life.

Dr. Israel Goldstein, president, American Jewish Congress:

He contributed vitally to the extension of equality and democracy in America and his memory will long be cherished by all persons who hold freedom dear.

Dr. J. Oscar Lee, director, department of racial and cultural relations, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America:

We thank God for the courageous and devoted service which characterized Walter White's leadership.

Frederick E. Hasler, Haitian American Association:

His Christlike understanding and sympathy for all mankind set an example for all to follow.

Officers, executive board, and members, Retail Union of New Jersey, CIO:

The world was richer with Walter White in it and immeasurably poorer now that he is gone. We shall never forget or deviate from the humanitarian principles that he fought for so valiantly.

Senator WAYNE MORSE:

The magnificent gains of recent years will stand as a monument to his memory. Walter White's passing is to me an occasion for rededication to the principles of democracy for which he lived.

Among the hundreds of other organizations and persons from whom messages of condolence and tribute were received were Representative William L. Dawson, Democrat, of Illinois; Judge and Mrs. J. Waties Waring; Judge and Mrs. Francis E. Rivers; Frederick D. Patterson, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund; Miss Nancy Woltridge, president,

American Council on Human Rights; Nathaniel M. Minkoff, president, League for Industrial Democracy; Judge Ira W. Jayne; L. H. Foster, president, Tuskegee (Ala.) Institute; City Teachers Association, Galveston, Tex.; Judge William H. Hastie; Lena Horne, singer.

Also Mrs. Helen Reid, publisher, New York Herald Tribune; Elmo Roper, public opinion analyst; James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer, Congress of Industrial Organizations; David Dubinsky, president, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL; John Gunther, author; Chester Bowles, former United States Ambassador to India; E. E. Moore of United States Steel Corp.; the New York office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico; Senator Stuart Symington; Leslie Huvos, sculptor; the National Congress of American Indians; David Sarnoff of the National Broadcasting Co.: Mr. and Mrs. Bartley Crum: Stanley Issacs, New York city councilman.

Also Marcel Fombrun, secretary of state, Haiti; Michael J. Quill, president, Transport Workers Union, CIO; Rev. Maurice A. Dawkins; Emil Rieve, general president, Textile Workers Union, CIO; New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing; J. H. Wheeler, president, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.; Human Relatitons Committee, Battle Creek, Mich.; Lloyd Garrison; Bishop and Mrs. W. A. Fountain; T. G. Nutter; National Community Rela-Advisory Council; American tions Friends Service Committee; the AME Ministers Alliance, Dallas, Tex.; Catholic Interracial Council; George S. Mitchell, director Southern Regional Council.

Also Dr. C. B. Powell, president, New York Amsterdam News; United Furniture Workers of America, CIO; Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union District 65, CIO; Frank R. Crosswaith. Negro Labor Committee; Miss Nannie Burroughs; Associated Publishers, Inc.; Chicago Negro Chamber of Commerce; Saunders Redding; Atlanta University School of Social Work; Baptist Ministers Union, Waco, Tex.; Mrs. M. E. Tilly; Mr. and Mrs. Walter Wanger; Herbert Bayard Swope; Spyros P. Skouras; Bishop William J. Walls; Dr. and Mrs. O. Clay Maxwell; Rev. James H. Robinson; Clarence L. Holte; Dr. and Mrs. Ira De A. Reid; Dr. and Mrs. Ernest Alexander; Price Mars of Haiti; Paul R. Green, president, Civic Unity Committee of Seattle; and Charles Mahoney, president, Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Co.; the Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater New York and Vicinity; the Methodist Alliance of Charlotte, N. C.; Mr. and Mrs. George Logan; Common Council for American Unity and Commissioner Caroline K. Simon of New York State Commission Against Discrimination.

WALTER WHITE'S FUNERAL ATTENDED BY GOVERNOR AND OTHER NOTABLES

The "true story of Walter White's services is found written in the hearts of those whom he helped to liberate from the bondage of second-class citizenship." Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said at the funeral of the NAACP leader, who at the age of 61 died of a heart attack in his home on March 21.

Officiating at the service held at St. Martin's Protestant Episcopal Church in Harlem was the rector, Dr. John Johnson. The Right Reverend Horace W. B. Donegan, Bishop of New York, read the prayer and blessing, with other members of the clergy assisting. Loudspeakers carried the service to an overflow crowd estimated at 5,000 by the police.

Led by Arthur B. Spingarn, veteran NAACP president, officers, board, and staff members served as honorary pallbearers. Distinguished guests who came to pay a last tribute to Mr. White included Gov. Averill Harriman, of New York, New York State Attorney General Jacob Javits, well-known attorneys like Austin T. Walden, of Atlanta, W. Robert Ming, of-Chicago, James Nabrit, of Washington, D. C., and John Bolt Culbertson, of Greenville, S. C.; labor leaders like James B. Carey, George L-P Weaver, and Edward Welch, Congress of Industrial Organizations; Jacob Potofsky, president, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO; William Oliver, United Automobile Workers, CIO; Boyd Wilson and James Jones, United Steelworkers, CIO; and Walter Kirschenbaum, Jewish Labor Committee; United States Government officials, Frank S. Horne and Campbell Johnson; Paul Robeson, singer; John Gunther and Marc Connelly. authors; Mrs. Helen Reid and her son, Whitelaw, publishers of the New York Herald Tribune; Mrs. Anne Hedgeman, assistant to the mayor of New York; Mrs. Ralph Bunche, Miss Stella Karn, Mrs. Louis T. Wright and her daughters, Drs. Barbara and Jane Wright; Richard deRochemont, film producer; representatives of various organizations, and many other individuals.

In mourning were Mr. White's widow, Mrs. Poppy Cannon White; his daughter and son by a previous marriage, Jane and Walter Carl; his three sisters, Mrs. Eugene Martin and Miss Madeline White of Atlanta, and Mrs. Alice Glenn of Cleveland. With Mrs. White were her three children by previous marriage, Cynthia, Alfred, and Claudia, and her sister, Ann Fogarty, the designer, who was accompanied by her husband, Tom. Also Mr. Eugene Martin, the Martins' daughter, Rose, Mrs. Glenn's daughter, Dorothy; and Mr. White's cousins, Mrs. Eva Tobias and Mrs. Estelle Gassett.

RECALLS PRESIDENTIAL MEETINGS

In his brief eulogy, Dr. Tobias recalled instances in which Mr. White had served as spokesman for delegations in conferences with Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower. These conferences, he said, had been fruitful in that they opened the way to expanded job opportunities for Negroes, to the elimination of segregation in the armed services, and to the curtailment of racial discrimination in Washington. They also served to help "move the conscience of America into aggressive action against the double standard of citizenship based on race."

These achievements in "top level conferences" are important, Dr. Tobias asserted, "because they illustrate the method of the NAACP in dealing with controversial issues growing out of race discrimination. It is a method that

blinks no facts and engages in no double talk. But it is also a method that does not make use of rabble-rousing as a technique. It is a method that looks forward to the completion of Lincoln's work of emancipation and the realization of his dream of freedom for all in the true American way."

HELPED THE DISADVANTAGED

People all over the world whose lives have been enriched by Mr. White's work are "looking this way and wanting to be a part of this tribute," the NAACP spokesman said. Among these he cited sharecroppers of the Deep South who are no longer voteless; dining car waiters and Pullman porters who are now privileged to serve their own people as they do other people without discrimination; public school teachers whose salaries are no longer determined by the color of their skin; servicemen in every department of our defense who have been liberated from Jim Crowism: workers of all kinds who now enjoy union protection; children who have been lifted to a plane of self-respect by the Supreme Court decision in the school cases; and thousands of white people who have been liberated from the blighting evil of race prejudice.

And beyond our shores, he said, the leaders of millions of the darker peoples of the world like Nehru of India, Matthews of South Africa, Nkrumah of the Gold Coast, Azikiwe of Nigeria, Tubman of Liberia, Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, Manley of Jamaica; Magloire of Haiti and others now join us in this tribute.

Walter White's admonition, Dr. Tobias concluded, would be "board members, staff, constituency and friends of the NAACP close ranks and go courageously ahead to the accomplishment of the unfinished task with assurance of ever growing support from those who cherish the ideals for which we stand."

Following the funeral service, the body was removed to Ferncliff Crematorium for cremation.

BOARD MEMBERS PRESENT

Officers and board members present in addition to Dr. Channing H. Tobias and Arthur B. Spingarn included Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, Dr. Algernon D. Black, Walter Carrington, Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, Dr. Nathan K. Christopher, Norman Cousins, Hon. Hubert T. Delany, Mrs. Grace B. Fenderson, Dr. George D. Flemmings, Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, Lewis S. Gannett, Dr. Harry J. Greene, Hon. William H. Hastie, Oscar Hammerstein II, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, Alfred Baker Lewis, Z. Alexander Looby, Eugene M. Martin, Dr. James J. McClendon, Miss L. Pearl Mitchell, Mrs. J. E. Spingarn, Dr. James M. Tinsley, Mrs. Jessie M. Vann, Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Andrew D. Weinberger, Samuel A. Williams, and Dr. Ulysses S. Wiggins.

STATE LEGISLATURES EXPRESS SYMPATHY ON DEATH OF WHITE

The Missouri House of Representatives and the New York State Senate and State Assembly passed resolutions this week expressing sympathy over the death of Walter White, NAACP executive secretary.

The Missouri resolution cited Mr. White for his courage and leadership in

gaining the enactment of legislation which has helped greatly to stop lynching and other such acts of violence and declared that his death is a great loss of all of the people of this United States.

The New York statement noted Mr. White's many contributions to his country and to the United Nations.

Copies of both resolutions were sent to NAACP headquarters.

ALAN PATON, OTHER NOTABLES, SORROW AT WHITE'S DEATH

Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel for the NAACP, telegraphed a message of sympathy to Mrs. Walter White on the death of Mr. White, from Acapulco, Mexico, where he is vacationing.

The renowned civil-rights attorney termed Mr. White's death a "real shock and terrific loss." Mr. Marshall said he would be unable to attend the funeral today because plane reservations were not available.

A cabled message from Alan Paton, South African novelist and humanitrian, expressed sorrow on the loss of Mr. White.

The Honorable Orville L. Freeman, Governor of Minnesota, conveyed "deepest sympathy" on behalf of the residents of Minnesota, and declared that "the passing of Walter White constitutes a great loss to the furtherance of the principles of democratic equality."

Two university presidents sent messages of condolence on the death of Mr. White. They were Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University in Washington, D. C., and Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn.

Beginning in the dark period of race relations in the United States, [Walter White] risked personal safety, the calumny of demagogs, and the misguided censure of friends to stir the Nation of acceptance of its own avowed principles and light fires of hope for millions of hopeless here and over the world—

Declared Dr. Charles S. Johnson, in a telegram.

We salute a life that has contributed to and been a part of the most important history of this century.

Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson termed Mr. White "a pure-hearted leader who gave a whole life of tireless and courageous devotion to the cause of delivering the Negro people from lynching, persecution, segregation, and discrimination, and for the regaining and firm establishment of their rights as freemen under the Constitution."

Among hundreds of other persons and organizations who sent messages of condolence on the death of Mr. White were Adolf A. Berle, Jr., State chairman, and Ben Davidson, executive director, of the Liberal Party of New York; Judge Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., of Los Angeles; C. A. Scott, editor of the Atlanta (Ga.) Daily World; the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance of Columbia, S. C.; John Hope II, a member of the faculty of Fisk University; Walter T. Deininger, a planter and philanthropist, of San Salvador; and Judge Charles W. White, of Cleveland, Ohio.

ADDITIONAL MESSAGES OF CONDOLENCE

Norman W. Manley, chief minister, Jamaica, British West Indies:

It was very sad to read the news this morning that Walter White was dead.

I had seen him in New York when I was there in January and although he still looked frail his spirit was so high that I thought and hoped that he had every chance for a stable recovery.

His death has robbed the world of one of the most powerful voices that it had on all questions of human justice and race relations. I always felt it a privilege to have known and in some small way on occasion to have worked alongside him.

Please convey to your executive my sympathy to them in their loss and my deep respect and admiration for the name of this great leader whose life spanned the ceaseless effort to improve the status of the Negro in America which is bearing such great fruit not only in America itself but all over the world.

Henry Edward Schultz, national chairman, Antidefamation League of B'nai B'rith:

May I, on behalf of the Antidefamation League of B'nai B'rith, extend to you and the other leaders of the NAACP our deepest sympathies on the tragic passing of your devoted leader, Walter White. His direction of the NAACP truly helped change the pattern of American life so that preachments more closely approached practices. These changes will endure as a permanent contribution of great import.

Joseph R. Garry, president, Helen L. Peterson, executive director, National Congress of American Indians:

We well know how difficult it is to lose a great and distinguished leader. We share in this sense of loss because Walter White was an inspiration to us, too.

Our deepest sympathies.

Clark M. Eichelberger, executive director, American Association for the United Nations:

Almost 10 years ago I was with Walter White at San Francisco where we served as consultants to the United States Delegation to the United Nations Conference. He made a lasting contribution to those provisions of the United Nations Charter dealing with human rights and fundamental freedoms. We were proud that Walter White was a friend of the American Association for the United Nations.

C. L. Townes, Sr., president, National Insurance Association:

I have just read in the Richmond (Va.) Times Dispatch front page Associated Press story of the passing of your executive secretary, Mr. Walter White, and hasten this letter to let you know the National Insurance Association, Inc., shares with you in this great loss.

Our association and its member companies through the years have supported the program of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its crusade to uphold the human dignity and civil rights of all the citizens of this great country as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe the name, Walter White, will stand out as a symbol of justice and fair play for generations to come.

Mrs. Roy F. Layton, president, Girl Scouts of the United States of America:

I learned with sorrow of the death of Walter White who has done so much to build better understanding among people of all races in this country. Please extend my

deepest sympathy to his family and to the organization for which he did so much.

Angus Duncan, executive secretary, Actors' Equity Association:

The Council of Actors' Equity Association

* * * learned with sorrow of the death of
Walter White. * * * As a result, the Council
adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas Walter White passed away on March 21, 1955, and

"Whereas Walter White has been associated with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for over 40

years; and
"Whereas Walter White was the executive
secretary of the National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People from 1929
until the day of his death; and

"Whereas during his entire association with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People he has been in the forefront of those who believed in the principles of equality and justice for all men, and

"Whereas his achievements will always remain as an everlasting tribute to him: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Council of Actors' Equity Association recognizes that in the death of Walter White, the Nation and humanity have suffered a great and grievous loss; and be it further

"Resolved, That the council is convinced that its feelings are shared by the entire membership of Actors' Equity Association; and he it further

"Resolved, That this resolution be forwarded to the president, Arthur Spingarn, of the National Association for the Advance-

ment of Colored People."

Grace E. Marr, assistant executive secretary, American Nurses' Association:

Many members of our staff join me in this note expressing our regret and sense of loss as a result of the death of Mr. Walter White. We have great respect for the work which the NAACP has done under his leadership.

We would like to convey to you, to all of the members of the NAACP staff and to your board of directors both our sorrow on this occasion and our best wishes for the continued success of your efforts toward the objectives which the NAACP has set and in in which many who are not active in NAACP's program concur.

Carroll V. Newsome, associate commissioner, the University of the State of New York, the State education department:

Walter White's sudden and untimely death is a great blow not only to your organization but also to our country and to our State. We will have with us for many a year a shining example, but in these times we could also use his willing hand.

His dynamic leadership was not only evidenced in the economic, political, and legal fields, but it was also, as you know, evidenced in education, broadly conceived. We all are the better for having had his vision and work. May we live up to his high ideals in the years ahead.

Lewis M. Hoskins, executive secretary, American Friends Service Committee:

We, too, in considerable degree share the great sense of loss which you at the NAACP must feel in the passing of Walter White. Almost more than any other contemporary American he has become the symbol of justice for minority groups. In his own lifetime and through his own efforts, he has carried forward and sparked the campaigns for human rights and civil liberties in the United States. Those of us who have known him a bit personally will feel keenly the loss,

All America will mourn him, but I am sure will feel the concern he would want us to have.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom:

The national executive committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, meeting in Washington, D. C., March 23 and 24, 1955, voted to express to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People its deepest sympathy in the loss of your eminent executive secretary, Dr. Walter White, whose great services to the cause for which you stand are so widely recognized in the United States.

Charles N. Ford, president, United Mutual Life Insurance Co.:

On behalf of the directors, officers, agents, and office employees of the United Mutual Life Insurance Co., I join with the many millions in this Nation and throughout the world who mourn the loss of the great American leader and patriot, Walter White, in paying humble tribute to him and the great institution to which he gave leadership.

We are happy that so many of the rights and freedoms which he labored to win for our people were attained while he was still among us to witness their fulfillment.

E. Roland Harriman, chairman, the American National Red Cross:

I was very sorry to learn of the death of Mr. White. I am sure that his great devotion to his country as well as to his fellow man will serve as an inspiration to all America.

Personally, and on behalf of the entire Red Cross, I hasten to convey to you and your fellow members our profound sympathy.

Clarence E. Pickett, president, Maurice B. Fagan, executive director, Philadelphia Fellowship Commission:

The Philadelphia Fellowship Commission together with all organizations devoted to equal treatment and opportunities for members of all racial, religious, and nationality groups mourned the death of Walter White for so many years the pioneer, mentor, and world leader of such work. The lives of countless thousands have been brightened and democracy has been immeasurably strengthened by the deathless work of Walter White and the NAACP, which he served so ably and devotedly.

Everett R. Clinchy, president, National Conference of Christians and Jews:

The death of Walter White is a deep loss to all men of good will and to all organizations working for the cause of brotherhood. In behalf of the national conference and myself personally, please extend heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. White and other members of Mr. White's family.

Willard S. Townsend, president, United Transport Service Employees, CIO:

With a sense of deep sorrow, we learned of the passing of Walter White. Certainly we have lost one of the most brilliant fighters for human rights this era has produced. The United Transport Service Employees, CIO, join with all freedom-loving people in mourning his loss.

Ellsworth Bunker, president, American National Red Cross:

It is with deepest regret that I learn of the passing of Walter White.

I wish to express to you and to all of his associates in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People warm and heartfelt sympathy.

Frank R. Crosswaith, Negro Labor Committee:

In behalf of the Negro Labor Committee, with which is affiliated trade unions with a membership of over a million workers of all races, crafts, and creeds. I offer our condolence over the passing of your great and illustrious husband, Walter White. In this moment of painful tragedy, we have but one consoling thought in the knowledge that Walter White will be recorded by historians as among those great Americans whose contribution to our strength, to our culture, and to our enlightened concept of human values will be more clearly recognized and appreciated as we continue to travel on along the pathway of human progress, and that neither the wrinkles of time nor the music of years can remove from the memory of unborn generations the name of Walter White. As chairman of the Negro Labor Committee and as one who had the honor of being counted among Walter White's friends, I send to you and your family these words of condolence and sympathy over our common loss.

Marcel Fombrun, Secretary of State, Republic of Haiti:

We wish to express our deepest sympathy in the unexpected passing of this great friend of Haiti, Walter White.

Mrs. William Thomas Mason, president, National Council of Negro Women:

The National Council of Negro Women is shocked and grieved at the passing of one of the world's great leaders, a man whose life was devoted with passionate sincerity to the cause of human freedom and equality. He lived to see in the Supreme Court decision one of the greatest victories in his lifelong struggle. Walter White will be a symbol to men and women everywhere. His manifold achievements will be a beacon light for all who come after.

Dr. Israel Goldstein, president, American Jewish Congress:

The officers and members of the American Jewish Congress extend to you their deepest sympathy on the passing of your dear husband and our cherished colleague in the cause of human rights. He contributed vitally to the extension of equality and democracy in America, and his memory will long be cherished by all persons who hold freedom dear.

David J. McDonald, president, United Steelworkers of America, CIO:

We of the United Steelworkers of America received with profound grief the news of the passing of a true friend, Walter White. Because he worked so devotedly and closely With us in our common goal of justice and equality for all people we will feel deeply his loss in the days ahead. Walter White provided an inspiration to us. He was a man admired by people in all walks of life. His crusading spirit never faltered as he kept his eyes focused on a goal with which we sincerely sympathized. The steelworkers of the Nation knew Walter White personally because he mingled with us, addressed our conventions, and supported our people as they, too, fought for justice. His life truly mirrors the best in men who devote great abilities and unswerving energy to their fellowmen. And even though he has passed on, the things he has accomplished in a rich lifetime will help all men in the future to enjoy a fuller life.

H. K. Weed, the Alling & Cory Co.:

The announcement over the air and in the papers of the death of your esteemed accretary, Walter White, comes as a great shock to all who knew him, either personally or through his achievements.

He was a great man, and his passing in the prime of life leaves a void among his business friends and others who knew him only by reputation.

Our sincere sympathy is extended to those who have had the good fortune of being so closely associated with him.

Hon. W. Averell Harriman, Governor, State of New York:

Walter White rendered invaluable service to our country at home and abroad. His life has been an inspiration to all of us. He will be forever in our hearts and memories. I send you and your associates in the NAACP my deep sympathy in this great loss which has so suddenly come upon us.

Hon. Robert F. Wagner, mayor, city of New York:

In behalf of the citizens of New York City I extend to you and the family of Walter White our deepest sympathy. Our Nation, State, and community have lost one of our greatest leaders whose entire life was dedicated to securing equality for all mankind. As champion of the Negro, his talents and efforts accomplished notable success in his efforts to outlaw lynching, poll taxes, and segregation. The Democratic Party of our country will long be grateful for his in-spired assistance in helping to establish the Fair Employment Practices Act during World War II, and his continuing fight with them for civil rights. As executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People he has rendered invaluable service to our entire community. He was always ready with wise counsel and advice to ease the tensions which were inevitable in our great metropolis where millions of people of every race, color, and creed live side by side in truly democratic fashion. We who were privileged to know Walter White, as I was, from the very beginning of my public career will long mourn his loss, and always remember gratefully his integrity and kindliness. His whole life epitomized his belief in God's precept, "Love Thy Neighbor." If there is anything I can do for you and yours at this most sorrowful time, you have only to let me know.

Adolf A. Berle, Jr., State chairman, Ben Davidson, executive director, Liberal Party of New York:

Liberal Party joins with countless others in mourning the passing of a great American, Walter White. He was one of the finest and most valiant fighters for democracy, justice, decency, equality, humanity, and brotherhood of man. He has left behind a great monument of values, achievements, great aspirations, and your splendid organization. His life work represents the road to victory for democracy and freedom in the world of today.

Anson Phelps Stokes:

I want to send you, and all in the office of the NAACP, my very deep sympathy in the death of Walter White. He was unquestionably a patriotic American, and a very able and courageous leader in the cause of minority rights and interracial justice under our Constitution.

Dr. Hilton L. James, president, the Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater New York and vinicity:

The late Walter White dedicated his life to the high and noble cause of making all of the peoples of our land first-class citizens. He was fearless and faithful in the fight against all forms of racial discrimination. He will go down in history as a truly grand American who was a world citizen. The NAACP has lost its greatest champion. We therefore employ this method to convey to his family and the organization for which he gave himself unsclishly our heartfelt

sympathy. You have our prayers for divine guidance and strength in this your sad hour.

Spyros P. Skouras:

Please allow me to extend to you my sincerest condolences on the loss of your dear husband who has so long made such a distinguished contribution to American life. It was a great shock to me because Walter White was my friend of many years standing. I pray that in the record of his great achievements for his fellowmen there will be some solace for you in your grief. If there is anything I can do please command me.

Bishop William J. Walls:

Shocking sadness bewilders me as it does millions of others. Your beloved drops out when he is most needed. He has followers many who will close ranks and move forward as he will still lead with the leaders from beyond the yell. Accept deepest sympathies.

Herbert Bayard Swope:

I send you my deep sympathy on Walter's death. We have known each other for many years and I had high regard for him as a friend and as a dedicated worker in the field that mean so much to him. The memories of his courage will be a solace to you in your grief. My warm regards.

Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, director, Phelps-Stokes fund:

The trustees and staff of the Phelps-Stokes fund express to you and all members of the family heartfelt sympathy over the passing of your distinguished husband, Walter White. May the knowledge of his rich contribution to better human relations sustain you in your bereavement.

Senator STUART SYMINGTON:

Terribly distressed to hear sad news. Deepest sympathy to you in your loss.

Chester Bowles:

Shocked and saddened by Walter's death. My deepest sympathy for you in your loss. He was a very great man.

Caroline K. Simon, commissioner, New York State Commission Against Discrimination:

To you and the officers and members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I wish to express my sympathy on the death of Walter White,

Mr. and Mrs. John Gunther:

We are overwhelmed with grief at Walter's death. Our profound and heartfelt condolences to you for this irrefutable loss, not merely to you but to the American Nation. It is hard to believe that Walter is gone from us and we will always remember with joy our last meeting only a few months ago, when he was dynamic, gay, and brilliantly alert as always. What a wonderfully useful life led. We mourn a true friend and a great American.

Reed Lewis, executive director, Common Council for American Unity:

The common council and its staff want to express their heartfelt sympathy to you and your associates in the NAACP on the death of Mr. White. It is a great loss to all of us.

Willard W. Allen, sovereign grand commander, United Supreme Council, Scottish Rites of Freemasonry, southern jurisdiction:

I was deeply shocked to learn this morning of the passing of one of America's great citizens, Walter White. He was indeed a militant leader in the fight for equal rights of all citizens and he was able to see some of the fruits of his long labor. While his passing is deeply mourned yet he will ever be remembered by reason of his splendid contribution to the betterment of mankind and the fact that he had trained others to follow him in carrying forth the type of leadership which he unselfishly gave. My sympathy goes out to you in your bereavement.

Patrick Murphy Malin, executive director, American Civil Liberties Union:

The American Civil Liberties Union extends its condolences to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on the great loss it has sustained by the death of Walter White. An indefatigable fighter for the rights of man, Walter White led a crusade for equality which will be recorded in the pages of American history. His ability as a speaker and writer enabled him to stir the conscience of the country in the many campaigns for civil rights waged The growth and imporby the NAACP. tance of the NAACP today as the leading organization in America combating discrimination and segregation is a memorial to his leadership. The American Civil Liberties Union and other groups who join in the effort to achieve full equality for all Americans shall miss him, but we will be encouraged in our task by the achievements of his Will you please express our condolences to his family.

Lloyd Garrison:

Profoundly shocked by the news of Walter White's untimely death. The country has lost a great citizen, a magnificent fighter for liberty and freedom and a man of brilliant talents dedicated to the service of democracy. We will mourn him as a friend who was always warm and gay and delightful to be with and his name will be remembered as an inspiration to others long after we are gone. I deeply regret that absence in Boston will prevent my attending the funeral. Please convey my sincerest sympathy to his associates in NAACP.

Catholic Interracial Council:

The officers and directors of the Catholic Interracial Council were grieved to learn of the untimely death of a great American. Walter White. Certainly his vision and courage have inspired leaders in all walks of life to recognize the importance and necessity of securing equal social justice for all, Walter White's great contribution to America will continue to serve to awaken a greater interest in the task of perfecting our democracy.

Michael J. Quill, international president, Transport Workers Union, CIO:

We join with you and your fellow officers and members in grieving the tremendous loss suffered by all fighters for human freedom in the death of Walter White. He was a happy warrior with whom we were all proud to be associated in the never-ending struggle to achieve that full measure of democracy desired by all Americans. He was a partisan in the finest sense of the word. Unyielding in his dedication to the cause human freedom and equality Walter White will be remembered long after the goals he had set for himself, his coworkers and the people, have been achieved in our country, and his vision and courage were inspiring to all of us who are joined in the same crusade for equality. A living memorial to the memory of Walter White shall be our dedication to his principles. To the end that segregation in all its ugly forms is wiped out and true democracy is established in America.

A Code of Peace Between Egypt and Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, on March 23 the Ambassador of Israel to the United States, His Excellency, Abba Eban, made a presentation before the Security Council of the United Nations, proposing a code of peace between Egypt and Israel. On the succeeding day, I made on the floor of the Senate some comments upon this Israeli proposal.

I ask unanimous consent that my remarks be printed in the Appendix of the Record. I ask also that a condensation of Ambassador Eban's presentation before the Security Council be printed in the Record, following my remarks.

I hope Ambassador Eban's proposal will be carefully studied by our own State Department, and will be widely read by the general public.

There being no objection, the statement and condensation were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR LEHMAN ON THE ISRAEL PEACE PROPOSALS

I have read, with appreciation and approval, of the proposal by the Government of Israel, through Ambassador Abba Eban in the Security Council, that Egypt join with Israel in a peace code for the Middle East.

I consider this to be the first constructive proposal I have heard in many months to deal frontally with the tragic tensions which now exist between Israel and her Arab neighbors.

The American people desire, above all, to see the Middle Eastern tensions allayed. They desire to see constructive steps taken in the direction of peace, understanding, and cooperation between Israel and her neighbors. We are as concerned with the welfare of the people of Egypt as we are with that of the inhabitants of Israel. The welfare of both peoples can best be served—can only be served—by settlements and understandings which will facilitate common and cooperative efforts to resolve the political and economic problems of the Middle East.

If the Egyptian Government would agree to give sober and sympathetic consideration to the Israeli proposals and enter into negotiations concerning them—as was envisioned in the Rhodes Agreements of 1949—the free world will have reason to rejoice.

I am convinced that the people of both Israel and Egypt desire an end to the tragic incidents of recent months, and the threat to world peace which those incidents—all of them collectively—continue to pose.

The Government of Egypt can assume its rightful role of leadership among the Arab peoples, by giving concrete evidence that Egypt accepts the existence of Israel within her present boundaries and is prepared to move forward to a normalization of relations between Egypt and Israel. Such a step would help, in my judgment, to break the unhappy stalemate which now exists in that area. It would, of course, bring an end to the violent incidents—to the raids and kill-

ings—which now occur almost daily along the Egyptian-Israell border.

Thirty killings occurring over a period of weeks are no less tragic than a similar number occurring in one bloody clash.

Even while the Security Council is weighing Egyptian charges against Israel, the press reports a new condemnation of Egypt by the mixed armistice commission, on the basis of a violation of the Israeli borders by Egypt.

I include at this point in my remarks the following press report of the incident I have just referred to:

"EGYPT-ISRAEL RELATIONS

"(Condensation of statement by Ambassador Abba Eben, permanent representative of Israel to the United Nations, before the Security Council, on May 23, 1955)

"The tensions on the frontier between Egypt and Israel are revealed with deep gravity in the reports presented to the Security Council by General Burns. The armed clash on February 28 illustrates the dangers arising from those tensions. On that date a series of long-standing antagonisms and immediate provocations exploded into a conflict with regrettably serious loss of life.

"Such clashes do not spring from the empty air. They arise from morbid conditions of international relations. In this case, they show a profound weakness in the current operation of the armistice system which Egypt and Israel established 6 years ago, on the solemn understanding that they would move forward on its basis toward permanent peace.

"The whole of Israel is a frontier area, with practically no hinterland; for nowhere in the country can a man live and work many miles from the shadow of hostile Arab guns. But this fact, and the consequences that flow from it, are especially marked near Gaza where a frontier created by recent war divides two closely settled regions.

"Egyptian Belligerency

"Against this complex geographical background, the Security Council should recall the political relationships between the two states whose armed forces clashed at Gaza on February 28. The unusual character of these relationships has been revealed to the Security Council in its previous debates on disputes between Egypt and Israel. At the root of these tensions lie a theory and practice of belligerency. Egypt considers and proclaims that there is a state of war. In the name of that 'state of war,' Egypt asserts a right to perform hostile acts of her choice against Israel. On the other hand, Egypt claims immunity from any hostile re-This is the sponse emanating from Israel. doctrine of unilateral belligerency; and it has no parallel or precedent in the jurisprudence of nations.

"It would be strictly and scientifically accurate to describe the essence of the Egyptian position in two sentences: Egypt may behave toward Israel as though there is war. Israel must behave toward Egypt as though there is peace.

"Tensions of Past 6 Months

"Now, this doctrine of a state of war is not a mere juridical theory. It is carried out in practice by relentless hostility on land and sea; by military incursions; by organized murder, sabotage, and theft; by maritime blockade; and by open threats against Israel's territory, integrity, and political independence. * * At no time since the signature of the armistice has the pressure of Egyptian hostility been exerted upon Israel

with such provocative intensity as during the past 6 months.

"The source of this hostility, the center from which the violence is organized and directed, is the Egyptian military headquarters

"The Egyptian representative has spoken as if the Gaza clash erupted suddenly out of a serene and peaceful background, without Origin or cause. The situation now before the Council cannot be remotely understood, still less fairly judged, unless this misrepresentation is corrected. For its correction we have recourse, not to the subjective claims of interested parties, but to the records of the Mixed Armistice Commission and the reports of the United Nations Chief of

"The reports submitted by General Burns to the Security Council on November 16, 1954, and March 17, 1955, tabulate the complaints investigated by the Mixed Armistice Commistion during the two periods of review. final columns of these tables specify 14 decisions of the Mixed Armistice Commission condemning Egypt—more than twice the number of decisions recorded against Israel during those periods. This fact is impressive enough in itself. It becomes all the more significant when it is observed that the few violations ascribed to Israel arose mostly from immediate response to Egyptian firing. For in the application of the armistice agreement, differentiation between firing in aggression, and firing in response to aggression is not always possible.

"As it is, however, in the cases examined and adjudicated between August 1, 1054, and March 7, 1955, the Mixed Armistice Commission, under United Nations chairmanship. has found Egypt guilty of violating the armistice on no less than 40 occasions, including the 14 recorded in the 2 reports before the Security Council which cover incidents occurring between September 1, 1954, and March 1, 1955.

"But even there statistics do not give an adequately vivid picture of the murderous harassment launched from Gaza against Israel in the period leading up to February 28. I therefore invite the Security Council to examine the more serious Egyptian violations organized from Gaza during the past 6 months; and to do so with a clear perception of the effects created by this torrent of assault on the lives of pioneering men and women striving to establish and maintain their lives in the regions east of the Gaza zone.

"Mixed armistice commission condemns Egyptian aggression

"The list which I have read is surely sufficlent to dispose of any extraordinary version which would assert that the period leading up to the Gaza clash was one of comparative quiet. The Egyptian objective was to Create an inferno of suspense and insecurity in the northern Negev; to blow up farm homes when built and water pipes when laid; in short, to prevent the peaceful settlement and habitation of the northern Negev area.

"The records show how the Mixed Armistice Commission began to perceive that it was faced not merely by specific incidents, but by a consistent policy of harassment. The resolutions began to express a mounting concern at a general tendency on the part of Egypt to replace her armistice oblisations by open and unrestrained hostility.

* "The Security Council is aware of the im-Portance attached to the water system in brael, especially in the arid area of the Negev. A sense of deep shock and indignation runs through our farming communityand, indeed, through the country—when large volumes of water are wasted through Guilberate and purposeful sabotage.

"How little the Egyptian Government was influenced by authoritative appeals against its policy can be deduced from the text which the Mixed Armistice Commission had to adopt on October 28 when an armed and well-trained group again, in the Commission's words:

'blew up (water lines) by heavy charge of high explosives * * resulting in very serious damage to the pipeline, installation and water supply.'

"The military character of the Egyptian attacks was clearly attested in the resolution

of the Mixed Armistice Commission adopted on January 24, 1955.

"On January 27, 1935, the Commission again developed its condemnation of Egypt into a generalized criticism;

'Notes with grave concern the serious situation prevailing along the Gaza strip resulting from these repeated attacks;

'Notes once again with extremely grave concern that despite the obligation imposed on Egypt by the general armistice agreement and number of MAC resolutions these penetrations and killings of Isareli citizens have not been terminated.'

"The Security Council would do well to consider the language in which the Mixed Armistice Commission interpreted the situation on the days immediately preceding the Gaza clash. On March 7, 1955, the Commission adopted and published its resolution on the incidents which took place in the 3d week of February. This is surely the authoritative answer to the question which arises in many minds as to the situation and atmosphere out of which the Gaza clash developed.

"Deep penetrations into Israel

"In summarizing Egyptian violations I referred to the assault near Rehovot, where an Israeli citizen was killed by an Egyptian armed group within the heart of Israel, 24 miles from the Egyptian frontier. This came 2 days after the penetration of an Egyptian intelligence unit-probably the same unit which penetrated into Rishon le Zion, 29 miles within Israel

'It is difficult for me to find words with which to portray the degree of horror and alarm which this attack evoked. A unit of the Eryptian headquarters at Gaza had penetrated 29 miles into Israel and spent 4 days indulging in espionage and murder at Rishon le Zion and Rehovot. Never since the armistice was signed had there been a penetration of such depth by an armed group of one party into the territory of another. It revealed an audacious quality of dynamic, purposeful hostility and of utter contempt for Israel's territorial integrity. Not a single citizen of Israel could fail, on reading of this event, to feel the cold wind of his own vulnerability. If the Rehovot episode could be repeated then no life in Israel was safe from a far-ranging Egyptian assault. we think of the solemnity with which the Mixed Armistice Commission had urged Egypt to desist from these acts, and the contempt with which those decisions had been encountered; when we reflect that Egypt was known by everybody in Israel after the Bat Galim affair to have at least an equal contempt for the Security Council whose resolutions Egypt has declared to be nonbinding upon herself, it is not surprising that our people became permeated by the strong resolve to resist further assaults launched under the directing hand of Egyptian headquarters operating a few miles across the frontier.

"The Egyptian record summarized

"It is seriously possible for anyone in full knowledge of these denunciations of Egypt by the Mixed Armistice Commission to assert that the Egyptian military headquarters on February 28 was the innocent victim of an attack which it had done nothing to provoke? If the Mixed Armistice Commission is held to be an authority on the Gaza incident itself, we cannot ignore the authority of its voice when it speaks to us time and time again of Egyptian aggression before the Gaza incident.

"And what the Mixed Armistice Commission tells us is tragically clear. It tells us that the period immediately preceding the Gaza outbreak was marked by 'repeated firing from permanent Egyptian military positions on Israel patrols operating within Israel territory'; by 'continuous crossings from Egyptian controlled territory into Israel by infiltrators and their illegal actions in Israel'; by actions in which Egyptian armed groups 'crossed the line and penetrated to a great depth into Israel'; by peated acts of aggression and hostility against Israel' which the Commission 'called upon Egypt' (on September 13, Oc-tober 28, January 24, January 27, and March 7) 'to terminate finally and immediately.' We are also informed by the Commission at its most recent meeting on March 7 that 'despite the obligations imposed on Egypt by the general armistice agreement and many MAC decisions an end has not yet been put to the aggressive and hostile

acts by Egypt against Israel.'

'The Security Council also has before it two reports from the Chief of Staff. first refers to 'a recrudescence of incidents mostly in Israel-controlled territory [. e., from Egypt], some of them of a serious na-The second report, referring specifically to the Gaza incident, writes that filtration from Egyptian controlled territory has not been the only cause of present tension, but has undoubtedly been one of its main causes.' The report conveys the astonishing assertion by Egyptian authorities that 'persons committing murders and sabotage [in Israel] were being inspired, paid and equipped by political elements in Egypt inimical to the Government and desirous of aggravating the border situation." Whatever the truth of the explanation, the murders and sabotage thus candidly avowed emanated from Gaza headquarters, for whose activities the Egyptian Government is responsible. The report describes a remarkable intensity of activities in intelligence and sabotage, and states that, 'the Gaza incident could appear in this context as retaliation for the spying, sabotage, and murders for which the Egyptian military intelligence was said to be responsible.'

"The report advocates that the Egyptian authorities should take measures against infiltrators, since otherwise, 'the Israelis refuse to believe that a serious attempt is being made to prevent the depradations which eventually build up tension to a dangerous point.

"With all this accumulated evidence of Egyptian aggression before us inscribed in the Mixed Armistice Commission Resolutions and in the Chief of Staff's reports, is it not incredible to hear an Egyptian suggestion that the Security Council should ignore everything that the Mixed Armistice Commission and the Chief of Staff have said about this persistent Egyptian responsibility, and should deplore or condemn only the response which these Egyptian violations elicited, after they had been patiently endured week by week and for month upon month?

"The Council will note that there is nothing in the records of the Mixed Armistice Commission in its consideration of Israel's attitude, to compare with its generalized crticism of Egypt for a constant and well sustained policy of military pressures against Israel. Indeed, the Egyptian representative himself was unable to make out any case

against Israel for the tensions existing in the Gaza region before February 28. therefore went shopping around all the other parts of the Middle East, reaching back 4 years in an effort to concoct a selection of Israeli actions which might balance the story of recent Egyptian provocations in the Gaza The Egyptian delegate would not have let his feet stray into the Huleh marshes in 1951 if he could have found any serious break in Israeli restraint on the Egyptian frontier in the period under review.

"Indeed, the one-sided character of Egyptian violations emerges clearly from analysis of the 36 complaints listed in the Chief of Staff's Report of March 17.

"When we compare these complaints with the earnest, grave, far-reaching decisions against Egypt which I have quoted, the balance of responsibility for the tension preceding February 28 becomes amply clear. That the Gaza incident is a result and not a primary cause of tension is particularly well known to all who have followed these affairs from close at hand in recent weeks

"In the official transcript of the meeting of the Special Committee of the Egyptian-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission held on March 11, 1955, we find the Chairman ad-

dressing the parties as follows:

"'I think all of us realize that this did not arise out of a blue sky, and certainly no report or evidence before the Security Council by any responsible party would give that impression.

"How serious the situation had become before February 28 is illustrated by the fol-

"During the period August 1954 to March 1955:

"(a) The Mixed Armistice Commission condemned Egypt 40 times.

"(b) There were 9 cases of Egyptian sabotage and mine-laying.

"(c) There were 34 clashes with regular and irregular forces.

"(d) 1,006 cases of incursions and infiltrations from across the Egyptian border into

Israel were recorded by the Israel police.

"(e) 106 marauders were arrested during this period by the Israel police.

"A sinister feature of recent developments has been the emphasis by Egyptian head-quarters at Gaza on intelligence sabotage operations. * * * These incidents gave rise to the Mixed Armistice Commission's expression of 'grave concern over the repeated acts of planned demolition in Israel by well-sustained, organized, and armed groups coming from Egyptian-controlled territory.'

"Israel appeals to U. N. and powers

"On many occasions during the latter months of 1954 and the early part of this year the Government of Israel sought remedy for this situation by diplomatic means. Our leaders and representatives constantly engaged the Chief of Staff in discussions of Egyptian aggression, and pointed out the impossibility of suffering these assaults indefinitely without response. We heard periodically from General Burns that he had duly transmitted our expressions of deep concern and his own desire to see armed marauding brought to an end.

"The Governments of the United States of America and of the United Kingdom also considered the problem serious enough warrant the use of their good offices within recent months; and the Government of Israel received information from each of those two governments, as well as from the Government of Turkey, during the period between October 1954 and February 1955 concerning the representations which they had made in Cairo in support of the appeals of the Mixed Armistice Commission calling for the cessation of assaults and sabotage against Israel from the Gaza strip.

"It is impossible for us to imagine that members of the Security Council, or the Security Council itself, can fail to include in their expressions of view a strong condemnation of this campaign of hostility organized in Gaza, to which Israel was subjected between the summer of 1954 and the end of February this year. For the connection between these events and the Gaza episode is nothing less than the direct and compelling relationship of cause and effect. But for the Egyptian aggressions which I have partially enumerated; but for the persistent rejection both of Mixed Armistice Commission resolutions and of the representations and warnings from the powers, there is not the remotest chance that any event would have occurred which would have brought the Security Council into session this week. Nor can the Security Council, which is charged by members of the United Nations with the duty to consider international 'situations' and 'disputes,' fail to evince an interest in the general context of relationships of which Gaza is a single reflection in a particular local facet. For scarcely less alarming than the acts of violence which leaped at Israel's throat from the Gaza frontier over the past 6 months have been the ominous words of direct menace which furnished the ideology and philosophy of these Egyptian attacks.

"Egyptian threats

"On January 28, 1955, Major Salem, Egyptian Minister of National Guidance, stated publicly:

"Egypt will strive to erase the shame of the Palestine war. Even if Israel should fulfill all U. N. resolutions it will not sign a peace with her. Even if Israel should consist only of Tel-Aviv we shall never put up with that.'

"On October 15, 1954, the official mouthpiece of the Egyptian regime, El-Gomhouria,

"'Egypt and the Arabs must turn in the name of humanity and culture to all nations of the world who will aid in wiping Israel off the face of the map because of its barbarism '

"On November 16, 1954, the Saut el Arab (the Voice of the Arabs) the official broadcasting station, declared:

"'Egypt sees Israel as a cancer endangering the Arab peoples. Egypt is the physican who can uproot this cancer. Egypt does not forget that it is her obligation to take revenge and she is mobilizing all her forces in anticipation of the hoped-for day.'

"Egypt's expansionist claims revealed

"A most important and conspicuous development took place only 3 days ago, on March 20, when Major Salem, a leading member of the Egyptian Government, revealed the underlying purpose of Egyptian harassment in the Negev. The object is to impede the development of the Negev in order to bring about its annexation to Egypt. This insolent territorial claim put forward by Major Salem in the clear light of day, is the ultimate source of tension on our southern frontier. Let me say that Egypt or any other Arab State will not get the Negev, nor is our territory available for bargaining in discussions of regional defense organizations. The only result of this aggressive Egyptian pronouncement will be to fortify the passion and tenacity with which the people of Israel will defend every inch of their territory in any arena in which it may be threatened. But is there a single prece dent in contemporary international life for a state openly to assert a claim to half the territory of its smaller neighbor, to launch dozens of assaults upon it against severe international condemnation, and, on the first occasion when it provokes resistence, to run for protection to the very Security Council whose authority it had repudiated a few weeks before?

'Abandonment of bell!gerency

"We are talking of two countries, Egypt and Israel, which have no objective causes for conflict between them, two countries whose cooperation should form the keystone peace and progress throughout the Middle East. No advantage to either people is served by the sterile doctrines and practices of belligerency, hostility and nonrecognition which now prevail between them. Everybody knows that the answer to the problem before us lies in the replacement of hostility by normal relations based on mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state. It is therefore disquieting to observe the refusal of the Egyptian Government to apply those provisions of the General Armistice Agreement and of the Security Council Resolutions which call for an early transition from armistice to permanent peace. We were similarly disappointed when the Israel proposal for the conclusion of nonaggression pacts, made in full responsibility and formality last October from the rostrum of the United Nations, was summarily rejected by Egypt's representatives.

Until such time as progress is made toward peace, it becomes increasingly urgent to correct the defects and imperfections of the armistice system. The main breach in this system is the proclamation of a state of belligerency and the application of that doctrine in acts of war by sea and land.

"My Government is prepared to give an assurance that if no hostile act is carried out by Egypt against Israel, then no hostile act of any kind will be carried out by Israel against Egypt. Indeed, this is our minimal plea to Egypt: Prevent your armed forces and armed groups from crossing our frontiers; stop firing on our patrols and villages; cease blowing up our water supplies; abolish these activities of sabotage, demolition, and murder; do not send people either into the heart of our country or into the border areas for the purpose of destruction and pillage; refrain from threatening our violent extinction or laying claim against our territory; renounce the blockade to which your right has been internationally denied; stop making the harassment and provocation of Israel 3 such theme of your national policy. By simple renunciation of a useless hostility. Egypt can insure on our part a profound, unvarying and universal respect for her peace and integrity.

"Questions to Equat

"It is fitting, 6 years after the armistice, for Egypt and Israel themselves to define the basis of their relationship under the agreement by which they are bound. We therefore ask:

"Will the Egyptian Government agree to proclaim the abolition of a state of war and of all actions and measures carried out on the basis of the existence of a state of war?

"Will the Government of Egypt join with us in a declaration of readiness to carry out all the obligations under the armistice agreement and all decisions of the Security Council adopted in relation to those agreements?

Will the Egyptian Government join us in declaring its fidelity to that provision of the armistice agreement which calls us to make a transition to permanent peace?

Will the Government of Egypt join us in a declaration of fidelity to the provisions of the United Nations Charter calling upon us to settle all disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any state?

"The acceptance of such a code of Egyp tian-Israeli relationships would not take us beyond our existing commitments under the armistice agreement and the charter of the United Nations. These are all things that we have agreed to do already. But under the burden of belligerent doctrines the pacific obligations which we have undertaken have

become lost to sight; and the insidious fallacy of a state of war has spread its contagion both in the theory and the practice of our relationships. If the Government of Egypt, through its delegation, is able at any stage to give affirmative answer to these questions, my Government would make Wholehearted response.

"CONCLUSION

"The Security Council can do much to Withstand the distortion of the Armistice Agreement by the doctrine of unilateral bel-It must be clear to everybody ligerency. studying the reports and tables and the Armistice Commission resolutions which I have quoted here, that for the Council to confine its judgment or criticism to the Gaza incident alone would be gravely prejudicial and unequitable. It would certainly be an inappropriate commentary on official reports which show Egyptian violations to have been more numerous and more generalized than any Israeli reactions which followed them.

"My delegation feels justified in seeking a condemnation by the Security Council of the Egyptian incursions, murders, demolitions and sabotage activities described in General Burns' report as 'a main cause of present tension' and in the Mixed Armistice Commission resolutions as 'repeated aggressive acts by Egypt against Israel.'

"We seek confirmation of the Security Council's view that the claim or practice of active belligerency by land and sea is inconsistent with the Armistice Agreement and

the Charter of the United Nations.

"We urge a reassertion by the parties of their obligations to each other in terms of nonbelligerency, pacific settlement and respect for political independence and territorial integrity; and we await the Egyptian reply to this proposal.

"We advocate, after 6 years of armistice, a serious effort to make a transition toward

permanent peace.

To any attempt at stabilization and pacification our Government will lend its full

support." We all recognize that there are many difficulties in the way of a settlement of all outstanding problems between Egypt and Israel. These difficulties must be surmounted, one by one. The separate points of tension and controversy need to be resolved, each on its own merits.

There is the problem of the refugees, many of whom are now quartered, inade-quately and unhappily, in the Gaza strip in Egypt. There is the matter of the Suez Canal and the right of Israeli vessels to transit the canal without interruption.

These are but a few of the problems ex-

Isting between Egypt and Israel.

Both Egypt and Israel must be willing to meet each other halfway, to negotiate and to reach agreements. I am sure Israel is so disposed. I hope that Egypt will be likewise disposed.

Surely all the nations of the free world, including the United States, would be ready to contribute to the resolution of as many of these problems as possible. It is to the essential interest of the free world that peace be established and maintained in the Middle

The United States Government, for its part, must and should give its full support to the Israeli proposal for a peace code. United States Government should use all its persuasive power upon Egypt to accept this proposal as a basis for negotiation.

Our Government can do a great deal which it is not now doing. Our Government should be moving with full force and vigor to rescue Israel from the isolation which now engulfs her in the Middle East. We should be pushing the excellent Johnson plan for the joint development and use of the Jordan River Basin. By bringing the nations—all the natlons-in the Middle East together, by helping to establish a common front among them, to the maximum extent possible, we thereby advance the cause of Middle Eastern security, and, consequently, of free-world

The peace and security of the free world are, of course, the highest goals of American foreign policy. The accomplishment of these aims would be a great achievement of unese aims would be a great achievement of our diplomacy. We must exert our utmost ef-forts to bring peace and security to the troubled Middle East.

A Tribute to the New Haven, Conn., Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, April 1955 is the 200th anniversary of the establishment of the New Haven, Conn., post office in my district of Connecticut. It was while Benjamin Franklin was Postmaster General that the first post office was set up in New Haven. According to historians the occasion for the establishment seems to have been caused by the French war, which emphasized the importance of postal communication between the soldiers and the loved ones they left behind, an occasion, incidentally, which is not overlooked in modern days with so many American boys away from home

Since its original site on Long Wharf in New Haven, the post office has been moved eight times to larger and more accessible quarters to accommodate the quickly growing settlement of New Haven and the increasing dependence of her citizens upon the postal service. After 1860 the post office has been located on Church Street, one of New Haven's busiest thoroughfares, and in 1918 a Federal building was erected for the post office in its present location.

By 1879 New Haven had one of the 75 post offices scattered throughout the Thirteen Original States. The post rider could travel at the rate of 4 miles per hour if the weather was good. It was said that during the early days of postal service, it was customary for recipients of mail to pay the postage rather than those sending it. Even by today's standards, postal rates were exceedingly high and an early account relates the payment of 5 dozen eggs for postage on 1 letter. Someone said at that time it would cost a farmer 1 good milk cow to pay the postage on 32 letters he might receive.

With the modernization of postal service in New Haven and the erection of a new parcel-post terminal have gone the spirit and the pride of postal employees in that city. Throughout their years of loyal service, these couriers have brought assurances to the patrons of the area that neither rain nor snow, sleet nor hail will keep them from their appointed rounds.

Since the first journey of the post rider, the efficiency and the importance of America's postal service has become a part of our great heritage. Our commerce, our industry, and our economy are based in notable part on the skill and the dedication of hundreds of thousands of men and women throughout the country who handle the United States mails.

In 1825 New Haven post-office receipts were \$1,510.22. In 1954 they totaled nearly \$41/2 million. So we can see as our towns and our cities, our farms, and our churches, and our schools were hewn out of the great wilderness of early pioneer America, the growth of our postoffice system was evident and necessary and today it is an integral part of our everyday life in the United States.

I offer congratulations and best wishes to the New Haven Post Office on its 200th anniversary and to my many friends there who serve its needs and the needs of its patrons with such pride and distinction.

The Skilled American Worker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks. I should like to include a most interesting speech by the Secretary of Labor, Mr. James P. Mitchell, on March 22, on a subject of considerable general interest: ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF LABOR JAMES P.

MITCHELL TO THE RESEARCH COUNCIL FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY, CHICAGO, MARCH 22, 1955

Thank you, Mr. Martin. It is a great pleasure and a privilege to come here to Chicago today to discuss with you one of our Nation's most serious problems. In choosing the topic for my speech, I was guided and inspired by the words from your preamble which I read on the back of program. I see that you are an organization devoted to research into the factors lying behind economic security. It would follow that just as you seek to find answers to the problems of individual security so you must consider the security problems of all our country's individuals, or, in other words, our national security. So here today I will discuss a serious national problem which relates primarily to our national security, but also to the economic security of the individual citizen, for what is national security but collective individual security.

Our world abounds with sweeping new developments. The atom has been unleashed. causing concepts of war and peace different from any the world has ever known; and creating awesome problems which fill many with fears and doubts. Our scientists have devised new and remarkable machines for the defense of our country, and our industry is expanding constantly in new and different directions. The big and obvious problems which follow in the wake of these developments are receiving thoughtful attention of

But beneath the surface lie other fundamental problems, less dramatic perhaps, less heralded, yet serious.

It is of such a problem that I speak to you tonight-an area of national concern which challenges for solution the farthest reaches of our national imagination and intellectual resource.

What is this problem? It can be stated briefly: It is the urgent need to raise the level of the skills of the American work force.

Whether we like it or not, we are now in a race with the Communist world for technological supremacy. The products of scientifis research have obviously revolutionized warfare. Compare, for example, the defense guns which formerly protected our major cities and Nike, today's supersonic guided missile, which can seek out and destroy attacking aircraft. Where the harbor defense guns could be handled and maintained by a handful of trained men, Nike requires more than 100 highly skilled men. This new defense weapon with its complex control mechanism contains more than 1,500,000 individual parts. You can well imagine the skills and abilities required to manufacture, maintain, service, and fire such a weapon.

As we in America look back in our history, we realize that we have been complacent about our natural resources—our timber, our iron, our oil. Likewise, I think you will agree, we have been complacent about our need for scientists and technical experts.

Had it not been for Hitler's barbaric destruction of human beings, the Germans would probably have been the first nation in the world to develop the mighty power of the atom. Fortunately, General Groves and America's scientists had the assistance of a handful of scientists who came to America to escape Nazi- and Fascist-dominated Europe—Einstein from Germany, Fermi from Italy, Meitner from Germany, Szilard from Hungary, and Bohr from conquered Denmark.

In contrast, it is perhaps in the development of scientific and technical manpower that the Russians have shown their greatest resourcefulness. Ever since the days of Lenin the Russians have been trying to catch up with the West in the scientific fields. Today they are making a major effort to develop trained manpower.

The Russians obtain their scientific manpower by directive, but I believe the freedom and incentives of our system give us an enormous advantage in this regard. Nevertheless the Russian efforts to increase their technical and scientific manpower should

give us pause.

We have indeed been entirely too slow to realize how closely our country's economic and military strength is tied not only to the exceptional contributions of the great scientists, but also to the everyday skills and abilities of our workers. No research laboratory could operate; no pilot models could be developed; no manufacturing plant could produce without the diversity of skills represented not only by our scientists and engineers, but also by the electronics technicians, the draftsmen, the setup men, the maintenance experts, the machinists, and a host of others.

And parenthetically let me just say here that likewise, we have been too slow in realizing how closely the worker's own individual economic security is tied to his skill ability. In many ways, from a worker's own selfish point of view, there is no law, no program, no protection as effective in promoting his own security as his skill.

What appears in our country to be solely a shortage of scientists is in reality a shortage of scientists and a shortage of skilled workers and technicians needed to back up the scientists. If the engineer, the physicist or the designed, is short of aides, or if the plants which make his product are short of skilled mechanics and technicians, then his skill is wasted. In short, we have to look behind the top scientist to see the full story. And that is what I would like to do with you

There are 64 million workers in America and of these about 9 million are skilled. That means they have distinctive abilities and competence in work. This group cannot be increased overnight. They are the product of years of experience and training. Many semiskilled workers eventually move up the ladder to become skilled workers, many skilled workers move into the scientific and professional group; and also, as I have mentioned, the contribution that the scientist makes is of no practical value unless what he develops can be manufactured and used. This, in turn, depends on skilled worken and technicians.

The largest skilled group are in the classic trades such as the craftsmen in the building trades, also maintenance and repair and metal machinery. Many skilled workers are in trades with long traditions—the glass-blower, the carpenter, the machinist, the draftsman, the milliwright, the typesetter, the baker and the barber. Others are in comparatively new fields such as the aircraft mechanic, the electronics expert, the orthopedic technician and the X-ray technician. In many jobs the old name has acquired new and different meaning. The electrician, for example, has a job wholly different from his predecessor half a century ago.

This is not a complete picture, however, for this does not indicate the segments of our work force where we are wasting workers who could be used to answer the urgent call for skills from industry and the armed services.

For example, women are grossly underrepresented among the skilled workers except for a handful of dental and medical technicians and foremen in the garment industry. Also, there are relatively few skilled Negro workers. As I said at the outset, we just cannot afford these types of waste.

In seeking the reasons why these groups have not entered the skilled group, it is first necessary to find out exactly how workers acquire skills. We must start with the home for there is where the basic attitudes that a man or woman has toward work are formed. The skilled craftsman is no accident. He is is a product of ambition, intelligence, purposeful drive, and opportunity.

He must have a firm background of basic knowledge about his trade and he must be able to develop his native talent to the utmost.

Schooling gives a worker the basic skills through which he can begin his development. Without the opportunity to acquire basic literacy, to master numbers, to be able to communicate, to learn self-discipline, he has no base on which to build the special competences needed to be a skilled worker or technician.

The Armed Forces are now an important training ground for a large number of young men. In present-day America, most men spend between 2 and 4 years in the armed services. Maybe they do not come out as completely polished skilled workers, but, nonetheless, anyone who spends 4 years in the Air Force, for example, on a first enlistment, will be one or two jumps up in the acquirement of skills. As we trace back the development of the skilled worker, we find that he frequently gets his initial stimulus and some advanced training in the Armed Forces.

There are four main additional sources through which a young person now gets his skill training. First, there are the vitally important formal apprenticeship training programs sponsored and promoted with industry and labor by the United States Department of Labor. Second, there is the relatively new development of the technical school or college. New York State has a large number of technical institutes as does California. Then, thirdly, industry has been moving toward different types of training

programs which add to the skills and competence of workers and which definitely contribute to a man's being transformed from an unskilled to a semi-skilled or skilled worker. I will discuss later how closely this training responsibility of management is related to a worker's economic security.

The last source of training, which accounts for most of the skill training today outside of the Armed Forces, is perhaps the most interesting of all and is not very well understood. In this category is the man who become skilled simply on his own initiative through experience, by changing from one job to a slightly better one, learning as he goes along from the fellow at his elbow.

This obviously is an admirable type of man and he should never be discouraged from his efforts to pull himself up. This type of skilled worker often lacks the versatility and training depth that the more formally trained worker has. But on the other hand, some of our best skilled workers are in this group, but many of them are good only at a specific job. In terms of our national security and in terms of meeting the demands of an ever-increasing mechanization in industry, versatility and mobility are becoming a necessity for the skilled worker.

It would be reasonable to inquire now What is the exact nature of the shortages of skilled workers and technicians? The simplest way to do this is to examine the problem in terms of the military, since there we have the best facts and figures. This does not mean, however, that industry does not suffer from skill shortages in very much the same way the armed services do.

By the end of World War II, there were almost half a million people under the age of 30 fit for military service, but they were deferred because they had industrial skills needed to meet the procurement requirements of the armed services. To give you just a rough idea of the kinds of people we are talking about, it was the aircraft mechanic, the blast-furnace blower, the cable splicer, the electrician, the lineman, the molder, the precision lens grinder, the X-ray equipment serviceman, and the tool designer.

These shortages existed at a time when American industry was operating to maintain an armed force of over 11 million men 10 years ago. When you look at the technological changes that have taken place since World War II, can you picture the industrial skill shortages which would result from full mobilization specialists, highly trained electronic experts who can repair such an instrument as Nike, technicians who can handle the modern radar equipment which has changed so much since World War II days and a host of others too numerous to mention.

Today, the Armed Forces, with a strength of only 3 million men, are roughly 30 percent short on fully qualified skilled personnel needed to fill many thousands of critical military jobs. For example, there is a need for some 35,000 aircraft mechanics and electronics technicians; about 25,000 electronic-equipment operators; 18,000 communications-equipment mechanics, and so on. These shortages reflect similar shortages in private industry. For every 3 skilled persons or technicians that the armed services require, only 2 are currently available, and the individuals who are in these positions in large part have been pushed in without adequate training.

Further evidence of the impingement of the shortages in this area on the efficiency of the armed services can be illustrated by what happens at the end of the first term of enlistment. Who reenlists? It's the military police, food service people, to some degree the automotive-maintenance men, the infantry, and supply personnel. But in the

more specialized and technical areas, only 1 percent of the electronics-maintenance personnel are willing to reenlist, which simply means that industry is bidding very high because these men are scarce. Your armed services are in a poor position to meet this competition, although if the Congress approves the new military-pay bill, the relative position of the armed services will be improved. More pay for the military, however, would tend to transfer military shortages to civilian industry, until a more extensive training program is undertaken.

In short, it appears that the more skill a soldier has, the less likely he is to reenlist, which, of course, throws a very heavy weight on the services in still another way. They have to take a large part of their budget and reinvest it in each 4-year or 2-year cycle to begin to train new people and as soon as they are partly trained, out they go again. This level of training in the Armed Forces undoubtedly has a direct relation to

Perhaps the most important problem in connection with the expansion of skills is the relation of schooling to a man's capabilities. Schooling is the base from which workers move on to acquire special competence. To give some indication of the way in which poor schooling reduces the number of men able to take advanced training in the military or even in civilian life, here are some startling facts.

Out of the First Army area, the overwhelming majority of the young men who are examined have enough educational and mental equipment to be taken into the Armed Forces. Only something like 7 percent fall to pass the mental examination. And in the Fifth Army area, less than 5 percent of the population, really the mentally deficient group, fail to make the grade. But in the Third Army area, where there were sometimes lower educational standards, as many as 1 out of every 4 persons cannot pass the simple 4th grade test the Armed Forces gives as an absolute minimal requirement.

So you have a situation where the Third Army area has five times as many people rejected as the Fifth Army area, and this is a direct consequence of the accessibility of basic schooling. Fortunately this situation is definitely better now than it was a few years ago and is improving all the time as new schools are being constructed and the general standard of living is being improved in those areas which have previously lagged behind. As they accelerate their progress the whole Nation will gain in military and industrial strength.

As you know, the armed services divide their personnel into five broad categories based on mental test scores. I and II are good, III is average, IV is below average, and V they do not normally take.

Now, of the people whom the armed services take from the different regions of the country, we see here 1 out of every 2 from the Third Army area falls in group IV or below, which means that they are definitely not material for further training within the Armed Forces.

In contrast, the First and Sixth Army areas, only 1 out of 4 of those who are finally taken in would not be good material for further training.

There is a very strong relationship between the educational level of the population and the number of well qualified people it can contribute to the skilled work force of the Nation both in and out of the armed services. In the First Army area more than 1 out of every 2 boys graduating from high school, and 40 percent of those who enter the Armed Forces are in the upper groups and definitely trainable. In the Third Army area, where only 30 percent of the young men of military age are high-school graduates, only 16 percent of those entering the Armed Forces

manage to qualify for the first or second group.

These proportions hold up throughout the country. Wherever you have more high-school graduates, you have the highest amount of good, qualified manpower. In the Far West, for example, 2 out of every 3 are high-school graduates and about 43 percent qualify for the upper groups.

We are all interested in low taxes, but we must realize that if low taxes mean poor schools, and poor schools mean lack of adequate skills, then our economic future and our national security may be jeopardized. In addition, industry must spend more to train those who have not had the basic education necessary to perform the work modern production requires.

Some areas of the Nation have had poor roads, isolated communities, inadequate natural resources, nonproductive land, and little industrial development. Such areas have lagged in providing satisfactory educational opportunities for their children. This has perpetuated the areas disadvantage from one generation to the next.

Fortunately, in recent years some of these areas are spending a great deal of their resources to narrow this educational gap and provide better training for their children. The beneficial results of this investment have not yet been seen because there is a time lag between the training of children and the production of workers. The dividends from this expenditure will, however, start being apparent in a few years.

Now, as I said in my opening remarks, this in a very real sense is a problem on individual economic security as well as one of national security, because a worker's ability to make a living and support his family is tied very closely to his skill. In many ways, perhaps, the most valuable thing that an employer can give his employees is skill training. This is true particularly today as mechanization grows and changing industrial processes demand increased versatility and ability. Without the versatility that comes from skill, a worker in a very real sense is handicapped. If, for example, the plant he is working in is shut down, or if his trade declines in usefulness, his one hope for real and permanent economic security lies in such skill as he may possess. After he has collected his unemployment-compensation benefits, this is all he has to help in continuing to sustain himself and his family. It is this—a worker's skill—that will give him the ability and confidence to seek and receive work.

If you look at the areas of our country which suffer from chronic unemployment, I think you will see that many of them are areas whose skilled workers know only one skill. And this, generally, is a skill for which employment opportunities are declining. Furthermore they are areas where, because of age, tradition, lack of education or lack of far-sighted industrial leadership there is a resistance to training and retraining.

There are some communities in the New England area, for example, which have for many years concentrated on one industry—textiles. To attract new industry into this area and to advance the economic security of its workers there must be provision made for widespread retraining.

The most serious underemployment in the country probably exists in the areas whose workers are either engaged in marginal farming or coal mining. There, practically the only skill that any workers know is coal mining. If new industry is to come into these areas, and if the economic security of the workers in these areas is to be improved, skill training is a prime necessity. And before even skill training can start there must be an improvement in ordinary basic education.

The more complex the industry of our country gets, the more important the skill

of each individual American worker is going to be, both to him in terms of his economic security, and to his country in terms of national security.

I think you will agree with me that the United States faces a real problem here and that it is one of critical importance. The Communist-dominated world outnumbers us in terms of population. We, therefore, must make up in skill what we lack in numbers.

There is no simple or single way in which we can raise the level of work skills in our Nation, and surely no way that the Federal Government can or should do it alone. This is a challenge to every segment of our society, particularly to industry, labor, and the local community.

We cannot afford to waste our manpower as we are now doing.

We cannot afford discrimination which wastes the skills of more than 6 million Negroes.

We cannot afford the pitifully bad schools which plague many areas of this country.

We cannot afford the prejudice and shortsightedness which today are making it increasingly hard for workers over 45 to find a job.

We cannot afford not to make the most effective use of the 20 milion women in our work force.

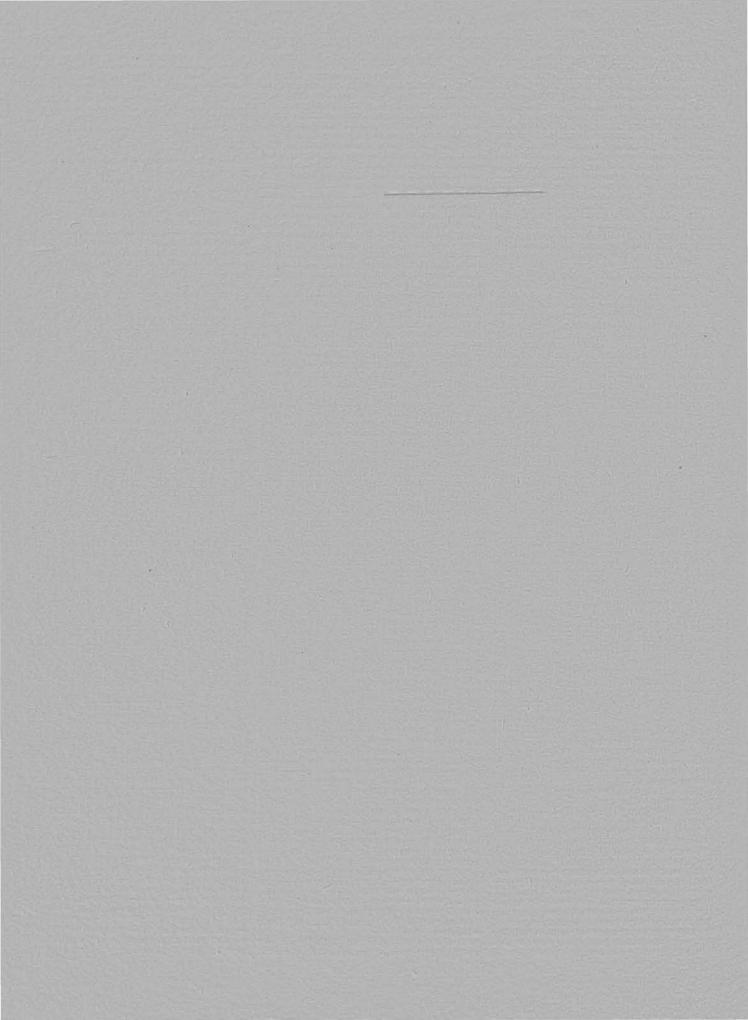
We cannot afford haphazard and ineffective training programs.

These are the areas where we all must strive for improvement. It is to the interest of you, the business leaders of America, to lead the way in this effort. We in the Department of Labor and the rest of Government can help. We can promote training and provide the facts and figures, but, in the last analysis, it is up to you to do the job.

It is the skill, ingenuity, and know-how in the brains and hands of American workmen that have built the sinews of a mighty America. This, together with our spiritual heritage, has made us a great Nation. It is my considered opinion that the level of work skills among our working people today has deteriorated dangerously and could perhaps imperil our survival as a nation. Furthermore, it could imperil the individual economic security of our workers. We are all greatly concerned with the preservation and development of our human resources in terms of work skills is an even greater and more pressing concern and is worthy of the attention of every thinking person in the country. For upon the depth, breadth, and scope of the skills of American artisans may depend the hope of the free world. critical resouces must be cultivated with direction and perspective, and we must begin

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies: to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commis-sioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.



Appendix

Credit Administration Appropriation Bill. 1956

SPEECH

HON. H. CARL ANDERSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under Consideration the bill (H. R. 5239) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and Farm Credit Administration for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, and for other purposes.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the balance of the

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is

recognized for 14 minutes.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairmen, I regret that the debate on this most important of all bills relative to the farmers of America, has been forced somewhat along political lines today.

It has always been my observation in the 11 years in which I have helped to handle this bill, that here was one measure and one subcommittee that has been devoid of politics throughout the years.

I hope that it will continue so.

Mr. Chairman, our Subcommittee on Appropriations for Agriculture, after 2 months of careful study, has reported this bill unanimously. It contains what we consider to be adequate funds for the programs of our Nation's basic industry, agriculture, for the coming year. While our subcommittee of seven members ap-Preciates the grave need for economy, we also recognize that agricultural prosperity is the foundation of a prosperous national economy. We feel that we have Worked out an equitable bill, fair to the farmer, fair to the consumer and more particularly a measure designed to promote the welfare of our great Nation. In reply to the criticisms made here on the floor relative to the report on our bill let me just say, Mr. Chairman, that it has been my experience during the 11 years in which I have helped handle the annual agriculture appropriation bill, that the report is the responsibility and is prepared largely by the chairman of the subcommittee. Certainly the other members, including the minority members, had the privilege of looking over the rough drafts but in the main this report is the work of our chairman, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHIT-TEN]. I want to make it clear also, Mr. Chairman, that while I agree with the major portion of this report, I would, if I had the privilege, strike out certain

Department of Agriculture and Farm statements. However, I feel that in the main we have given you a comprehensive and informative report and a good bill.

PARITY FOR AGRICULTURE

The Seventh Congressional District of Minnesota, which I have had the honor to represent for nearly 17 years, is one of the few strictly agricultural congressional districts in America. Certainly the business people in the 155 villages and towns in my district and in the other than rural districts cannot prosper unless the farmers who buy goods, manufactured products and services from them receive a fair return for the food and fiber they contribute to the Nation's economy. It is just as simple as that. If the farmer does not prosper, the income of the people in the city districts cannot materialize. We are interdependent and no one segment of our economy can go it alone. Do you realize that the farmer representing 15 percent of our Nation's population produces food and fiber for the other 85 percent? In reporting the bill which provides for the reenactment of our 90 percent price support program, the House Committee on Agriculture brought out the fact that the parity ratio tumbled from 113 in February 1951 to 94 in January 1953. Since January 1953 the parity ratio has declined from 94 to a current level of 86, a change of 8 points while the average of retail food costs has remained unchanged, close to the postwar peak. The committee's study showed that since 1947-49 prices re-ceived by farmers for dairy products have declined 8 percent while retail prices on dairy products rose 6 percent. The farm price of food grains dropped 9 percent while bakery products at retail climbed 22 percent and fruit and vegetable producers received 4 percent less while consumers paid 12 percent more. The report disclosed that an important reason for the upward trend in marketing costs over a period of years is the increased packaging costs between the farm gate and the consumer's door. Increased labor costs also accounted for a part of the farm-to-table spread. Wage rates for workers in marketing farm food products increased from \$1.23 an hour in 1947-49 to about \$1.70 in 1954. Industrial workers can now buy more food with the earnings from 1 hour of labor than in any period of history. Out of each dollar spent by the housewife for domestically produced food, 57 cents now goes for processing, marketing and transportation charges while the farmer receives only 43 cents out of that dollar.

I have brought these facts to your particular attention since I want once and for all to disabuse your minds of the propaganda that has been circulated far and wide that 90 percent price supports are too generous. It is simply not the

fact, and these statistics prove it. Since adopting the flexible price support law, our price ratio has slipped from 90 to 86. The farmer does not want an unreasonable price for what he produces, but since his expenses for operation have remained high and his net profits have declined by nearly 30 percent since 1947, he is forced to demand a reasonable price support floor in return for the production of ample food for the Nation. He has no other recourse. Ninety percent price support under our basic storables is reasonable. We all know that when things are scarce prices are high and that high production should mean lower living costs. However, the equation has not worked out as simply as that. Is it fair to ask the farmer to produce the food and fiber the rest of the Nation must have without protection against a ruinous slump because the good Lord blesses us with bountiful production? The manufacturer of munitions of war is protected. Union labor is protected. Business is protected in many ways. Should the farmer be left to rely on the law of supply and demand? All we are asking is a square deal. We are certainly willing to give the same consideration to all other segments of our economy. Furthermore, agriculture must receive parity prices for its production to encourage this basic industry to produce the food our 160 million people require. Every year there are 2,650,000 more people in our Nation who must depend on agriculture for their food. Shall we say to the farmer, "You produce more food than the rest of the Nation needs and we will pay you off by ruining your price level"? Is that a square deal? Shall the farmer be required to answer to the city consumer for the high marketing and distribution costs? I say to you Members from the city districts, let us give the farmer the break he deserves. Let us not close our eyes to the actual situation as far as the farmer's return for his hard work and long hours are concerned. You will not find any farmer putting in an 8-hour day or a 5-day week. There is no minimum wage, guaranteed annual wage, or unemployment insurance in the farmer's book.

If labor and industry are entitled to a square deal, how about the farmer? It is high time that we got the farmer's situation into the proper perspective. Let me give you an example of how I feel the farmer and everybody in our Nation could have been helped. Last fall the egg producers of the Middle West should have received at least 35 cents a dozen for good medium eggs, but because of a comparatively small 5-percent overproduction the egg market collapsed and the average run of eggs through my area brought the farmer scarcely onethird of what he should have received. A little commonsense price support operation at that time would have strengthened the market and would have given assurance of at least a partial fair return to the producer and prevented much of the financial loss suffered by the poultry industry amounting to nearly \$300 million over a few months' time. The Department's refusal to grant my request that they buy up the 5-percent excess production makes them responsible, in my opinion, for this tremendous loss in gross income for the country's egg producers. An expenditure of \$25 million, or a little more, to buy up this temporary 5-percent overproduction would have prevented the larger loss. The excess shell-egg production could have been donated to the school-lunch program and the income-tax branch of the United States Treasury would have been ahead through the returns in taxes received from the producers. The people who advocate controlling production by lowering or doing away with price supports on agricultural commodities forget the basic fact that the Nation as a whole can easily lose 10 times the cost of price supports by failing to support the market adequately. The egg market situation last fall is a clear indication of what happens when no support, or little support, in the line of a minimum price floor is guaranteed to the producer.

Time and time again I have heard it said that the 90-percent price supports under our basics have resulted in the accumulation of the commodities we now have on hand. Never once have I heard it said that prosperity for agriculture would justify many times the \$2-billion loss incurred to date over a 20-year period. Nobody can estimate how many billions came to the Treasury in income taxes during that period because of a prosperous agriculture.

Agricultural prices are on the way down today. One hundred percent of parity should be given to the farmers of America. A net income of approximately \$15 billion, or an average of \$3,000 per farmer on the 5 million farms now being operated, would result. For every 1 percent which the general parity index

declines below 100 percent, the farmers lose at least \$150 million in net income. The Nation as a whole loses seven times that amount, or \$1 billion in purchasing power for every 1-percent drop in the farmer's net income. Can we afford low farm prices? I contend that a depression will result if we permit this situation to continue. Today we are at the 86-percent level. It is estimated that the net income for 1955 will be \$12 billion or less. The curve of loss to the farmer in net income becomes sharper as the parity price index becomes lower. In this year 1955, when most other lines of industry are receiving the highest rate of income ever received, and when prices in Wall Street are so high that they are the concern of the Congress, the farmer will receive \$3 billion less in

net income, not gross income but net

income, than he should receive. I re-

peat: this \$3 billion net loss means a

decrease of seven times that amount, or

at least \$20 billion less in purchasing

power throughout the economic blood-

stream of our Nation. Mr. Chairman,

we have been pennywise and pound foolish in begrudging agriculture the 90 percent of parity price supports to which it is entitled not only for its own good but for the good of the entire Nation. In the single instance I have pointed out to you, we penalized the farmer because he produced 5 percent too many eggs for the 160 million human beings in this Nation of ours. Suppose the farmers formed a union and arbitrarily cut the production of eggs and poultry by 15 percent. The consumers of the Nation would then be fortunate if they could purchase a dozen eggs for less than \$1. Is it not better to recognize that the farmer is entitled to a fair price for the food he produces and thus protect the consumer from exorbitant prices because of scarcity? That fair price should be 100 percent of parity, which in itself is an ever-changing factor, as cost of production changes.

I wish some of those who worry about our surplus foods and the fact that we have some \$7 billion invested in farm commodities at this time would visit some of the Near East nations as my subcommittee did and see the results of insufficient food supplies. If you saw the 450,000 Arabian refugees along the border of Israel, as we did, and the little children who have lived in these camps for the 7 or 8 years of their lives with only half enough food, or if you had gone into Pakistan with us and had seen the millions of half-starved refugees that were thrown out of India, you would realize, as we did, what a blessed country America is and how vital it is to the rest of the world that we continue our high rate of food production. These other nations have a real problem. should share our surplus with them. Those who consider surplus food a curse should take time out to count their blessings. If this great Nation of ours ever comes to the point where it cannot produce sufficient food for our people, then we will be in real trouble.

Our subcommittee could not, of course, go along with the Department's sharp curtailment of the so-called action programs. The Department came to us with a budget providing for reductions in the action programs, including plant and animal disease and pest control, Soil Conservation Service operations, flood prevention, inspection of fresh fruits, vegetables, poultry and eggs, and the school-lunch program. Our subcommittee restored the proposed reductions in these important programs which relate directly to our three greatest assets. children, soil, and water, since we believe firmly that expansion rather than reduction can be readily justified.

Our subcommittee restored the proposed reduction in funds for the Soil Conservation Service and provided an increase for technical service to staff the 58 new soil-conservation districts to be established during the coming year. We felt it was more intelligent to attempt to prevent the results of the drought and dust storms and other hazards which face the farmer than to let them occur and then endeavor to meet them. Work on the Andersen-Hope watershed-protection program has not proceeded according to schedule. Our

subcommittee also concluded that the work on the 11 old authorized watersheds should certainly not require 25 years for completion. We would like to see an earlier date set, and it is very apparent that the expansion of this type of conservation work to other areas of the country is not proceeding rapidly enough to meet the real need and demand. We, therefore, provided sufficient funds to restore the reduction in flood-prevention funds and increased the allocation for the work on this and the watershed-protection program.

The reductions proposed in the insect and animal disease control programs and the inspection and grading of fresh fruits, vegetables, poultry, and eggs were restored.

The subcommittee provided a total of \$37 million, or an increase of \$1,178,000 over appropriations for 1955, for the Department's research programs and insists that the work be done on worthwhile projects. Of this amount, \$200,-000 has been earmarked for special research on the effect of acreage reductions on the local and national economy. If, temporarily, we are producing too much food in this great Nation of ours, why not take the most practical course and remove 35 million acres of farmland from cultivation? Why produce wheat, corn, and cotton and other crops in surplus? Why not attack the problem at its roots and keep sufficient land out of production to prevent these surpluses? Early in January I introduced H. R. 2370, which so provides and was glad to note recently that Mr. Schumann, president of the Farm Bureau. agrees largely with my proposal. The Izaak Walton League has gone further and announced that they advocate taking 60 million acres of marginal land out of production. Let us, as I proposed several years ago, take 35 million acres of farmland out of production and turn it into a soil fertility bank. Let us retire this much land from production and pay lease rentals averaging about \$12 per acre to farmers who cooperate. This will cut down the surpluses and help maintain parity prices for what we do produce. It would do much toward solving the price-support

Particular mention was also made in our subcommittee's report regarding the recent deemphasis on home economics research. Testimony we took from persons engaged in home-demonstration work with farm families indicated that some part of the funds provided for the Home Economics Bureau should be used on such projects as household food consumption and family budgets and expenditures.

Seventeen million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars was allotted for plant and animal disease and pest control. This represents an increase of \$496,000 above the budget estimates, including a supplemental of \$500,000 to meet a grasshopper emergency in the West. With these restored funds, the Department will have sufficient latitude to work out arrangements with the States as to adequate financial support and uniform quarantine regulations for those programs where further Federal

Federal participation in these programs Will, of course, always be necessary to assure free and unhampered interstate shipment of agricultural products.

The Meat Inspection Service was allotted the full budget estimate of \$14,-325,000 which will permit continuation of the program at the same level as was

authorized in 1955.

One million nine hundred thousand dollars has been allotted for research in foot and mouth disease and other contagious diseases of animals and poultry. I am a strong believer in research and in the dissemination of the results of the Department's findings and certainly hope these funds will be used to practical advantage.

There is another basic problem which I wish to discuss in the few minutes left to me. In my opinion, the Department officials and the Bureau of the Budget made a very grave error when they advanced the idea through smaller funds that the Soil Conservation Service should be subordinated to the Extension Service, and it would appear, gradually eliminated. Our subcommittee very definitely considers that these two great organizations are essential to the welfare of agriculture in America and agreed that neither one should be subordinated to the other. We have made appropriations available in this bill of \$48,895,000 for Extension and \$45,475,000 for payments to the States and landgrant colleges, for experimental stations, and we increased the item for soil-con-Servation operations by \$2,916,379 above the budget request.

The Rural Electrification Administration's program, so vital to every farmer in the Nation, was allowed \$160 million in loan authorizations, the full budget request, together with an additional \$100 million injected by our subcommittee for a contingency fund to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to meet any large or unusual needs in any area of the country which could not be handled Within the regular authorization. With an estimated carryover of \$21 million and probably rescissions of \$4 million, the REA will have a total of \$185 million available for electrification loans during the coming year, exclusive of the contingent fund I mentioned.

The rural telephone program was given \$75 million, which represents an increase of \$5 million over the budget estimate and should enable the telephone program to continue at the same level as was authorized last year. There is a large backlog of loan applications on hand and our subcommittee felt it would be unwise to reduce the funds for the program below last year's level. We hope that the additional funds authorized for the rural telephone program will speed up the handling of loan applications and construction work.

We have provided \$185,217,957 for reimbursements to the Commodity Credit Corporation to take care of funds advanced for special programs authorized by Congress. The very successful Paki-

Withdrawal appears warranted. Some stan wheat program was one of these for which CCC is being reimbursed.

As I said, when I opened my remarks, we have brought a good bill to the House and we have provided for the agricultural programs for America very adequately. I hope the membership will support our measure.

A Proposal to Repeal Federal Taxes on Gasoline, Lubricating Oils, and Diesel Fuel

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill in Congress to repeal Federal taxes on gasoline, lubricating oils, and diesel fuel.

If my proposed legislation is enacted it will save Connecticut's taxpayers over \$10 million a year and return to the voters the right to determine when, where, and what amount of their tax dollars are to be spent for highway improvements. This is the American way.

Nor are these the only objectives I have in mind in submitting my proposal to Congress. I offer the following additional reasons:

First. During the past several years the Federal motor fuel taxes collected in Connecticut were more than double the Federal allotments for highway construction in Connecticut.

Second. Only a few days ago President Eisenhower's own United States Comptroller General, Joseph Campbell, told the Congress that the administrationsponsored \$101 billion, 10-year interstate superhighway program raised "questions of legality," and indicated he might officially rule against the very heart of the program-the earmarking of Federal gasoline taxes to pay for highway construction.

Third. In the broad constitutional concept of States' rights, the construction, improvement, and maintenance of State highways is the primary responsibility of State governments.

Fourth. The construction of proposed defense highways is the responsibility of the Federal Government, and should be financed by special appropriations of The American Constitution Congress. provides that the common defense of the country is vested in the Federal Govern-

I wish to point out that the 1953 allocation of Federal funds to build highways in Connecticut was only \$4,897,000, compared to the \$11,512,000 paid into the Federal Treasury from Connecticut under the 2-cents-per-gallon Federal levy on gasoline and the 6-cents-per-gallon Federal tax on lubricating oils. During the same year the 4-cents-per-gallon

Connecticut State tax amounted to \$23,-759.000.

The United States Bureau of Public Roads estimates that approximately \$12 million will be collected this year in Connecticut. New allocations-fiscal year 1956-of Federal funds for Connecticut highways will be \$8,086,262-primary highways, \$2,057,610; secondary highways, \$1,031,625; urban roads, \$3,350,400; interstate highways, \$1,656,627.

While it is true that the Federal motor fuel taxes are not allocated directly to States for highway construction, but are revenues going into the general Treasury funds, the whole theory that Federal grants in aid for State highway construction is built on the premise that the Federal Government is making a comparable return for tax dollars collected. This is a distorted concept. Furthermore, the Federal Government has never adequately supported badly needed farm to market roads, but concentrated on expanding the bulk of Federal aid on building superhighways in sparsely settled areas of the West or poor sections of the South. This is another reason why the Federal levy ought to be abolished. But I am not in favor of abolishing the Bureau of Public Roads needed to plan and supervise defense highways and act in a research and advisory capacity to State highway departments.

If the 2 cent a gallon Federal gas tax is relinquished, the States can reimpose it to meet the specific needs of their own highway program. An intensified State and local highway program is badly needed in Connecticut.

In the event of air-atomic attack, the roads of Naugatuck Valley are appallingly inadequate to meet the needs of evacuating the entire population as now projected by the civil-defense planners.

In view of the fact that Naugatuck Valley has been designated a probable critical target area, civil-defense officials are planning a simulated attack exercise beginning June 15 to test civil defense operational procedures.

If a rapid mass evacuation of only 50,000 people in the Naugatuck Valley was undertaken, a terrible traffic jam would result. But a "dry run" of this nature would certainly highlight the essential need of defense highways in the valley.

I will support the proposed Federal superhighway program if all Federal automotive and motor-fuel taxes collected in Connecticut are earmarked for highway use in the State. Comptroller General Campbell's questioning the legality of earmarking these funds to retire the highway bonds calls for a reevaluation of the whole program.

Joe Campbell has the statutory authority to spike the very heart of the program, therefore my bill will release the Federal Government from the burden of collecting a gas tax it probably cannot use for highway building and allow the States to reimpose the tax where it can be legally earmarked to build drastically needed public highways.

Gen. Raymond S. McClain: The Best Weapon Is Still Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEROY JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, perhaps the most outstanding civilian soldier of the second World War was Lt. Gen. Raymond S. McClain.

Life Magazine was thoughtful enough to send to me—and I assume to all Congressmen—a copy of an article written by General McClain during the last few days of his life.

It is the most powerful and convincing article on the need for trained reserves and the way to have them at all times that I have ever read.

In addition to the tremendous record as a soldier in the First World War and the Second World War he was an outstanding citizen. While Oklahoma claimed him he was really a national citizen. In addition he was a wonderful friend, charming, thoughtful, kind, and unassuming. I wish that every person in the United States, in this critical time, could read his explanation of the muchmaligned UMT plan that would, if put into effect, keep us in readiness for any eventuality all the time with a minimum of sacrifice and great benefit to those who were in the program.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the article, which follows:

BEST WEAPON IS STILL MAN
(By Raymond S. McLain)
There has seldom been a more maligned

and less understood subject than what has popularly become known as UMT. sal military training is strictly an American term, and strictly an American concept. It envisages a short period of military training for all fit young men, after which, as members of the reserve, they will stand in readiness to defend their country when the need arises. The basic idea in its present form was devised by Gen. George C. Marshall as an economical, equitable plan for meeting the accelerated speed of modern war in its initial stages. Marshall's belief in it was spurred by the many letters he received from those of us who had to command troops in combat and from our reports about shocking burden our soldiers had to withstand when the enemy bore down on us with superior strength, making it necessary for us to keep trained men in foxholes week after week and even month after month under distressing conditions because we had no trained replacements Britain, France and in fact all but very few of the world's nations have systems to the same purpose, but employ what may be actually described as universal service or conscription. The basic idea of those who advocate UMT is that it can give us adequate preparation for less cost in money to the Nation and less

required by selective service.

Since the establishment of this Nation there has been a cleavage in thought between those such as Washington and Jefferson who advocated strengthening our reserve forces and those professional military men who followed what has been called the "Utopian plan" of large and expansible regular forces. In the old days, this latter theory, based on

individual sacrifice of life and time than are

the idea of a force large enough to perform until general mobilization could be accomplished, seemed reasonable enough in view of our distance from Europe and Asia.

All of our wars have been eventually fought by civilian soldiers. The present problem is, shall we train them or not? If so, shall we keep them, as Russia does, for long periods in the regular forces? Or shall we raise them to a level of training so that they can be profitably utilized in case of emergency, but in the meantime are free to act as individuals for the Nation's welfare?

Here are some of the arguments used against UMT:

"It is against our traditions and contrary to the way of life our ancestors visualized for this new country. Our ancestors came over here to escape just such a system in the old countries and to avoid wars."

We have been shedding traditions ever since we shed the tradition of the divine right of kings. Some of our ancestors might have come over here with the idea of escaping military conscription. Probably more came for other reasons. But all had other ideas in their minds too. Our ancestors wanted and had, and we their descendants have, religious liberty, liberty of conscience, liberty of assembly, of petition, of the press, of personal choice of the means we employ to live and to enjoy living. Our ancestors' belief in defending these values overwhelmed their belief that they could avold wars, but our fallacious devotion to unpreparedness nearly cost us our independence, did cost those who fought the war for independence and every war since unprecessary sacrifice.

and every war since unnecessary sacrifice.

The voluntary system of fighting wars has been a delusion. Never have enough volunteers been available in any major war. Equity of burden in war should be just as essential an element in our existence as equity of benefit in our civil existence. What could be more democratic, more fair, more American? The volunteer system in time of war can only become a device used by those in authority to avoid the responsi-bility of making fair decisions as to who should perform hazardous duty. Any commander who calls for volunteers to undertake an extremely hazardous mission is shirking his responsibility. The courageous men volunteer time and again until there are few left. Why should the most courageous be liquidated first by their own generosity of spirit?

"Some say that massed armies are a thing of the past; that Russia so outnumbers us, man for man, that we cannot hope to meet its challenge in ground warfare."

Massed armies, as popularly conceived, have been on the decline since the Napoleonic wars. With continuing improvement in the efficiency of firearms, commanders have constantly had to revamp and disperse their troop formations in order that these could withstand the type of fire delivered against them. But because of new weapons and logistics, and because of this need for dispersal, major wars have required more and more men than ever before, and there is no indication that this will change in the future. Despite all the so-called ultimate weapons developed since the turn of the century, more and more men, not less, have engaged in our wars.

That Russia has more manpower and cannot be matched man for man is sheer fallacy. The total population of Russia and her western satellites was about 50 million less than that of the NATO countries before Greece and Turkey were brought into that organization. There is little question that the man of the NATO nations can acquit himself better on the battlefield than the average Russian because of superior fire-power, control, and mobility. In the factory he can produce probably six times as much; on the farm, probably four times as much; and in administrative positions probably

outwork the Russian better than two to one because of less red tape.

Any of us who were in contact with the Russians at the end of the war know that no policy or strategic decision can be taken by any Russian unless he has direct orders from Moscow. We can all imagine, too, how much bureaucratic machinery is required to transmit requests to and get orders from Moscow.

"Germany and France have both had universal service and both have been defeated whereas we as a Nation have never had either universal service or universal training and have always won our wars."

As a matter of fact, if France had not had universal service when World War I began, it would have been completely overrun. It was only because the French had trained men in readiness that they were able to stop the Germans before they took Paris. It might be more profitable to point to Switzerland and Sweden, both of whom have had a form of universal training and service and neither of whom has had a war in the last 140 years, while the United States has had five recognizable major wars and many little ones. In both World Wars and in Korea we had to resort to selective service before we could win.

"It is said by some that military training camps are dens of iniquity that would be bound to influence adversely the character of the 18-year-old trainees."

I have spent some 42 years around training camps, and it has been my experience that there is no more temptation at the average one than there is at the average high school in the United States. Training camps are run by officers who feel directly responsible for the trainees. And as an added safeguard, Congress, in the present Universal Military Training and Service Act, created the civilian-controlled National Security Training Commission to oversee training camps and make sure that the proper moral atmosphere exists.

"It is said that young men of 18 do not have the time to devote 6 months to military training."

Not only have many veterans of past wars taken much more than 6 months out of many of their lives, but some have taken as much as 4 or 5 years, and hundreds of thousands have sacrificed limbs or their very lives in order that those who advance such statements might enjoy the privilege of peaceful existence.

"Some people maintain that any military training program should be carried on in high schools."

There are over 23,000 high schools in the United States. To be carried on successfully the program would require building 23,000 armories, establishing 23,000 staffs to carry on instruction, providing 23,000 sets of equipment—and setting all this up right in the midst of our civilian life. Such a program would involve not young men of 18, but boys of 14, 15, and 16. Why shouldn't these youngsters be allowed to enjoy athletics and nonmilitary pursuits at this age?

It should also be remembered that many small high schools have less than 50 male students in attendance, while great numbers of our young men never finish high school and would escape all training. If there is any way to militarize this country, in my belief, a universal system of training in high schools would be the quickest way to do it.

I do not mean to detract from some of the fine private military schools which give this type of training as a part of their regular curricula, because in their case the individual has his choice of going or not going.

"Some argue that the training in a universal program would be largely wasted because it does not provide divisions ready to fight and that all training would have to be done over in case of mobilization because of advances in weapons."

This allegation completely ignores what UMT is supposed to do. True, it will not provide trained divisions ready to fight. But it will provide trained men ready to fight. There is no necessity for providing, at the moment the next war starts, all of the divisions that we would eventually expect to employ. What we will need is sufficient regular divisions so they can be deployed to the battlefield as rapidly as they can be used. By the time they had been deployed, we would have trained reserve divisions ready to follow them up and support them quickly.

To argue against this is just as logical as to argue that we do not need to harvest regular wheat crops; that we can wait until after we have run out of bread and then till the soil, raise the grain, thresh the wheat, mill the grain, and bake new bread as we need it—and presumably starve until all this has been done. A military training pro-gram allows us to lift men to a level of readiness from which we can complete the training process by the time we need them. A 6-month program will provide replace-ment with 50 percent more training than the 4 months that the law now requires before overseas service. From this pool of men Who do not belong to any unit, regular forces can be lifted from peacetime to wartime strength in a matter of days. Some of those regular forces could actually be maintained at less than war strength because of the existence of such a pool of trained reserves, and units could be lifted from peacetime to wartime strength with trained men and not with untrained or half-trained re-

After 6 months of UMT service and 3 years in a reserve unit young men would enter active service with over half of the training estimated as necessary for combat. The training they would get would be the kind men do not forget for a long period of time, like the ABC's of basic education.

This system would also avoid the shock of pulling men out of industry after they had established themselves in it over a long peric I and gained critical positions. In the Korean conflict, over 600,000 reservists who were veterans of World War II had to be pulled away from families, critical jobs, colleges, professions and industry because we did not have the trained nonveteran reservists which UMT would have provided had such a bill been passed immediately following World War II.

"We have an absolute weapon, the Hbomb, and therefore we do not have to have trained men."

This sort of argument has been cropping up for many years. Similar hullabaloo about "power weapons" has been heard whenever a new explosive has come to the fore. It is highly significant that as power weapons have become more and more destructive, losses on the battlefield have become fewer in proportion even as tactics and logistics have necessitated the use of more and more men. There was no battle in World War II and there was none in Korea where the casualties were as great for the number of men engaged and time elapsed as were the casualties on either side at Gettysburg or Fredericksburg—or even in any of the great battles of Napoleon, Caesar cr Hannibal. The reason is of course that commanders have found ways of avoiding such losses, largely by dispersion.

Dispersion is more practical now than it has ever been before because modern communications, rapid transportation and high mobility make it possible to plug gaps where breakthrough threatens. In Napoleon's time, the Ardennes breakthrough at the Battle of the Bulge would probably have meant disaster to the Allied forces. However, General Bradley's superior mobility and communications enabled him to move Pat-

ton's army to the Germans' flank and defeat them quickly.

Power weapons are extremely costly, not only in money but in the basic resources that go into them. They are also extremely costly to operate, requiring almost unlimited maintenance lines. This costliness has reached such a point that it is questionable whether or not the manpower devoted to keeping some of these weapons on the battlefield is commensurate with the destruction that they are capable of delivering.

Power weapons are even more costly in terms of their battlefield losses in the face of ever-improving counterweapons. In the latter stages of World War II, armor experienced approximately 10 percent to 14 percent per month attrition. In the next war improved means of destroying armor will make this figure much higher. Of course, tanks are now but a minor element in our array of power weapons. But the cost and the attrition of air power present the same problem multiplied many times. When a \$67 rocket launcher can knock out a \$180,000 tank, or a \$30,000 guided missile can knock out a \$9 million airplane, we must find means of employing the latter weapons in manners probably much less effective than the maximum possible if such defensive measures did not exist.

FORESTALLING NUCLEAR HORROR

No one can predict with certainty what the pattern of the next war will be. The type of aggression in Korea did not call for the all-out use of power weapons. It is immaterial to insist that if we had employed all of our weapons to their ultimate limit we could have ended the war quickly. The fact is that those in authority at the time decided not to employ them, and certainly there were good reasons-whether or not they were overwhelming ones is a matter of opinion. We might have bombed and destroyed many Chinese cities and destroyed China's means of production. But if such a thing had been done we would necessarily have had to expect retaliation, certainly on the great cities of Japan which were under our protection, possibly even on some of our own coastal cities.

Is it possible for us to fix the pattern of war? If our strategy is mass destruction through the use of nuclear weapons and airpower, who is to make the decision? our President do so, or must he consult our allies? Will Congress make the decision? Equally as important, when will it be made? Will the man who finally makes the decision by which millions of the enemy's women and children may be destroyed make it when he knows that hundreds of thousands of our own women and children will undoubtedly suffer a like fate? Will this man be able to say to himself, "I have not overlooked any alternative. This Nation has not overlooked any alternative. We have used every possible lesser means that could be employed." It seems to me that such questions will have to be answered in the affirmative before any human being who brings this vast destruction on the human race can do so with a clear conscience.

The question of when such a decision is to be made might depend on many circumstances. Not only must we consider the type of aggression that we are facing, we must also consider the possibility of the enemy's warning us that he will not use the weapon unless it is used by his opponent. If he gives this warning to the world, what position will it put us in if we come to the decision to adopt the strategy of total destruction? How would we defend ourselves before the world?

The answers to all these questions are very far from clear at this time. Certainly if we rely on the bomb and very little else, this is the only strategy open to us. But if we

have a large reserve of trained manpower, then we have a choice of what type of war we fight.

Trained manpower is our best assurance that the H-bomb will never have to be used.

Of course, there is the argument that no weapon has ever been produced that has not been used. That does not mean we should necessarily follow the pattern. Maybe there will be a first time.

Can we in any case be certain that a 5-day, 10-day, or 60-day nuclear war will be conclusive, or is it conceivable such a strategy against a great landpower will merely be the beginning of a war unimaginably terrible in its consequences?

Will it be our strategy to try to correct an impossible situation or to compound it by a means worse than the malady and a consequence more chaotic than human endurance can bear or human conscience tolerate?

The crux of national security is to protect the Nation and its institutions from destruction. The employment of a strategy based solely on nuclear weapons cannot properly be called a defense measure at all, for it almost guarantees the destruction of the very things we would be fighting to preserve. Thus what appears to be an easy way out—the reliance upon machines and atoms rather than upon trained manpower—becomes a trap for us all.

Is it not better that all of us bear equally the burdens and inconveniences of training for defense rather than face possible death, defeat, and slavery amid the ruins of our civilization?

God grant that we never descend so low in the enjoyment of our blessings that we lose the will to rise and defend the institutions that bring them to us.

Mistakes in History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, through the ages, as history unfolds, we are able to see the causes of the downfall of governments and people. We do not want future generations to read in their history books that the people of the United States lost their freedom in the 20th century because they allowed foreign nations to usurp this freedom through treaties, secret agreements, and so forth. The context of the Yalta Conference has made it amply clear that where the interest of our country and its peoples are involved complete disclosure and the opportunity for discussion and deliberation are essential. We must be alert to the mistakes of the past and avoid repetition in the future. It can and must be done. The Bricker amendment seeks to safeguard our sovereignty, and I am firmly convinced that it is necessary.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following column of George Sokolsky, Mistakes in History, bearing on this subject.

MISTARES IN HISTORY (By George Sokolsky)

Those who make a faith out of humanity, rejecting the perfections of God for the perfections of man, often fall upon the error

of creating a deity out of a man. Thus, the followers of Hitler almost sanctified this curiously unattractive personality. We ridiculed the Germans for that, and the Italians for their adulation of Mussolini, but not the Russians, who had abandoned their God but carried ikons of Stalin through the streets.

In those very same years, there was a tendency in the United States to adulate Franklin D. Roosevelt as almost perfect, although in this country deification of politicians somehow did not take. We now know from the Yalta documents that Roosevelt not only had clay feet, but that he could speak out of both sides of his mouth.

Judge Learned Hand undoubtedly did not have Roosevelt in mind when he said:

"Over and over again such prophets succeed in converting us to unquestioning acceptance; there is scarcely a monstrous belief that has not had its day and its passionate adherents, so eager are we for safe footholds in our dubious course. How certain is any one of us that he, too, might not be content to follow any fantastic creed, if he was satisfied that nothing would ever wake him from the dream.'

But to me this applies to the whole cult of man-god worship which somehow diverts the human mind from tried experience which often is called orthodoxyevery brilliantly spoken absurdity that a popular politician advocates as sacrosanct. Roosevelt met Chiang Kai-shek at the Pyrasacrosanct. mids on November 22, 1943, and subsequently issued the Cairo Declaration. It sounded as though all questions relating to China were resolved in favor of our allies, the Nationalists. Within a few days at Teheran, Roosevelt apparently had already forgotten the Cairo Declaration. It is true that Chiang would have been happier had he been permitted to accompany Roosevelt and Churchill to Teheran, but Stalin did not want him for a very good reason; he planned to undo all that Roosevelt had promised Chiang, Stalin had no need for Chiang's presence at the rape of China.

The Teheran papers have not yet been published and the British do not want them to be published. But from the Yalta documents, we gain a fair insight into the nature of the Teheran conversations.

China, like Poland, was given no chance whatsoever at Yalta. Three men sat in a palace and cut paper dolls out of maps and millions of human beings found themselves enslaved and trapped.

What can be done about it? nothing. An historic mistake can only be corrected by war or revolution, by bloodshed and disorder.

But we in the United States can see to it that Yalta does not happen again. The Bricker amendment or some similar amendment needs to be adopted to safeguard our country from tired, sick, cynical or whimsical Presidents.

Kremlin Continues To Succeed in Lulling Americans To Sleep While It Plots Our Destruction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Edgar Ansel Mowrer:

FEARFUL AMERICANS ASSIST REDS' DESPERATE CAMPAIGN

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

Having failed to prevent the ratification of the Paris treaties rehabilitating and eventually rearming Germany, the Kremlin has plunged into a desperate campaign to prevent these treaties from being carried out.

It is being helped, unintentionally but definitely, by those Americans who fear another war more than they fear further Communist advance.

The Soviet plan is beautifully simple. The West must be disarmed while there is still

Disarming the West means, in Soviet eyes, (a) abolishing those superweapons in which the West is still far head of the Communists; and (b) keeping the West Germans disarmed despite the Paris treaties.

FITS PATTERN

Every current Soviet move fits this pattern. 1. Moscow has just revealed a doctored version of the London disarmament talks. As expressed by the Soviet London representative A. A. Gromyko to a TASS correspondent, the U.S.S.R. has aimed at abolishing superweapons and stabilizing conventional armies at the present level, without any German divisions on our side.

2. Premier Marshal Bulganin has tentatively accepted, without the usual conditions and propaganda squawks, the Eisenhower-George suggestions for a four power conference to decrease tensions.

3. After 10 long years of sabotaging the negotiations for a peace treaty with Austria, the Kremlin (as exclusively predicted here), now seems ready to sign such a treaty at a conference of the four occupying powers.

So much for the carrot side of the Soviet

campaign. Now the stick:

1. Moscow threatens to combine all the Communist forces in one big East European army under, naturally, a Soviet commander. Moscow threatens to denounce its 1944

defensive alliance with France.

RED HOPES

With these, and perhaps other similar measures. Moscow hopes to postpone if not to prevent the creation of a West German army and, by sowing discord among the Western nations, to compel the United States to revoke its recent decision to use atomic weapons, if necessary, against Red China.

The point is, taken together these Russian

concessions do not include one real sacrifice by the U. S. S. R. To date, they merely fit the by now thoroughly familiar pattern of peaceful coexistence talk. They do not preclude further Communist subversion, international intrigue, or even little wars. are merely intended to paralyze the adversary during the period while communism is growing strong enough for the final and, in Communist eyes, inevitable struggle with the capitalist world.

They show absolutely no change in the Red Russian, still less, in the Red Chinese attitude.

As of today, they indicate that a coming four-power conference at the highest level will be nothing but one more Soviet attempt to disarm our side while strengthening its own. This is demonstrated by the now monotonous Soviet declaration that a new war will not destroy the U.S.S.R., just the capitalist world.

EVER-MALEVOLENT

Soviet intentions seem (to this writer) as clear and as malevolent as ever.
Yet just as always, this "peace campaign"

is scoring some success, not only among our more exposed allies but in our very midst.

More and more frightened Americans are clamoring for the high-level conference, no matter how unpromising. Others, as pre-dicted here, are urging the administration to cease the drift into war by compelling

the National Chinese to withdraw from those offshore islands, Matsu and the Quemoys. Some American cartoonists are already asking our citizens if they wish to die for Quemoy-as though that were the issue. The New York Times, in an almost tearful editorial, appeals to President Eisenhower to "save this country and the world from irre-trievable disaster." And by "disaster" the writer means, not another Communist victory making an ultimate world war more certain, but an American decision to stand on the offshore islands even if it means fighting China.

Such a call for another surrender must be music to the Politbureau.

The Constitution-Temple of Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the Congressional Record the excellent oration by Miss Kathleen Speer, of Altoona, Pa., a member of the senior class of the Altoona, Pa., high school, which she delivered in the American Legion oratorical contest held in

Washington, D. C., March 30, 1955.
Miss Speer won the American Legion oratorical contest in Pennsylvania, thus earning the honor of representing the Keystone State in the oratorical contest held in Washington, D. C. While Miss Speer was not adjudged the winner of the Washington contest, she made a highly creditable showing by her eloquent discourse on the subject The Constitution-Temple of Liberty.

Miss Speer's oration follows:

THE CONSTITUTION-TEMPLE OF LIBERTY (By Kathleen Speer, Altoona, Pa.)

Across the black abyss of tyranny the lamp of freedom in the temple of liberty beckons brightly to the oppressed peoples of the world. Its light burns into the hearts of the disconsolate and is reflected back from the far corners of the universe into the souls of men and women who live in fear and work in terror and die in horror.

We, the American people, are the guardians of this temple of liberty, of this lamp of freedom. Our forefathers were the builders of it. They molded and shaped our Constitution into a mighty barrier against the despots of the world. They took the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights and fash ioned them into great, towering walls set firmly on the foundation. But they never closed the stars out by erecting a roof-and they never kept the multitudes out by building doors. It is through these open portals that the lamp shines.

How did this lamp come into existence? The foundation and walls of our temple were constructed from our most sacred American From what was the lamp of documents. freedom and its light constructed?

From the slap of red hot rivets being caught in a bucket high atop a skyscraper

and welded into a steel girder. From the aroma of apple pies cooling on the window sill.

From the "timber" of a calked boot, pine pitch smelling lumber jack and the "fore" of a relaxing businessman driving onto the

The lamp and its light were formed by a soldier saying, "I'm fighting in the streets of Korea so I won't have to fight in the streets of Hartford."

From a touchdown pass in the last 3 sec-

onds of the game.

From illicit whiskey stills in the Ozarks; from bebop and jazz turning the living room into a jitterbugging jungle and Mendelssohn turning Carnegie Hall into an enchanted wonderland.

From the marine praying, "Holy Mary, Mother of God * * *" as he zigzags across 200 feet of foxhoie-gutted ground to get a dismembered boy he used to throw touchdown passes to on Saturday afternoon.

From hayrides and hoedowns and country auctions and grabbing brass rings on the merry-go-round, and little girls grinning at you with pink cotton candy all over their

faces.

What is this Constitution of ours? No one yet has been able to lasso the definition with words and corral it within the confines of baragraphs or books. It is because our Constitution is a way of life—lived by every American. It is a million impressions of a million incidents that someone once labeled "Americana." Our Constitution is the small-business man, who is really about the biggest businessman that anyone will ever find anywhere. Our Constitution is Abraham Lincoln who is every American in every age and place who realizes that liberty is the breath of life.

It is a farmer picking up a musket and kissing his wife goodby. It is parents who are never quite asleep until the last of their brood is in for the night. Our Constitution is a song written by big Americans in words all Americans can understand, and the song begins, "We; the people of the United States." Because it was we who wrote the song—every American is a big American. Every American must be bigger and better and finer than he thinks he can be. Because America will be only as fine as is every one of her citizens. We all count. Each one of us, by his daily deeds, casts a vote in the ballot box of liberty. It is up to each individual to make his a vote of confidence for freedom.

Our Constitution is a temple of liberty—a temple that spans a continent, a temple that is a people, a way of life. A temple that is a people, a way of life. A temple that stretches to the far horizons where our practical dreamers focus their eyes. And in our continent temple we hear the sounds of a mighty people working. And the sound becomes a voice which says, "Greatness comes out of everywhere when it is free to come. It is free to come out of us. In America every man that can make a dream work is great."

We watch the flame of liberty in our temple—we watch the torch held aloft by 161 million hands and suddenly we know. We are this torch. Every American is a spark in the flame of liberty. Every American is a small flame in the large flame of Ireedom. And suddenly we learn a profound truth—that each one of us must be a torch consuming himself so that others may be inspired to become a part of liberty's great flame.

We watch ourselves working, playing, flexing our muscles, roaring with wrath or laughter—all because one-hundred-andsixty-odd years ago a handful of men had courage to fight for a way of life set forth in a document to which they had given birth; and because their posterity had the courage to keep on fighting for that way of life. They never forgot-and we must never forget that—that liberty is one of those sacred, priceless things that loses its preciousness and worth when it is taken out of the hands of the people. Its Worth increases as its use increases. more people who possess liberty the better it becomes. It is our duty to ourselves to hold our torch of freedom so high that it

shines into the heart of every man on earth. There are so many millions of people in the world who would give anything to be a part of America, a spark in Liberty's flame. We must give them the opportunity to become a part of our living Constitution, to dwell in our temple of liberty.

our temple of liberty.

Every American is an architect in the temple of liberty—each adding his bit to the sum total of effort and endeavor which comprises our temple. Each one of us has a vital part in perpetuating freedom; each one of us illustrates the workability of liberty as a living faith. Each day, through our actions and deeds, a block is added to the temple of liberty, and our temple will only be as strong and as invincible as are the Americans who each day make it grow.

The pages of history are crimson with the blood of our patriots and black with the names of our heroes. Those men made freedom work by winning a battle or harnessing electricity, or writing a dictionary, or hitting a baseball harder and farther than anyone else. They made freedom work. We must realize that freedom will work only as long as you and I can make it work. Our Constitution as a living unit of government will live only as long as you and I can make it live.

The ways of freedom are difficult ways to be enjoyed only as long as man can discover within himself the will to roll up his sleeves and grab a pitchfork, and wield an ax, and smash a hammer onto a horseshoe. Liberty will survive and thrive only as long as milkmen can whistle and street cleaners can sing. Only as long as we can write letters to the editor and have them published, only as long as little boys who are lost can go to the cop on the corner and be taken safely home; only as long as a man can stop being a barber and make a million dollars a year singing songs; so long as we have these things we have a living liberty and a vital Constitution.

Liberty speaks in many voices—in the clean, honest sweep of a church spire, in the whoops of children playing Indian in the summer dusk, in the voice of a man who has come back from war and of a boy who is going. It speaks in a Protestant girl singing Onward, Christian Soldiers, and a Jewish boy entering a synagog, and a Catholic woman saying the rosary. Liberty speaks in the sound of names—Kasmair, Klususki, Dorsay, Johnson, Costello, Pappayellion; and in the voice of a judge, and in the voice of a referee counting to 10, and always and forever in the soft rustle of ballots dropping into boxes.

Our Constitution—the temple of liberty—is only as potent and effective as is the life of every American, because without us there is no Constitution. Every one of us is a spark in the torch that brightens the world with dazzling brilliance, every one of us is a living Constitution, a living temple of liberty.

We will have freedom in our country as long as we keep the doors of our temple opened wide, as long as we let the stars shine down on our upturned faces, for we are Americans and our eyes must never be leveled any lower than the sky.

To paraphrase an unknown American

"Give us wide walls to build our temple of liberty, O God.

The North shall be built of love, to stand against the winds of fate;

The South of tolerance, that we may building, outreach hate;

The East our faith, that rises clear and new each day;
The West our hope, that e'en dies a glorious

way.

The threshold 'neath our feet will be humility;

The roof—the very sky itself—infinity.

God, give us wide walls to build this great
temple of American liberty."

Bossier City Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, an ugly situation is developing in the city of Bossier City, La., regarding the post office. The people in this great and growing community feel they are entitled to a separate post office. I have felt this way for a number of years; and I have been working steadily toward this end.

On June 20, 1953, I received a letter from Assistant Postmaster General Abrams, which was in response to my letter to the Postmaster General, which I read herewith:

JUNE 18, 1953.

Hon. Overton Brooks,

House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BROOKS: Further ref-

Dear Congressman Brooks: Further reference is made to your interest in postal facilities for Bossier City, La.

A thorough investigation of this matter has been completed which discloses that no improvement in postal service would result if an independent post office were established at Bossier City.

As the present quarters occupied by the Bossier City branch are inadequate, the matter of a new location at a more central point with respect to the business interests and population to be served is now under consideration.

With regard to complaints of inconvenience in obtaining internal-revenue documentary stamps, delay in delivery of special-delivery matter, and evening collection of mail in the business area at too early an hour, these matters are being given attention with a view to taking corrective action.

No special advantages would be offered for the receipt and dispatch of mails in the event of establishment of an independent post office. In fact, a disadvantage would result in the delivery of special-delivery mail arriving on late evening trains and airmail flights if a later evening collection is furnished Bossier City.

As there are no railroad stations within the city limits of Bossier City and as no trains are scheduled to stop, additional expense would be involved in transporting mail between railroad stations and the postal transportation terminal.

The report discloses that sentiment for an independent post office is not unanimous. A representative of the Department contacted the heads of several concerns, many of which are heavy maliers, and such concerns were very much against the establishment of an independent post office requiring that they change their mail address.

The cost of operation of the present classified branch is approximately \$113,035.87 per annum as compared with an estimated cost of \$132,247.02 for operation of an independent post office, or a net increase of \$19,211.15 per annum.

In view of your interest, it is regretted that due to the additional expense involved with perhaps some disadvantages rather than any service advantages which may result, it is believed inadvisable to authorize an independent post office in Bossier City at this time.

Sincerely yours,

N. R. ABRAMS,
Assistant Postmaster General.

This rejection on the part of the Post Office Department of the application of the people of Bossier for a separate office has not been quietly accepted by them however. They still feel, and justly so, that they are entitled to separate and independent facilities for Bossier City. I know of no city anywhere that has the population and volume of business without an independent post office, and this community should have this particular service.

To show you something of the attitude of the people of Bossier City, which has a population of some 40,000 people, I reproduce herewith an editorial taken from the Sunday, March 20, 1955, issue of the Bossier Tribune entitled "Recuse 'Mr. Prejudice'":

RECUSE "MR. PREJUDICE"

There come times in the course of human affairs when long-sufferance loses its dignity and patience ceases to be a virtue. That time has arrived in Bossier City and Bossier parish in the matter of postal services.

When a people in the just exercise of appeal for redress of wrongs find that those in authority to hear their cause are unwilling to lay aside prejudice and listen with open minds to facts and reason, then common decency demands that they address themselves to whatever just action their sacred rights require.

It is a common concept of American justice that no person called upon to decide the fate of any human right shall preside in that office with prejudice. The people in Bossier City have recently and on former occasions appealed to proper authorities for rectification of certain intolerable conditions arising over the present deplorable postal service. In this matter they were entitled to and hoped for a hearing by an authority not bound by preconceived views. In this right and hope they have been woefully denied.

Last Tuesday in the formality of responding to this appeal Mr. E. W. Roderick, district manager of the Dallas Post Office District, came to Bossier City for the purported duty of hearing evidence and arguments in support of these claims. Instead of attending to these duties according to the concept of American justice, Mr. Roderick by design, word, and action cast aside reasonable procedure and reduced the so-called hearing to a hollow mockery. Even before any evidence had been offered to him in support of the position of the people, Mr. Roderick took the floor and indicated strongly that he came not to hear but to be heard; not consider but to force his preconceived views upon the appellants.

In view of this tack the people were forced to present their case amid an atmosphere hostile to their cause and marked by bureaucratic condescension.

But despite his previously expressed hostile attitude, Mr. Roderick gave repeated avowals at the close of the so-called hearing that he would not give a hasty decision but would keep an open mind. He kept this promise no longer than he could cross over the river. Whereupon he opened his mouth, closed his mind and confirmed the fact that he had come to the hearing with prejudiced views.

Listen to these words of his interview with a Shreveport newspaper:

"I am convinced that the people of Bossier City can get better service by being a part of the Shreveport post office, but I haven't been able to convince them."

Are those the words of an official who came to hear or consider? No, they are not. They are the confession of a prejudiced mind.

The lowliest person and the humblest cause of the people have a right to fair con-

sideration and when this privilege is denied the hearing is reduced to mockery of justice and a nullity. In view of this fatal error Mr. Roderick no longer represents proper authority in this case and his connection therewith endangers the rights of the appellants to fair consideration. His continuation to serve in the matter establishes a block upon human tustice.

There is but one just and proper course for the people of Bossier City to follow, and that is to demand that Mr. Roderick be recused because of prejudice and unfitness; and that the matter be reopened and a real hearing be held by impartial authority. These demands should go to Postmaster General Summerfield and to our representatives in Congress.

We are advising these officials of our at-

THE BOSSIER TRIBUNE, RUPERT PEYTON, Editor.

I also add to this statement the news article taken from the same issue of this paper in Bossier:

POST OFFICE HEARING IS REDUCED TO A NULLITY—RODERICK'S ASSURANCE OF FAIR-MINDEDNESS BROKEN

After he had given emphatic avowal of no hasty decision and assurance of an open mind on the matter to a Bossler City delegation of citizens Emory W. Roderick, of Dallas, district manager for the Post Office Department, proceeded to Shreveport where he gave an interview to a Shreveport newspaper declaring opposition to petitions for a separate first-class post office here.

Mr. Roderick held a so-called hearing at

Mr. Roderick held a so-called hearing at the city hall chamber Tuesday afternoon at which these assurances were given to the group. The following morning in Shreveport Mr. Roderick said in part to a reporter for the Shreveport Journal:

"I am convinced that the people in Bossler City can be better served by being a part of the Shreveport post office, but I haven't been able to convince them."

Although Mr. Roderick's quick change of tack came as a disappointment, it did not actually surprise many. He was unable to conceal his preconceived opinions, despite his pledges of impartiality. Even before the people had a chance to present one bit of evidence or argument to support their petitions, Mr. Roderick made opening remarks which revealed that he had come not to hear but to be heard.

However, after he had aired his prejudiced views, Mr. Roderick politely heard the people present their facts and arguments. He even expressed amazement at the disclosures made of the poor mail services received here, giving encouragement to some. However, he pointed out that most of the complaints could be adjusted with Bossier City still a branch office of the Shreveport office.

The people's side of the case was opened by J. Murray Durham, president of the chamber of commerce, which, along with the Doty-Sumner Post of the American Legion, initiated the movement. In a letter to the manager, Dr. Durham set forth 14 points why Bossier should have a separate first-class post office. In support of his contentions, several citizens in attendance spoke, pointing out instances of poor services.

Among the amazing disclosures made were that Bossier City is not even listed in the post-office directories; that Pineville and West Monroe, smaller cities than Bossier City and existing adjacent to a large city, have been granted first-class separate post offices; that important mail and in one case some important film addressed to Bossier City had been returned to addressors marked "No such post office."

Other arguments were made against the fact that box mail is picked up in Bossier City, sent to Shreveport, and then mailed back or subjected to other delays. One citi-

zen reported that he had mailed letters to his son from Bossier City and Shreveport the same day. There was a 30-hour delay in the letter mailed at Bossier City.

The Tribune editor pointed out that mall service between Bossier City and Beton required more time than to get mail from New York to San Francisco. "We are farther from our parish seat, 13 miles away," he said. "than we are from Chicago in mail time."

At the end of the hearing, Mr. Roderick arose, asserted that he would make no hasty decision, and would keep an open mind in the matter. He repeated these assurances. The following afternoon, under the headline "Inspector Gives Views—Separate Post Office for Bossier City Is Opposed," the following appeared:

"Emory W. Roderick, manager of the Dallas district of the Post Office Department, said Wednesday he was opposed to creating a new first-class post office for Bossier.

"It will cost \$30,000 more than the facility we have there now to operate an independent post office," he said, "and I am opposed to spending an additional \$30,000 unless we can provide better service, and in my opinion, we can't."

Roderick said he was "convinced that the people of Bossier City can get better service by being a part of the Shreveport post office, but I haven't been able to convince them."

Along with the letter Mr. Durham set forth that there were petitions containing about 1,400 names asking for the separate first-class post office as well as resolutions from 8 local civic clubs.

Briefly the 14 reasons set forth by Mr. Durham are as follows:

- Bossler City is rapidly reaching the 20,000 mark, with an aggregate adjacent population which would bring the total to 33,370.
- 2. Bossier City residents are paying for a first-class postal installation and service but has received neither.
- We would have our own carriers to meet trains and planes, resulting in the mail being in Bossier City hours sooner.
- in Bossier City hours sooner.

 4. Mail from Bossier City would be dispatched earlier.
- 5. We would have our own post mark.
 6. Mail in Bossier City drops would be brought to the Bossier City post office and
- worked locally.
 7. Parcel post and special deliveries would be earlier.
- Parcel post and other mail would be picked up in Bossier City instead of Shreveport in emergencies.
- 9. All postal claims could be checked through the local office.
- 10. Lockboxes, which are safer, would be available.
- 11. We can handle our own postal-savings accounts.
- 12. Undeliverable special-delivery mall would be speeded up.
- 13. Mailing permits would be available locally for second- and third-class matter, as well as precanceled stamps.
- 14. To be classified as a first-class post office the receipts must be in excess of \$60,000 per annum. The past year the branch office, exclusive of the Big Chain Center and Barksdale Air Force Base, had receipts of \$78,000.

BACK DOOR SERVICE FOR BOSSIER CHURCHES AND OTHERS NOW ON

From now on Bossier City churches, the Bossier Chamber of Commerce, and other organizations having large mailing lists to which they send out bulletins under non-metered permits without stamps affixed, must discontinue dropping such mail in the Bossier branch office but deliver it to the rear platform of the Shreveport office under an order received from Arthur L. Layton, acting postmaster of the Shreveport postoffice.

Hard hit by this new post office procedure ruling, which comes on the heels of Mr. E. W. Roderick's farcical hearing in Bossier City, will be the larger churches. At least two churches, the First Baptist and the Barksdale Baptist Church, will be affected and others are thought to be affected.

The chamber of commerce received its notice Friday. Bob Croft, manager, reported that the chamber sends out from 350 to 700 pleces of bulletin mail each month, and that he had been depositing such mail at the local post office. A report from the First Baptist Church was that such mail was handled in the same manner.

The bulletin from Layton reads as follows: "NOTICE TO PERMIT MAILERS—MATTER WITHOUT STAMPS AFFIXED

"Under revised postal procedures you will receive a receipt for mailings made under Jour nonmeter permit only if you request receipt and furnish an additional copy of Form 3602, Statement of Mailing, which the weigher will verify, initial, and deliver to you.

'Under the new postal procedures instructions the permit holder must deliver his permit imprint mail at the place where the ledger records or permit accounts are maintained. Those records are maintained only at the rear platform, main post office.

"ARTHUR L. LAYTON,
"Acting Postmaster."

This is only one of a number of strong articles written by the press of Bossier City indicating the interest which these people have in a separate office. The Planters Press in Bossier City has been very active on behalf of a separate and independent office. A number of articles have appeared in this fine paper aggressively demanding that the people be given proper recognition of their application for a separate and independent Bossier City office. I do not have these articles before me for use at the present time but at some later date I will have an opportunity to give these articles to the Congress.

I can see no reason why there should not be an independent post office for Bossier. Not only is Bossier the seventh largest city in Louisiana in population but it also originates a tremendous amount of postal business. A separate office will give this community the pride which should properly be theirs in having a post office named for this great center. The cost of the office will add nothing to the postal deficit. It can be done and handled in such a way as to cost practically no additional amount.

I think the Post Office Department has been inactive long enough. Some action is due and the plea of these people, who contribute so heavily to our Government, should not be overlooked or cast aside. I hope the Postmaster General will personally see this insertion in the Record and will act immediately in approving a separate and independent office for Bossier City.

Observance of Good Friday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include

the following newspaper article from the Durant Daily Democrat, of Durant, Okla., of March 2, 1955, which contains a proclamation of the Governor of Oklahoma with reference to the observance of Good Friday:

GOVERNOR'S PROCLAMATION

At the request of Miss Ora O'Riley, of Durant, Gov. Raymond Gary has issued a proclamation urging ministers of Oklahoma to hold commemorative services and asking that insofar as possible business of the State be suspended on the afternoon of April 8, as an observation of Good Friday.

Miss O'Riley said she is seeking to have Good Friday set aside as a day of national

observance.

Governor Gary's proclamation follows:

"Whereas the approach of Easter gives rise to thoughts of man's redemption; and "Whereas it is fitting that our minds should dwell upon the sufferings that were endured for our salvation by the Saviour on the Friday preceding the resurrection;

"Whereas Good Friday should be observed as a day of thoughtful religious reflection:

"Now, therefore, I, Raymond Gary, urge the clergy of the State to hold commemorative services betwen the hours of 12 and 3 on the afternoon of April 8, Good Friday, and that insofar as possible the business of the State be suspended between these kours in order that all who can do so may spend this time in contemplating the greatest act of love in the history of the world.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the great seal of the State of Oklahoma on this 16th

day of February 1955.

"By the Governor of the State of Oklahoma.

"RAYMOND GARY."

Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for Fiscal Year 1956

SPEECH

HON. GEORGE S. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 5240) making appropriations for sundry executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, and offices for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Long].

Mr. LONG. I would like, if I may take this time, to explain why I raised the point of order against the provision beginning on line 3 of page 31 with the word "Provided," and continuing through line 14, inclusive.

May I say that a bill has been passed through the Veterans' Affairs Committee dealing with this subject, which will be a permanent law. Of course, as you know, a rider that goes through on an appropriation bill is temporary. Everyone I know of who is concerned with this legislation is satisfied with H. R. 5100. We have used a great deal of time and study in the preparation of this bill. We had the American Dental Association and the Veterans' Administration, as well as many other people, appear before

the Veterans' Affairs Committee to testify. After hearing all sides and wishing to write a bill that would be satisfactory and at the same time take care of the situation, H. R. 5100 is the result of that study.

This bill is much the same as the one introduced last year by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Frelinghuysen]. It makes permanent the legislation we are seeking to pass. It costs very little, if any, more money and it is a great saving over what was being spent for this same purpose in 1951. The best I can figure it is a saving of in the neighborhood of \$75 million. We found that a great deal of money used at that time had been wasted.

The rider that was struck from the bill by my point of order as presently written and passed last year contains the same provisions as the appropriation committee made previously, namely, that it does not provide for any exemptions for the Spanish-American War group nor for trainees under Public Law 16.

H. R. 5100 which the Committee on Veterans' Affairs reported unanimously last Tuesday is accepted by the Bureau of the Budget and the Veterans' Administration since it contains all of the conditions which they believe would be permanent law and would not have to be appropriated each year.

Economic Situation in Valley Needs Study

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Crookston Times, Crookston, Minn.:

ECONOMIC SITUATION IN VALLEY NEEDS STUDY

There is food for thought—and speculation—statistics on department and general store sales in the Red River Valley district of Minnesota as compiled by the Federal Reserve bank, Minneapolis.

According to the data, sales in 10 of the 12 months of 1954 dropped below the figures for the same months of 1953. Only in February and April of last year were sales higher than for the corresponding 1953 months. In those months sales were up 2 percent.

On the other hand, March sales were down 12 percent; May showed an 11-percent drop. For the year as a whole, department and general store sales were 5 percent below 1953, while sales of this type for the State as a whole remained even with the year before.

Now comes the big question: Why? We are not economists nor statisticians. Figures are tricky things and an attempt at interpretation on our part might be wholly fallacious. But one thing does seem fairly obvious: The Red River Valley is not keeping pace with the rest of the State insofar as it economy can be measured on the basis of retail sales. For all of Minnesota, approximately as many dollars were spent in department and general stores in 1954 as in 1953; in the Red River Valley, for every \$20 spent in 1953, only \$19 was spent in 1954. The trend is continuing this year, judging by reports of the Federal Reserve bank.

Is this region actually spending less? Or could it be that money spent by valley residents is going in part to retailers outside the area? Again, if this is so, we must ask ourselves: Why?

Perhaps a little introspective thinking will reveal the answers to these questions. Perhaps by finding the answers we can find out how to remedy the situation. At any rate, a pretty thorough study seems to be indicated.

Manpower Policies Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a speech recently made before the Manhattan Rotary Club and B'nai B'rith, of Topeka, by former Gov. Alf M. Landon, of Kansas. I feel these remarks point up the need for scientists and other needed technically trained personnel in the planning for our overall national-defense program of today. Governor Landon has included direct quotations from the presidents of some of our leading colleges and universities, and I believe these statements are also of special interest at this time in view of the unsettled international situation and the nature of modern warfare.

The address follows:

MANPOWER POLICIES CRISIS

Beginning with the demotion of Malenkov and his faction on February 8, an unusual number of events have occurred of great consequences to free men all over the world.

The Japanese election results; the first meeting of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization; Iraq's Mutual Defense Treaty with Turkey; the unexpected defeat of communism in the Andhra State election in India; the West German-France and Italian ratification of Western European Union; all are a great contribution to the future peace and liberty in the world.

To that impressive list of victories for lib-

To that impressive list of victories for liberty and democratic processes can be added the English Labor Party members of the Parliament ousting from their ranks Aneurin Bevan, friendly to Soviet Russia policies, hostile to American-British frienship and association in organizing the mighty forces of freedom-loving peoples to resist the steady encroachment of Communist tyrannical imperalism.

These monumental achievements can properly be attributed to the policy of assistance to nations resisting Communist aggression first formulated by former President Harry S. Truman, his Secretary of State,

James F. Byrnes, and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. They have been successfully strengthened by President Dwight D. Eisenhower and the British Foreign Minister, Anthony Eden.

However, it is a great mistake to assume that there will be any sudden change in world conditions for the better.

If there is any dramatic immediate change, I think it will be for the worse.

I have long believed that if the Communists passed without overt act the rearming of Western Germany, the prospects of a third world war would gradually diminish.

Therefore, the value to a peaceful world in the Truman-Churchill-Eisenhower foreign policies lies in the long pull rather than in any swift change in world conditions.

The strongest part of the whole business is that now Western European Union is in existence, the less conclusive its policies are, the more the chances of a third world war diminish.

That is not only because of the internal situation in Russia but because the will to resist Communist conquest is increasing in the hearts and minds of freemen—as the means to do so increases.

I believe American fatalistic thinking of a year ago, that a third world war was inevitable and we might as well get it over—is subsiding.

It would be as bad a mistake to believe that the end of the cold war is in sight.

I have long advocated that we should meet with other powers—including Russia—at every opportunity to discuss settlement of the disputed points. We must never abandon that goal.

However, it is beyond expectation that anything is going to happen right away to change the menace to the free world of Communist imperialism.

We Americans might as well make up our minds to that and settle down to the long pull.

Satisfied as we have every right to be with the progress of American policies to save the world for peace and freedom, we must prepare for a long life in an armed camp.

For the immediate present, I think it means armed existence instead of peaceful coexistence—localized military actions that might be a prelude to broad scale war. It means life in an armed camp for practically the entire world on a scale never heretofore known and for an undetermined period.

That is a new kind of existence for the American people. However, the older peoples of the world have that background. That is true whether it was tribal history as related in the Old Testament or the Golden Age of Greece of the Dark Ages.

In those days it was the custom to turn over captured towns to the victorious soldiers for torture—loot—rape and murder, Able-bodied captives were sold into slavery. The old—the infirm—the infants were left to their fate.

American pioneers faced death and torture from Indian raids 24 hours a day. What is the difference in being killed by an Indian arrow or an atom bomb?

What difference would it have made to the people of Jericho whether their wall was tumbled down by the trumpets of rams' horns or an H-bomb. According to the 21st verse of chapter 6 of the Book of Joshua, "And they utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox and sheep and ass, with the edge of the sword."

We sprayed burning napthene on Japanese fishing villages in order to destroy their food-producing value. The home front is the battiefront as always. Only this time with the development of the long-range bomber the attack—if war comes—will be concentrated on the American home front.

That uncertainty calls for a thorough and objective study of the possible effects of radioactivity on health and heredity and a cessation of unsupported scare stories until more facts are available.

I think the prospect of peace has improved as a result of American-British community of interests and leadership.

I do not believe anything is going to happen right away to lessen world tension or to relieve the Congress of the necessity of facing immediately the question of how best to integrate a large and effective military establishment into our expanding economy without permanent damage either to our democratic processes or to America's basic continuing requirements in educating future scientists and technicians.

Chancellor Murphy, of Kansas University. President McCain, of Kansas State College. President Malott, of Cornell University, are all agreed that the need for long-range planning as regards to minitary manpower in self-zvident.

They also agree that equally important is the need for long-range planning as regards

technical manpower.

Chancellor Murphy says, "The American people dare not lose the race for new knowledge and we are running against a competent well-trained opponent—not the wishfully thought ignorant Russian peasant. The Russians are increasing the production of chemists, physicists and engineers at a far greater rate than we are in America, both percentagewise and in total number."

Last December, President McCain in a speech entitled, "Education—Newest Battle-field of the Cold War," summarized the facts of the sharp accelerations taking place in Russia—China and the satellite countries in the education of scientists, technicians and professional workers.

President Malott writes me, "I have just come back from 2 days in Washington spent discussing the impact on our colleges and universities under the new national reserve plan, and it has for us, I am afraid, many questions left unanswered."

That all adds up that three of the Nation's top educators believe that Russia and her satellites have a hard-nosed calculating policy which faces up to the facts of technological and scientific warfare.

The Communists obviously recognize that well-trained scientists and engineers are their most valuable asset. Assistant Defense Secretary Quaries at a recent science service dinner in Washington stated that in 1939 the United States turned out 50,000 graduate engineers as against less than 20,000 by the Russians while last year our total had dropped to 29,000 while the Russians had jumped to 54,000. That is simply a devastating commentary on the Congress' handling of America's manpower security activities.

Despite mounting evidence of increased need by both the Nation's industry and Armed Forces for scientific and engineering manpower, there does not exist in the Defense Department a civilian voice sufficiently awake to that crucial problem and sufficiently loud to overcome the poor judgment of the military and the Congress in dealing with the manpower problem.

with the manpower problem.

The military man who has lived his mature life in a concentrated environment charged with the military security of America is handicapped in his knowledge of civilian requirements. But at that, military leaders in many ways have been far in advance of the Congress on that crucial manpower problem.

The Communists are realists. They do not believe in either the economic or political equality and fraternity philosophy. They do believe in training their youth in concepts of conformity—that all good comes from the Russian Soviet—and all evil from the decadent capitalistic democracies.

Unlike the American Congress, the Soviet is not yielding to the pressures of uninformed public opinion.

While the Congress fears the charge of creating an "intellectually elite" class—the Communists base their manpower policy on the crucial fact that a national reservoir of brains as well as brawn is imperative to a nation's existence.

I believe the philosophy that so far has influenced the Congress and some of our generals that in the National Defense Draft Act there should be no difference between an oil man and a scientist is self-defeating.

In national defense the physicist or scientist is obviously far more important as a physicist or scientist.

The national reserve plan recommended to the Congress by the Department of De-

fense is really universal military training

by the back door.

As a result, it is a half-baked measure that is neither fish nor fowl.

It is not a truly operative reserve system because the plan is too nebulous, and it is not foursquare UMT.

Apparently the Congress is not going to accept the bobtail universal military training plan suggested to it nor the rag-tag national reserve plan which did not provide for any Practical way of enforcement or of organiza-

Ignorance and crass politics are truly imperiling not only our national security but literally risking the lives of millions all over our country by failing to solve this increas-

ingly vital problem.

I think another phase of our failure to solve this problem is that we failed to realize that in a cold war the weapons are political, economic, and psychological. There again our colleges and universities provide the only source of personnel appropriately and accurately trained for cold-war operations. We have ineptly waged a battle for the minds of men in this cold war we are engaged in.

The trouble with much of what we are doing seems to rise from the fact that generally we seem to be attempting to carry on a cold war with the means and methods of a hot war. Yet the more astutely we apply our capacities to winning the cold war, the more we forestall the possibility of a hot war. The problems of winning the cold war are not the same as those of winning a hot War.

The crucial problem of maintaining effective combat forces as well as a reservoir of scientists for a nation of our size and farflung commitments, and for an unforeseen period that is neither peaceful nor broadscale war-to protect our democratic processes from 2 or 3 generations of youth hammered into the military mold-transcends the factor of pay or the concept of treating the incipient oilman or scientist on the same basis.

Because I have never criticized a policy Without offering an alternative, I quote from a letter received from President McCain:

"Ever since the close of World War II, I have been seriously concerned about our military manpower policy. At the time I was released from the service, I was in charge of the naval personnel classification program in the Bureau of Naval Personnel in Washington, D. C. Some friends in Congress consulted with me about the UMT program then under consideration. I prepared for their guidance a plan that I still consider feasible, under which the Nation's civilian schools and colleges would carry on most of the technical training needed for our armed services.

There are several advantages to such a plan. In the first place, I learned from my own close association with military-training programs during the war that our civilian schools and colleges offered training for approximately 80 percent of the specialties for which trained personnel are required in the armed services. Secondy, if such training were made the responsibilities of civilian schools during peacetime, it could be undercation of our young people."

Chancellor Murphy has somewhat the same idea. He writes me:

"Although it is in outline (and no solution will be ideal considering all facets of the problem), these facts should be considered:

"1. In the United States today, certainly the bulk of the young people go as far as high school. Therefore, I should think that there should be a strong expansion of military ROTC work at the high-school level, with a guaranteed connection with a continuing National Guard relationship during summer periods and the like.

"Here then at least the military loaf would be leavened by the normal educational yeast and the largest percentage of our American youth will have a basic military experience which could continue through the medium of the National Guard.

"2. Our college ROTC programs should be sharply expanded and supported; while at a somewhat higher intellectual level the reserve military leadership can get even more advanced training, and again a continuing relationship to the National Guard and/or the reserve components can be guaranteed. But note also that this military training at the college level over a 4-year period will not interfere with the continuing training of the scientists and engineers, which we need even more than we do the infantry sol-

Neither of these essentially the same plans of course is a complete answer, but they could be by and large a good one if the professional military would support the National Guard and a truly reserve setup.

The top military tend to drag their feet because they believe it must be done under a strictly full-time military situation.

The Congress continues to allow our man-

power policies to be dictated too much by an uninformed public opinion and the scramble for funds between the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force.

I heartily approve President McCain's concept that 80 percent of the training should be given in civilian schools of all types. Why That is where this kind of a training belongs in a republic. It would be tragic indeed-if this all important phase of our national existence and future-should be taken out of the hands of the civilian-education system and put under the control of

either industry or military.

I also heartily approve of Chancellor Murphy's suggestion that the ROTC work could be expanded at the high-school level with actual training periods in the National Guard for a definite and specific number of

There cannot be any reasonable arguments against having the Nation's civilian schools and colleges carrying most of the technical training needed by the country-whether for

military or civilian purposes.

I believe the best thing that can be done for our country is to make sure that the armed services do not overreach themselves and compel them to function in their proper

Stop Calling the Dodgers "Bums"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks. I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to a most worthwhile campaign started recently by the Brooklyn Bulletin. I quote from the front page of the March 17, 1955, issue of the newspaper:

STOP CALLING THE DODGERS THE "BUMS"

Let's stop calling the Brooklyn Dodgers the "Bums."

Let's start a campaign to urge everyone else to cease and desist from using that uncomplimentary appellation for our favorite baseball team.

The Brooklyn Bulletin herewith begins a drive to rid the Dodgers of that onerous moniker.

The Dodgers are neither rufflans nor individuals without obvious means of support. (Although sometimes our pitchers feel that way about their teammates.)

The dictionary says "a bum is an inebriate. a mendicant, a tramp, and a loafer." Now. I ask you, is that a nice thing to say about the flock? Let's all take the pledge now before the season starts to lay off the word "bums." Besides, think of our children Besides, think of our children. How can we reconcile our desire to inspire gentlemanly traits with an uncouth burst tossed in the direction of our beloved boys in the Brooklyn uniforms. We repeat, don't call the Dodgers "bums." Save it for the visiting teams.

Mr. Speaker, I endorse these sentiments. The Brooklyn baseball team will win the National League pennant this year, and go on to win the world championship. It is important that the dignity of champions be recognized.

Modern Farming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following article from the East Grand Forks Record, East Grand Forks, Minn.:

It is hard for most of us to realize just what a revolution has occurred in rural life. That makes it hard for us to plan for the future in business, schools, government, and many other ways. Our mental picture of 1955 farming just isn't realistic; we are likely to think of farms as we knew them in our youth, and so we start under a handicap when we project a mental picture of the future. An article in Life told how the revolution gained such impetus:

"During the farm depression of the twenties and the general depression of the thirties, scientists and inventors were creating marvelous new machinery, new fertilizers, new pesticides, and new seeds. At the time very few farmers had the money to buy them. But when war gave farmers an unlimited market, these aids to production were pulled down off the shelf and set to work all at once. With their help and the permission of the weather, United States farm output rose by a fantastic 33 percent between 1938 and 1944. It has now gone down a little, but the capacity to produce, when and if the market demands more food, has kept rising."

That same article describes what has happened on an actual, existing farm in the Middle West. In 1933 the present owner and his father depended for power largely on six horses. They owned only \$635 worth of crop machinery, along with some special equipment valued at \$286-less than \$1,000 all told. Now the owner and his son have 66 pieces of equipment, including tractors, combine, mower, sprayer, milking machinery, and so on, which is valued at some \$11,000.

Modern farming is a business, operated by skilled technicians and administrators, with a sound working knowledge of scientific conservation and production methods. That is what farm equipment and the other modern aids to farming have brought about.

Ireland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very interesting and educational address of Rev. George V. Kerr, assistant director, Catholic Charitable Bureau of Boston, which he delivered at the dinner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, held at the Hotel Edison, Lynn, Mass., on March 17, 1955:

Tonight we sing the song of Ireland, a rich and rare land, a fresh and a fair land, the abode of leprechauns, the mossy green, the shamrock and the blarney, where the angels fold their wings and rest. Tonight we sing of Erin-where the tear and the smile in thine eyes blend like the rainbow that hangs in thy skies. Tonight we sing of Dublin's fair city where girls are so pretty of the maid of County Down, the wearing of the green, and Galway Bay. Tonight we sing of holy Ireland, the only land whose hero is a saint and whose national emblem is a musical instrument, a land where even the old are fair and even the wise are merry of tongue.

"I'd like to go to Ireland, if I were young once more;

I'd dance upon the gangplank and I'd skip along the shore.

And all the folks who looked at me would say the 'craythur's tipsy,'

Sure, she must be the offspring of a tinker of a gypsy. I'd find a shabby jaunting car (my scorn

on better travel) And bump along to all the fairs on rocks

and lumpy gravel. And many a candle I would burn in little

wayside bowers,

Where Mary and the Christ child rest amid the trees and flowers.

I'd visit all the nunneries around about Killarney,

And then I'd dangle by my heels to kiss the stone of blarney.

I'd spend a day in lovely Cork and sit out

after tea

To hear the bells of Shandon chime upon the River Lee.

And as I watched the fading of the glowing sunset hues.

I'd hope to see a Leprechaun come out to mend his shoes.

And I'd remember Erin's woes, should there be rainy weather.

And the gray Irish sky and I would shed our tears together.

The houses I would visit would be neatly roofed with thatch,

With roses growing round the door and strings upon the latch.

And then I'd board the car once more and travel to Tralee,

Clonmel and Inniscarra and the holy Innisfree.

And in the towns and villages that I would travel through, I'd stop at every wishing well and make a

wish or two. And when the sorry time would come to

leave the blessed isle, I'd be so heavy hearted that I might forget

to smile. And folks who looked at me would say:

'She's quarreled with her Maker,' 'Or else she is the offspring of a very solemn

Quaker."

As a young American I was rather amused at the natural tendency of the sanguine Irishmen to exaggerate the significance of Ireland in the history of civilization. Now I know that five peoples in the world's history have made supreme contributions to world civilization as we have it at the present time. They are the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Romans, the Irish, and the Italians. Someday the sheer might of American technological genius will be added to the list. To reecho Gladstone, "all of the spiritual heritage of our race we owe to the Hebrews." And to quote Sir Henry Maine, "Whatever lives and moves in the intellectual order is Greek in origin." The Romans added their own great gift of law and justice to the cur-rent of civilization. When the Roman life of the spirit was waning, and the torch of civilization was nearly out, the Irish in the distant west of Europe, converted as a whole nation to Christianity by Patrick, picked it up and carried it on adding their own distinct contribution of superb literature, music, rhyme in poetry, and fine decorative art to the light of civilization. Then came the Italians with their masterful work in the Renaissance enriching all departments of human endeavor, particularly the fine arts, music, literature, sculpture, architecture, and, above all, painting. These are the beacon lights of our race and of our western civilization covering 3,500 years. It is a supremely unbelievable fact that

from the 6th to the 10th century of the Christian era, the Irish were the teachers of the western civilization, that whenever a man anywhere in western Europe could talk or write a language other than his own, he owed it to an Irishman or to someone taught by an Irishman. There was a supreme need for their missionary and educational work, for the Roman Empire had fallen into utter decadence and approaching ruin at the rough hands of barbarians. Across the seas came the Irish missionaries, carrying with them culture, and love of beauty, and development of the heart as well as the head. Schools were founded in what we now know as France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, even distant Scandinavia, Africa, and Asia. At home in Ireland the Irish were binding the most beautiful books ever made, the Book of Kells, and the most beautiful jewelry ever fashioned. Their love for music led to the production of literally thousands of melodies that are immemorial. If the Irish had con-tributed nothing else to civilization except rhyme in poetry, that would have put the world under the deepest kind of an everlasting debt to the Irish people. An indication of the glory that was Ireland's in the 8th century is a poem with rhyme composed by King Aelred of Northumbria, or England as we know it today:

"I found in Innisfail the fair. In Ireland, while in study there, Women of worth, both grave and gay men, Many clerics and many laymen.

"I traveled its fruitful provinces round. And in every one of the five I found Alike in church and in palace hall Abundant apparel and food for all.

"I found in Munster, unfettered of any, Kings and queens, and poets a many-Poets well skilled in music and measure Prosperous doings, mirth and pleasure.

"I found in Connaught the just, redundance Of riches, milk in lavish abundance, Hospitality, vigor, fame In Cruachan's land of heroic name.

"I found in Ulster from hill and glen Hardy warriors, resolute men. Beauty that bloomed when youth was gone And strength transmitted from sire to son.

"I found in Leinster the smooth and sleek, From Dublin to Slewmargy's peak, Flourishing pastures, valor and health, Long living worthies, commerce and wealth. "I found in Meath's fair principality, Virtue, vigor, and hospitality, Candor, joyfulness, bravery, purity, Ireland's bulwark and security.

"I found strict morals in age and youth I found historians recording truth, The things I sing of in verse unsmooth, I found them all. I have written sooth!

Two supremely saintly characters were more than all others responsible for making Ireland the Isle of Saints and Scholars, St. Patrick and St. Bridget. They, above all, gave the impetus to education which meant so much to the Irish people, that enabled the Irish nation to be the saviour of civilization when the invasion of the barbarians threatened seriously to put an end to it. with a great literature, marvelously beautiful books, transcendentally exquisite fewelry and unique originality in music that led them to the invention and perfection of rhyme in poetry, it would seem that the debt of the world to the Irish would be immemorially recorded. The clan system, however, which gave the Irish great freedom and a sense of the brotherhood of man and of genuine democracy unequalled elsewhere, unfortunately left them open to attack by their neighbors. Great fighters individually, they were unprepared for the mass attack of men who made a like work of fighting. Hence, the subjection of the Irish people and the gradual destruction of the record of their great achievements. That is why on St. Patrick's Day throughout the world the story of Irish glory is retold as well as the story of the Irish entombment and their epic struggle for a resurrection.

The first mass attack on Ireland came from the Danes, the warring and wandering Viking Norsemen, in the early 10th century. It lasted for 400 years. The second mass attack emanated from the Anglo-Saxon. It lasted over 700 years. The resistance was so fierce that one historian has said that every acre of land in Ireland was red with the blood of an Irishman. One by one the lights went out all over Ireland until, in the year 1775, one was left, the light of faith. At the time in history when the American Revolution was underway and the French Revolution was underground but poised for attack, the cause of Irish freedom was at its lowest. Sean O'Faolain in his King of Beggars sums it up-"The Irish people now had but one possession, their religion. They had not, under the heavens on earth, one single other weapon; not land—for they were allowed to own none; not schools—for they were allowed by law to enter none; not position—for they were allowed by law to accept none; not so much as a gun or even a horse, for they were allowed by law to possess none. They had, in a word, with the one exception of their faith, nothing; no parliament, no vote, no papers, no books, no leaders, no hope." At that time they could only look to a past of saints and scholars, to a present of mar-tyrdom, to a future of soullessness and Yet if the Irish people were gifted slavery. with divine foresight, they would have rejoiced to know that a new galaxy of Irish stars was beginning to glow on the horizon of Irish history—the Irish patriot. This unique kind of Irishman was destined to take a high place in the Valhalia of the Irish race and in the hearts of the Irish people. In fact to the crack of doom Ireland will always be remembered and commonly known not only as the land of saints and scholars but the land of saints, scholars, and patriots. In fact, two such stars had already shone brightly by the year 1800, two non-Catholic patriots who loved Ireland and who loved freedom, Theobold Wolfe Tone and Robert Emmet. Both are remembered in the famous Battle Hymn of Ireland-"Tone is our battle cry and Emmet our inspiration." Both of them died in the quest of Irish freedom. It was Tone who said, "In the cause of justice and freedom for Ireland it is no great effort this day to add the sacrifice of my life." The brave Emmet was publicly beheaded on a Dublin street.

While the great American patriot Paul Revere was arousing the countryside of Concord and Lexington in 1775, an Irish patriot was being born on the western seaboard of Ireland in County Kerry. His name was Daniel O'Connell, a man whose fame was destined to become worldwide and as Lecky, the famous English historian, said, "To be the most important and most conspicuous of his time and country"; a man who was to take and to fashion the Irish Nation into a modern democracy. Blessed with the vision to realize that a democracy could not be born out of the rack and ruin of Ireland, this Kerry peasant, one day to be entitled "The-Man of the People," took the people of Ireland and gave them first a kingdom of the mind. All he said to them was that they were not a rabble and that they could out of their own strength make themselves into a nation. And the people believed him. With his tall hat cocked on the side of his curly head, his cloak caught in his fist, a twinkle in his eye, he became the great liberator, the emancipator, for in 1929 he achieved his life's ambition-religious freedom for his people. Less than 100 years later his ultimate objective, the modern democracy of Ireland, came into being.

Daniel O'Connell first appeared upon the Irish scene in 1808. The hope of the Aristocratic Irish Committee that some of the restrictions under which people labored might be removed was dashed by the English Government and in the circumstances the committee deemed it best to adopt a policy of dignified silence. It was then that O'Connell, with the bounding blood of youth, caught the ear and mind of the country at large by opposing this servile policy and urging agitation for their commonest rights. Thus the Nation which had "no land, no parliament, no vote, no papers, no books, no hope," had a leader, a new captain.

It was his defense of John Magee, however, several years later that enshrined O'Connell in the hearts of his people. John Magee was a Dublin Presbyterian of stanch Irish principle and owner of the Evening Post, 1 of the 2 newspapers in Dublin that the Government was unable to curb. In May 1813 the Post took the occasion afforded by the resignation of a government official to denounce his administration and to review scathingly those of his predecessors. Government immediately instituted proceedings against Magee and Attorney General Saurin, a foe of Ireland, had charge of the prosecution. Magee engaged O'Connell for his chief counsel. Seamus MacManus in his History of the Irish Race, tells us that Saurin held the upper hand and dealt the cards unscrupulously.

In choosing the jury every man who was suspected of entertaining the most remote regard for Irish liberties was set aside. O'Connell, realizing his client had absolutely no chance of escaping from the picked jury, resolved to use the opportunity not to seek justice in a court of manifest injustice, but to fire the already excited nation by pillorying the mockery of justice to which the British Government treated them. In his Whole career O'Connell never made a more popular speech and only few that had a more far-reaching effect. O'Connell browbeat the jury in the box, flaying the chief justice himself on the bench, and arraigned, denounced, and defied the whole British administration in Ireland. Magee was, of course, found guilty and punished, but O'Connell's speech sent the country wild with enthusiasm, and no wonder, for he had bearded the lion of injustice in his very lair and he had lashed him till his roars of rage Were heard to the corners of the land and

of the world. This astounding brazenness of a commoner in attacking and mocking the practices of the governmental machinery in Ireland brought an attempt to have O'Connell driven from the bar. But for this petty persecution the future emancipator was re paid a thousandfold by the exuberant gratitude of a prostrate people acknowledging that they had found, if not a deliverer, at least a defender who did not fear to face and defy their oppressor. Daniel O'Connell had now complete control of the national mind, and his voice was the voice of Ireland. unquestioning faith of his fellow Irishmen put into his hands a power which he unsparingly wielded to accomplish the people's emancipation. It is this achievement of emancipation that is O'Connell's chief monument. It involved three cardinal points: (1) Freedom for his fellow Catholics to practice their religion; (2) eligibility of Catholics for every position and office in the State; (3) similar freedom for every man to follow his own convictions. The magnitude of his achievement will be realized when it is recalled that O'Connell was first and last a man of law and order with an ingrained hatred of revolution and violence. tunately, he has been usually depicted as a wild Irishman making things hot for England. Nothing could be more misleading, for if he stands out, in Gladstone's words, as "the greatest popular leader the world has ever seen," he is a symbol not of anarchy, not of rebellion, but of order. His gospel was logic and his practice was law. The radicalism of Robespierre was to him a peril that must be escaped. He was never a Bolshevist eager to smash society. On the contrary, his grievance was that the organization of government in his day did not permit him to play his part as a loyal subject of the

The year 1823 was especially propitious for agitation, for beginning the great work of emancipation, for it was a time of famine and discontent and unrest. To bring about organization and leadership, O'Connell founded the new Catholic association which would be organized by parishes with the priest as leader in each case, thus bringing into politics a new power never systematically made use of before. To provide sinews for the fight, a Catholic rent was established, I penny per month per man, to be collected at the church gate first Sunday of each month, and this individually small assessment soon swelled to the steady income of a thousand pounds a week. In a short time the country was organized more thoroughly than it had ever been before, and with a stronger organization it could be more virile and more determined in its demands than ever before. O'Connell became belligerent in his speeches, warning that a Bolivar, as in Central America, might in Ireland to activate the people if the Irish were driven to desperation. So dangerous became the people's attitude that the Government was forced to take the decisive step of suppressing the association and of introducing an emancipation bill. It failed. But, undaunted, O'Connell started to build anew. In the year 1828 O'Connell's Catholic association decided to contest the reelection of the perennial incumbent, namely, Fitzgerald, in County Clare. When no one dared to contest Fitzgerald, O'Connell decided to run for the office himself. This meant not only that a Catholic commoner was daring to claim a seat in Parliament, but also that the Irish people were staking everything on one tremendous gamble. They were turning the Clare election into a symbol of such imaginative force that it could not help but strike every observer in Europe as a decisive contest for the democratic ideal. That the democratic ideal won out is due in large measure to the heroism of the people themselves, who, without the protection of a secret vote, resisted the

threats of their landlords and voted for their idol. Sean O'Faolain calls them "the real heroes." On Saturday night, when the polls closed, O'Connell was by 2 to 1 elected member of Parliament for Clare.

It was known that the gamble had definitely won when in the following February the King asked the House of Commons to introduce the emancipation bill for Ireland; and when told it would take 70,000 troops to control Ireland, the King signed in 1829 the emancipation bill which gave freedom of worship to all the Irish people.

With emancipation won, the remainder of the leader's life was devoted to working for the repeal of the union of Ireland with England. That he was denied the privilege of seeing this objective realized was perhaps due to his conviction that liberty was not worth the price of a single drop of blood. Daniel O'Connell seemed in his later years to forget that an Ireland lulled by the opiate of English friendship always proved an Ireland foiled; while an Ireland rebellious was an Ireland successful. In 1841 Daniel O'Connell was elected to the exalted office of Lord Mayor of Dublin and by an inspired speech before the Dublin Corporation he succeeded in carrying a resolution to present a repeal petition to parliament. Then began a succession of monster meetings, unique in the history of nations, which he addressed, a series of 40 meetings that never numbered less than an audience of 100,000. It is difficult for us today to accept these figures, yet even the London Times conceded a million to the gathering on the Hill of Tara. When the government took the desperate resolve of forbidding the final meeting in Clondarf and Daniel acquiesced, the cause of Irish was postponed. O'Connell sovereignty wanted peace and consequent events proved that at Clondarf the grave of O'Connell's repeal was dug and a few years later his own grave was dug in Dublin. He was never the same old Dan, the bold Dan, whose magnetic power had gifted him, by the lifting of a little finger, to lead a nation.

As the years went on, so did the struggle for Irish freedom. The spirit, proud and indomitable, never weakened, never changed. Another great Irish patriot appeared, a non-Catholic, Charles Stewart Parnell, who restored to the Irish nation its constitutional rights, the right to vote, the right to hold office, he right of home rule. Charles Stewart Parnell was the type of leader who could "We shall never gain anything from England unless we tread on her toes; we shall never gain a six-penny worth from her by conciliation." Yet the agitation of Parnell never went beyond the force of public opinion. And so home rule for Ireland remained for many years as part of the Irish tradition. But the time for the repeal of the union with England, the urgency for complete Irish independence, was growing nearer and stronger. By slow degrees the Irish people had taken to their hearts the essence of the teaching of O'Connell namely to rely on themselves to rebuild their ancient and shattered civilization, to rediscover their soul as a people and to confront the world as an ancient, cultured and dignified race, no longer an obscure begger seeking dole by abject necessity from another nation's table.

The answer to complete freedom was not to be found in home rule but in Irish independence and worthily did the best of the Irish race respond to this appeal. No greater sacrifice of personal interests can be recorded than the work expended in Ireland at the turn of the century, 1900 to 1916. Father O'Growney gave his life for the language; William Rooney, for the national cause; Padraic Pearce, Thomas McDonough, and their comrades faced the firing squad on an Easter morning. And among the host who have given up their lives for the preservation of an Irish Ireland are numbers of un-

named, forgotten men and women who were prepared to work and to die in obscurity that Ireland might live as a free nation. The new patriot, the new champion of this spirit of complete Irish independence, was Padraic Pearce. "The time has come," he said, "when Ireland must protest in blood against foreign dominion. I believe in one Irish Nation and that free," was his password. "When every subject people ran for freedom was Ireland alone to make no sign?" This new spirit of patriotism hurried to an issue in the Easter uprising of 1914, and it is said that the first shots of the First World War were fired in Ireland. The Irish Republic was proclaimed to the world and to the people of Ireland by the leaders of the uprising, Pearce, McDonough, and Plunkett, "Irishmen and Irishwomen, in the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives the old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for freedom." The Easter uprising died in failure and Padraic Pearce in martyrdom, but the heart of the Irish Nation, and this time the world, was deeply stirred. In the furnace of national suffering a free and independent Ireland was born. It was fitting that it took an Easter uprising to end centuries of entombment, centuries of Good Fridays, for the Irish people. It is significant, too, that the sentence of a young Irish commandant in the Easter uprising commuted from death to imprisonment for it meant that the life of a new Irish patriot was spared. He was an obscure mathematics professor, a silent Gaelic League worker, who was now strangely recognized as a national leader. He shot as it were to the nation's lead in a flash. Cool, reserved, gentle, masterly, humble, Eamon DeValera had impressed all. He was no great orator like Pearce, he did not pretend to have Parnell's marvelous mastery of political science, nor O'Connell's magnetic personality. He was in the words of another compatriot, Arthur Griffith, "a leader of peace while both a soldier and a states-

With Eamon DeValera the last link in the quest of Irish patriots for freedom was forged. It was Daniel O'Connell who gave direction and inspiration to the modern Irish democracy and who won the right of the Irish people to exercise their greatest possession, their faith: It was Parnell who gave the Irish people the freedom to exercise their greatest civil rights, their right to vote and their right to hold office: It was Padriac Pearce who gave to the Irish nation the will to fight for completely sovereignty, complete independence, at the risk of life, loved ones, and property, and it remained for the man of peace, DeValera, the supreme counselor in the day of negotiations, to effect the independence of a sovereign nation. For, in 1919, at the general election, all Nationalist Ireland declared its allegiance to the ideal of a republic, of a democracy, and the Sinn Fein policy of independence from Great Britain The Irish Constituent Assemwas adopted. bly was proclaimed, and a message sent to the nations of the world requesting the recognition of the Irish Free State, the nationalist sovereign government. It is said that even the sky over Ireland became green for

The remains of the great Irish patriots will never truly rest in peace, however, until some modern or some future patriot effects the repeal of the partition of Ireland; a partition that endures against the will of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people. It is a flagrant denial of the domestic right of a people to determine its own affairs. There is a sense of unfitness, too, that St. Patrick's Seat at Armagh, his grave at Downpatrick, and the scenes of his boyhood in Slemish, are cut off from the body of Ireland. The repeal of partition will complete the aspirations of the Irish patriots and the Irish people.

And so, the era of patriots is now a saga of Irish history, a shining star in the story of the Irish race, a priceless petal of the Trinitylike Shamrock, the symbol of Ireland's sanctity, scholarship, and patriotism.

I close with this query, What of the pres-nt? Is Ireland capable of making a contribution to the world today? Perhaps the query is best answered in the words of Bishop John J. Wright, of Worcester, at the Boston Clover Club. "The great nations have made their impressive, perhaps even dominant, contributions to the world's community. Theirs are the stockpiles, physical resources, and the sheer mass of numbers; but the small nations, like holy Ireland, have the gifts of the mind and of the soul, wisdom, faith, humility, and the promptness to recognize the limitations of the great powers." These are the gifts that the world needs badly at the moment, more than the needs of atomic energy and massive armies. These are the gifts that Ireland is prepared to share.

But what of the future? It may be significant that while the whole world is attempting to tear up photographs of Christian civilization that perhaps Ireland is holding the negative. It may be prophetical, says Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, that in the dark days Ireland will come again into its own, that the whole world will beat at Ireland's door for a blueprint of a better world. This is no vain, idle, nor pointless prophecy in this atomic age. It would be merely a reliving of the past destiny, the past mission, of the Irish nation. Ireland is and will be prepared. For to this day, the light of faith that Patrick kindled on Tara's hill and love of freedom that the Irish patriots forged in the hearts of the Irish people, remains in the Irish spirit and in the blood of the Irish nation; and so it shall remain, for so long as the sea shall gird this isle of Ireland, so long shall the name and the spirit of Patrick, Bridget, Columbkille, Tone, Emmet, Parnell, Pearce, DeValera, and O'Connell watch in splendor over it as the stars of God.

Closed-Eyes Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. VERA BUCHANAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks. I wish to include in the RECORD an editorial concerning the urgent need for an adequate Federal school-aid program appearing in today's Washington Post and Times Herald.

With reference to the recent testimony of Mrs. Hobby before the House Education and Labor Committee, I should like to point out that as of July 21, 1954, the estimated construction cost of needed schools in Pennsylvania was \$400 million.

The editorial follows:

CLOSED-EYES POLICY

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare seems now to have adopted a policy of dealing with the Nation's critical classroom shortage by pretending that it isn't as bad as it was cracked up to be. something of a change from her first and second approaches to the problem. Initially. Mrs. Hobby proposed to deal with the crisis by holding a White House conference about it-sometime toward the end of the

year—and then perhaps working out a program of Federal aid at leisure. Next, she gave her backing to a sort of Rube Goldberg contrivance through which loans would be offered to school districts which already had exhausted their capacity to borrow. Tuesday, testifying before the House Education and Labor Committee, Mrs. Hobby asserted that the classroom shortage is not actually as serious as she herself had previously reported it to be. By 1960, she said, the deficit will be 176,000 classrooms instead of the anticipated 407,000.

It is difficult to check Mrs. Hobby's new figures. Perhaps, as she suggested, classroom construction has increased beyond expectations and many communities have found that they can, by repairs and renovation, extend the life of schools to a greater degree than previously supposed. The fact remains. nevertheless, as Mrs. Hobby acknowledged. that the shortage is a serious one and calls imperatively for some sort of Federal aid. It would be a pity to have the indubitable need for Federal aid blurred by conflicts as to the precise dimensions of the problem.

In terms of physical facilities, in terms of teacher recruitment, in terms of local and national support, the American public school system is in grave danger of a tragic breakdown. This is a time when every effort of the administration ought to be directed toward a dramatic revitalization of the schools. Those who regard penny-pinching in school expenditures as a form of economy can usefully ponder some observations on the subject by Alfred North Whitehead:

When one considers in its length and in its breadth the importance of this question of the education of a nation's young, the broken lives, the defeated hopes, the tional failures, which result from the frivolous inertia with which it is treated, it is difficult to restrain within oneself a savage rage. In the conditions of modern life, the rule is absolute, the race which does not value trained intelligence is doomed. Not all your heroism, not all your social charm, not all your wit, not all your victories on land or at sea, can move back the finger of fate. Today we maintain ourselves. Tomorrow science will have moved forward yet one more step, and there will be no appeal from the judgment which will then be pronounced on the uneducated."

The Late Justice Robert H. Jackson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest tributes which has been paid to the late Justice Robert H. Jackson, of our Supreme Court, was written by William W. Bishop, Jr., professor of international law at the University of Michigan, and was printed in the American Journal of International Law.

Because I feel that this well-written article should be called to the attention of my colleagues. I am inserting it in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

ROBERT H. JACKSON

In the death last October of Justice Robert H. Jackson, of the United States Supreme Court, the Nation lost an honored jurist and public leader who had served it well as lawyer, Department of Justice official, Attorney General, and Justice of the Supreme Court.

The cause of international law lost a distinguished advocate and diligent worker, and the American Society of International Law a valued and faithful member. Joining the society over two decades ago as a practicing lawyer in Jamestown, N. Y., Mr. Justice Jackson remained active despite the demands of Government service. He served on the executive council from 1946 to 1949, and as honorary vice president since 1949. In 1945, 1949, and 1952 he addressed the annual meetings of the society, and on numerous occasions spoke to groups of lawyers on matters of international law.

Justice Jackson was esteemed for his conscientious devotion to his judicial duties. Those who knew him well regarded him as a very simple and easy mixer, a man who did not stand on his dignity, and was the antithesis of a stuffed shirt. His friends and associates remarked his qualities of warmth, geniality, penetration, perception of the real issues in a matter, breadth of view—all of which made him a big man and a lovable one. In the pages of our journal he may best be commemorated by trying to look at and reassess some of his ideas about international law and his work in our field.

Among his opinions as Attorney General and on the Court I may be found illuminating discussions of international legal points, but his work there was better known in other areas of the law. Though in earlier years a famed protagonist of the New Deal and often mentioned as a potential president or Chief Justice of the United States, his name may well be best remembered in history for his efforts in connection with the Nuremberg trials of war criminals.

Most of those in the best position to know feel that Justice Jackson deserves a large measure of credit for what was attempted and accomplished at Nuremberg. Many lawyers from many lands played important parts, and one can seldom measure with certainty the individual contribution of each, but Justice Jackson appears to have been the dominating personality in the steps leading up to the trial and in the conduct of the trial itself. What really put across the Nuremberg trial plans in compelling overall fashion was his report to the President dated June 6, 1945.² In it he specified the possible ways to deal with the Nazi leaders:

"What shall wo do with them? We could, of course, set them at large without a hearing. But it has cost unmeasured thousands of American lives to beat and bind these men. To free them without a trial would mock the dead and make cynics of the living. On the other hand, we could execute or otherwise punish them without a hearing. But undiscriminating executions or punishments without definite findings of guilt, fairly arrived at, would violate pledges repeatedly given, and would not set easily on the American conscience or be remembered by our children with pride. The only other course is to determine the innocence or guilt of the accused after a hearing as dispassionate as the times and horrors we deal with will permit, and upon a record that will leave our reasons and motives clear.3

He had already insisted that "We must not use the forms of judicial proceedings to carry out or rationalize previously settled political or military policy," 4 He urged real judicial trials by an international tribunal, recognition of individual responsibility for violations of international law, and stress on the crime of aggressive war and the overall Nazi conspiracy as well as traditional war crimes in the sense of violations of the laws of warfare.

Impelled by his common law background to emphasize the importance of the judicial function, Justice Jackson felt the opportunity for constructive action as well as the responsibilities involved. He wrote:

Any legal position asserted on behalf of the United States will have considerable significance in the future evolution of the international law. In untroubled times, progress toward an effective rule of law in the international community is slow indeed. Inertia rests more heavily upon the society of nations than upon any other society. Now we stand at one of those rare moments when the thought and institutions and habits of the world have been shaken by the impact of world war on the lives of countless millions. Such occasions rarely come and quickly pass. We are put under a heavy responsibility to see that our behavior during this unsettled period will direct the world's thought toward a firmer enforcement of the laws of international conduct, so as to make war less attractive to those who have governments and the destinies of peoples in their

In the London Conference held June 26-August 8, 1945, by representatives of the United States, United Kingdom, Soviet Union, and France, Justice Jackson largely succeeded in obtaining agreement on the principles for which he stood. He deserves much credit for the success of that conference in overcoming wide differences between the substantive and procedural legal ideas of divergent national systems, and in obtaining agreement both upon a fair judicial procedure and the law to be applied by the tribunal. Through patient merging of the principles of the legal systems concerned, a procedure was developed which caused remarkably little trouble and which has generally been regarded as fair to the accused. His opening statement for the prosecution on November 21, 1945, set the pattern for much of the thinking of the trial. He served skill-fully in the detailed prosecution, and his report to the President on October 7, 1946, and various addresses since have well summarized his views and evaluation of whole endeavor.

Seeking to explore the thinking behind Nürnberg, we observe that Justice Jackson had great faith in the "existing and indestructible reality" of international law and the hope which it offered as a "foundation on which the future may build." Even in the dark days of early 1941 he wrote that "the structure of international law, however apparently shaken, is one of the most valuable assets of our civilization." He added that "lodged deeply in the culture of the world, unaffected by the transitory political structures above it, is a bedrock belief in a system of higher law." 18

By the time of his Habana address of March 27, 1941, 11 Robert Jackson had already expressed the ideas underlying the change of American policy from traditional neutrality to lend-lease and all aid short of war. Discrimination between the belligerents was justified on the illegality of Hitler's resort to war in violation of the Kellogg-Briand Treaty for the Renunciation of War, as well as upon the notion of collective self-defense. Speaking of this treaty and the Argentine Anti-War Treaty, he said at Habana that they "rendered unlawful wars undertaken in violation of their provisions. In consequence, these treaties destroyed the historical and juridical foundations of the doctrine of neutrality conceived as an attitude of absolute impartiality in relation to aggressive wars. It did not impose upon the signatories the duty of discriminating against an aggressor, but it conferred upon them the right to act in that manner." 12

Showing the thinking which later prevailed at Nürnberg, he concluded:

"To me, such an interpretation of international law is not only proper but necessary if it is not to be a boon to the lawless and the aggressive. A system of international law which can impose no penalty on a lawbreaker and also forbid other states to aid

the victim would be self-defeating and would not help even a little to realize mankind's hope for enduring peace." ¹²

While various others had urged that Nazi leaders be tried for the crime of aggressive war as well as for violations of the laws of warfare, Justice Jackson emphasized this approach. As he saw it, the facts clearly established the guilt of the Nazi leaders in this respect, and he based the legal conclusions on Germany's violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact as well as other treaties into which Germany had freely entered:

"Unless this pact altered the legal status of wars of aggression, it has no meaning at all and comes close to being an act of deception." 14

The tribunal was to adopt his reasoning as to the legal effect of this treaty, and to agree that it "constitutes only one in a series of acts which have reversed the viewpoint that all war is legal and have brought international law into harmony with the commonsense of mankind, that unjustifiable war is a crime." 15

Repeatedly he emphasized that the charge of aggressive war was being used not to make criminal those acts which were otherwise lawful, but to deprive the violators of the excuse that their acts were done in lawful war:

"Doubtless what appeals to men of good will and commonsense as the crime which comprehends all lesser crimes, is the crime of making unjustifiable war. War necessarily is a calculated series of killings, of destructions of property, of oppressions. Such acts unquestionably would be criminal except that international law throws a mantle of protection around acts which otherwise would be crimes, when committed in pursuit of legitimate warfare. In this they are distinguished from the same acts in the pursuit of piracy or brigandage which have been considered punishable wherever and by whomever the guilty are caught." 18

He had little patience with the contention that the trial of these Nazi leaders for planning, initiating, and waging aggressive war would result in ex post facto application of criminal law. He believed that such acts had already become criminal by 1939 when they were committed, and that even assuming that they had not, yet the prohibition of ex post facto laws was not an absolute but a principle which should be used to attain just results. On various occasions he stated:

'International law is more than a scholarly collection of abstract and immutable principles. It is an outgrowth of treaties and agreements between nations and of accepted customs. Yet every custom has its origin in some single act, and every agreement has to be initiated by the action of some state. Unless we are prepared to abandon every principle of growth for international law, we cannot deny that our own day has the right to initiate customs and to conclude agreements that will themselves become sources of a newer and strengthened international law. International law is not capable of development by the normal processes of legislation for there is no continuing international legislative authority. Innovations and revisions in international law are brought about by the action of governments designed to meet a change in circumstances. It grows, as did the common law, through decisions reached from time to time in adapting settled principles to new situations. The fact is that when the law evolves by the case method, as did the common law and as international law must do if it is to advance at all, it advances at the expense of those who wrongly guessed the law and learned too late their error." 17

If this be thought unjust, he often pointed out that:

"We must not forget that we did not invoke the outlawry of war as a sword to punish acts that were otherwise innocent and harmless. On the contrary, it was the accused who had to establish the lawfulness of their belligerency to excuse a course of murders, enslavements, arsons, and violence which, except in war, is criminal by every civilized concept." 18

In this whole endeavor he realized the "far-reaching, and in its application to the facts * * * most novel" feature of "individual accountability to international law and authority." ¹⁸ In his opening statement at Nuremberg he went to the heart of the matter:

"Crimes always are committed only by persons. While it is quite proper to employ the fiction of responsibility of a state or corporation for the purpose of imposing a collective liability, it is quite intolerable to let such a legalism become the basis of personal immunity." m

In retrospect, if punishment by political decision " would have violated no international law, what useful purpose was served by the war crimes trials? And if all but one (Hess) of the defendants convicted of crimes against the peace were also convicted of more "orthodox" war crimes and crimes against humanity involving violations of the laws of warfare and of ordinary criminal law. why was it necessary or desirable to add and emphasize the notion of crimes against the peace? The decision to prosecute for crimes against the peace appears to have been taken, not for the purpose of obtaining convictions or punishments of persons who would otherwise have escaped, but rather for the purpose of firmly establishing as a principle of international law that a war of aggression is criminal.

The Justice himself always emphasized that the importance of the trial lay in the principles to which the four powers became committed by the London agreement, adhered to by 19 other nations, and by their participation in the trial. Not only did that agreement devise a workable procedure for the trial, but, more important, it "for the first time made explicit and unambiguous what was theretofore, as the tribunal has declared, implicit in international law, namely that to prepare, incite, or wage a war of aggression, or to conspire with others to do so, is a crime against international society, and that to perscute, oppress, or do violence to individuals, or minorities on poliitcal, racial, or religious grounds in connection with such a war, or to exterminate, enslave, or deport civilian populations, is an international crime, and that for the commission of such crimes individuals are responsible." 2

Pointing out the value of the trial also as "the world's first postmortem examination of a totalitarian regime," he reported to the President as one of the real accomplishments that:

"We have documented from German sources the Nazi aggressions, persecutions, and atorocities with such authenticity and in such detail that there can be no responsible denial of these crimes in the future and no tradition of martyrdom of the Nazi leaders can arise among informed people.'

Through the London Agreement and the incorporation of its principles in a judicial precedent, he concluded that "we have put international law squarely on the side of peace as against aggressive warfare, and on the side of humanity as against persecution " 24

Justice Jackson evaluated the Nürnberg trial as "an attempt to answer in terms of the law the most serious challenge that faces modern civilization-war and international lawlessness." " Referring to President

Wilson's remark in 1919 about international law having been "a little too much thought out in the closet," he sought to "bring international law out of the closet where President Wilson found it and impress it upon the consciousness of our people." 36 Citing the many successful arbitrations between the United States and Great Britain, he stated that:

"The world's hope for peace depends in the last analysis upon establishing patterns of national behavior that will sustain international institutions strong enough to settle conflicts before they break into wars. We must forge and use stronger and more inclusive instrumentalities for the hearing and settlement of grievances which may be used as an alternative for war without compromise of nationl honor." 37

In this successful extension and adaptation to international uses of the philosophy and technique of our daily law practice," he hoped that nations could "devise instruments of adjustment, adjudication, and conciliation, so reasonable and acceptable to the mases of people that future governments will always have an honorable alternative to war. * * We may as well face the fact that it will not be enough to have a mechanism for keeping the peace which a few scholars and statesmen think well of. If it is really to work, it must have such widespread acceptance and confidence that peoples as well as philosophers support it as a thoroughly honorable and reasonably hopeful alternative to war." 20

Doubtful of the utility of codification of international law until the world had many more shared experiences and values in dealing with international disputes by legal means, to he felt that-

"We should take advantage of every opportunity to deal with international controveries by the adjudicative or arbitral techniques. In this way we will enlarge and expand the world's experience in using these orderly and reasonable processes, fash ion an increasing body of decisional and customary international law, and encourage the law-abiding habit among nations." "

There may be room for much difference of opinion as to the validity of some of the views expressed by Mr. Justice Jackson, but in the main they are sound and necessary for making real progress in international law. He was only too aware that the last-ing value of the Nuremberg principles will depend far less on the ready acceptance given them by the United Nations General Assembly than on the use made of them in the future. Most of us will agree with his belief that-

"Those who best know the deficiencies of international law are those who also know the diversity and permanence of its accomplishments and its indispensability to a world that plans to live in peace." **

WM. W. BISHOP, Jr.

(Charles Warren was born March 9, 1868, and died August 16, 1954, at his home in Washington at the age of 86. A native Bostonian of pure Colonial ancestry, a graduate of Harvard, a student at the Harvard Law School for 2 years (obtaining a degree of A. M.), Mr. Warren came to be early marked as an author and historian. His career may be divided roughly into several more or less distinct phases. During the first phase up to 1914, while he was engaged in the practice of law in Boston, he tried his hand at a novel, The Girl and the Governor (1900), and a poem delivered at the dedication of the Harvard Union in 1901. But his penchant for historical writing was by that time distinctly budding. Besides various legal papers and historical notes in current law reviews, he published a two-

volume work on the Harvard Law School and Early Legal Conditions in America (1909), and a History of the American Bar, Colonial and Federal, to the Year 1860 (1911)).23

¹ One must at least mention his opinion of August 27, 1940, sustaining the President's power to conclude the "destroyer-bases deal" as an executive agreement (39 Ops. Atts. Gen. 484); this Journal (vol. 34 (1940), p. 728); his discussion of the bases, dissenting, in Vermilya-Brown Co. v. Connell ((1948) 335 U. S. 377, 390); and his comments, concurring, in U. S. v. Spelar ((1949) 338 U. S. 217, 224). Of more than passing interest, see Chicago & Southern Air Lines v. Waterman S. S. Corp. ((1948) 333 U. S. 103); Hirota v. MacArthur ((1948) 335 U.S. 876, and (1949) 338 U. S. 197); Johnson v. Eisentrager ((1950) 339 U. S. 763); Zittman v. McGrath ((1951) 341 U.S. 446); and Orvis v. Brownell ((1953) 345 U. S. 183). Justice Jackson's Cardozo lecture, Full Faith and Credit: The Lawyer's Clause of the Constitution (Columbia Law Review, vol. 45 (1945), p. 1), is a masterful discussion of constitutional controls over private international-law questions between States of the United States.

Report of Robert H. Jackson, United States representative to the International Conference on Military Trials, London, 1945, Department of State Publication 3080, p. 42.

³ Ibid., at p. 46.

*Address before American Society of International Law, April 13, 1945, proceedings, 1945, p. 10, at p. 15.

Report, cited above, footnote 2, at p. 53.

o Ibid., at p. 432.

Loc. cit., footnote 4, at p. 11.

Jackson, Challenge of International Lawlessness (American Bar Association Journal, vol. 27 (1941), p. 690).

Address before Inter-American Bar Association at Havana (Mar. 27, 1941, this Journal, vol. 35 (1941), p. 348, at p. 349).

10 Loc. cit., footnote 8.

" See footnote 9.

12 Ibid., at p. 354. 12 Ibid., at p. 358.

14 Op. cit., footnote 2, at p. 52.

15 Toid.

16 Ibid., at p. 51.

¹⁷ Opening address for the United States at the Nuremberg trial, Nov. 21, 1945. United States, Office of Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression, vol. I (1946), p. 114, at p. 165.

³⁸ Jackson, Nuremberg in Retrospect, Am. Bar Assn. Journal, vol. 35 (1949), p. 813, at p.

886.

¹⁹Jackson, Some Problems in Developing an International Legal System, Temple Law Quarterly, vol. 22 (1948), p. 147, at p. 152. 20 Op. cit. (footnote 17), at p. 168.

²¹ Op. cit. (footnote 18), at p. 884.

22 Report to the President, October 7, 1946, loc. cit. (footnote 6), at p. 437.

Ibid., at p. 438.

²⁴ Ibid., at p. 439. = Loc. cit. (footnote 18), at p. 813. 24 Address of April 13, 1945, loc. cit. (foot-

note 4), at p. 13. Address before New York State Bar Assoclation, Jan. 24, 1942. N. Y. State Bar Assn. Repts., vol. 65 (1942), p. 434, at p. 442.

" Ibid., at p. 443. 20 Address of April 13, 1945, loc. cit. (footnote 4), at p. 12.

30 Address before American Society of International Law, April 26, 1952. Proceedings, 1952, p. 196, at p. 201. See also footnote 27.

m Loc. cit. (footnote 19), at p. 158.

35 Address of April 13, 1945, loc. cit. (footnote 4), at p. 11.

"The writer is indebted to the kindness of Mrs. Cleada N. Horne, Mr. Warren's secretary for over 35 years, for making available certain data for this paper.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Text of Opening Statement Announcing Subject of Investigation by Subcommittee Chairman Clyde Doyle, California, for Subcommittee Hearings of House Un-American Activities Committee in Milwaukee, Wis., in Accordance With Recently Announced House Resolution 151

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent heretofore granted me by this great legislative body so to do. I herewith present the text of remarks made by me at Milwaukee, Wis., on Monday, March 28, 1955, upon the opening of 3 days of public hearings by a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee. I believe it is especially pertinent that wording of my opening statement, as subcommittee chairman, be thus conveyed to you and all of my other colleagues by reason of the recent unanimous approval of House Resolution 151, wherein section 2 (i) reads, as follows:

The chairman at an investigative hearing shall announce in an opening statement the subject of the investigation.

Having the responsibility and privilege of having House Resolution 151 bear my name, but without claiming any pride of authorship, or exclusive accomplishments in the submission of House Resolution 151 to the House Rules Committee and then the full House itself for consideration, I felt reasonably sure that this opening statement by me, as set forth in the following text thereof, would indicate to you and all my colleagues What I believe to be in accordance with the recently adopted House Resolution 151 in connection with the obligation therein stated that the chairman "shall announce in an opening statement the subject of the investigation." At these hearings at Milwaukee the other members of the subcommittee were my distintinguished colleague the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILLIS], and my distinguished colleague the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SCHERER].

My two colleagues and I were necessarily and officially absent from the floor of the House of Representatives Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, March 28, 29, and 30, inclusive, in performance of our official committee duties.

Mr. Speaker, I state that I believe the hearings were productive of much of value to the House Committee on Un-American Activities in accordance with the requirements made of said committee under Public Law 601. Amongst other developments in Milwaukee, some of the 15 witnesses who appeared before us might be termed cooperative or friendly witnesses. They did not plead the fifth amendment, and while more

than two-thirds of the witnesses did plead the fifth amendment, it is believed by we three subcommittee members that the Milwaukee hearings were well worth the time, effort, and cost expended to conduct them.

I wish to state that we felt throughout the 3 days of public hearings the public press and reporters and photographers were very cooperative in the observance of our required procedures.

The text of my announcement as the hearings opened was as follows:

OPENING STATEMENT BY Mr. DOYLE, SUBCOMMITTEE CHAIRMAN

The subcommittee will please be in order. Let the record show that the Honorable Francis E. Walter, chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, pursuant to the provisions of law, Public Law 601, enacted in 1946, establishing this committee, duly appointed Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio, with myself Clyde Doyle, of California, chairman, as a subcommittee to conduct these hearings in Milwaukee, Wis. The full membership of the subcommittee is present. Also present for 1 day is Hon. Donald Jackson, a member of the Committee on Un-American Activities. We are pleased he is present.

The Congress of the United States has imposed upon the Committee on Un-American Activities the duty to make investigations of "the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation." This committee is not a court. Its duty is to investigate as an aid to Congress for purposes of more intelligently legislating.

This committee has devoted much time in the past years to the investigation of the subject of communism, and the committee has endeavored to keep Congress informed of the extent, character, and objects of the Communist conspiracy within this country. We have held investigations in many of the most vital manufacturing and industrial cities. In the performance of this huge task the committee, in its reports to Congress, has made 48 recommendations for new legislation or the strengthening of existing legislation designed to aid in the fight against communism. All but 4 of these recommendations, in 1 form or another, have been enacted into law by the Congress of the United States.

The committee wants it understood that in the conduct of this hearing it is not interested in any dispute between employers and employees or between one union and another. Neither is it interested in the internal affairs of any union. It proposes to follow and uncover, if it can, the Communist Party activities of any person as to whom reliable information indicates Communist Party affiliation, whether that be in the field of labor or any other field.

In pursuing these statutory objectives of the committee, as outlined above, former investigations have disclosed a concentration of Communist efforts in many of the strategic defense areas of the country. The city of Milwaukee, ranking eighth in size, as compared to the other great industrial cities of our Nation, having in its area more than 2,000 manufacturing plants representing 200 distinct lines of industry, and leading the whole world in the manufacture of heavy machinery and electrical controls, units and parts, is of great strategic importance to our

beloved Nation as a whole, both in time of peace and in time of war.

The purpose of this present investigation starting this morning is to determine first whether there has been planned Communist activity in this important area, and if so, the nature, extent, character, and objects thereof. It is not limited to this, however. The committee is especially interested in ascertaining the methods used by the Communist Party of the United States in filtrating local industrial units, civic organizations, or other groups, and the extent of its influence in the economic and social phases of our society. Whatever information we obtain will better enable Congress to legislate more ably and comprehensively.

It is a standing rule of this committee that any person named in the course of committee hearings be given an early opportunity to appear before the committee, if he desires, for the purpose of denying or explaining any testimony adversely affecting him. This is the American way of doing. If this be his desire, of any person named during these 3 days, he should communicate immediately with legal counsel for the committee as soon as possible.

mittee as soon as possible.

The committee is deeply appreciative of the action of the Immigration and Naturalization Service for changing the date of a hearing previously arranged by them to be conducted in this hearing room, in order that this congressional committee could have it available for these hearings. I desire to take this opportunity to thank Supt. E. A. Redlin, who is in charge of the Federal Building; United States Marshal Clemens S. Michalski; Chief of Police John W. Polcyn, and the capable members of their respective staffs for the important service they have rendered this committee in connection with this hearing. I desire also to thank Hon. Robert E. Tehan, United States district judge for the eastern district of Wisconsin, and his secretary, Miss Marlon Lynch, for their splendid cooperation in making it possible for us to have the use of this hearing

Being just informed a few minutes ago the Milwaukee Bar Association, constituted by the membership of practicing attorneys in the city of Milwaukee, voluntarily and cordially named a panel of nine of its members to render advice to any witnesses appearing before this committee as to said witnesses constitutional rights. On behalf of this subcommittee I compliment the Milwaukee Bar Association for offering to render this valuable service. Similar service by bar associations has previously been rendered in a few of the great metropolitan cities of our Nation and we recognize it as being in the best tradition of members of the bar to perform this valuable community service.

I would remind those present in this hearing room that we are here at the direction of the Congress of the United States, to discharge a duty and honorable, specific, official obligation that has been placed upon us by Public Law 601. You are here by the permission of the committee during these 3 days of hearings and I trust that throughout the hearings you will conduct yourselves as guests of the committee. A disturbance of any kind, or audible comment during the course of testimony, whether favorable or unfavorable to the committee or any witness appearing before it, will not be tolerated. For any infraction of this rule the offender will be immediately ejected from the hearing room. I trust it is only necessary to call this matter to your attention and that it will not be necessary that it be repeated.

The Committee on Un-American Activities consists of nine Members of the House of Representatives. Each member is also a member of one other major congressional committee. Since the workload of this committee is so constant and heavy, it has been

found necessary to divide the committee into subcommittees of three members when the work takes attention away from Washington, D. C. This makes it so the committee members are away from the Capital on less occasions and is also in the interest of saving expense as well as facilitating the necessary work. On such occasions the House of Representatives officially excuses our absence from our other daily duties at the Capital.

If any person in or about Milwaukee desires to cooperate with the committee during our brief stay, we invite such person to promptly see our legal counsel or our investigator. They are both here in the room with us. In many cities where the House Un-American Activities Committee has held hearings former active members of the Communist Party have voluntarily come forward and, either in executive or public session of the committee, testified against the Communist conspiracy of which they were formerly unwitting or conscious members, and thus given tangible evidence of the fact that they had had an experience in the Communist Party which convinced them that they had made a serious mistake in Joining it, and also that they desired henceforth to place their abilities and energies out in front in support of making up, as far as they could, for their mistake in joining the Communist Party and help their neighbors to know the inherent dangers of this subversive Communist activity in their respective communities. I give this same invitation to any person disposed to do the same service while we are here these 3 days. And if there be such persons who do not get around to coming forward while we Congressmen are here in Milwaukee, we respectfully suggest that you communicate that you are desirous and willing to render the service to us at the House Office Building, Washington, D. C., and your communication will receive prompt attention.

Peace in Our Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. B. CARROLL REECE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Facts Forum News of April 1955.

PEACE IN OUR TIME? (By Freda Utley)

Discussion of United States policy today is rendered singularly difficult by the impossibility of discovering what it is. One is hard put to decide whether we have a foreign policy at all, or are simply standing in the middle of the road, unable to decide which way to go, and in grave danger of being hit by the traffic moving rapidly in both directions.

Not only do the pronouncements of the President and Secretary of State vary from week to week, or even from day to day—and often fail to synchronize—they also tend to be as ambiguous as the sayings of the Delphic oracle which were wont to mislead the Greeks who consulted it and interpreted its mysterious messages according to their hopes and fears or prejudices. President Eisenhower's answers to questions at his press conferences, together with his own and Secretary Dulles' speeches, not to mention the remarks occasionally contributed by sundry Cabinet members, generals, and admirals,

serve only to leave the world guessing. Either their statements contradict one another or they can be interpreted in such diverse fashion by the pundits who explain them in the press and on the radio that the public might just as well continue enjoying itself watching TV dramas, comedies, or cheesecake, as seek information in the newspapers or anywhere else concerning the mystery of United States policy.

Insofar as America's Atlantic policy is concerned there is some clarity. True that our promises to France and Germany concerning the Saar contradict one another and may yet wreck the West European union and prevent NATO from acquiring a backbone in the shape of a West German army. Nor is there any guaranty that our British and French allies will not tear down the painfully-built structure of West European union at the forthcoming conference with Moscow, which is to precede the implementation (as distinct from ratification) of the Paris pacts.

But at least the world knows that the United States Air Force is on the alert, night and day, at its many bases around the periphery of the Soviet empire, and that if the Communists attack anywhere in the European or Middle Eastern area, we shall hit them with all that we have. It is in the Pacific, where the danger of war is far more imminent, that our intentions are so vague that neither friend nor foe knows whether America can be counted upon to help the Chinese Nationalists to retain the offshore islands which the Communists have already started to attack, following the evacuation of the Tachens at our insistence.

Certainly we cannot know what is our intention from Mr. Dulles' statements. In his February 16 speech to the Foreign Policy Association in New York he said that "the United States has no commitment and no purpose to defend the coastal positions as such." His subsequent remarks on this and other occasions that by "as such" he meant that we shall defend them only if their conquest by the Communists seems to presage an attack on Formosa, served only to make confusion worse confounded.

Since Peiping is proclaiming night and day that it intends to liberate Formosa, there can be no doubt that these islands would be steppingstones to their objective, just as in Nationalist hands they constitute Free China's last best hope of liberating the mainland from the Communists. But Mr. Dulles' phrase "as such" leaves it open to us to pretend to ourselves that Communist China will cease and desist from aggression if we let her take the Quemoys and Matsu in exchange for a cease-fire in the Formosa Straits.

Since everyone must know after our Korean experience that Pelping, like Moscow, cannot be counted upon to honor even its treaty obligations—much less any behind-the-scenes deal—the effect of the "as such" statement is to leave the way open for a graceful retreat if the President continues to believe "that there is no alternative to peace."

It would in fact seem that the only difference between United States and British policy is that London wants us to compel Chiang Kal-shek to abandon the Quemoys and Matsu without any quid pro quo, whereas Washington wants at least a tacit cease-fire and an end to Pelping's daily proclamation of its intention to attack Formosa.

GUARANTEED NO INTERFERENCE

Since the United States has let it be understood that the Communists need not fear war with us so long as they only nibble at the offshore islands; and since we have forbidden the Nationalist air force and navy to bomb the airfields the Communists are constructing at Foochow, or to interfere with the shipping bringing war supplies to Foochow and Amoy, we have in effect guaranteed to the Communists that there will be no interfer-

ence with their preparations for the all-out assault on the islands which we should regard as preparatory to an attack on Formosa and which would mean war with us. It is almost as if we had told the enemy that we won't fight him until he is good and ready and will have a fair chance to win.

On his return from Asia, on March 6, Mr. Dulles spoke as if he had become convinced that firm opposition to any additional Communist expansion is essential to block "the crumbling away" of allied authority in Asia. But, as the New York Times also reported on March 7:

"Nothing in Mr. Dulles' remarks today [March 6] or during his tour has removed the uncertainty about what the United States will, or will not, do about the offshore islands."

Nobody, except God and maybe President Bisenhower, although even this is doubtful, knows whether we shall, or shall not, fight to defend the Quemoy and Matsu offshore islands. The American public certainly does not know and can only choose between the varying opinions of commentators, columnists, and editorial writers. Congress does not know, although Knownand is determined that we shall and Morse that we shall not. It would seem that neither Mr. Dulles nor Admiral Radford knows, although the latter definitely, and the former almost certainly, wants us to stop the further triumphant advance of communism in Asia by a firm stand.

The Chinese Nationalists don't know, although they understood originally that the administration had pledged itself to help them defend these strategically and politically important islands. Their Foreign Minister, George K. C. Yeh, having stated on February 10 that the United States had promised to defend the Quemoys and Matsu. retreated from his premise next day. After leaving the State Department, on the day he returned to Formosa, he was reported by the New York Times as saying that "he had not intended to leave the impression that the United States had given the Nationalist Chinese a specific pledge." Mr. Yeh added that he would not eliminate that possibility but said that it is for the United States to decide.

The Communists don't know, and therein lies the greatest danger of war. For, as we should know from past experience, all wars are started by one miscalculation. History shows that both the First and Second World Wars might never have occurred if the intentions of the Western Powers had been realized. But, as Syngman Rhee has remarked, "There is an old saying that those who will not learn from history will be required to repeat it."

Ironically, considering the Republican campaign promises of 1952, it was left to James P. Richards, the South Carolina Democrat who now heads the House Foreign Affairs Committee, to remark, on March 6. that the United States is risking an armed clash over the Matsu and Quemoy Islands by withholding its intentions regarding them. As he wisely stated, the consequence is likely to be that the Communists "will start probing out our intentions * * * and in doing so will open an armed clash." was also Mr. RICHARDS who, on March 6. stated that when the joint resolution on Formosa was voted the administration had misled Congress into believing that it was guaranteeing the defense of the offshore islands. It was also a Democrat, Senator George, of Georgia, who pointed out the implications of Dulles' report, when he stated on March 8 that:

"The Communists portray us as weak, and unless the free people get a clear sense of our strength and of our willingness to use it, they may conclude that communism is going to win and that they had better join up."

On the same day that Dulles was reporting to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee that the whole of Southeast Asia will be in danger unless the United States of America "makes its influence felt in a positive way," Mr. Eden was telling the House of Commons that a Formosan cease-fire and withdrawal of the Nationalist Chinese from the offshore islands could pave the way for consideration of Red China's entry into the United Nations "at an appropriate stage."

When questioned concerning Eden's statement, so completely at variance with his own, Mr. Dulles is reported to have said that he "knew nothing about it." But on February 11 Drew Middleton had reported to the New York Times that Herbert Morrison had said that day: "The United States intends to retire from situations imperiling peace, such as insistence on occupation of islands near the Chinese mainland."

As Mr. Middleton also wrote, no factual information on this had been made public, but in London it seemed as if some reassuring information about the islands "had passed from Washington to London." This no doubt accounts for Mr. Eden's affirmative reply in the House of Commons on March 8 to a question as to whether British "friendship, cooperation, and consultation with the United States remained as strong as ever." This was on the same day that the British Poreign Secretary praised the United States for having "effectively restrained the Chinese Nationalists from initiating attacks against the Chinese mainland" and for having persuaded Chiang Kal-shek to evacuate the Tachens.

BRITAIN'S PRIVATE DEAL

It would therefore seem probable that the Alsop brothers were correct when they reported that Dulles had made it clear to Eden at Bangkok that if Britain could arrange a private deal along these lines, we could persuade the Nationalists to withdraw from the offshore islands. Stewart Alsop represented Eden as offering the carrot to the Communist donkey while Dulles threatens it with a stick. Those who want us to stand by our Chinese allies might view them instead as Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.

"Pull devil, pull baker"—Britain's Intentions are all too plain while ours are veiled in the obscurity of double talk and double think. Moreover, British views are reinforced by the powerful voices of our own appeasers and anti-anti-Communists as voiced by the New York Times and Washington Post and a host of American so-called liberal commentators and columnists who have no conception of Communist aims and methods, or of the clear and present danger which menaces the United States.

UNIMPORTANT TERRITORY?

Just as, before the Second World War and their defeat, the French used to say, "Why die for Danzig?" we now have Walter Lippmann and others of his kind proclaiming that it would be folly to risk war over "such unimportant territory" as the Quemoys and Matsu.

Neither Mr. Lippmann, nor other sophists of his kind, realize that wars are neither waged, much less won or lost, according to an accountant's estimate of the value of a particular piece of real estate. Nor is victory assured to the side which has the most "hardware" to throw at the other. "Wars are won or lost in the hearts of men."

No American who knows and understands the origins of his country is likely to question the truth of this remark, made to me recently in Harrisburg by a Russian who had managed to escape the fate of the thousands of his displaced countrymen in Germany whom we handed over to Stalin to be shot, or sent to slave labor camps after our victory in the last world war. But too many of us today, having inherited the blessings of liberty, have no conception of what it means

to be without them and no realization that the price of freedom is readiness to die for it.

A year ago hardly anyone had heard of the Quemoy and Matsu Islands. Today they have become our Rublcon. The decision to cross it or to retreat lies with President Eisenhower alone. This at least is clear from the wording of the resolution passed by Congress on January 28 at the President's request, which authorizes him to secure and protect "such related positions and territories of that area now in friendly hands, and the taking of such other measures as he judges to be required or appropriate in assuring the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores."

CAMPAIGN PROMISES VANISHED

No one knows the mind of President Eisenhower; or rather no one knows who will make up his mind for him when the choice between peace or war in the Formosa Strait can no longer be avoided. One thing only is certain. The Republican campaign promises of 1952 have vanished like snow upon the desert's face. There is no longer any question of rolling back the Iron Curtain in Europe or Asia, or of liberating anyone anywhere in the world. Far from abandoning the sterile containment policy of the Tru-man-Acheson era, as promised in the Republican platform, the administration now aims only at peaceful coexistence with the Soviet empire based, at best, on the status quo, and at worst on further retreats in Asla.

Few today seem even to remember that President Eisenhower was elected on a Republican platform which promised that:

"It will mark the end of the negative, futile, and immoral policy of containment which abandons countless human beings to a despotism and godless terrorism which in turn enables the rulers to forge the captives into a weapon for our destruction."

For a few months this wise and courageous proclamation of Republican policy seemed to be more than campaign oratory. Mr. Dulles spoke of an "agonizing reappraisal" of our foreign policy which foreshadowed an end to our unconditional aid to those who, like the French, could not be counted upon to fight even to defend their own liberty, much less anyone else's.

CAPTIVE PEOPLES REGAIN HOPE

The captive peoples of the Soviet empire in Europe, together with the Chinese under the iron heel of communism, regained hope and strengthened the resistance forces, thanks to Mr. Dulles' statements concerning their liberation. The workers of East Germany revolted in the summer of 1953, and even the slaves in Russla's concentration camps went on strike that same year in large numbers.

Chiang Kal-shek's forces were temporarily unleashed when Eisenhower countermanded Truman's order to the 7th Fleet to protect the rear of our enemy in Korea "by neutralizing Formosa." And on February 25, 1953, Dulles told Congress that the United States "would never be a party to any international deal fixing despotism on peoples in Europe and Asia." On that occasion he also said that the peoples behind the Iron Curtain "have no ground to fear that the administration would sell them down the river for our advantage."

For a brief moment the clouds lifted, and it seemed as if, at long last, America would have the wisdom and courage to win the battle for the world without war instead of waiting for the Communists to acquire the positions of strength they need before they can attack us with the certainty of victory.

Soon the bright prospect faded. First, the Republican administration settled the Korean war on terms so favorable to the Chinese Communists that they had been rejected a year earlier by the Democratic administration. Next Indochina was given up

because the United States dared neither to intervene nor to compel France to take the measures necessary to defend the colony out of which she had derived great profit, but to which she refused either to give self-government or to defend with adequate forces.

During this same period, in spite of Mc-Carray's efforts to stop Stassen, the security barriers against trade with the enemy were lowered even while American prisoners of war were being starved and tortured in Chinese Communist prisons.

Under British pressure and because the administration nurtures the illusion that trade with Communist countries can promote friendship and peaceful coexistence, we started permitting our allies to export more and more of the sinews of war to China and the rest of the Soviet empire.

Meanwhile Chiang Kal-shek was being more effectively "leashed" than ever before, and Syngman Rhee's army was being rationed to a 2 days' supply of ammunition for fear it might attempt to liberate North Korea

In Europe, according to the same pattern, we gave our blessing to the Parls agreements, which were acceptable to France only because they are designed to insure that the West Germans shall neither raise nor equip sufficient forces to insure a viable defense of Europe, nor attempt to liberate East Germany.

SOVIET BUSSIA-NO. 1 "ALLY"

According to Walter Lippmann, a "constructive" reading of the Paris agreements offered "an excellent basis for negotiations with the Soviet Union" because they provide "for the limitation of armaments in Western Europe." Without agreeing that his adjective "constructive" is well chosen, one can agree with Lippmann's view that the Soviet Union should have been happy to negotiate, since, according to Dulles' statement of November 30, the purpose of the London-Paris accords was "not merely to create defensive strength * * but to limit and control that strength so that it can never be an aggressive force."

Since any attempt to liberate the captive peoples could no doubt be considered as an "aggressive" action, and contrary to the principles and aims of the United Nations at its foundation (when Soviet Russia was our dear "ally"), the Paris accords, like the Formosa Treaty, constitute in effect an assurance to the Communist tyrants that they have nothing to fear so long as they content themselves with the enjoyment of their ill-gotten rains.

NO AMERICAN REPRISALS FEARED

No one who understands the terribly effective measures used to suppress rebellion by the Communists can believe that any people can liberate itself without help from the outside. Thus Dulles' statement that "liberation normally comes from within," must have reassured Moscow and Peiping that they can continue to repress, or exterminate, the resistance forces in their farflung empire without fear of American reprisals. Once again, as during World War II, we are saving the Soviet government from the consequences of its crimes and follies.

Today, as yesterday, we fail to understand either the weakness or the strength of the Communists or their unchanging aims. Instead of pressing our advantage during the struggle for power which followed Stalin's death, President Eisenhower, on March 19, 1953, made what the New York Times described as the "most conciliatory White House statement on United States-Soviet relations since the start of the Korean war."

This was the occasion on which he observed that the Soviet leaders would never be met less than halfway, and also said that he would not do anything so provocative as starting a move in the United Nations to brand the Soviet Union as an aggressor in Korea.

More than a year later, on June 30, 1954, the President told a press conference that he "would not be a party to any treaty which makes anybody slaves." Optimists could take comfort from this statement. The pessimists noted that on the same occasion Elsenhower had again stated that the hope of the world lay in peaceful coexistence with the Communists, which is surely incompatible with nonrecognition of their right to hold and exploit millions of slaves.

MASSIVE RETALIATION-OR APPEASEMENT?

During his second year of office, President Eisenhower was proclaiming that there is "no alternative to peace." Thus the tyrants were assured that the big stick we carry is not intended for use. Instead of massive retaliation against Communist aggression and crimes against humanity and international law, we seemed to be embarking on a policy of massive appeasement based on the vain hope that, sooner or later, the Communist leopards will change their spots if we treat them nicely and give them plenty to eat. As usual, the Russian people were identified with their masters, and instead of being encouraged to resist were disheartened by our conciliatory attitude toward those who oppress them.

"Coexistence" or a modus vivendi, or whatever other expression is preferred as a substitute for the unpleasant word "appeasement," became the order of the day. By the fall of 1954 Republican and Democratic antiand pro-Eisenhower editors, columnists, and commentators were agreed that the objective of administration policy is simply peace in our time.

Drew Pearson wrote on November 29, 1954: "The decision is: Whether to accept the olive branches dangled from the Kremlin for coexistence with Russia—olive branches that are urged upon Ike by Churchill and Mendes-France; or to accept the advice of his Pentagon advisers and force a flat showdown with communism in the Far East—a showdown could lead to a preventive war.

"So far, President Eisenhower has taken a definite course toward coexistence and against his military advisers. More than on any other matter of late, he is inclined to play this policy with a lone hand. He personally overruled the Joint Chiefs of Staff when they proposed that the United States stand and fight at Quemoy, the small Nationalist Chinese island just off the Communist Chinese mainland."

David Lawrence's U. S. News & World Report, which, unlike Mr. Pearson, can be relied upon to tell all the truth which it is possible to know, was of the same opinion. On December 3, 1953, it said:

"Peace search, basis for a deal, to be pushed by Elsenhower despite almost any Communist provocation, is basic United States policy now."

Doris Fleeson, who likes Ike but prefers Truman, wrote on November 29 that the President's "noble aim" is "to avoid a military showdown * * * he believes that the free world will win in the end by wise action and the erosion of time."

And on February 11 U. S. News & World Report stated, all too truly, that "the Communists know from experience that the United States will pay a good price for a period of peace and quiet. Just now they're out to cash in again."

DULLES SAYS "WHEN"

John Foster Dulles, whose appointment as Secretary of State had seemed to herald the inauguration of a policy cognizant of the aims and methods of the Communist power, said on November 29, 1954:

"Of course we look anxiously for signs of real change in the attitude of international Communists. We hope that the day will come when they will renounce the effort to rule the world by methods of force, intimidation, and fraud. When that day dawns we shall greet it eagerly."

If our Secretary of State had said "if" there would be no reason for alarm. But he said "when" as if we had only to wait patiently and with restraint for the Communists to cease from troubling. Thus American policy would now seem to be based on the erroneous supposition that the free world can win by sitting back and hoping that God will help those who fail to help themselves; or, on the even more dangerous supposition that the enslaved peoples of the Communist empire in Europe and Asia can liberate themselves without our help.

The record speaks louder than words. By 1954 the United States was refusing either a security pact, or the continuance of arms aid and economic assistance to Chiang Kai-shek unless he promised never to use such aid for offensive purposes. And on March 2, 1955, President Eisenhower, at his press conference, was understood to have said that any attempt to liberate one's country or one's countrymen would be considered as aggression by the United States. In answer to a question concerning Generalissimo Chiang's statement to Senator Margaret Chase Smith that he expected United States moral and logistic support for an invasion of the Chinese mainland, Eisenhower

"The United States is not going to be a

party to an aggressive war."

Of course, like so many other administrative statements this one can be variously interpreted. But the White House issued no denial when the Washington Post and the New York Times, together with most other newspapers, commentators and columnists took his reply to mean that the United States would not help the Nationalists to liberate their homeland.

In the inelegant language of Doris Fleeson, Elsenhower had "slapped" Chiang. It was hard to disagree with her that, in effect, the President had "recognized the sovereignty of Red China."

TREATY FOR DEFENSE ONLY

There had in fact been little doubt for some months past of our intention to accept, if not as yet to "recognize," the Chinese Communist conquest of China. This was made clear by the terms of the Formosa Treaty and by the President's January 24 message to Congress in which he stressed the fact that: "It is a treaty of purely defensive character." The terms of the treaty make this fact all too clear. It not only forblots "offensive military operations by either party from the territories held by the Republic of China" without mutual consent, but also forbids the Chinese Nationalists to "remove" from Formosa without our consent any of the arms we have supplied.

Mr. Dulles' various statements have served to make it yet more clear that "liberation" is no longer the objective of our policy. As on November 29, 1954, he said in a speech in Chicago that we should not "allow ourselves to be provoked into action which would be a violation of our international obligations"; and that "we have agreed by the U. N. Charter to try to settle international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that peace is not endangered."

All this would be very fine if our enemies thought likewise. Since they do not, it is folly to imagine that the evidence we continually give of our peaceful intentions will not embolden them to attack our friends or to continue blackmailing us. What the world is waiting for is proof that we can be counted upon to stand by those who stand by us and that there is a chance that ours will be the winning side.

Mr. Dulles evidently realizes this for, in his February 17 speech, he said: "A great danger in Asia is the fear of many nonCommunists that the United States has no real intention of standing firmly behind them. Already that fear has mounted to the danger point."

DISASTROUS POLICY CONTINUED

Unfortunately Mr. Dulles has to reckon with others who also have the possibility of influencing the President and are giving him contrary advice.

Truman was the inheritor of Roosevelt's disastrous foreign policy and can at least be praised for having finally started to take measures to stem the triumphant advance of the Communist power. But Eisenhower, on the occasions when he lends an ear to the so-called liberals who have maintained their footing in the White House, seems to be trying to out-Roosevelt Roosevelt in his desire for coexistence, if not collaboration, with the vastly extended Communist empire in Europe and Asia.

Instead of taking advantage of the agrarian crisis in Russia and the unrest in the satelite countries to compel the Kremlin to make concessions to the free world, we are proclaiming our readiness to give the Communists the breathing space they require to recuperate and prepare for a future attack on us when they feel strong enough to defeat us.

Truman, whose favorite game is poker, was perhaps better qualified to know when an opponent is bluffing than Eisenhower who spends his leisure hours on the golf course. True that Truman, after taking the risk of resisting the Communists in Korea, was afraid to stake enough to win. But Eisenhower seems not even to realize that a player who says he will never risk his blue chips, however good his hand, must lose in the end.

COMMUNISTS WIN JACKPOTS

Our Communist opponents win the jackpot every time, even if all they have in their hand is a pair of deuces, simply because we are afraid of risking anything, ever, anywhere in the world. Imagining that we are so rich that we can afford both to continue losing ourselves and also to stake other players too lacking in boldness ever to win a pot, we let the Communists take all, again and again and again.

Today we are no longer seeking even to contain the Communist power. Instead we watch them nibble away in Asia, secure in our President's frequent pronouncements that we fear war too greatly ever to use our strength to stop their depredations. While Mao-Tse-tung displays United States fiyers captured in the Korean war to the peoples of Asia as evidence that the United States is a paper tiger which cannot even protect her own nationals, much less anyone else, we have been busy extracting promises from Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek that they will never attempt to liberate their countrymen.

While proclaiming our policy as one of "partnership" and citing the wishes of our "allies" as the reason why we cannot pursue a boid policy in line with American interests, we do not hesitate to exert pressure on the Koreans and Chinese to prevent them from fighting to free their countrymen from Communist slavery.

PEACE AT ANY PRICE?

In a word, both in Europe and Asia we are now giving arms and promising support, not to those who wish to fight for the liberation of others, but only to those who promise that they will never resort to arms except in self-defense. We give "favored nation" treatment to the neutralists and appeasers instead of to those who today, as distinct from yesterday, wish to fight the totalltarian tyrants. And the very same people who cried shame on Neville Chamberlain after Munich now proclaim "peace in our time" at any price as a "noble" sim-

Few realize that our obsession with security must eventually place us in a position in which the United States would have no choice but to fight in the most adverse circumstances, without allies, or to submit to Communist conquest from within and without. For lost allies are not merely lost. Sooner or later those who looked to us in vain to help them liberate themselves from Communist oppression, together with those who had the courage to resist Communist aggression but whom we abandoned to their fate for the sake of peace in our time, must be driven to join our enemies. If there is no banner in the West to which those who prefer death to slavery can repair, even the brave must eventually give up hope and save their lives by joining the ranks of our enemies.

In the words of Senator Knowland:

"Coexistence and atomic stalemate will result in ultimate Communist victory * * * We must face up to the fact that the Communist concept of 'peaceful coexistence' means that the United States or other free nations of the world will be allowed to exist only until communism is able to subvert them from within or destroy them by ag-gression from without. • • • Since stalemate would put the Soviet Union itself 'off limits,' the intended victim of the aggression could only look forward to a localized War within their own frontiers with the destruction of life and property that would entail. Since the hope of restraining this new type of Soviet aggression by placing the body of the octopus in danger, these nations individually, one by one, might prefer to accept Soviet terms rather than even call on the West for aid.

POLICY OR INSANITY?

"Before our eyes the people of the United States would see nation after nation nibbled away and when the realization finally dawned that this policy would inevitably result in our country becoming a continental Dien Bien Phu in a Communist totalitarian world, the chances of our winning such a struggle would be so lessened and the Soviet world so extended that they then would be prepared for an all-out challenge to us wherein we would be allowed the choice to surrender or die."

The courageous speech made by the California Senator on November 15, from which I have quoted, interrupted the debate on Whether or not to censure McCarrny for having been rude to general Zwicker and for not having been sufficiently communicative concerning his finances to the Gillette committee. This debate can be compared only to Nero's notorious musical performance While Rome burned. Today it is not a city. but the whole free world which faces de struction. The McCarthy business served only as a distraction or as a smokescreen behind which those who are leading us down a road, proverbially paved with good intentions, can continue to work for "peace in our time."

As the Greeks said: "Those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad." Could anything be more insane than our present policy of giving arms aid and financial assistance only to those who promise not to fight? Could anything be more foolish than listening to the siren voices of the protagonists of coexistence, which, to quote Senator Know-Land again, means that "the United States or other free nations of the world will be allowed to exist only until communism is able to subvert them from within or destroy them by aggression from without."

It would be as foolish as futile simply to blame the administration, or either the Republican or Democratic Party, for our tresolution. There is an old saying that a people gets the government it deserves. Today we should perhaps rather say that in a democracy the people get the kind of press

and radio and TV reporting which they want. The fourth estate is now more powerful than either Congress or the President. What passes for public opinion is that of our favored commentators and columnists or the editorial writers of such newspapers as the New York Times and Washington Post. And since the people favor those who tell them pleasant things, it is not to be wondered at that our newspapers, radio, and TV, and the advertisers who support them, enable only those who obscure realities, or delude us by false hopes, to form public opinion.

In a word, we have only ourselves to blame if the elected Representatives of the American people are more interested in getting reelected by being all things to all men than in saving the Nation. Those of us who credit the President and his advisers with being no worse than ourselves may see them instead as simply unable to make up their minds. Like Hamlet, they cannot decide whether to "take arms against a sea of troubles and by opposing end them" or to continue suffering "the slings and arrows" flung at us, not by "outrageous fortune," but by the Frankenstein monster which we created at Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam, and which we are now too fearful to challenge lest in destroying it we make a desert of the world.

President Eisenhower may think that he can steer the ship of state along a nicely calculated course between the Scylla of atomic war and the Charybdis of submission to Moscow. But he is the captain of a mixed crew with opposing ideas as to the right course to follow. Thus, helmsmen who dread Scylla must alternate with those who veer away sharply from Charybdis, while the strong and varying winds of public opinion, buffeting the ship from all sides, increase the danger. Nor can we rest assured that if we escape shipwreck we shall not be lured to destruction, since, unlike Ulysses, Eisenhower has failed either to tie himself to the mast or to plug the ears of his crew so that they shall not hear the songs the sirens sing promising ease and security through appeasement.

The vaciliations, prevarications, ambiguities, and sudden changes in the direction of our foreign policy are nonetheless dangerous because they are understandable. If government by consent of the governed is taken to mean government by Gallup poll or government by the lowest common multiple of the intelligence of the citizens, we shall be unable to avoid the fate of the city states of ancient Greece where democracy degenerated into demagoguery and led to the conquest of power by native tyrants or to the enslavement of the people by foreign conquest.

Freedom cannot survive in this or other dangerous ages unless the leaders of the nation are men of character and courage who believe in the principles they profess and stand by them even at the risk of unpopularity or of losing office.

ALL THINGS TO ALL MEN

The representative form of government, which we now like to call democracy requires that the actions of political leaders correspond, at least remotely, to their opinions. It must certainly perish if the elected representatives of the people cease to mean what they say and say what they mean. The nadir of democracy is reached when double think and doubletalk make a mockery of the people's right to know and judge and decide. If both, or all, political parties try to be all things to all men, the electorate has no choice even at election time. In the name of democracy the people then find themselves with little more control over their destiny than the subjects of a totalitarian state, since they have no means of knowing what will be the actual policy of the party for which they vote.

The endeavor to be all things to all men is

The endeavor to be all things to all men is dangerous enough in domestic politics. In

the sphere of foreign policy it must be disastrous. For here the President is confronted. not only with the problem of keeping his mixed team together by doubletalk—or by acting like the legendary horseman who fulfilled his assignment by riding off rapidly in all directions—he also has to reconcile the irreconcilable desires and aims of a multitude of so-called allies. Since it is obviously impossible to pursue a policy acceptable to both those who want peace at any price and to those who wish to resist tyranny-much less those who yearn to liberate the enslaved peoples of the Soviet empire in Europe and Asia-America's endeavor to please everybody results in our losing friends on all sides and influencing nobody. By endeavoring to make the best of both worlds we are in danger of losing both.

"ISLAND-HOPPING RETREAT"

In this connection a dispatch from Rome, dated March 7, from one of the ablest of American foreign correspondents is of interest. George Weller, whom I knew well in China in 1946, when he was one of the few Americans who had no illusions concerning the nature and aims of the Chinese Communists, reported as follows in the Chicago Daily News:

"America's "island-hopping retreat" in the Formosa Strait is beginning to produce results on European public opinion opposite of those intended by Washington. Instead of winning sympathy for moderation, it is causing Communists and fellow travelers to seent the blood of further conquests. It causes America's allies to ask 'who next?"

The same view of the effect which our abandonment of the Quemoy and Matsu Islands would have in Europe was expressed by Richard Hottelet of CBS who reported on a TV program that the people of Berlin were saying that, if the United States failed to defend these Pacific outposts, they would fear that they too would be abandoned, since Berlin is also an island in a Communist sea.

Such voices as these telling us the true, or informed, reaction of the peoples of Europe to our policies are rare. For the most part American correspondents, columnists, and commentators, are wont to reflect only the image of their own desires or what they think is official American policy in their reporting of foreign opinion. Most of them do not even speak the language of the country to which they are accredited and therefore depend either on their prejudices or on United States Embassy handouts for their opinion of what opinion is.

Reason and logic tell us that we cannot retain the confidence of the forces in Europe and Asia, which are prepared to fight and die for freedom, and at the same time placate the neutralists and appeasers or those who, like the British, will fight only when their immediate interests or their own survival are at stake.

We cannot liberate the peoples under communism's iron heel, nor even protect what is left of the free world, without risking war, We cannot proclaim that there is no alternative to peace, and also expect that our power, great as it is, will be of any use in stemming Communist aggression. We cannot ensure peace in our time without agreeing to the perpetual enslavement of the millions of people delivered over to Communist rule Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam; and also without serving notice on the world that those who are threatened by the Communists had better submit because they can expect no help from America. Nor can we please the neutralists by minor concessions to the Communists because they will not be satisfied until we have retreated past the point of no return.

Quoting George Weller again:

"Indications are that the policy of retreat, politically speaking, has no further dividends to offer the United States in the European

camp."

Nor can it offer any dividends in Asia where our vain attempt to placate neutralists such as Nehru is disheartening or alienating those who can be counted upon to fight with us in the cause of liberty or for their own legitimate national interests. The morale of the Chinese Nationalist Army must be destroyed if we compel them to abandon all hope of liberating their countrymen on the mainland and rejoining their families there. It is as unrealistic as it is cruel to convert them into American mercenaries dedicated only to the defense of our security or the promotion of our interests. Yet this is in effect what we are now trying to do by making our support dependent on their renunciation of their own national and per-The end result is likely to be sonal cause. the one calculated on by the Communists, namely, that they will be able to take Formosa from within through the disaffection or desertion of the Nationalist soldiers.

CONCILIATE INDIA OR LOSE JAPAN?

Nor is it likely that we shall be able to keep Japan in our camp if our main aim is to conciliate India, since Japan requires evidence of our determination not to give way to Communist aggression in Southeast Asia where her principal markets are today, while Nehru wants us to retreat and appease, appease and retreat.

Similarly in Europe we cannot expect to acquire the Germans as willing allies while also pleasing France, since the latter wants an assurance that NATO will never use its strength to roll back the Iron Curtain, while the Germans, if they are to enlist with any enthusiasm in the European defense forces, need hope that their enslaved countrymen in the East Zone will one day be liberated.

It is all too easy for the United States to use the threat of withdrawal of material and moral support from Chiang's and Rhee's forces in order to prevent them from taking offensive or aggressive action against the Communists. No great effort is required to damp down the fires of liberty for the sake of peace in our time. But it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to fan the spark of liberty to life, if and when we decide that our own security requires that we cease to act as firewardens for the Communists.

The American people, misled by press, radio, and television concerning the real issues, have been lulled into a false sense of security. Except for a few lone voices such as those of General MacArthur and Senator KNOWLAND, no attempt has been made to awaken them to realization of our peril. Most of our newspaper editorial writers and columnists, together with our radio commentators, use our predicament to scare us into a policy of appeasement.

Last year during the Berlin Conference, Frau Reuter, widow of the late great mayor of that courageous city, reminded me of what her husband had said to me when I visited them during the blockade: "The strength of the Soviet lies in the irresolution of the Western democracies." Echoing him nearly 7 years later, Syngman Rhee stated in a speech he gave in Seoul on March 1, 1955:

"The greatest enemy of the free world is not the armed masses of Communist soldiers * * * but its own fearfulness and selfdoubt."

These two brave voices, echoing each other, came from what Mr. Dulles has called the outposts of freedom. It is not from the front line of the battlefield but in the rear—where the Communist menace is not understood and where too many people hope to save themselves by sacrificing others—that the demand is raised for peace at any price.

Franklin Roosevelt said that we have nothing to fear but fear itself. Strangely enough his greatest admirers are those who now counsel us to be governed by our fears.

Generally speaking, those who urged the United States to intervene in Europe to prevent the victory of the Nazi totalitarian tyranny are now lined up on the other side and are advocating peace at any price and telling us that we can do business with the Communists.

Meanwhile, the former isolationists, or noninterventionists, are divided. Some few believe that the United States can still retire behind her own defenses and abandon the rest of the world to cope alone with the Communist menace which America herseif did so much to create by the crimes and follies of Roosevelt and his advisers. But the great majority of those who opposed Roosevelt's foreign policy realize that America cannot now go it alone while also opposed to our following the advice of those of our allies who wish us either to submit to Moscow or to defend only their own particular interests.

The Plight of Guatemala

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, written by Daniel James, is deserving of our attention. It appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of March 10, 1955:

THE PLIGHT OF GUATEMALA (By Daniel James)

United States policy in Guatemala is failing. That is the sad conclusion this reporter has reluctantly reached after a 4-week, one the spot survey.

on-the-spot survey.

The consequences, if we fail in Guatemala, will be disastrous. Our prestige in Latin America will practically vanish. Our programs in Asia will be compromised, Communists everywhere will have a field day as we argue over who "lost" Guatemala.

When Guatemala's Reds were overthrown last June, United States leaders from President Eisenhower on down swore to make the Central American Republic an anti-Communist showcase. They were solidly backed by both political parties and the public. Rarely has there been such unanimity as on the need for all-out aid to Red-ravaged Guatemala.

Now, 8 months later, how much aid have we given?

On paper, \$6,425,000. In fact, less than half that amount. Money is being doled out for certain projects only as, if, and when they start.

Of the total aid authorized, \$4.425,000 will eventually go into roads—if Guatemala can match it with \$1.5 million of her own. Another \$500,000 will go to finish a hospital—if Guatemala can match it with \$500,000. Health, agricultural, and other projects likewise depend on Guatemala's ability to match funds.

So far, then, our aid largely consists of putting up dollar for dollar in a situation where the matching party sorely lacks dollars.

But even if we donated the entire \$6.5 million outright, that would be about as helpful as feeding aspirin to a man with appendicitis.

That sum, Guatemalans point out, represents exactly what their Government paid its employees in back wages last December. It about equals what the Government ex-

pects to lose in coffee taxes this year.

It is less than one-third of what the Reds are known to have stolen.

"A fraud" is how one Guatemalan bitterly described our aid to me. He was echoed by others. Already our policy of "too little" is breeding disillusionment in us.

Washington is relying upon United States private capital to give Guatemala what she needs. This is sound general theory. The trouble is, it does not apply to Guatemala's immediate problems.

United States businessmen are swarming into Guatemala seeking investment opportunities. Some are already building roads, exploring for oil, selling machinery, making lumber.

The Electric Company of Guatemala, a United States subsidiary, is putting \$17 million into new hydroelectric facilities to increase the capital city's power capacity. Pan-American World Airways is about to join with local money to erect a big hotel. United Fruit reportedly awaits dispositions of a United States antitrust suit before investing \$25 million.

President Carlos Castillo Armas deserves great credit for the improving business picture. His personal popularity, general policies, and practical measures—such as a progressive petroleum code—have combined to assure United States business a warm welcome and fair treatment in Guatemals.

Backing up Castillo Armas is the most talented and dedicated team of United States officials this reporter has ever seen abroad. United States Embassy, Information Agency, and Foreign Operations Administration personnel deserve medals for their handling of a delicate task.

Owing to all these factors, Guatemala is acquiring a new look. Guatemala City streets, once deserted, are filled with busy and happy people. Stores are brimming with new merchandise. Hotels are full. New buildings are going up.

buildings are going up.

But overshadowing this bright picture is the dark legacy communism left behind. A looted treasury, a corn shortage, a jobless problem, and a falling coffee market (ofr which the Reds cannot be blamed) all spell a major crisis. Neither the Guatemalan Government nor United States investors are equipped to tackle it.

An economic crisis in Guatemala just now would, as a matter of fact, slow down the flow of investment. It would destroy confidence in Castillo Armas, and perhaps cause his downfall. It would wreck United States plans for Guatemala and United States policy nearly everywhere in Latin America. We must awaken to these dangers at once and realize that only swift and unstinting United States aid can ward them off.

The primary immediate job is to help Castillo Armas acquire sufficient funds to carry on the task of governing. Second, Guatemala may need emergency food and grain supplies. Third, we must expand and accelerate our technical assistance—and without requiring Guatemala to match funds. Fourth, coffee prices must be adjusted.

Further, we should announce a long-term program. Guatemala needs about \$50 million to build a decent road network—one of the keys to an expanding economy. She needs perhaps another \$50 million for such basic projects as modernizing her agriculture.

For about \$20 million yearly spent over the next 5 years, Castillo Armas' chances of finishing his term in 1960 would be immeasurably enhanced and Guatemala's stability and prosperity practically underwritten.

Vice President Nixon, just back from the Caribbean, and keenly aware of Guatemala's problems in particular, might well suggest that President Eisenhower ask Congress to enact a \$100 million, 5-year program for Guatemala. Only such a program will demonstrate that we are really trying to make the world's first anti-Communist revolution a success.

The Family Farm-Keystone of Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the April 1955 issue of the Country Gentleman, the magazine for better farming:

> THE FAMILY FARM-KEYSTONE OF AGRICULTURE

(By Albert J. Ebers, overseer of the Nebraska State Grange)

Those of us who believe in the familysized farm must be on our guard. We hear much today about efficiency in farming. But it is becoming associated with very units-more land and extensive operations, large dairy herds, big cattle-feeding and hogfattening establishments, the same with every other kind of farm enterprise.

Is this the true measure of farm efficiency? And does it point in the right direction for

American farming?

I believe this type of thinking is wrong and that we should look where we are going. The family-sized farm can be just as efficient and is more stable than the big, hiredlabor farming operation. It also offers much more in other values that are important to the Nation.

We have seen a rise of 40 percent in total production and 91 percent in per-man-hour output on the farms of the country in the past 15 years. This has chiefly been accounted for by family-sized farms, for they make up the major part of American agriculture. culture. What better proof of efficiency do we need? The fact is that the man on a good family-sized farm today is likely to be a competent manager, alert to any new ideas, tools and practices that will increase his farming efficiency and his labor output. As his own capacity increases so will the size of his farming unit.

He has more incentive for doing his best than the workers on a big farm operation. Over the long pull a man will do a more thorough job when it means money and reputation for himself and providing well for his family than he will do for someone else.

There are other factors, important to people outside of farming, to be considered also. On a 2,000-head, cattle-feeding establishment a few hired men with the latest equipment can take care of the cattle. But 25 family-sized farms could make a large part of their good living feeding out the same number. Or a few hired men can care for 300 dairy cows with the help of up-to-date equipment. But 15 family-sized farms can make a large part of a good living from the same number of cows.

Now let us ask ourselves these questions: If you are a local businessman, which community would you prefer—one with 10 cattlefeeding establishments and 30 hired men or one with 250 family-sized farms? Or if you are looking for the best in country life would you rather live in a community with 10 large dairy herds and 40 hired men or in 1 with 150 family-sized farms?

We have enough examples now where schools, churches, neighborhood interests, and local trade resources have been "trac-tored off" to know what happens when the big farming operators take over. It is in communities composed of family-sized farms that you will find the better schools, stronger

churches, interest in rural-improvement activities, and more prosperous local business centers.

The number of large-scale farming enterprises has grown since World War II. But the same thing happened after World War I. with many resulting failures. A family-sized farm with some diversification can weather hard years better than the large specialized unit that must buy and hire most of its feed and labor needs. The roots of the family-sized farm go deeper. It is both a farm business and a home.

In all history there has been no stable, permanent agriculture where this relation-ship did not exist. Therein lies the failure of the Marxian theory of an agriculture based on large, collective units as it is being tried in the Communist countries.

American agriculture has followed a different principle. It is one where individual farmers, through their own work and the use of good farming practices, have been able to acquire land of their own, enough land to make an efficient farming unit and to provide a good standard of living. It is a type of farming where almost all of the grain and forage for the livestock is grown on the farm, where in time new machinery displaces old, and new conveniences make life comfortable. On such farms you find an appreciation for beauty in the surroundings and there is some time for recreation and community service.

All this and more are secured through the combined efforts of the whole family and little, if any, outside labor. As the author of Farming and Democracy has observed, the family-sized farm "Offers scope * * * to develop the initiative and resourcefulness, the sense of responsibility and self-respect that have always and everywhere been considered among the greatest assets of democracy.'

These facts show that the family-operated farm is both the basis for an efficient and healthy agriculture and a source of irreplaceable national values. They should leave no question as to what the public interest calls for. Our thinking and our research efforts should be directed more toward strengthening the kind of farming that has proved good for America.

Improve Patent Laws and Procedure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago I introduced H. R. 4267, a measure calling for the establishment of a nonpartisan commission to study our patent laws and procedures with the end in view of coming up with specific recommendations for improvements in

Patents are a technical subject, and although there are amongst us many men who are competent to deal with the subject, its time-consuming nature makes that a practical impossibility.

There are millions of inventors in this country and probably each one of them has some complaint or another about present patent system. Some of these complaints may not be justified, others may be. That is why there is a need for such a commission as I have proposed. It would have both the com-

petence and the time to make a thorough study.

Needless to say, our patent system should be the most ideal that we can devise. The greatness of our country as respects to our industrial development has been founded on the inventiveness of our people. We must maintain the incentive for invention in this country that only a properly working patent system can sustain.

The following article appearing in Spotlight and written by H. J. Rand points up the problem:

AMERICA'S MOST PROFITABLE INVESTMENT—
THE PATENT OFFICE—IS BEING OVER-

(By H. J. Rand)

The basis of the advance of the people of the United States, to the highest scale of living ever attained, is invention and new development, fostered since the time of Jefferson by our patent system.

Now, America's most promising domestic avestment is being overlooked. The Patinvestment is being overlooked. ent Office, which is the life blood of invention and new development is being hamstrung through lack of funds. A few mil-lions of dollars could change this picture dramatically, speed up the issuing of patents and give enormous impetus to the pent-up creativity of the American inventor.

The Patent Office in Washington is accurately described as "the nerve center of American free enterprise." Without the protection it gives to the fruits of creative ideas and costly and prolonged research, invention would languish. Progress as we have known it would slow down to crawl. We Americans are reputed to be resourceful and inventive. Exercise these qualities has been and still is discouraged by the neglect of Congress and of recent administrations to provide as they should for needs of the Patent Office. "The nerve center of American free enterprise" has been partially paralyzed.

Because of insufficient appropriations, the Patent Office is undermanned. Because of insufficient staff, the backlog of patent applications awaiting action has grown each year until now it is over 210,000, at least twice what it should be. In many instances, an inventor must wait nearly a year after he has filed his application before he receives an action from the Patent Office and well over a year for action on his responses.

The average time between application for a patent and final issue of the patent is 3 years and 7 months. The delay will not get less but will lengthen, if the legislators and the administration do not correct the

situation.

The present waiting time is much greater than it should be. With a fully manned staff at work, less than 6 months should elapse before an inventor, after he has filed his application or replied to an Office action, hears from the Patent Office. Consider what a 31/2-year delay means. Inventors are handicapped in marketing an invention and a manufacturer in buying it because of the long Patent Office delay, even though some take a gamble, without waiting for final The inventor suffers as do all Ameriaction. can citizens who benefit by the new and improved and lower cost products that invention constantly brings. Add to this long waiting period of uncertainty a year and a half before the device may be manufactured and put on sale. That means a lapse of 5 years.

And what may happen during those years? I know of inventors who were advised by conscientious patent attorneys not to apply for patents because their devices might be obsolete before they reached the market. Here let me pay tribute to the patent attorney profession. Long delays between filing and disposal of a patent application obviously mean higher fees. Yet, almost to a man, patent attorneys want to see greater speed in the Patent Office.

One great danger arising from long delay is the opportunity for copying and infringement of ideas contained in a patent application. The labels, "Patent applied for" and "Patent pending," are little protection for the average inventor, maker, or distributor of a new product. But corporations with huge research organizations, backed by platoons of patent experts, and covered by a blanket of patent applications covering every conceivable phase of a new device may, with reasonable safety, go into production even though patents are pending.

It is true that patent owners can stop infringement only after a patent has been granted, but it is also understandable why copiers think more than twice before they would appropriate ideas developed by some

industrial giant.

Copiers and patent pirates are constantly on the watch for patents pending or applied for. Well aware of the limited protection which such labels give, they can appropriate an inventor's ideas for their own use. Counters of every hardware and specialty store across the country are loaded with ingenious kitchen and other household gadgets. Around these articles has grown an active new industry which is plagued by pirating and infringement.

Spokesmen for the gadget-making industry have told congressional Appropriations Committees of the almost daily occurrence of cases in which inventors and small manufacturers have found themselves amost powerless to get redress from those who have copied all or part of the patent-pending

inventions.

Independent inventors and small-business men are severely handicapped if they must wait several years for a patent application to be finally decided. They can't afford to keep money tied up for years. If valid patents can't be issued with reasonable dispatch, they are without even the modest protection which enables them to compete with larger enterprises. Yet it is the efforts of inventors and the continuous advent of small firms which keeps the American economy flexible and free from stagnation.

The patent system plays a major part in the creation of new products and processes. These appear every year and stimulate new companies to produce them. But with long waiting periods, inventors and manufacturers are discouraged from creating or seeking new ideas. Fewer patents are issued today than 20 years ago. Any slowdown in the granting of patents slows down by so much research, development, and new employment. It affects the entire American economy.

Responsibility for this roadblock to scientific and technical progress does not rest with the United States Patent Office, for it is hard to see how it could do better with the reduced funds at its disposal. It is served by as able and devoted a staff as can be found in any Government service. It has been untouched by scandal. Political chair-warmers can't hope to meet the exacting requirements for appointment as patent examiners.

Its Commissioners have never been party hacks; almost invariably, they have been outstanding patent attorneys. But the patent system, which has the honorable distinction of being superior to politics, is at the mercy—and the neglect—of politics, politicians and political compromise.

Although well aware that delays in handling patent applications can be corrected only by more personnel, the budget makers of the last 2 years clamped down further on Patent Office appropriations. Instead of the \$12 million allowed a few years ago, this year's budget item for patents is \$11.5 mil-

lion. More applications, fewer examiners to handle them, longer search time—that's the crux of the Patent Office situation which is imposing uncertainty and delay upon inventive research and development. The amount requested for next year is only \$12 million.

Nearly two-thirds of an examiner's time is spent in search of the 2,700,000 recorded patents to determine whether an applicant's claims are original. The examiner must also look through foreign patents and scientific literature, for one must be the first inventor anywhere to be awarded an American patent for a device or process. This search time increases with the years. Patent applications are much more complicated and bulky and require on the average half again as much search time as was called for 25 years ago.

One reason for the longer search time is that technological development and increased scientific knowledge has made a patent applicant's claims much more complex to examine and determine. Contrast today's radio and TV equipment with yesterday's crystal sets. Once gasoline was merely distilled from liquid petroleum; today it comes from complicated cracking processes. Back in the 1920's, the basis of comparison for a claim for a new automobile transmission was the simple gear shift; today, a whole series of patented automatic transmission systems must be examined.

All this complicates the classification and cross-indexing of patents. A device of, say, 75 years ago could be cataloged in a small number of groups. But as inventions have become more intricate, what with developments in electronics and synthetics, their components touch many fields, and previous classification methods become obsolete. As a result, an application for a patent for a golf ball capable of floating in a water hazard required search and study of 360 different patents. By reclassification and regrouping, a search of only five patents is necessary.

Need for regrouping and reclassification is not new. Patent Commissioners have continually sought money for this work. But the situation has become more critical in recent years. Time after time, Appropriations Committees have admitted the need, but have either recommended piecemeal appropriation or postponed action in the belief that such expenditure would be deferred until later budgets. Less than 1 in 3 of the 2,700,000 patents has been reclassified recently and can be found by reasonable search.

Last year, a Senate appropriations sub-committee took note of the classification situation by directing the Commerce Department to undertake "aggressive thorough investigation" to find whether patent search operations could be mechanzed. An advisory committee headed by Dr. Vannevar Bush and including business machines experts studied the problem and reported that although mechanized search operations are possible, machines capable of the job have not yet been devised; and that even were such machines available. they could not accomplish much until all patents had been properly reclassified. So, another year has passed with reclassification virtually dormant, and delay in the issue of patents is becoming more critical.

Actually, the Patent Office costs the Government not \$11.5 million but slightly more than \$5 million a year. Its annual receipts of fees are some \$6 million which is turned over to the Treasury's general fund. Until 1940, the patent office was almost self-sustaining; receipts from fees approached the amount of the budget. Later, with mandatory pay increases and with more intricate patents and complicated patent searches costs mounted.

Secretary of Commerce Weeks asked Congress for legislation authorizing fee increases so that the Patent Office might be

on a more nearly self-sustaining basis. But it is obvious that even should fees be raised from the present \$60 level to twice that amount, the ever-growing delay between patent application and final action would continue.

Whether fees should be raised is debatable. But whether or not they are increased, money must be appropriated; and without more money, the Patent Office people cannot give the service they wish to render American creative skill and industry. The Office would still be understaffed. With continued neglect of reclassification, examiners cannot reduce the backlog of pending applications.

Even should all its services be free, the patent system would pay for itself many times over. The royalties and licenses of patent owners are uncounted hundreds of millions a year—and the profits therefrom are taxed. Bureau of Internal Revenue reports of receipts do not distinguish between rents and royalties, so not even an approximate total is available for taxes paid by beneficiaries of the patent system.

It appears, however, that taxes upon patent royalties of a single American corporation like RCA would more than equal the net operating costs of the Patent Office. In its antitrust suit against the Radio Corporation of America, the Department of Justice estimated that RCA's current domestic patent royalties are well in excess of \$20 million, and upon profits from these licenses RCA pays a 52 percent corporation profit tax.

Failure to increase the Patent Office budget is described as an economy move. Actually, it is an extravagance. A few millions additional, spread over the next 6 years, would complete classification work and provide for enough additional examiners to reduce the backlog by half. This would cut at least 2 years from today's average waiting time for final patent action.

As much as \$4 billion a year is spent on scientific and industrial research and development. Whatever is new that has practical possibilities is written up in patent application claims and is filed at the Patent Office.

Congress has appropriated billions to restore and improve the conomies of foreign countries, yet neglects the Patent Office which made possible the creation of much of our great national wealth, a creation which made those gifts possible. The delay in processing patents affects our national economy and deprives the National Government of much-needed immediate revenue.

As Dr. Vannevar Bush's committee well said, "The United States patent system is at the crossroads today, * * * The Patent Office, established to stimulate industrial progress, is now heavily burdened by the products of the inventive genius it has fostered and encouraged."

Although responsibility for this situation rests with the administration and Congress, part of the blame belongs elsewhere. Once its budget requests have been examined and pared by the Department of Commerce and the Bureau of the Budget, the Patent Office cannot go over these heads in direct appeal or protest to Congress.

But the true state of affairs is known by the entire profession of patent law. Its professional organizations and a couple of inventors' groups sent representatives to protest to congressional Appropriations Committees against these budget cuts. But the thousands of victims of the situation—inventors, research groups, small and large manufacturers—have been silent. As long as their voices are not heard, there is little chance of betterment.

Most of these victims are persons of standing in their congressional districts. When they speak, their representatives in Washington will listen. The time for them to speak is now. And they will be speaking not only

for science and invention but on behalf of the dynamic expanding economy upon which the continued prosperity of our country depends.

Forrestal Wrote MacArthur Wanted Russians in War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. -PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include herewith an article written by Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips, retired, which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on March 24, 1955. The article, entitled "Forrestal Quoted MacArthur as Urging Use of 60 Russian Divisions Against Japanese," follows:

FORRESTAL QUOTED MACARTHUR AS URGING USE OF 60 RUSSIAN DIVISIONS AGAINST JAP-ANESE—DIARY OF LATE SECRETARY OF DE-FENSE CONTRADICTS PRESENT STATEMENTS BY FORMER FAR EAST COMMANDER THAT SOVIET FORCES WERE NOT NEEDED

(By Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips, U. S. Army, retired)

A little, rather than a great, debate is already underway over who was the villian responsible for getting the Soviet Union into the war with Japan.

On one side are Gen. Douglas MacArthur, supported by his former Chief of Intelligence, Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby. On the other is the evidence of the diarles of the late Secretary of Defense, and at that time Secretary of the Navy, James A. Forrestal, the record of a visit with MacArthur by Gen. George A. Lincoln of the Army War Plans Division in February 1945, in the Army Official history of the War Plans Division, and some remarks by Harry Hopkins in Robert E. Sherwood's book, Roosevelt and Hopkins.

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, Democratic leader, charged in the Senate that if there were miscalculations at Yalta they appear to have been based on the estimates and miscalculations of the military leaders in Europe and the Far East.

General MacArthur, in a statement issued yesterday, responded that "the imminent collapse of Japan was clearly apparent several months before Yalta when we captured the Philippines. All my dispatches and reports clearly enunciated this viewpoint."

QUOTES DISPATCHES

MacArthur then goes on to quote from dispatches of September 21 and October 20, 1944, which do not mention the Russian participation one way or another but do contain some of MacArthur's grandiose prose.

He goes on to say: "Had my views been requested with reference to Yalta, I would most emphatically have recommended against bringing the Soviet into the Pacific War at that late date. To have made vital concessions for such a purpose would have been fantastic."

General Willoughby supports his old chief in his book MacArthur, 1941-51, as follows: "Toward the end of 1944, Russian intervention in the Pacific appeared as a factor in secret diplomatic understandings. The general commented as follows: From the point of view of my headquarters, Russian participation was not required. I urged Russian intervention in 1941 to draw the Japanese from their southward march and keep

them pinned down in Siberia. By 1945 such intervention had become superfluous'."

NO DOCUMENTATION

By the context, the quote that Willoughby ascribes to General MacArthur must have been made after or late in 1945, since it speaks of intervention in 1945 in the past tense. Like most of the alleged quotations in Willoughby's incredible book no date or documentary authority is given.

Forrestal visited MacArthur in the Philippines February 28, 1945, after the Yalta conference, which had been held February 4 to 11, 1945. He entered in his diary that night parts of his conversations with MacArthur.

"On the question of war against Japan," he wrote, "and our objectives vis-a-vis Japan, he (MacArthur) expressed the view that the help of the Chinese would be negligible. He felt that we should secure the commitment of the Russians to active and vigorous prosecution of a campaign against the Japanese in Manchukuo of such proportions as to pin down a very large part of the Japanese Army; that once this campaign was engaged we should then launch an attack on the home islands, giving, as he expressed it, the coup de main from the rear while substantial portions of the military power of Japan were engaged in the mainland of Asia."

WANTED 60 RUSSIAN DIVISIONS

"He said he felt our strength should be reserved for use in the Japanese mainland, on the plain of Tokyo, and that this could not be done without the assurance that the Japanese would be heavily engaged by the Russians in Manchuria. He expressed doubt that the use of anything less than 60 divisions by the Russians would be sufficient. He saw little chance that the Russians could get an additional 30 divisions activated in less than 6 months time."

HISTORIAN'S QUOTE

General Lincoln had two long conferences with General MacArthur February 25, 1945. The official Army history reports part of the second conference from a message sent that day by Lincoln as follows:

"General MacArthur spoke of the strength of the opposition to be expected in invading the Japanese home islands. He declared that planning should start at once, that heavy firepower would be needed to cover the beachheads, and that as many Japanese divisions as possible should first be pinned down on the mainland, principally by Soviet forces."

Sherwood, working from the Hopkins papers wrote:

"MacArthur's calculations were based on the assumption that the Russians would contain the great bulk of the Japanese forces on the mainland as they had contained the Germans in Eastern Europe."

CONFUSION ABOUT TIME

It was perfectly natural and proper that MacArthur should have planned on Russian participation in the war in the Far East. It was likewise out of the question that the War Department would have gone ahead with the same plans if they had not been recommended by MacArthur. His effort at this late date shows his superior prescience can only be ascribed to confusion as to the time when he became convinced that Japan was a hollow shell.

MacArthur, during his effort to gain the nomination for President, in his keynote speech at the Republican convention, July 7, 1952, declared in fine partisan form: "We condemned our faithful wartime ally, the Chinese people, to subjugation to Communist tyranny."

At that time it was reported by the Alsops that MacArthur's wartime cables to the War Department proved that MacArthur was foremost in pressing for Soviet entry into the war. The cables were then top secret and still are. They have not been released

to the Historical Division of the Army. It was also reported then that President Truman had called for them and was prepared to make use of them if MacArthur were nominated for President.

MOST INFLUENTIAL ADVOCATE

As far as the writer can determine from search over a long period of time, and discussions with former members of the War Plans Division, MacArthur was the most influential advocate of getting Russian participation in the Far Eastern war.

pation in the Far Eastern war.

It is quite clear, however, that the military had nothing to do with the concessions made by President Roosevelt. In fact, they knew nothing about them until 2 or 3 mnths after the Yalta Conference.

The military position by the time the war had progressed to the point that the end could be seen in Europe, was that the Soviet could not be kept out of the war with Japan. The concessions appear to have been part of the overall deal made at Yalta—the Russians made concessions, too—rather than a surrender to military pressure,

United States Academy of Science

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an editorial from the Lowell Sun of Lowell, Mass., entitled "United States Academy of Science." I shall introduce a bill in Congress to carry out the suggestions made in the editorial. The scientific possibilities of such a program are worthwhile for the Congress to look into.

The editorial follows:

UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

The Military Academy at West Point and the Naval Academy at Annapolis have for many years produced officers whose fine training and extensive knowledge of the science of warfare have accounted for the Nation's record of achievement in battle. We expect that the new United States Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs will soon share the prestige of the two older schools and will produce fighting men of the same high caliber.

The Federal Government puts a big effort into qualifying the officers who will lead the legions in uniform. Such an undertaking is without doubt one of the most important phases of national security.

But in recent months the American people have been told a great deal about the surprisingly large increase and effort that the Soviets are injecting into their program for educating scientists, technologists, and engineers. While the Soviets have no doubt made full capital of the skilled scientific minds of the East Germans, they have also been farsighted enough to institute their own scientific training programs to qualify their own young men in this extremely vital field of learning.

Up to World War I, military preparedness was measured primarily on the quantity of arms which a nation maintained. Since World War II and during this recent period of extraordinary scientific advancement, however, military preparedness has been gaged considerably by the success of a nation's scientists in producing new and

more effective weapons. The international race today is based more on the quality of

arms than upon the quantity.

The demand for civilian engineers and scientists in the United States is greater now than ever before because of the increasing needs of a highly mechanized society. It has been largely through the efforts of scientists that the country has developed so rapidly and has created a way of life that is well advanced beyond that of any other nation.

The task of preparing a sufficient supply of scientists and engineers to satisfy both the military and civilian needs of the United States is a difficult one. But it must be met and it must be handled with due attention to both considerations.

One of the most effective ways of meeting this challenge in this time of heavy stress on engineering is for the Government to do something progressive on its own.

Since the Government's program for educating experts in the field of military science is and has been so successful, it would undoubtedly be in keeping with the growing needs of the era to create and finance a fourth school of higher education, to be known as the United States Academy of Applicants, young men finishing their high-school courses who show unusual aptitude for the many phases of scientific study, would be appointed by means of competitive examinations and appointment by their representatives in Congress. Upon graduation from the Academy, they would be required to give their services to the Government for a period commensurate with that required of graduates of West Point and Annapolis. Thereafter, assuming that they wished to make the Government service a career, they would be up-graded in accordance with the formula which is now used with officers of the Army and Navy.

The building and maintenance of such a school would, of course, entail great expense, but the dividends on the investment would run high and many brilliant young men who might not be able to afford higher schools of learning would be given the chance to procure educational advancement. The scientific possibilities of such a program are practically unlimited—they would give tremendous support to the Nation's need for keeping ahead in the ever-running scientific race.

The Government can use more men of science; industry needs them, the American way of living needs them. It seems like a natural way to implement our national security and defense.

The idea is worth exploration by Congress.

The Good Sense of the American People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I desire to include an editorial entitled "Congress Forgetting the People Aren't Dolts," from the March 2, 1955, edition of the Santa Rosa (Calif.) Press-Democrat.

On March 30 the Congress cleared, and sent to the President, H. R. 4289, which extends existing corporate and excise tax rates for 1 year from April 1. In so doing, the controversial individual

income-tax reduction provision was deleted from the bill as being economically unsound at this time.

The editorial was written prior to final congressional action. However, it is apropos in that its theme is that the American people are more interested in the Congress taking a commonsense approach to problems, rather than resorting to hasty decisions fabricated on possible political expediency.

I respectfully call your attention to the following editorial which, I believe, expresses the thinking of the vast majority of the people on this subject:

CONGRESS FORGETTING THE PEOPLE AREN'T DOLTS

As a people, citizens of the United States are no more immune from making mass mistakes than the people of any other nation, but as a general rule they have more collective good sense than they are credited with by politicians.

Democrats of the lower House of Congress passed a bill cutting everyone's income-tax payment by \$20. The action is economically unsound and those who voted for it are well aware of that fact. They simply thought it was good politics and would give the Democratic Party credit with the voters for trying to reduce taxes. They anticipated the measure would also be passed by the Democrats in the Senate, and that President Eisenhower, in vetoing it, would be branded as a tax gourer.

Present indications are that the Democratic majority in the Senate will not pass the irresponsible bill. The politicos are now worrying that this will indicate a split in the party, and result in a political liability instead of asset.

What they are overlooking is that the voters have a lot more sense than Congressmen assume.

Most voters do not take a split in the party very seriously. Far from regarding disagreements as signs a political party is falling apart, the voters think it is a pretty good thing when their public servants think for themselves and disagree. The Democratic Party was a divided camp during most of the time Presidents Roosevelt and Truman were in office, but it did not result in losses at the polls. The Republican Party has been split on several issues thus far during Mr. Eisenhower's term. It has not cost any

Far from becoming disgusted with the Democratic Party if the Senate refuses to pass the \$20 tax-cut bill, most voters probably will be glad that common sense prevailed over a bit of political expediency that didn't impress anyone very much anyway.

The Treasury Department Under the Eisenhower Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an address delivered on March 15 before the Women's National Republican Club, New York City, by the Honorable Marion B, Folsom, Under Secretary of the Treasury.

The address follows:

THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT UNDER THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION

I would like to talk to you today about the Treasury, its activities, problems, and accomplishments.

First, though, I want to describe briefly the progress of the administration as a whole in the fiscal field, which includes the income and outgo of the Government, taxes, debt, and the budget. While most of my remarks this afternoon will be about specific operational activities of the Treasury, we are, as you know, vitally concerned with the overall fiscal problems of the Government.

This administration has been dedicated to the policies of economy in Government, tax reduction, and a sound dollar. When we came to Washington we were faced with serious deficits—one of \$9.4 billion in fiscal 1953, and a further \$11 billion deficit in sight for fiscal 1954. We could do little about the 1953 deficit, but we cut the projected 1954 deficit to \$3 billion. Due to the intensive work by all departments, spending has been cut so that for fiscal 1956 it is expected to be about \$12 billion below the actual 1953 level, a huge reduction in so short a time.

Last year taxes were cut \$7.4 billion, the largest dollar tax reduction in 1 year in our Nation's history. This tax reduction cush-loned the impact on the economy of the sharp reduction in Federal spending. Of the cuts, \$3 billion was in individual income taxes, \$2 billion resulted from the termination of the excess-profits tax, and \$1 billion represented excise-tax reductions.

The balance of \$1.4 billion is accounted for by reductions included in the 1954 Internal Revenue Code revision. This recasting of the tax laws was a big step in improving our tax system. It had two main objectives: to remove many of the hardships to individuals which had crept into the tax laws; and to remove barriers to economic growth, and by so doing let American ingenuity go ahead full steam under the free-enterprise system which has made this country great.

The tax-revision law helped millions upon millions of taxpayers who had been plagued by unjust and unfair hardships for many many years. This relief went to many millions of citizens in all walks of life and all income levels including working women, farmers, small-business men, retired people on pensions, widows, and people in hospitals or with medical expense.

The tax-revision law sought to help permit the economy to expand and provide more and better jobs. The partial relief of the double taxation of dividends is one of the provisions which help stimulate the investments which make jobs. The more flexible allowance for depreciation also stimulates the replacement of outmoded equipment and the building of more efficient plants, which lead to more jobs and the production of better goods.

We must continue in the future to eliminate other hardships in the tax laws as well as remove additional barriers to economic growth whenever our financial situation will permit the tax loss involved.

Simultaneous with the cutting of taxes, steady progress has been made toward a balanced administrative budget. For fiscal 1956 we expect a deficit of \$2.4 billion, down \$7 billion from the 1953 figure. On a cash basis, comparing the total amount of money we collect and the amount we pay out, the cash deficit was almost eliminated last year and a small cash surplus is currently anticipated for 1956.

The budget could have been balanced last year if the heavy cuts in spending had not been accompanied by substantial tax cuts. But tax reduction helped sustain the economy in a period of transition to lower levels of Government expenditures. Personal income in the last quarter of 1954 was up \$1.7 billion from the fourth quarter of 1953. At the same time personal taxes fell at the annual rate of \$3 billion. As a result, disposable personal income, i. e., income after taxes, in the last quarter of 1954 was at the annual rate of almost \$256 billion, an increase of \$4.7 billion over the comparable period in 1953. This was the main reason for the continuous rise in personal spending during 1954.

Taxes remain high and present a serious obttacle to the long-term dynamic growth of the economy. But the Government must always make adequate provision for national security and other essential services. Further tax reductions can only be made as savings in Government spending or increased revenues resulting from growth in our economy are in sight.

This encouraging progress in reducing the deficit has helped to give the American people a sound dollar. The value of the dollar has been stable for the last 2 years, compared with a drop in value from 100 cents in 1939 to 52 cents in 1952. During these 2 years, the cost of living has risen less than one-half of 1 percent. * * *

A fundamental part of our sound money program has been the management of the Public debt in the interest of monetary stability. The public debt of \$278 billion is being handled wisely. Progress is being made toward our basic objective of lengthening the average maturity of the debt so that our huge debt is more manageable. Accelerated sales of United States savings bonds are stimulating widespread ownership of the debt by individuals. Finally, our central banking system—the Federal Reserve organization-has been allowed to carry out, in the interests of the American people, flexible monetary policies directed toward economic stability and growth.

A well-planned program, using the several fiscal and monetary tools I have mentioned, has enabled the Nation to stop the inflationary trend and make the necessary adjustment to a sound basis without a serious deflation and without direct Government controls. We have merely put into effect Freat American traditions established at the very founding of the Republic by Alexander Hamilton and carried forward by great men of all parties. While these traditions were cast aside for many years, they are now, gradually but effectively, being again to provide sound money, a firm foundation for economic growth, and opportunity for every American.

This background on the administration's progress in fiscal matters puts in perspective the operations of the Treasury Department, for the principal activities of the Department are the development and implementation of monetary and fiscal policies, management of the debt, collection of Government revenue, and the manufacture of stamps, bonds, coins, and currency. More than 90 percent of the Treasury's 79,000 civilian employees are engaged in these activities.

Overall policies, which are developed in the Office of the Secretary, are carried out by our operating bureaus. The largest of these activities is that of revenue and customs collection, carried on by the Internal Revenue Service and the Bureau of Customs. The size of the job is shown in the amount of Government receipts. In the 1954 fiscal year internal revenue receipts were almost \$82 billion and customs receipts exceeded half a billion dollars.

To carry out its work, the Internal Revenue Service had about 50,000 employees at the end of 1954. This was a reduction of almost 4,000 since the end of 1952. While the total employment of the Service has dropped, the number of revenue agents has increased from about 7,500 at the end of 1952 to almost 11,000 at the end of 1954. This stepup in

enforcement personnel has enabled the Service to do a more complete job of auditing returns than was previously possible. In the last 6 months of 1954 the Service audited 10 percent more returns than in the same period in 1953 and additional taxes produced by audit and other enforcement work increased \$120 million. Successful prosecutions of tax evaders were up 27 percent in 1954 over the 1953 level. In fiscal 1954 the cost of the Revenue Service was only 38.5 cents for every \$100 which the Service collected.

The Revenue Service has been making notable progress in increasing the effectiveness of its collection work. At the same time better day-to-day service is being given the taxpaying citizens of our country. Tax disputes pending before the Appellate Division have been reduced 57 percent in the last 2 years, thereby enabling taxpayers to settle disputes more promptly. Facilities for help-ing taxpayers fill out their returns have been expanded; this and other steps will help taxpayers take full advantage of the many beneficial tax changes made by Congress last year. All tax forms are under con-tinuous study in an effort to make them more simple and understandable. This year a new small punchcard tax return is available for wage earners with incomes less than \$5,000.

The Service, as you know, suffered from a period of scandals before this administration came into office. Through decentralization and a thorough reorganization, the Service has been greatly strengthened. We are proud of the work now being done by the Revenue Service, which has as its objective fair treatment to both the taxpayer and the Government.

The Bureau of Customs has as its main duties assessing and collecting duties and taxes on imported merchandise and baggage, preventing smuggling, and enforcing various export control laws. Customs' personnel is now about 8,000, a 10-percent reduction from the figure at the end of 1952. The staff of this Bureau is doing an efficient job in the face of a growing workload.

Progress has been made in eliminating difficulties of importers and others in processing goods through customs, and in facilitating customs procedures for travelers. Much of this was made possible by legislation sponsored by the Department and passed by the 83d Congress. Further efforts toward desirable changes in the law are being made.

Liquidation backlogs have been substantially reduced, required documentation for customs purposes has been simplified, and several significant aids for travelers have been placed in effect. Customs officers strive to maintain uniform courtesy and efficiency with the tact and patience of diplomats in spite of the careful examination of baggage which they make to detect violations at ports of entry—violations which are attempted by only a very small percentage of passengers.

The Bureau of the Public Debt has been steadily reducing its work force and at the same time has furnished prompt and satisfactory service to holders of Government securities. The Bureau this year is expected to handle the issuance or retirement of more than 180 million individual securities.

Closely related are the activities of the United States Savings Bonds Division. The function of this Division, of course, is to promote the continued purchase of series E and H savings bonds and to encourage the owners of these bonds to hold them rather than cashing them prior to maturity.

Excellent progress has been made in the savings bonds program. Cash sales of series E and H bonds in 1954 were the best in 9 years and the net sales, that is the excess of cash sales over redemptions, were the highest in 5 years. The series E and H

bond holdings reached an all-time peak of \$38.2 billion in eash value in the hands of over 40 million of our citizens. Through the savings bonds program many people, for the first time in their lives, have become systematic and substantial savers.

The success of this program is in large part a reflection of the active support of the many thousands of patriotic, public-spirited volunteers who give the Treasury their time, energy, and influence to sell savings bonds.

The Treasurer of the United States is the official custodian of the public funds. Although practically all functions of the Treasurer are rigidly prescribed by law and have been performed by the Office of the Treasurer since 1778, remarkable progress has been made in utilizing new, efficient procedures. Conversion from paper to card checks alone provided \$327,000 in recurring annual savings in fiscal 1953 and an additional \$112,000 in 1954. Decentralization of the destruction of unfit currency is saving over \$600,000 a year.

The Bureau of Accounts performs many fiscal activities. In addition to the payment function, other main jobs of this Bureau include central summary accounting and financial reporting for the entire Government. The Bureau's Division of Disbursement in fiscal 1956 is expected to process over 200 million check payments; this gives some idea of the size of the Bureau's job.

The Treasury through the Bureau of Engraving and Printing and the Bureau of the Mint produces the Nation's stamps, bonds,

coins, and currency. The Bureau of Engraving and Printing designs, engraves, and prints currency, securities, postage and revenue stamps, Government checks, military commissions and certificates, and other Government engraving work. This is a large-scale production operation employing more than 4,000 people. about 2,000 less than when we came to Washington. The operations of the Bureau are carried out on a completely reimbursable basis, as authorized by Congress in 1950. Lower production costs are passed on to other agencies in the form of reduced costs for currency, bonds, and the like. Improved management techniques are paying large ury activities. For example, in fiscal 1953 currency printing was converted from 12 subjects in each sheet to 18 subjects giving an annual saving of over \$4 million. Starting in fiscal 1954 savings of almost \$450,000 a year were made by converting \$25 savings onds from expensive plate printing to the offset method. A similar change in the printing of liquor tax stamps is saving over

annual savings of \$150,000. The main jobs of the Bureau of the Mint are the manufacture of coins and physical custody of the United States monetary stocks of gold and silver, including their purchase and sale. Coinage mints are in operation in Philadelphia and Denver, and, as you probably know, gold is deposited at Fort Knox, Ky., and silver at West Point, N. Y. Coinage production for the present fiscal year is expected to be over 1 billion pieces. Although salary costs have risen considerably, coinage costs are lower today than they were several years ago. The cost of shipping coins has been cut \$250,000 a year by using armored cars and trucks instead of express. tional annual savings of about \$415,000 will commence this year as a result of discontinuing coinage operations recently in San Francisco and the closing of the Seattle assay office.

\$125,000 each year. \$50 and \$100 bonds have

now been changed also, with additional

The Secret Service is a small and compact organization with three major functions. The first is the protection of the President and his family, and the President-elect, and

the Vice President at his request. The second is the suppression of counterfeiting of the currency and other obligations and securities of the Government. The third is the suppression of the forgery and fraudulent negotiation of Government checks and bonds.

An example of the excellent work done by the Secret Service is in detecting counterfeiting. While there has been no appreciable reduction in counterfeiting since 1951, there has been marked reduction in the amount of counterfeit money in circulation. This is due to successful efforts by Secret Service agents to discover counterfeiters and the seizure of counterfeiting plants before the money can be placed in circulation.

The Bureau of Narcotics administers a program designed to deal with the control of permissive manufacture, distribution, and sale of drugs, as well as the control of sources of the illicit supply of drugs on international, national, and local levels. The narcotic agent's job is ferreting out gangsters and drug traffickers and bringing them before the courts. Some of the most effective work done by this little Bureau is in collaboration with foreign police.

Next I come to the United States Coast Guard, a branch of the military service at all times, a wing of the Treasury Department during peace, and a fighting arm of the Navy in time of war or whenever the Presi-

dent so directs.

The primary peacetime activity of the Coast Guard is to prevent avoidable loss of life and property. The Coast Guard's activities include air-sea rescue duties, port security responsibilities, maintaining aids to navigation including ice-patrol work, operation of lighthouses and ocean weather stations, and inspection of merchant vessels and their equipment.

A dramatic example of the skill and courage of the men of the Coast Guard was the rescue of the crew of a Military Air Transport Service plane in the mid-Atlantic in Jan-

uary.

Finally, there are the Treasury's newest duties, those given the Secretary last year for administering the Federal Facilities Corporation, the liquidation of the RFC, and various defense lending programs.

The Federal Facilities Corporation has been conducting the Government's program for the production and sale of synthetic rubber and refined tin. It is currently expected that the synthetic-rubber-producing facilities will soon be sold to private interests, and that production of tin will be discontinued at the close of the current fiscal year.

The liquidation of the RFC is being carried out as expeditiously as possible under the general policy of securing the highest possible return on the funds invested in RFC assets without creating undue hardships for those indebted to the Corporation.

The programs for defense production and civil-defense lending are being carried on at the minimum levels required under present international and military conditions. Loans previously made under these programs are being placed in the hands of private financial institutions as rapidly as possible.

These many bureaus, divisions, offices, and services add up to the Treasury Department, an efficient organization carrying out functions vital to the operations of our Government. The Treasury has for many years been a well-run Department staffed with many able career people. It was not overstaffed so much under the past administration as some other departments, and the opportunity for savings was not so great. Nevertheless, in the last 2 years we have been able to make significant improvements in the management of this Department. While the total civilian employment of the Treasury is down from almost 88,000 to about

79,000—a drop of 9,000 or 10 percent—the enforcement activities have been strengthened by emphasizing more productive work, improving methods, and cutting out waste wherever we can find it.

In connection with specific activities, I have given some illustrations of savings from management improvements. The aggregate savings for the whole Department were over \$12 million in fiscal 1953, and well over \$20 million in fiscal 1954. The 1952 figure was \$4 million and the highest previous year for which we have figures was \$8 million in 1951.

In closing, I would like to say that I am proud to be a member of the Eisenhower administration and the Treasury team. I also want to stress the loyalty, hard work, and devoted service of the Department's employees. We are all striving to give the American people a fair, honest, and efficient Government, in which they will have confidence. Such confidence is basic to our policies of providing stability in the value of the dollar and a solid basis for economic growth.

Protection Against Bodily Attack to Uniformed Members of the Armed Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. BOYLE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. BOYLE. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced for appropriate reference a bill to extend to uniformed members of the Armed Forces the same protection against bodily attack as is now granted to personnel of the Coast Guard.

A number of Senators-the Senator from New York [Mr. LEHMAN], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CLEMENTS]. the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DougLAS]. the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. HENNINGS], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Humphrey], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANger], the Senator from Washington [Mr. Magnuson], the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], and the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. Neubergerl-have introduced a similar piece of legislation.

This bill is not new or novel. Similar bills were introduced in 1944 with the active support of the then Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, in 1951, as an amendment to the universal military training bill, and during the 83d Con-

gress

This bill should be enacted by this session of Congress.

The purpose of this bill is to extend to members of the Armed Forces of the United States the protection of the Federal Government of the United States against bodily attack while such personnel are on duty or on account of the performance of their duty. The bill provides Federal sanctions against unprovoked physical assault on uniformed military personnel if committed while such personnel are engaged in perform-

ance of duty or on account of the performance of duty.

From experience we know that there are many localities in our country near which are located military bases where the local police authorities are inadequately staffed and do not possess the resources by means of which they can give adequate protection to the military personnel. Such protection by the Federal Government is already extended to many categories of Federal officers and employees, including members of the Coast Guard.

Only within the past year or 2 we have had a Federal grand jury accuse an entire police force of a small locality in the southern part of the United States for failing to provide protection for the soldiers on leave in the town, and where unprovoked attacks against military police were frequent. Press reports indicated that the local police force was involved in importing illegal liquor, protecting prostitutes, and maintaining gambling establishments. The military police were most seriously hampered in trying to carry out their duty, and this community had to be closed off to all military personnel.

This, of course, is not true of all the communities near which military establishments are located but because it can happen and because it is possible that the military personnel will not receive adequate protection we should enact this law which will provide for adequate protection by the Federal Government to our men and women in the service, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.

Yalta Agreements Are Analyzed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include herewith an analysis of the Yalta Papers made by Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips, United States Army, retired. The article, which is entitled "Agreements Made at Yalta Analyzed—Restraint Was Put on Russian Ambitions," appeared in the March 19, 1955, issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and follows:

AGREEMENTS MADE AT YALTA ANALYZED—RESTRAINT WAS PUT ON RUSSIAN AMBITIONS—LATER, HOWEVER, SOVIETS SAW OPPORTUNITY IN POWER VACUUMS IN EUROPE AND ASIA AND MOVED IN—COULD HAVE TAKEN ANYTHING THEY WANTED IN FAR EAST—CHIANG FAILED TO FOLLOW UP ADVANTAGES

(By Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips, U. S. Army, retired)

Yalta has become a swear word to those who believe that China was lost because of concessions made by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt at that conference in February 1945. The publication last week of the record of the Yalta Conference does not bear this out

Indeed, a good argument can be made now that the Yalta agreement, and the Sino-So-Viet treaty that came out of it, were to China's advantage. It is quite possible that China would have been communized earlier than it was except for this agreement.

The principal objections, in the light of hindsight, that are found in the Yalta agree-

ment are:

1. That getting the Russians to participate in the war against Japan caused the loss of China to the Communists.

2. That President Roosevelt made unnecesgary concessions to get the Russians to enter

the war against Japan.

3. That this was a compounded error because aerial bombardment and naval block-ade would have finished the war;

4. (By apologists for Roosevelt) That the Army and Gen. George C. Marshall, the Chief of Staff of the Army, forced the President to make these concessions because they were so

intent on getting Soviet help. The earliest mention of Soviet participation in the war against Japan is made by Averell Harriman, now Governor of New York, formerly Ambassador to Moscow, in testimony before the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees August 17, 1951, he said: "It was our objective to en-

courage the Soviet Union to join in the war against Japan at the earliest possible date. Because of their ambitions in the East, there was never any doubt in my mind that the Soviets would attack the Japanese in Manchuria in their own due time. The question was whether they would come in early enough to be any help to us and to save American lives. I raised the subject with Stalin as early as August 1942. He told me then that it was his intention to come into the Pacific war when he was in a position

to do so." Gen. Patrick Hurley, who talked with Stalin in November 1942, also reported that

Stalin told him "It is my purpose to join the United States in the war against Japan when the situation in Europe justifies exposing my rear to a powerful enemy."

It was at the Teheran Conference, November 28 to December 1, 1943, that Stalin made his first positive statement to Roosevelt and Churchill, that Russia would some day fight Japan. He explained, according to Maj. Gen. John R. Deane, chief of the American military mission in Moscow, why this was impossible until after Germany had been defeated, but added: "Then, by our common front, we shall win."

Deane, like Harriman, said, "I do not think ny responsible American ever doubted that Russia eventually would come into the war

against Japan."

In 1944 Harriman discussed Soviet particl-Pation in the war with Japan with Stalin several times. Harriman was primarily interested in concerting our actions in Pacific, including operations by American bombers from the maritime provinces of Siberia, Stalin mentioned Soviet political Objectives in the East several times, but it was not until December 1944 that he outlined these objectives to Harriman in detail.

Stalin told Harriman that Russia's position in the East should be generally established as it existed before the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. The lower half of Sakhalin should go to the Russians, as well as the Kurile Islands. In order to protect Soviet outlets to the Pacific, the Russians wished again to lease the ports of Dairen and Port Arthur, and to obtain a lease on the railroads in Manchuria built by the Russians under contract with the Chinese.

Stalin said that the Soviet Union would not interfere with the sovereignty of China over Manchuria. He also asked for recognition of the status quo in Outer Mongolia. These were the concessions that were made

at Yalta.

As Harriman has testified, the crucial issue was not whether the Soviet Union would enter the Pacific war, but whether it would do so in time to help in the carrying out of the plans for an invasion of the Japanese home islands.

General Marshall testified that the Chiefs of Staff were unanimous that it was highly important for the Russians to carry out a campaign in Manchuria and Korea. feared that unless the Kwangtung Army in Manchuria, about 700,000 strong, were gaged by the Russians, a large part of it would be transported to Japan to be used against the American invasion.

Even Adm. Ernest J. King, then Chief of Naval Operations, who like Adm. William D. Leahy, the President's Chief of Staff, believed that the defeat of Japan could be accomplished by bombardment and blockade, considered the entry of the Soviet Union into the war necessary.

"At the time of the Yalta Conference," he wrote Senator Knowland January 21, 1951, "I was agreeable to the entry of the U. S. S. R. into the war in the Far East." He added that it was the belief of the Navy that blockade and bombardment could bring about Japanese surrender and that in connection with this course of action "engagement of the Japanese armies in Manchuria by the Soviets would hasten that capitulation.

As for concessions to the Russians, King would have given them only the lower half

of Sakhalin as a "sops."

There appears to have been no question in anyone's mind about the Soviets entering the Japanese war. What was feared was that they would wait until the war was over, or the end was easily to be seen, and until we have expended our blood and effort to win the war, and they would come in and do what they wished.

President Roosevelt sought to reduce the general assurances which Stalin had previously given, to specific undertakings for the early entry of Russia in the Pacific war. At the same time he wanted to limit Soviet expansion in the East and to gain Soviet support for the Nationalist Government of

China.

He succeeded in this in the Yalta agreement. The Russians could have taken anything they wanted in the Far East-Manchuria, Korea, Sakhalin, northern China. Instead they evacuated Manchuria, April 14, 1946, 8 months after V-J Day. In accordance with their understanding, the Chinese, at this time, had sufficient faith in the Russians to ask them to remain 2 months longer so they could move their troops north to occupy Manchuria.

The agreement was far better than no agreement. The concessions, which restored the status to that of Czarist Russia, were not excessive in the psychology of the time for an ally that had fought so strongly in the West against Germany. China had been promised the restoration of Manchuria and this was carried out, even though part of the rail lines were put under joint operation as well as Dairen and Port Arthur.

At that time there seemed to be no question about Soviet good faith in their agreement to support Chiang Kai-shek. Stalin told Harry Hopkins, President Roosevelt's personal emissary, that he would "do everything he could to promote unification of China under the leadership of Chiang Kaishek." He specifically told Hopkins that no Communist leader was strong enough to unify China.

If there had been no Yalta agreement with the Russians it is altogether likely that the Soviet troops would have remained in Manchuria, as they did in Korea, and would have established a puppet Communist government. As it was the Nationalists were not driven out of Manchuria until 1948, by the Chinese Communists.

General Marshall testified that he did not know about the Yalta concessions. They were a political deal between Roosevelt and Stalin, who wanted them kept secret. Military thinking, as explained to the Post-Dispatch by two of General Marshall's advisers at Yalta, was that there was no way to keep the Russians out of the Pacific war. But they wanted them in as early as possible so as to take some of the burden off the United States troops. They wanted to concert their actions with those of the Russians. When they later found out about the concessions given the Russians, they were

Whether the concessions were necessary or not cannot be resolved solely on the basis of the far eastern deal. The various agreements at Yalta were a package. The Russians gave up demands on Iran and the Dardanelles that were far more serious than what they gained in the Far East. They modified their demands on Poland. It is quite probable that Roosevelt thought he had made a good deal and it may be that he had.

At the end of the war the Russians were mostly interested in restoring their own economy from the effects of the war. it was not long before they realized what an opportunity the power vacuums, in Europe and the Far East, gave them for territorial expansion.

Stalin was heard to remark by a Russianspeaking member of one of our delegations that there might not be another such opportunity for a hundred years. Within 6 months from the end of the war they had shifted their policy to take advantage of the oppor-

The question of whether bombardment and blockade could force the unconditional surrender of Japan was debated extensively by the General Staff, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Combined Chiefs of Staff, The Air Force and Navy both thought blockade and bombardment would succeed. The Army considered this to be an "overly optimistic attitude."

The Army's contention was that while it might work in time it would cause unacceptable delay. "It was now clear to the United States Chiefs of Staff" that, according to a JCS paper of July 11, 1944, "in order to finish the war with the Japanese quickly, it will be necessary to invade the industrial heart of Japan."

Nevertheless bombardment and blockade would facilitate the invasion and might cause surrender before the invasion could be prepared. The invasion was not expected to be ready until about 1½ years from the date of the study. This blunder does not seem to warrant the importance given to it. Japan surrendered as a result of bombardment and blockade and the helplessness of continuing against atomic bombardment.

The loss of China to the Communists is a long story. It is attributed by Gens. Albert C. Wedemeyer and David G. Barr, both of whom commanded there, primarily to the incompetence and corruption of the Nationalist officials. The Nationalist forces, after the end of the war, were about 3 million men compared to about 500,000 Communist regulars assisted by another half million guerrillas.

The Communists held territory with a population of about 116 million. The Japanese had occupied much of eastern northern China. The Nationalists had been driven south and west, there was a race between Communists and Nationalists to re-occupy territory held by the Japanese. The United States moved three Chinese armies by air to key sectors of east and north China, Between 400,000 and 500,000 more were moved by the United States by water and 50,000 United States marines helped to hold key points and keep rail lines open.

Chiang Kal-shek insisted on spreading too far and holing up in cities. In November 1945, General Wedemeyer reported his failure in advance:

"First, the generalissimo will be able to stabilize the situation in south China, provided he accepts the assistance of foreign administrators and technicians, and engages in political, economic, and social reforms through honest, competent civilian officials.

"Second, he will be unable to stabilize the situation in north China for months, even years, unless a satisfactory settlement with the Chinese Communists is achieved, and follow up realistically the kind of action suggested in paragraph 1.

"Third, he will be unable to occupy Manchuria for many years unless satisfactory agreements are reached with Russia and the

Chinese Communists."

The generalissimo did none of these things and China is now Communist, not because of Yalta.

The Artificial Barriers to Trade Between Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I desire to include an editorial from the March 25, 1955, edition of the Napa (Calif.) Daily Register entitled "Tariff Issue Is Not Quite the Same."

The editorial is based on the artificial barriers erected to obstruct trade between nations of the world. Tariff reductions in themselves accomplish little or no purpose when countries desiring to exchange goods insist on maintaining various restrictions on imported commodities. In many instances these artificial barriers decrease or actually prohibit an exchange of goods, despite the reaching of agreements on tariff rates.

Someday it may be possible to do away with protective tariffs altogether. Until that time comes, however, when there is not such a wide gap in wage scales and currency valuations, protective tariffs must be maintained for the sake of domestic economic stability. But, when properly administered, protective tariffs are practically no deterrent to international trade when compared to the effects of artificial barriers which are the chief hindrance to a free exchange of goods.

The editorial referred to is as follows: TARIFF ISSUE IS NOT QUITE THE SAME

The hardy old perennial of American polities—the tariff—is a lively issue in the current session of Congress, just as it has been in virtually every past session. There is a difference, however, for the old lineups and traditional arguments between free traders and tariff protectionists have undergone a few shifts.

For one thing, tariffs aren't the only hindrance, and no longer the chief hindrance, to the free exchange of goods between nations. Our Congressman Hubert Scupper, in a recent speech before the House, pointed out that, "despite the existence of so-called reciprocal trade agreements, many countries

maintain Import-license systems, quotas, currency restrictions, monopolies, and various other devices which decrease or actually prohibit sale of American products on their markets."

As an example of how such trade restrictions work, Mr. SCUDDER cited the case of British-made and American-made motorcycles:

"A few years ago the British duty was reduced under a reciprocal trade agreement with this country. It sounded good. But, under their import license system, no American-made motorcycle may be sold on the British market—even though their motorcycles are flooding the American market under the low-rate tariff agreement."

At international conferences on world trade problems in recent years, American representatives have protested these artificial barriers to trade, and urged other nations to drop their import restrictions on American goods. The United States also has attempted to persuade other countries to cease the practice of state trading, or governmental buying and selling of raw materials and industrial products. But American efforts along these lines have been unavailing, largely because the United States is guilty of the very same practices, as a result of our domestic farm price-support program.

To protect our artificially high-priced domestic market for farm products, the United States often has found it necessary to place import restrictions against foreign-grown crops. And foreigners are quick to point out that the sale of grain and butter from the huge surplus stocks of the United States Commodity Credit Corporation is state trading with a vengeance.

Another new twist in the old free trade versus protective tariff argument is the growing industrialization of former raw material nations. In spite of the great advances in communications and the dramatic shortening of travel time which superficially seem to bring the countries of the world closer together, the industrialization of agricultural countries actually has made the world less interdependent. As each nation becomes more self-sufficient, world trade becomes less important.

Another new factor affecting current congressional arguments on the problem is the rapid industrialization of the United States South. Whereas the South always used to present a solid free-trade front in Congress, observers note that more and more southern Congressmen are crossing the Mason-Dixon line to line up with the damyankee members of the old protective tariff bloc.

Veterans' Hospital for the Metropolitan

Area

SPEECH

HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 30, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 5240) making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, and offices for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, and for other purposes.

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this amendment. The purpose of it is to provide adequate veterans' hospital care or planning for that

care for one of the most thickly populated and most rapidly growing areas in the country. To give you an idea, the estimated veterans' population of Maryland in 1945 was 90,000. In 1949, only 5 years later, it was 263,000, almost triple the population and bear in mind that the population, particularly in the metropolitan area, is growing every day and is made up to a large extent of younger married couples, most of whom are veterans. The estimated veterans' hospital beds were increased slightly over one-fourth in that same period.

The area affected by this matter, the districts represented by Mr. Hyde and myself, are among the most rapidly growing counties in the State of Maryland. There is a crying need for this hospital facility and I urge everyone to vote for the amendment.

May I point out that there is no request for additional money, but this is simply to earmark money already in the bill. It is my understanding 4 VA hospitals, including 1 for this area, were approved at the same time. Three of those hospital have been built, but the one approved for this area has not been built. Each year the cry has been "wait until next year and you will get it then." But I feel now is the time and we cannot wait any longer and must start our planning for this badly needed facility for the veterans immediately. For these reasons, I strongly urge the adoption of this amendment.

An Act To Provide for the Protection of Public Property Near the Shores of the United States From Damage by Waves and Currents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I introduced yesterday H. R. 5363 entitled "An act to provide for the protection of public property near the shores of the United States from damage by waves and currents," which has as its purpose what I believe to be a realistic and reasonable approach to one of the most serious problems facing many areas of our country where beach erosion, or the threat thereof, exists.

Under recent legislation concerning this subject matter of beach erosion, including Public Law 520, 71st Congress, 1930; Public Law 409, 74th Congress, 1935; Public Law 166, 79th Congress, 1945; and Public Law 727, 79th Congress, 1946, the Federal Government participates, upon a finding by the Beach Erosion Board of public interest being involved, to the extent of one-third of that portion of the cost of the project allocable solely to the protection of Federal, State, municipal, and other publicly owned property that abut immediately upon the water. The result of the pres-

ent legislation is, therefore, that in many instances, the Federal participation is inconsequential and obviously does not accomplish the purpose intended by Congress, that is, that the Federal Government should make reasonable contributions in beach-erosion projects where Dublic property is involved, in threatened beach-erosion areas. For instance, to take a specific example, there was ap-Proved by the Beach Erosion Board, the United States Army Engineers, and by the last session of Congress, the Pinellas County, Fla., project, at a total estimated cost of \$717,350, of which the Federal share is \$34,300, which is unquestionably justified in that the cost-benefit ratio of the total \$25 million project is 4.2. Due to the minimal amount of publicly owned property that immediately fronts on the shore, it is seen that the Federal contribution is only approximately 5 percent.

To further substantiate the fact that there is no question of justification of this project from the standpoint of the existence of a storm threat, the report to the Public Works Committee shows that 19 storms struck the general area between 1901 and 1950, inclusive, resulting in an average annual loss by annual erosion damage of \$112,400. During the last 4-year period the area involved has appreciated tremendously in real value, in that millions of dollars in improve-

ments have taken place.

Thus, under the present formula and existing legislation, and with the Pinellas County project as a specific example, the contribution of the Federal Government is very minimal despite the fact that substantial municipal, county, and State property that does not directly abut the shore is constantly subject to the threat of storm damage and erosion. This is true because the 25-mile string of islands involved is comparatively narrow and there is a public road extending in most instances within the erosion damage range of the entire coastline. Presently the Federal Government has no authority to participate through Federal contribution in the protection of any of this publicly owned property, simply because it does not actually abut on the water, although it is extremely subject to storm and erosion damage action by the water. This is only one of the examples of which many could be cited, where publicly owned property is affected by erosion from which there is no protection whatsoever and, under existing legislation, is not being reasonably carried out. The object of my bill is to some degree bring the Federal participation realistically in line with the existing threat to publicly owned property. Without this bill many needed beach-erosion projects have not been undertaken, partially due to the unfair and high percentage of participation re-Quired of local interests.

It will be noted that my bill is in no sense a windfall to the intervening private property between the publicly owned property and the shore, in that the formula for participation has been reduced to one-sixth in determining public interest that there may be a substantial benefit resulting to the public property as compared to the benefit

which might conceivably be derived by private property.

This bill is the result of lengthy conferences with the United States Army engineers and a representative of the Federal Beach Erosion Board, and it is hoped that it is a sufficiently realistic approach to a very serious national problem that it will merit the favorable consideration of the Public Works Committee and this Congress.

Criticism of Report of Attorney General's Committee To Study Antitrust Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement:

Congressman EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, New York, chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, and also chairman of the committee's Antimonopoly Subcommittee, stated today that he is deeply concerned and disappointed with the report of the Attorney General's Committee To Study the Antitrust

"The conclusion is inescapable," Mr. CELLER said, "that the majority of the Attorney General's committee views with equanimity and complacency the serious threats to our competitive system that have developed in the past few years. With a few exceptions the report advocates a substantial weakening of the antitrust laws. These exceptions are recommendations to repeal the Federal fair trade acts and to permit the United States Government to recover damages in antitrust suits."

"One of the principal threats to our competitive system," Mr. Celler said, "results from corporate mergers and acquisitions of firms engaged in healthy, profitable competition with each other. Passage of the Celler Antimerger Act in 1950 provided a powerful new weapon to prevent such unhealthy mergers and acquisitions. Notwithstanding this act, the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice have done virtually nothing to prevent over 3,000 mergers and acquisitions that have taken place since 1950—a greater number than at any previous time in our history."

"Since 1950," said Mr. Celler, "the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice have instituted a grand total of five prosecutions to stem this wave of corporate mergers. Yet no mention is even made by the Attorney General's committee of almost complete failure by these agencies to enforce the law. Instead, the report endorses a Federal Trade Commission decision recently handed down which virtually nullifies the Celler Antimerger Act."

Commenting further on the report, Mr. CELLER stated that in instance after instance the committee recommends by implication further curtailing present inadequate enforcement authority of the antitrust agencies.

For example, one of the most effective deterrents to antitrust violations is the provision for mandatory treble damages to the injured party in private actions. Although no finding is made that this provision has had any adverse effect on the public interest, the report urges that the provision for

treble damages be made discretionary rather than mandatory.

"Tam also surprised," Mr. Celler observed, "that the majority, at least in civil cases, in essence disapproved of a legal device inherited from the common law as being too extensive and untrammeled. I refer to the power to secure information by grand jury subpena. Its recommendation that in lieu thereof the Department of Justice be permitted to issue only a civil investigative demand, with power to demand documents but not testimony (except after court order requiring compliance) is but one of dozens of suggested changes which would hamper enforcement of the antitrust laws."

Mr. Celler noted that one of the few effective methods available to dissipate the unlawful effects of a monopoly and restore competition has been divestiture. Almost since the passage of the Sherman Act in 1890, he declared, the courts have repeatedly recognized the efficacy of such "trust-busting." "It is unfortunate." Mr. Celler stated, "that the Attorney General's Committee seems to think that this remedy is too harsh and should not be invoked except in the most extreme case."

"I am gratified," said Mr. Celler, "that the committee recommends congressional repeal both of the Miller-Tydings amendment to the Sherman Act and the McGuire amendment to the Federal Trade Commission Act. I trust that a number of repealer bills will soon be introduced in the Congress and that they will be referred to the House Committee on the Judiciary. As chairman of that committee, I shall be happy to recommend speedy hearings on such bills and shall press for passage of appropriate legislation."

"I deplore," Mr. CELLER added, "the manner in which the report has been released. Copies of the final document seem to have been available for press comment to publications such as the Wall Street Journal and Business Week, yet we of the House Committee on the Judiciary who will handle the hearings and most of the legislation that may develop from this report received but one copy on Monday of this week. Since it is a legalistic document of 394 pages, none of us have been able to study it in detail. Its recommendations are not only numerous and obliquely worded, but obscure in their implications. So far as I can make out, nearly all of them represent but links in a chain designed to frustrate effective enforcement of the antitrust laws."

"The Subcommittee on Antitrust Matters of which I am chairman will closely examine this report and I anticipate early hearings will be held."

They Wouldn't Give Time To Test Flexible Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to call attention to an editorial in the Fairfield (Iowa) Ledger of March 14, 1955, with the hope that a perusal by the Members of Congress will call attention to the fact that flexible price supports have not yet been tested, and surely any sound legislation deserves a fair trial before it is abandoned.

The editorial follows:

THEY WOULDN'T GIVE TIME TO TEST FLEXIBLE SUPPORTS

Before time is given to learn the merits of flexible farm-price supports the House Agricultural Committee voted to restore rigid farm-support prices. Members of the committee from both parties joined, by a vote of 26 to 11, in reporting out a bill for 90 percent of parity prices for farm products.

Like the controversial \$20-per-person income-tax cut, this bill will be bitterly contested by the administration. It has hardly had time to test its theory of a flexible farmsupport system as a means of restoring independence of action to the farmer and relieving the taxpayer of billions of parity payments.

However, while the bill to restore rigid supports will certainly embarrass the administration, and has far-reaching political implications, it cannot be charged to party maneuvering for political advantage to the Democrats. A good number of Republicans from farm States joined with Democrats to give the measure the better than 2 to 1 clearance. Politically, the danger is that eventual defeat of rigid farm supports will be used to advantage by the Democrats.

The bill would restore 90 percent of parity on 5 basic crops—corn, wheat, cotton, peanuts, and rice. Tobacco, a sixth basic crop, would remain on flexible price support. The price support on dairy products would be increased from 75 to 80 percent and the fund for subsidizing milk consumption in the public schools would be increased from \$50 million to \$75 million.

The first fight on the measure will be on the floor of the House, where farm bloc Members are not a strong as they are on the committee that is drawn from Members with special interests in farm legislation. If it should pass the House, there is strong opposition in the Senate to changing the flexible farm-price system. But the running fight in both Houses will be embittered by the record both parties are making for the 1956 election.

Invasion of Wetbacks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Evening Tribune of San Diego, Calif., of March 23, 1955: Invasion of Wetbacks Ends for County, Official Says

(By Vincent Dunne)

The wetback invasion across the Mexican border, which was one of the first problems tackled by the administration of President Eisenhower, has been halted in San Diego County.

"You could go out and hunt high and low, day and night, and be lucky to find one," Ed Bird, farm placement representative in the San Diego office of the State department of employment, said today.

The name "wetback" comes from the time when Mexican laborers would swim the Rio Grande to illegally enter the United States.

The wetback is distinguished from the "bracero," or Mexican farm laborer who is legally admitted to work on United States

farms and ranches. The bracero is employed under terms of a contract drafted by representatives of the United States and Mexico.

"Illegal entrants still jump the border," said Bird. "But they're a comparative trickle, and are soon picked up."

He recalled that wetbacks were apprehended at the rate of several hundred a week in San Diego County prior to the wetback roundup carried out here by the Department of Justice last spring.

The sweeping roundup was staged all along the United States-Mexican border and throughout California. It was ordered by Attorney General Herbert Brownell after he had visited San Diego and other border areas.

The roundup of the illegal entrants was conducted by the United States Border Patrol, which has a sector headquarters at San Ysidro.

The number of wetbacks picked up daily in the San Diego area now averages 30, it was reported by John P. Swanson, chief of the border patrol's Southwest region, which embraces San Diego.

Last month 1,118 aliens were apprehended by the border patrol in San Diego County, and parts of Riverside and Orange Countles, Swanson said.

"In February 1954, and the months before that, 10 times that number were regularly picked up," Swanson recalled.

Bird attributed the improvement to strict and continuous enforcement by the border patrol, and the cooperation of growers.

patrol, and the cooperation of growers.
"The growers are not hiring wetbacks," said
Bird, who visits farms and groves throughout
the county to obtain estimates on labor requirements in advance of crops.

"There are about 3,500 Mexican contract laborers now employed in San Diego County," he reported. "A year ago, there were probably not more than 1,800 'legals,' or contract workers."

Bird said the differential between the number of legals hired this year and the number employed last year represented 1,700, or the number of wetbacks in San Diego fields a year ago.

Swanson also credited the assistance he said was given by growers as largely responsible for the success of our efforts.

"We feel a great deal of the success of our enforcement program is due to the cooperation of the growers," he said.

Employers obtain the bracerous after they are selected at recruiting stations in Mexico and processed for admission to the United States by United States Immigration Service and Department of Labor officials.

The work contract between the employer and bracero is for a maximum term of 6 months. It can be extended once for a similar term.

Most laborers are engaged under the 6-month pact but minimum contracts for 4 weeks are issued, usually to harvest "flash"

Territorial Limits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, supplementing my previous remarks of March 28 in connection with the seizure of the American-flag ships Arctic Maid and the Santa Ana, I am now advised by Mr. Byron Blankinship, of the State Department, that, pursuant to my protest, the following steps have been taken:

First. Instructed Ambassador in Quito to make strong protest to the Government of Ecuador. This was done on March 30,

Second. Asked the Ambassador from Ecuador, Dr. Jose R. Chiriboga, to come in for conference which is taking place

Third, Dispatched Mr. Rollin S. Atwood, Director of South American Affairs, and Mr. Fred E. Taylor, specialist in Fish and Wildlife Division, to Ecuador in connection with this particular incident. They are proceeding to Guayaquil to make investigations with the aid of the Consul and the Embassy in Quito.

I have been assured that following the investigation additional action as considered proper will be taken.

Meanwhile, steps have been taken to hospitalize the wounded man, who is William Teck, of my congressional district, in the Gorgas Hospital in Panama. At the time of my previous remarks his identity was unknown to me.

As background of this continuing attempt to extract tribute from American-flag fishing vessels, I might say the excuse used for illegal seizure of our ships is the declaration of Panama establishing a neutrality belt around the Americas. Chile, Peru, and Ecuador do not want to recognize that this declaration did not deal with specific territorial limits of any nation.

The following editorial in the Washington Post of February 27, 1955, covers this general situation:

TERRITORIAL LIMITS

The anarchy which is developing over International sea rights was remitted some time ago to the United Nations for consideration. But the law commission which was then set up is still deliberating. In the meantime disputes between the nations are growing, and there is need for a speedup at the U. N. Some of the maritime nations, notably Japan, are finding the situation hard to tolerate.

The usual notion of a territorial limit extending out 3 miles is an 18th century concept. This concept was based upon the distance of the firing of a cannon ball—the defensible, therefore the territorial, limit. However, we are now in the air-atomic era, and sea limits, in consequence, need to be reframed in the light of changed conditions. The fact is that the territorial limits have not even been codified.

Today every country has its own rules which impinge upon the freedom of the maritime countries. For instance: Peru, in association with Chile and Ecuador, has proclaimed that her territorial waters extend 200 miles from her shores. Under this proclamation she recently fired upon and brought into port a whaling fleet flying the Panamanian flag. Australia would carve out a similar sea area in safeguarding her pearl shells. Russia has always kept foreign fishermen beyond a 12-mile limit. The Gulf of Aqaba is only 12 miles across, yet both Egypt and Saudi Arabia assert jurisdiction up to 6 miles, or half the width. Korea has what is called a Syngman Rhee line, which is 60 miles offshore, and luckless Japanese who stray within this zone are shot at. President Truman talked about our American rights to the Continental Shelf in bland disregard of all the international implications involved.

This is the measure of the anarchy on what we used to call the high seas. It is an eruption of nationalism—in behalf of re-

cources in oil, swimming fish, or pearls which are beyond territorial reach. The national claims in some cases are monstrous, in all cases add up to international disorder. there is not some agreed-upon definition 800n-a definition based upon live and let live—we shall see develop a new kind of piracy on an official scale.

John W. Davis

SPEECH OF

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, the late John W. Davis was a Freat American whose contributions to our country earned him recognition as an elder statesman towering over many of his contemporaries who gained higher Political honors. It is my fervent hope that Americans will never forget or neglect the traditional responsibility for public service exemplified by Mr. Davis. He ranks as one of the great lawyers of our history.

Under unanimous consent, I include editorial tributes to Mr. Davis from the New York Times, the Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat-Times, and from a radio broadcast by Mr. Eric Sevareid:

[From the New York Times] JOHN W. DAVIS

The most conspicuous appearance John W. Davis made before the American public was in 1924 when he ran unsuccessfully against Calvin Coolidge as Democratic nominee for the Presidency of the United States. He had been nominated on the 103d ballot Curing a convention which had aroused such bitter feelings between the followers of William Gibbs McAdoo and the followers of Alfred E. Smith that a Democratic defeat was a foregone conclusion. He ran as a duty and as a sacrifice.

Yet this was only one episode in a long and substantial career. Mr. Davis came at the end of his active life—which was only a few months short of his actual life of nearly 82 years—to be perhaps the fore-most representative of the American bar. The range of his cases had been wide. He defended "Mother" Jones and Eugene V. Debs. He argued cases on behalf of J. P. Morgan. He appeared for segregation on be-half of the State of South Carolina. He appeared as an attorney on behalf of J. Robert Oppenheimer, who had been relieved of his duties under the Atomic Energy Commission as a security risk. He argued for the steel industry against President Truman's seizure of the steel mills. And he dighified the cases he argued.

He also served the public at the height of his career as an official. He was for several years a Member of Congress; was Solicitor General under Woodrow Wilson from 1913 to 1918; for 3 years represented the United States as Ambassador to Russia.

Mr. Davis was never spectacular. He was a solid citizen of absolute integrity and of great ability. He had the good fortune to live and to work until an advanced age. That was his country's good fortune, too. Dying even at that advanced age, he will be missed.

[From the Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat-Times]

JOHN W. DAVIS-GREAT AMERICAN

In our gloomier moments, most of us are likely to lament that our times have not produced any equals to the moral and intellectual giants of bygone generations. now and then emergence or the death of a contemporary great American gives proof of how wrong we are.

John W. Davis, the great constitutional lawyer and 1924 Democratic presidential nominee who died last week at 81, was worthy of inclusion in any list of notable Americans. He had the cardinal virtues of honor, candor, and independence. It is good to remember, in these days of character smirching of men of unpopular convictions, that John Davis could on the one hand represent leftwing clients, even Socialists like Eugene Debs, and great corporations on the other without challenge to his integrity and citizenship. And we can take pride in the political courage of a leading Democrat and one-time presidential candidate who could and did refuse to stay with the party in 1928 for reasons that to him were good and sufficient.

Like many another and lesser American, John W. Davis believed that the Federal Government has come to interfere too greatly in the lives of the individual citizens and the authority of the States. Yet, in his young manhood as Solicitor General under Woodrow Wilson he argued successfully the cases for an early wage and hour law, the income tax, and the Selective Service Act of World War I, all of them representing the expansion of Federal authority. This was not contradictory. Rather, it represents the flexibility of a brilliant mind, in contrast to the adamant hardness of less imaginative intellects.

As Ambassador, notable lawyer, and pleader of the cause of States rights and responsibilities, he served this Nation as few men have. God rest his soul.

RADIO BROADCAST BY ERIC SEVAREID

Mr. John W. Davis was buried yesterday at the age of 81; another of that dwindling group of towering Americans from a past age of event; great men, like Henry Stimson, who never achieved the pinnacle of public life, the Presidency, when lesser men did; men whose dedication to their country was whole-souled, nevertheless, and for whom the supreme frustration of personal ambition never deflected them away from public services of a monumental nature. The small band of true elder statesmen is dwindling still smaller; their counsel will one day soon be entirely lost, and sometimes one wonders how and when they are to be replaced. This may be illusion, but it always seemed to me they represented an influence in our public affairs fundamentally different from the mental and emotional promptings of most men now of the prime and middle age. Because the men like Davis and Stimson-one could add others, like Learned Hand or the poets, Sandburg and Frost-were formed, in their minds, in a quite different era.

Their views of life were rooted in the long American past, anchored in what seemed to be rock; their principles of conduct and action, their faith in the American vision, were matured before the First World War, which began the present process of anarchy in personal and public principle; nearly all who have matured since that first world slaughter. matured in doubt and the short-term view. They matured in faith and the long view. On behalf of their eternal principles of the free mind, they would join no hasty rationalizations in the misused name of security; they would today, I think, in the face of

possible war in Asia, look to the lessons of history, not to the alleged compulsions of strategy, where so many lesser men direct their eyes.

There were eternal verities for a man like John W. Davis and one was the meaning of the American Constitution. He was probably the greatest constitutional lawver of his time; and he would, if his verities were involved, defend a so-called security risk other men would shun, or even an acknowledged Communist.

Always, the principle was the thing, not the individual, not the pressing needs of the harried present, nor the fleeting charms of popularity. Such men would not bow to icons of public opinion, knowing the majority can be wrong; one cannot quite imagine them scrutinizing the public opinion polls, sending careful trial balloons into the air to see where safety lay; or surrounding themselves with ghost writers weighing each calculated word to offend no possible pressure group. They proceeded from principle and hoped the needs of the moment would fit; they did not proceed from the needs of the moment, inventing or adjusting prin-

ciple as protective coloration.

Such men had a positive effect on their country's course beyond, sometimes, the influence of those who had taken the great offices in their stead. One wonders, sometimes, what the course of reconstruction would have been, that period of public disease, had Horatio Seymour not lost the Presidency to General Grant, so vastly inferior to Seymour in intellect and vision. One wonders what would have been our course through the frantic twenties, ending in the depression collapse, had John W. Davis not lost the Presidency to Calvin Coolidge, who sat on the White House porch and rocked, impervious to a new idea. Those are the might-have-beens of history, indication in themselves of how wrong the majority can be.

But Davis' life and works were not mighthave-been in themselves. Private life did not frustrate the great lawyer; his works were many, important, and the country is the better for his long and enviable life.

Tax Rate Extension Act of 1955

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, I expect to vote against the adoption of this conference report-not because of any objection to extension of the 52 percent corporation income-tax rate or the excise-tax rates therein, but simply as my personal protest against failure to in-

clude in the bill any income-tax relief

for the small individual income taxpayer. When the revised Internal Revenue Code was before the House last year I felt very strongly that the individual low-income taxpayer was entitled to relief, particularly in view of the tax reductions written into the law to the advantage of big-business interests and wealthy stockholders. When the fight to include a reduction in taxes for the little man failed last year, I determined to do everything I could to push for such

relief in this session of Congress. I strongly supported the successful Democratic move to include a \$20-per-person tax reduction for individuals when H. R. 4259 was voted on in the House on February 25 of this year. To me it is extremely unfair and unfortunate that no agreement was reached between the conferees for the House and the other body to include at least some measure of tax reduction for individual taxpayers in this conference report. I cannot vote for a report which does not give the low-income groups in this country the relief to which they are entitled.

Mr. Speaker, I want to reiterate that I do not oppose at this point extension of tax rates to which H. R. 4259 has now been limited. My vote against the re-port is purely a protest against failure to do justice to the little man. It is, further, a protest against acceptance by the Congress of the trickle-down theory of tax relief held by this administration, under which they want to confine tax reductions to Big Business in the hope that in their goodness and mercy they will permit some of their added income to trickle down to the small-wage earner. That economic fallacy has been exploded long ago. The House was on the right track in February when we voted the \$20-per-person tax reduction. I suggest that we should soon get back on that track by forcing a reduced tax rate for the low-income groups in this country. By that method we give direct relief where it is most needed and, at the same time, promote economic growth by the only sure means available-increased consumer purchasing power. On those grounds I urge the rejection of this conference report.

I believe, also, Mr. Speaker, that we Members of the House are entitled to feel put upon in not having this conference report brought back to us for final action until we are under the gun. so to speak, as to expiration of the excise taxes and the extension of the present corporate income-tax rate. When we are asked to act on March 30 on a matter which must be decided by April 1. there seems justifiable reason to believe that the democratic processes are being slighted in favor of tactics more suitable to other forms of government. Perhaps the motive in delaying this legislation was not what it seems, but when we are faced now with only two choicesletting the present taxes expire or pass this bill-I think a protest is justified.

Tax Rate Extension Act of 1955

SPEECH

OF

HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I cannot bring myself to agree to the conference report on H. R. 4259, now before us for decision.

To do so will cruelly deny modest tax relief designed to benefit the needy family in the lower income brackets, while at the same time the "fat-cat" Republican Revenue Act of 1954 will continue to drain off billions in tax benefits predominately to large business, dividend recipients, and wealthy individuals.

It is arrant fiscal irresponsibility, we are lectured from high administration places, to give modest tax relief to lower income families—to give a direct tax saving of \$20 each to the father and mother and for each dependent child, so that the relief will be more effectively felt at the lower income levels where the family burden presses the heaviest.

But—so goes the lecture from the same high administration sources—it is an act of high and ennobled statesmanship, contributing to the welfare and stability of every humble home and fireside, to give unbounded tax relief to big corporations, coupon clippers, and wealthy individuals as was done last year in the Revenue Act of 1954.

I and other Members on my side of the aisle took the floor many times last year and this to protest the one-sided character of that 1954 act, particularly as to its dividend credit tax bonanza and its distorted and swollen depreciation tax allowances to corporation.

The dividend-credit provision of that 1954 act—the special tax reduction for coupon clippers—will cost \$362 million a year. Eighty percent of that relief will go to the six-tenths of 1 percent of American families who own four-fifths of all publicly held stock. Ninety-two percent of American families own no stock and get no benefit. Less than 4 percent of all taxpayers—those with incomes over \$10,000—receive 76 percent of all dividend income. And eightenths of 1 percent of all American families—those with incomes over \$25,000—get 55 percent of all dividend income.

I ask, is it a token of fiscal responsibility that special tax relief be accorded a favored limited group of dividend recipients—the unearned income class—but even most modest relief be denied the mass of taxpayers who work and toil for earned income?

The special depreciation allowances granted by last year's tax bill-thinly disguised special tax credits for increased corporate dividends or favored capital gains benefits to stockholders on corporate reinvestment of tax free earnings-will continue to cost billions in reduced Federal revenues for a generation. Expert students of intricate tax maneuvers and business finance estimate that by the year 1960 the United States Treasury would be losing, at present levels of gross national product, about \$3 billion per year as a result of these new depreciation provisions if current tax rates on business remain the same. The same sources estimate that by 1955 the tax loss would rise to more than \$5 billion per year, and it would continue to rise thereafter. I commend to the attention of the members the revealing study of Depreciation Under the New Tax Law, by Robert Eisner, published in the Harvard Business Review for January 1955, and reprinted in the RECORD of March 11 at page 2264.

But when the 1954 act was under consideration and even as of recent date, we were told in solemn assurance by the Secretary of the Treasury, and other administration fiscal pundits who now lecture us on fiscal irresponsibility, that these swollen depreciation tax benefits will really cost the Federal Government nothing. They say that if you view their tax effect on one piece of new machinery-and please limit your myopic view to only one added machine by the taxpaying corporation in this dynamic business economy of ours-then the Government will later get back the taxes it lost in the earlier years because no more depreciation tax allowances can be taken after the full cost of that single machine has been written off for tax purposes.

"Baloney," as a forthright statesman, dear to my memory, might have responded. The shallow assurance that the increased depreciation tax allowance "all washes out in the end"-to quote the study above referred to-"not only is misleading, it is to all practical purposes flatly erroneous." It mistakes the effect on a single piece of property for the cumulative tax effect, typical of American corporations, of increasing investment in new property additions each year in keeping with the economic growth of our system. Assume that gross additions of property are made at a constant rate each year by one of the big corporations in a heavy capital industry, if the properties last 33 years depreciation tax allowances under the generous new methods of last year will exceed tax write-off under the old method in each of the first 27 years under one of the new methods and in every one of the first 33 years under the other new method authorized last year. The tax benefit does not "wash out in the end": it can pile billions upon billions in reduced corporation taxes each continuing year for the next generation.

"When do we get back those billions?" I inquire after due heed to recent public sermonizing on fiscal responsibility. When I tried last year to find out from the Secretary of the Treasury, I ran into a stumbling block of refusal to give the information at first, then official stall, and finally airy assurance to the effect that "it all washes out in the end."

Not even the Wall Street Journal accepts the glib assurance of the Treasury that the new depreciation tax allowances "all wash out in the end." To quote from the lead editorial appraisal in the issue of March 28, 1955:

As shown here a few weeks ago, the depreciation change can produce large cumulative effects over the years. On any single piece of property the effect is minor. It merely postpones taxable income a few years by concentrating the depreciation in the early part of the life of the property. But as new facilities are built year by year, the relative weight of the early, heavy depreciation rates will keep growing, and Federal revenues will reflect this.

Yes, \$362 million a year of special tax benefits directly to stock dividend recipients—coupon clippers—and billions more per year in corporate tax benefits through tax-free depreciation allowances to be kept in company tills, distributed to stockholders, or reinvested with consequent increased stock values able to be realized upon at favored capital gains rate of taxation. In the eyes of administration lecturers, that must be the acme of fiscal responsibility.

Relief for the wealthy, we are told, will stimulate investment and promote confidence. It will sustain that delicate maiden, whose confidence we must so tenderly nourish, the stock market boom. Relief for the needy, this administration tells us, must be spurned as phony and base political trickery. For the latter—for the needy—the weight of the taxload on their burdened backs will help spur their daily toil and assure heightened awareness of the precious price of citizenship.

Some other observers, perhaps lacking in self-righteous zeal for the current brand of fiscal responsibility, detect in this strutting fiscal conscience only the old hard-panned "trickle down" theory again restored to its place of public eminence after years of brooding silence. I doubt that in our modern economy, sustained as it must be by mass purchasing power and ever-broadening distribution of the products of farm and factory, the "trickle down" will be adequate or timely in rate of flow to promote the truly dynamic expanding economy that lies within our reach.

I urge disagreement to the conference report. I respect the views reluctantly reported by the majority members of the committee of conference. I know their sincerity, their deep conviction, and their persistant effort to gain acceptance of House action in passing the \$20 tax credit. Only under adamant threat of Presidential veto, on the eve of expiration of current higher rates of corporate and excise taxes, did they bow to Executive fiat.

But I am still mindful that our Founding Fathers wrote in the Constitution that "all bills for raising revenue shall Originate in the House of Representatives;" and to the Congress the Constitution gave the power to levy and collect taxes. Too often of late has this House-its elected Members-forsworn its rightful prerogative. Let us assert it now, confident in the human justice and economic justice of our prior action, lest by failure to do so We embolden further the disciples of the McKinley era in their new onslaught of power and privilege. If we disagree to the conference report, then this House itself lifts the awesome responsibility from the individual shoulders of the able chairman of the conference committee and his fellow conferees. I doubt that the administration, despite its blustering threats, would rashly jeopardize by veto the true fiscal responsibility and fairness of our Government. The pages of history are studded with examples where human liberty and justice were won only by like defiance of entrenched power.

Yalta: What Happened and the Price We Are Paying

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, up to this time the most well-publicized result of the Yalta Conference has been the sell-out of Poland and the Eastern European nations. Poland, the Balkan nations, and all the rest have Communist governments today because of the deals made at Yalta.

What happened in Europe as a result of Yalta was bad enough, but what happened in Asia was even worse as far as the intersts of the United States are concerned.

As a result of a secret deal made at Yalta, concessions were given to the Russians which paved the way for the Communists to take over China. The Korean war, the war in Indochina, and the crisis in Formosa resulted directly from the fact that China went Communist.

The Yalta deal contributed in two ways to the Communist victory in China.

Turning over to the Russians rights to the jugular-vein Manchurian Railway and the warm-water ports, together with the recognition of Outer Mongolia as a satellite state, were concessions which materially assisted the Communists in their struggle with the Nationalists.

In addition, the fact that this agreement was made without the Nationalist Chinese being consulted had a disastrous effect in destroying the face of Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists once the deal became publicly known, soon after it was made.

In light of this, the restraint with which the two top men in our Government have handled the situation is remarkable, indeed. It was commented on in the following editorial appearing in the Long Beach Press-Telegram newspaper on March 24, last:

RESTRAINT, PAIRNESS DISTINGUISH IKE, NIXON VIEWS ON YALTA TALKS

Both Republicans and Democrats can take instruction from the words of President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon about the Yalta papers.

The two top national leaders set an example of fairness and restraint.

In the long run this attitude can do much more for administration and party prestige than can be done by fighting with the past.

The people still appreciate the Golden Rule.

The President made two main points in his reply to questions on the subject at his news conference yesterday:

One, there is nothing to be gained by

One, there is nothing to be gained by going back 10 years and, in the light of subsequent events, trying to show that someone may have been wrong or right. Documents such as the Yalta papers should not be used to damage reputations.

Two, there is nevertheless a value in studying such documents. They may be consid-

ered with a view to profiting from mistakes which were made.

To learn from history, but not to judge the motives of its makers by hindsight that is an attitude reflecting intellectual maturity and real statesmanship.

There is no conflict between this attitude and the approval of public circulation of the Yalta documents. The publication of a fact is not in itself an act of condemnation.

Vice President Nixon, who has always been a severe critic of the products of the secret Yalta Conference, refused in a speech several days ago to accept the interpretation by a partisan in his audience that Yalta was a sellout.

He did stick to his guns when commenting on the results of the conference. The fall of China to the Reds could be laid directly to the door of the Yalta pact and "of course it naturally followed that we had a war in Korea and one in Indochina." He said there was no doubt that concessions given to the Russians in the pact were detrimental to the United States and the free world. That's a statement with which anybody, regardless of politics, should be able to agree.

However, Nixon continued, "The reason the concessions were made was that the leaders of the free world simply didn't know what the Communist animal was like. Another reason was that we badly needed Soviet support at the time for the conquest of Japan. I don't believe there actually was any deliberate attempt to sell us out to the Communists."

That is a fair comment. But we wonder if some partisans will eventually twist it around, as they have twisted Nixon's comments on other matters, to make it appear that he has smeared the opposition.

In any event, it occurs to us that historical events may do for American politics what Winston Churchill says the atom bomb may be doing for world peace.

The great depression as a political issue in a sense of balances off the Yalta Conference. Both sides having such ammunition in the stockpile of past events, they may decide it would be unprofitable for either to fight with that kind of stuff.

Emergency Hurricane Warning System Needed for North Atlantic Seaboard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced in Congress an independent appropriation bill, H. R. 5260, asking for \$5 million, providing for an emergency hurricane warning system based upon a special study prepared by meteorologists specializing in hurricane phenomena. I have requested this special study.

Few people realize that the property damages of hurricanes Carol, Edna, and Hazel last fall amounted to \$1 billion and killed over 150 persons in the devastation wrought along the North Atlantic seaboard.

Meteorological experts tell us that these last three big storms were not freakish sea storms straying inland off their regular paths. The scientists say that distinct changes in the worldwide upper wind patterns is creating a new cycle driving inland the great sea storms and may afflict heavy damages on the New England coast again this season and for years to come.

The United States Weather Bureau. operating under a drastically cut budget, is doing the best it can to detect the movement of hurricanes and issue warnings. In fact, the Weather Bureau has done a great job with limited mechanical equipment operated by overworked staff personnel. During the last big storm weather forecasters worked continuously 18 hours without relief. But there is a limit of human endurance. Budget cuts forced the closing of weather stations at Eastport, Maine; Bangor, Maine; Cape May, N. J.; Ocean City, Md. The Eastport station had been in operation since 1891. Also, forced reductions in the Bureau's working force resulted in only limited operation at offices at New Haven, Conn.; Bridgeport, Conn.; and eight other weather stations.

I recently appealed to President Eisenhower to act favorably on the recommendations of the Interagency Hurricane Research Conference for a more effective hurricane research and warning program. This was a long-range program.

The President advised me that he shared my concern for adequate safe-guards against hurricane disasters, and said, "You may be assured that thorough consideration will be given to such additional research activities as may be proposed."

I am now proposing a short-range emergency hurricane warning program to be financed by a special appropriation of \$5 million. I am appealing to 36 Senators, 18 governors, and 177 Congressmen to join me in the drive to secure necessary Federal funds to enable the Weather Bureau to set up a really effective hurricane warning system to save human life and property.

It is impossible to accurately determine in advance what the projected hurricane task program will accomplish in dollars and cents; but experts estimate that potential savings of 25 percent damages to property and 90 percent savings in human life will result if advance warnings from 7 to 21 hours can be widely disseminated via newspaper, radio, and TV news bulletins.

OBJECTIVES OF THE PROPOSED SPECIAL AND IMMEDIATE HURRICANE WARNING PROGRAM

First. To reduce unnecessary loss of life and property in all coastal States from future hurricanes.

Second. To reduce unnecessary interruptions, costly protective action, and time-consuming precautionary measures of thousands of business firms and millions of citizens in fringe areas of expected hurricane paths.

Third. To reduce unnecessary fear and apprehension in areas in or close by the expected paths of future hurricanes.

Fourth. To increase the value of hurricane forecasts to the people of 19

coastal States who need better and more precise information as to expected wind speeds, water levels, and times of hurricane occurrences.

Fifth. To enable the Weather Bureau (a) to provide an improved hurricane warning service immediately: (b) to give locations, speeds, directions, and intensities of future hurricanes with more accuracy than has been possible for past hurricanes; (c) to describe present and expected weather conditions in and surrounding future hurricanes more accurately than has been possible for past hurricanes; (d) to provide alerts and warnings of future hurricanes 6 to 12 hours farther in advance than has been possible for past hurricanes; (e) to distribute essential hurricanes reports and warnings with greater speed, efficiency, and certainty than has been possible for past hurricanes; (f) to give complete and accurate forecasts of highwater levels for all occupied coastal areas subject to inundation.

HOW THE ABOVE OBJECTIVES CAN BE ACCOM-PLISHED

(a) Secure appropriations to carry out a special and immediate hurricane warning program of the United States Weather Bureau starting June 1, 1955, and as long thereafter as may be necessary to avoid unnecessary loss of life and property from hurricanes.

(b) Secure the above appropriations in addition to the funds contained in the budget estimates for the Department of Commerce weather bureau submitted to Congress in January 1955 for fiscal year ending June 30, 1956.

(c) Secure appropriations for both of the above programs, and also for a hurricane research and development program for fiscal years 1956, 1957 and 1958. WAYS IN WHICH REQUESTED FUNDS ARE TO BE

EXPENDED BY THE WEATHER BUREAU

First. To provide staff sufficient to keep weather bureau offices open 24 hours a day in 10 coastal cities from Maine to Texas where existing weather bureau offices are now open only part time.

Second. To provide technically trained staff sufficient to reopen weather bureau offices in five coastal cities from Maine to Texas where formerly existing weather bureau offices have been closed.

Third. To operate special teletypewrite, facsimile, telephone, and radio networks for the prompt relay of meteorological information used in forecasting hurricanes and major storms, and used for instantaneous distribution of hurricane warnings and alerts to all areas and citizens concerned.

Fourth. To provide staff and observing equipment to operate 12 additional rawinsonde stations in the United States east of the 100th meridian and in other selected land areas adjoining the Gulf of Mexico, Caribbean Sea and western Atlantic Ocean; and to provide staff and supplies at existing rawinsonde stations to take required upper air observations at 6-hourly intervals instead of at 12-hourly intervals during the hurricane season.

Fifth. To provide additional weather observations during storm periods from merchant ships traversing the western

Atlantic Ocean, Caribbean Sea, and Gulf of Mexico.

Sixth. To provide additional forecasters, additional meteorological chartmen, and additional communicators to provide around-the-clock hurricane forecasting watches at each of the following six hurricane forecast centers: Boston, New York, Washington, Miami, New Orleans, and San Juan.

Seventh. To establish an improved high water warning service to inform coastal areas of approaching high storm tides, damaging waves, and other coastal inundations from abnormal water levels and floods associated with hurricanes and heavy coastal rainstorms.

Eighth. To provide meterological staff and facilities for emergency hurricane warning centers and for mobile storm warning squads to supplement the local weather bureau staffs during the intense activity accompanying the approach and passage of hurricanes and major storms; and afterwards to survey and review (a) the quantity and quality of hurricane reports, alerts, and forecasts; (b) the times, places, and amounts of hurricane information distributed by all news media; (c) the protective action taken by all concerned, and (d) the types and amounts of hurricane damage incurred.

Ninth. To reestablish the ocean weather ship station formely located halfway between New York and Bermuda and maintained there by the United States Coast Guard for 12 years prior to its removal in June 1954.

Tenth. To carry out a cooperative private and governmental public information program involving important aspects of hurricane alerts, hurricane warnings, the changing characteristics of moving hurricanes, and the precautions, that should be taken by citizens in the forecast path of future hurricanes to save lives and property.

Bill McCauley Speaks His Heart

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker. I am extending my remarks to include a letter and an address that I would place on the list of recommended reading by my colleagues during the days of the Easter recess. The letter is from Illinois Department Commander Irving Breakstone, of the American Legion, and the address is by Past Commander Bill McCauley.

It has been many years since the first department convention of the American Legion was held in the city of Peoria. Marshal Field, the father of the present publisher of the Chicago Sun-Times, was one of the delegates. General Milton Foreman was elected department commander, Bill McCauley senior department commander, and it was given me the great honor and privilege of being

named to serve as chairman of the department executive board, a position since, I believe, abolished. It was the founding convention of the Legion in Illinois. The next year Bill McCauley was advanced to department commander. He is a great American, and in Legion circles he has attained with the passing years the stature of an institution. I sketch this background for the better appreciation of what follows, beginning with Department Commander Breakstone's letter:

Dear Comrade: Enclosed herewith you will find an extemporaneous address delivered by Past Comamnder William "Bill" McCauley before the meeting of the executive committee of the department of Illinois at Springfield on February 26.

It is, of course, almost impossible to recapture in cold print, the dramatic situation under which these remarks were deliv-

ered.

Comrade Bill McCauley has been a fighter in the ranks of the Legion ever since its inception some 36 years ago, for aid and assistance to our disabled comrades, their widows and orphans; he has devoted indefatigable effort, time, and money in an unselfish service and in unswerving loyalty to this basic program of the Legion, which has brought to him the love and affection of a multitude of friends and comrades.

Those who had the good fortune to be present at this meeting and to hear this farewell address (as he phrased it himself) will never forget the profound impression it left upon their minds and souls. The battles of the past which gave us victory will require eternal vigilance and equal fortitude to meet the assaults of the future against veterans' benefits.

Heed the admonition of our great comrade and continue the battle in behalf of those who have borne the battle, and if you can find time, and I trust you will, drop Bill McCauley, at Olney, Ill., a note of Congratulation and thanks for the heroic service he has given in this great cause.

Sincerely yours in comradeship, IRVING BREAKSTONE, Commander, Department of Illinois.

BILL McCAULEY'S ADDRESS

With your permission, I am going to digress for a few moments and take you back on a brief trip of the early days of the Legion for the benefit of the younger men, so that they will have probably a better understanding of what the Legion really is and what it has been doing for the past 35 years.

I recall very distinctly at the close of World War I when our crippled and disabled veterans began to return home with no hospitals and no jobs and no preparation having been made for their return. All at once they seemed to wake up in Washington to the fact that there was this dis-

abled problem.

Our Government made contracts with 1,400 hospitals to care for these disabled men and women, and they ranged from the very best down to some hospitals that were not fit to keep a human being in. We found tuberculosis cases in hospitals that were careless, men who were mentally sick, and men who were just nervous confined in State insane asylums, county jails, and many of them were placed in the State insane asylums among people who had become violently insane and the effect upon those poor fellows resulted in many instances that they are spending their entire days in mental darkness, making a greater sacrifice than a man way were resulted.

man who merely died for his country.

I have given 35 years of my life to this problem that is closer to my heart than anything on earth and I want you men to un-

derstand the problem just a little bit better than maybe you have ever understood it before. Many of those fellows are still there spending their days in mental darkness. We went to Washington and demanded that the contracts be canceled and that the Government start on a hospital-building program to give to them the kind of treatment that a greatful nation felt that they should have.

LITTLE FELLOW IN THE POST

As a result of the labors of your Legion, and when I say that, I mean the little fellow in the post back home who, by his membership, made it possible for your spokesman to try to do a job and if there is any credit due anyone, it is the average man and woman in the Legion. We finally prevailed upon Congress to embark upon a hospital-building program. They provided by law 100,000 beds for men and women who had served, 41% million men and women, and this was just in World War I and that program was started, and upon the start of it, we developed the finest hospital system in the Then Congress amended the law and world. said that if a veteran was a non-serviceconnected disability case, and he was not able to provide hospitalization for himself, he should be admitted when a bed was available. That answered the problem at that particular time.

Then World War II came along and millions of young men and women were called back into the service. We prevailed upon the then Chief Executive of the United States to try to provide adequate hospitalization for them when they returned. Three trips were made to the Executive Mansion to try to have the Veterans' Administration give it an A-1 rating, the same as the Army and the Navy, to provide all of the essentials for building and operating hospitals. We could see the dismal picture and the plan was rejected and no hospital beds were built, and then we went to General Hines and asked him to make a survey and determine how many beds would be needed for the disabled from World War II. That survey was made and the estimate was 300,000 additional beds, which would have made an allocation of 400,000 beds for 20 million men and women at that time who had been in the service of their country.

KICKED OUT OF HOSPITALS

Then General Hines was kicked out and the famous General Bradley was brought in. General Bradley was a trained soldier and a good soldier. He had spent his entire life training his men to go into the service and leading them in battle. He knew nothing, absolutely nothing of the problem of the turned to civilian life, he knew nothing about their problems and he was appointed director of the Veterans' Administration. Then he made an estimate and they cut that quota from 400,000 to 160,000 beds for 20 million men and women and another estimate was made and it was cut down to 147,000, and then lo and behold, it was cut to 131,000. Can you imagine that, 131,000 beds for 211/2 million men and women who by now had been in the service of their country for some Today 115,000 of those beds have been completed and it is almost impossible to get a man into a hospital unless he is a service-connected disability case.

The old men for whom these hospitals were originally planned, men without means of being able to care for themselves, have been kicked out of their hospitals and they are on the mercy of the local community.

Now, the program has been cut to 131,000 and I am not proud of this administration of ours. I don't think there has been a better Republican ever lived than I have been. I panned the Democrats and I reserve the right to say what I think about my own party and they cut it to 131,000 beds, and

115,000 have been completed, but even 131,000, Comrade Commander, are not in operation. They have chiseled and they have whittled and they have cut down hospital benefits and cut down compensation so that they have failed to provide adequate personnel to operate the hospitals, and if you don't believe it, go to Hines and look at my report that is in your jacket and you will find that they have closed 800 beds at Hines. Why? Because they claim they have not the money with which to operate those beds and yet within the last 10 days, Stassen, the Ambassador of goodwill to the world, who is doling out your billions by the scoop shovel full, allocated \$900,000 to buy paper to wrap oranges and other fruit to Pakistan, to ship back to this country. Yet they have not money enough to operate the hospitals to care for your disabled comrade.

CHALLENGE TO LEGIONNAIRES

The time has come when you young men of the Legion have got to wake up and realize your obligations. God was good to you. He allowed you to come back home to the bosom of your family and thousands and thousands of your comrades did not come home; some of them came home sick in body and sick in mind, expecting to be cared for by a grateful Government, and your Government has billions for everything on earth, but for the men and women who served in the emergency that made it possible for them to collect the taxes to pour down the ratholes of some foreign country, they have not the funds. It is time to talk plain.

You young men have got to assume the obligations of the Legion. The Legion was founded on service, service to God and our disabled comrades, and to the community, State, and Nation. Have we kept faith? Are we keeping faith? We have tried, and yet we have some of our own members on the floor of Congress and in the Senate cutting our throats every turn of the road, and until you wake up and go up and down the streets and alleys of this country and prevail upon the young men and women to come into the Legion and then you go to the socalled statesmen of yours and say to them that even if the Chief Executive, the Bureau of the Budget, the Director of the Veterans' Administration fail to care for these men and women, will you take it on the floor of the House and Senate and demand that they be cared for in the American way? Party politics? To hell with them when the welfare of one of our disabled comrades is at stake.

NO PROVISION FOR WIDOWS

There is another thing that is going to be close to the heart of you young men, too. Supposing that you have a wife and 3 or 4 little fellows and you die? What about them, if you die without service-connected disability? They are going to be left to the tender mercies of the charitable organizations in your community because no provision has ever been made for the widows and children of a deceased veteran unless he dies of a service-connected disability.

Since 1946, we have been trying to get Congress to amend the law and provide for the widows and children of veterans of World War II under the same plan that they care for the widows and children of World War I.

Now, that is your individual obligation. It may come home to your family; your home may be broken up; your children scattered to some charitable organization and if that doesn't heat your blood, then you are not right, and you are not Americans, and you are not even loyal to the youngsters that you brought into this world.

There is one thing more, God forbid, and it is only a question of time, if the groups that are at work today put all pensions and all compensations into social security. They say we are all of one class; that we are no better than anyone else and I deny that

statement. Any man or woman who has offered his or her life to his country in an emergency is in a class by himself. He is the selected class, the one that has the right to demand from his Government the opportunity for himself and his family that they might have had, had he not served.

MENTALLY SICK VETERANS

When you go to bed at night, thank God that you are not one of the 30,000 mentally sick veterans that are being denied hospitalization by your Government today. All they say is disability is not service-connected in many instances, but let me say this to you. The doctor or the psychiatrist never lived and never will live who can tell when that mind began to slip. It may have been something that happened years ago that left an impression upon that mind and as the years rolled around and the diseases of time and infirmity of age broke that down, who is going to deny to him that the original cause of that disability was not something that happened while he was in the service? they are denying to them the care that they are entitled to.

I have painted a pretty black picture to you, and I am sorry that I cannot bring you a glowing report, but this may be the swan song of an old man who has given his best to try to do a job that is closer to his heart than anything except God. Take it home with you, live through it, and when you get on your knees tonight, thank God for

the condition that you are in.

Address of Francis P. Kilcoyne, Professor of English and Dean of Administration, Brooklyn College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following address before Lawrence Council No. 67, Knights of Columbus, on March 27, 1955, in Lawrence, Mass., by Francis P. Kilcoyne, Ph. D.

Dr. Kilcoyne is a former deputy grand knight of Lawrence council. He is a professor of English and dean of administration of Brooklyn College, Brooklyn,

N. Y.

The speaker is a graduate of St. Patrick's Grammar School, Lawrence High School, and Boston College. He was awarded his doctor of philosophy degree at New York University.

He taught at Fordham University, St. Joseph's College for Women in Brooklyn, and also taught summer sessions at St. Michael's College, Winooski, Vt.

Dr. Kilcoyne spoke at the annual communion breakfast following the 9:15 o'clock Mass in Sacred Heart Church, Lawrence, Mass.

I insert this address in the RECORD fully confident that it is worthy of the consideration of the Congress:

COMPETITIVE COEXISTENCE

I deliberately title these remarks "Competitive Coexistence" because I subscribe to the conviction, along with many others, that any other description of existence in a world, one-third of whose people is under the tyranny of Soviet domination, is the result

of shoddy thinking, or, worse still, wishful thinking.

In this season of Lent it ought not to be too difficult to complete a rapid review and recognize the fact that the Catholic Church has known no other existence than that which can be labeled "competitive." For has not the church been competing against the devil, his pomps and his works from the time of her founding? promised that the gates of hell would not prevail against her but He did not promise that His church on earth would be anything other than militant. Does not the gospel assigned for today, Passion Sunday, tell of the reaction of unbelievers when Christ answered their query, "Whom dost thou make thyself?" Shall we not read in next Sunday's passion narrative that the chief priests and the whole council sought to present false testimony against Christ before Caiaphas?

And what fate awaited all the Apostles, save John, and countless disciples as well as thousands of the early Christians, especially in the persecutions by the pagan emperors of Rome, a persecution which has its counterpart in many of the captive countries of our own day? What was Christ selling in the market place, in the temple, by the lakeside, in the villages? What was His message that has been transmitted across the ages? it and is it not the simple yet difficult message of the brotherhood of man because of the fatherhood of God? Has not an extreme effort been made to obliterate this message from among one-third of the world's peoples, an effort that would replace the message of love and charity by a doctrine of hate and revenge?

Why then should we be terribly surprised at the tension, at the cold peace in which we live for is it not another chapter, a chapter impregnated with fateful possibilities in the struggle between the positive traditions of the Judeo-Christian dispensation and the free nations of the world, on the one, hand, and the bloc controlled by the pagan disciples and administrators of the atheistic

doctrines of Marx?

We hear and read much about peaceful coexistence governing the relations between the free and enslaved portions of the world. including continental China. Let us not be misled by that phrase from out of the armament of Marxist psychological warfare. It is a phrase that has opposite meanings on opposite sides of the Iron and Bamboo Curtains which, by the design of the Soviet masters, separate the enslaved from the free peoples of the world. The very practice of shutting off millions of the peoples of the earth is a clear indication that the notions of peace and order and freedom and security and basic law carry quite contradictory meanings among the free and among the masters of the enslaved who maintain control only by psychological murder, military might, barbed wire, espionage, and the prisoning of hostages.

Is it not true that the phrases "peaceful coexistence" and "mutual cooperation" have, in some quarters, almost the hypnotic power of some barbaric ritual incantations? The few changes in window dressing provided by Malenkov were a part of the psychological attack on the West. It has been well said that peaceful coexistence is not only a propaganda phrase and an almost sure-fire tactical device, but its hand is the hand of Esau, imparting a fraternal, cooperative handclasp, while the voice is the voice of Jacob, carrying in its tones the guile of reference to the tightly controlled Communist Party.

If we recall the last Christmas message of His Holiness, the Pope, we may remember that it was marked by no great enthusiasm in support of the state of international relations as we then knew them and as they have continued. The Pope bluntly stated

that the number of men is increasing "who rebell against the idea of having to be dissatisfied with mere coexistence, or renouncing relationships of a more vital nature with other groups, and against being forced to live all the days of their lives in an atmosphere of enervating fear."

Here, then, is the chief spokesman for Christendom warning that the cold peace we have known for many months is not a true peace and cannot satisfy the aspirations of men. Why cannot it satisfy? The answer is found, in part at any rate, in the basic concept of peace which has been said to be "the tranquil security of an order of justice and charity which procures for each state, together with the full enjoyment of its rights, the most efficacious means of fulfilling its social mission and of contributing its share to the common good of international society."

While it is certainly true that Christians and most other religious-minded men have completely peaceful intentions and the will to sustain them, they have also the duty of thinking in quite realistic terms. To succumb to wishful thinking would be to serve not the cause of true peace but of pagan totalitarianism. Peace is never the result, solely, of a one-sided effort but it is, basically, the relationship between members of an international community which, observing the rules of justice, coperate for the collective welfare in mutual understanding.

Deep changes have come into the domestic and international relations of nations since the days of the Greek wars, the Hundred Years War, the French and American revolutions; yes, since the First World War. We know that each nation today has a tremendous potential for devastating war. Consequently, each nation cannot hope to stand alone. The tranquil security of order can be had only on a collective basis.

Someone has suggested that we ought to think of what might happen if the present cold peace were to continue for another 10 or 20 years. What would be the price paid not only by believing, practicing Christians, by Jews, but by other organized bodies who put spiritual values above the material? The Kremlin, first off, would permit no outside inteference with the ironclad control it exercises over captive nations. Were existing conditions in those nations to be thus accepted, what would happen to the older generations of religious peoples behind the curtains? What would happen to their children, reared in an atmosphere of fear and without what we view as normal religious conditions? Would not the recognition of the status quo be more powerful support of the tyranny that exists than mere diplomatic politeness called recognition? We would be saying that the inalienable rights of which we speak in our declaration were meant for us and for us alone. Would not the re-ligious peoples of the free nations, being confined to their own areas, do little more than maintain their own status quo in the midst of secularism. Would we not be standing alone in an alien world?

Look into history and note what has already happened to a once-predominant Catholic Christianity as a result of Moslem expansion, the Reformation, so-called, the loss of segments of the working class because of the then unchecked excesses of extreme capitalism. A bigger bite may yet have been taken by the tyranny of Soviet totalitarianism. What remains if the so-called cold peace continues?

To point in reply to the protestations of the masters of the Kremlin that they desire peace is to forget that the peace they seek is a debilitating one for the free nations. For a quarter century they have pleaded for a peace while altering in no essential their announced intention to control the world. What concessions they make are not basic. They merely change the window displays.

At no time has anyone in the changing cast of Kremlin personalities rejected the testament of Marx. During the quarter century, While the hypocritical refrain sang of peace, the Kremlin, with the aid of spies and domestic traitors in various parts of the world, has extended its tyrannical sway over more of the earth's peoples now living amidst violence and much despair.

True, in the 37 or 38 years of Soviet history there has been no all-out war against the West. Why risk it when progress has been relatively without cost to the Kremlin, although the price of deprivations paid by the people of Russia cannot be totaled. Nor is there any guarantee that an all-out attack on the West may not come without warning and at any moment. No Kremlin leader has rejected Lenin's November 26, 1920, statement: "As soon as we are strong enough to defeat capitalism as a whole we shall immediately take it by the scruff of the neck." Since that statement was made, piece-bypiece attacks have brought results. Stalin admitted in 1930 that he and his colleagues Were not unalterably opposed to all wars, such wars as might bleed likely opponents in the West, for example.

Let us, for a moment, recall that not many People paid much if any attention to the speeches and writings of Hitler whom they described in various unflattering phrases. But when he gained control of the Government of Germany and his booted Nazis started strutting across the face of the land and persecution became the rule, then people began to recall that he was putting into effect the very plans they had labelled as rantings.

So it is with the peace slogans we hear today, whether they come from Moscow or Peiping or Warsaw or Prague. Those slogans must be understood in the light of such statements as Stalin's that "the peace policy of the proletarian state certainly does not imply that the Soviet state has become reconciled to capitalism. * * It is merely another, and under present conditions, more advantageous form of fighting capitalism."

When Kremlin leaders profess their belief in peaceful coexistence they probably think and speak as did Kaganovich who held that an indefinite (yet limited) period of peace "proceeds organically from the very nature of our state and from the Leninist-Stalinist teaching about the coexistence of the two sytems."

There is not a phrase or sentence that can be cited to show that the Kremlin leaders, ho matter how or when they change, ever rehounce the basic purpose of world conquest. Let's not fool ourselves into believing that as long as the need for armaments and weapons of a variety of kinds still exists (the Soviet Union and satellites devote 50 percent plus of their incomes to such) the men in the Kremlin will actually, in fact and in demonstrated behavior, accept either disarmament or complete inspection of arms and weapons and factors producing them. Any conference on this topic will be joined by them Furely for propaganda purposes. To agree to inspection by an outside agency, with lower, would be to alter basic concepts in Soviet thinking and controls. This alteration will not come about.

Kremlin eyes seek weaknesses in all parts of the world—their own and ours. They watch because they have never rejected Lenin's blunt statement that "as long as capitalism and socialism exist we cannot live in peace; in the end, one or the other will triumph—a funeral dirge will be sung over the Soviet Republic or over world cap-

italism."

The peaceful declarations of Kremlin mouthpieces, when they are uttered, have in view only one end: To lull the opposition into paralysis while the Soviet build-up and espionage continue, while adults who should know better by now echo the false peace ideas, while the world on our side of the curtains forgets the single undeviating purpose of atheistic communism-world control.

Is there, then, any prospect for a truly peaceful coexistence, marked by justice and charity. What seems to be possible, under present conditions, is brutally competitive coexistence, not only for material natural resources, and the slave labors of countless men and women, but for the control of men's minds and wills as well.

No truly international community can be constructed without an order of justice and charity, without respect for the highest values of the community and of the individual human being, without a supreme effort to realize the common, international good. None of these goals do the Communists seek as we understand them.

Recognizing the possibility of a world Com-munist pattern which can come into being more by failures in the West than accomplishments among the Soviet nations, there no better international community possible than the existing United Nations? There is such a possibility in the way of Christian solidarity in the basically Christian West. Let me quote, finally, the words of a distinguished representative of Lebanon to the United Nations, Dr. Charles Malik, who has well said that: "Communism is a doctrine of despair. Its only and complete answer, therefore, lies in the existence of hope. If the western world can show a way to eradicate the shame and scandal of poverty, of exploitation, of oppression, of greed, without resort to social revolution and class struggle and dictatorship; if it can place these material values in their proper subordinate place within the mighty context of a mighty spiritual movement which will be revolutionary without being subversive, and which will draw its substance from the infinite riches of the western positive tradition, then the necessity for communism will vanish and the spectre which now walks the earth will be laid forever."

To live and work with this consistence, for make brutally competitive coexistence, for marth the price. The price of freedom from the yoke is clearly started by Dr. Malik. Do we wish to pay it?

ly adequate to support the population since it is estimated that there are only 3,500 acres of tillable land because of the shortage of water.

When the reservation was established for the Papagos, the mineral rights were withheld from them. The minerals can be prospected for and developed by anyone desiring to do so.

In the quest for minerals, there is no such thing as private property on the reservation. This is the only reservation in the United States where the Indians do not have the mineral rights to the land.

Prospectors from all over the United States and the Territories are pouring into the Southwest in search of uranium. mines are being developed within 70 miles of the reservation, and scarcely a day goes by that a claim is not filed for a piece of the Papago Reservation.

Are these people to be evicted forcefully from their homeland? Does not humanitarianism demand that the Papagos be protected?

We, as taxpayers, often decry the amount of money that is being spent by our Federal Government to care for the Indians.

The Papago Indians are an impoverished group and must be wards of the State unless they have a means of self-support. At present the average life expectancy at birth is 17 years. There are today 258 infant deaths out of each 1000 live births. This is the highest infant mortality rate in the United States.

If the mineral rights are returned to them, they will use the money received to improve themselves and thus save the taxpayer money. These people do not want to wards of the State nor do they feel the Government owes them a living.

The Goldwater-Udall bill has recently been introduced into Congress for the purpose of returning the mineral rights on the reser-

vation to the Papagos.

I would like to urge each individual to write to our Representatives and Senators to have this bill reported out of committee immediately and, further, to vote in favor

ROBERT L. DOWNING.

MIDLAND.

Mineral Rights for Papago Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD the following letter to the editor which appeared in a recent edition of the Detroit Free Press and again calls our attention to the plight of American Indians within this country:

AS OTHERS SEE IT-PLEADS FOR PAPAGO INDIANS

During the past few months my family and I have had an opportunity to visit many Indian groups of the Southwest.

The economic standards of none of these cople are high, but the plight of the Papago Indians of Arizona I feel is the worst.

In 1917, our Federal Government saw fit to establish a reservation for them of some 2.5 million acres. At first this might seem a lot of land for 7,500 people, but upon examination it is scarcely enough.

The rainfall average is 10 inches annually

in the east and only 5 inches in the western part of the reservation. Agriculture is scarce-

Federal Aid to States To Assist in Construction of Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BROOKS HAYS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include the following transcript of excerpts of proceedings of the Committee on Education and Labor March 16, 1955, containing my statement in support of Federal aid for school building construction:

Mr. PERKINS. The committee will come to order. It looks as though several members of the committee are absent this morning, but we will commence the hearings anyway.

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare was to appear this morning, but due to her illness she will not appear. She will appear at a later date.

Our first witness is the distinguished gentleman from Arkansas, who was present all day yesterday, but did not get to testify, the Honorable Brooks Hays. We will hear from him at this time.

STATEMENT OF HON, RECOKS HAYS, A REPRE-SENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ARKANSAS

Mr. Hays of Arkansas. May I have permission, Mr. Chairman, to include a synopsis of the bill that I am introducing for your consideration, H. R. 5112?
Mr. PERKINS, Without objection, it is so

ordered.

(The document referred to follows:)

"Analysis of the chief provisions of the school-construction bill 5112, introduced by Representative Brooks Hays, of Arkansas

"1. The purpose of the bill is to assist the States and Territories in the construction of public elementary and secondary schools.

"2. The amount to be authorized per annum shall be \$250 million.

The funds are apportioned through an objective formula based on two factors, (a) school-age population, and (b) each State's average per capita income payments.

"4. The period of aid is to cover 5 fiscal

years, starting July 1, 1955.
"5. Use of funds is limited to the construction of public elementary and secondary school facilities. The term "school facilities" is defined to mean classrooms and related facilities, and initial equipment, machinery, and utilities necessary or appropriate for school purposes. It does not include (a) interests in land, (b) off-site improvements, (c) althletic stadiums, or (d) atructures or facilities intended primarily for the purpose of athletic exhibitions, contests, or games or other events for which admission is to be charged to the general public or structures to be used exclusively as singlepurpose auditoriums or gymnasiums.

"6. On the Federal level the program will be administered by the United States Office of Education, and in the States by the regularly established State educational

authorities.

"7. States wishing to share the benefits of the act submit State plans to the United States Commissioner of Education. The location and approval of projects are left to the States as well as the actual supervision of construction. The States are required to audit receipts and expenditures and to make such reasonable reports to the United States Commissioner as are necessary to assure that expenditures have been made in accord with the purpose of the legislation.

"8. Funds will be paid by the United States Treasurer, upon certification by the United States Commissioner, to the State treasurer who will make transfers to local boards of education upon requisition of the State edu-

cational authority.

"9. The matching of funds within a State, by local school districts, is left for State determination. The Federal share of a State's authorized school construction program may not exceed 40 percent in the State having the highest per capita income. In the State having the lowest per capita in-come, the Federal share may be 60 percent.

'10. Any State which finds itself aggrieved over the administration of the act may bring action in the appropriate United States

"11. Federal interference in the schools is prohibited by the following words of section 10 of the bill:

"'SEC. 10. In the administration of this act, no department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States shall exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the personnel, curriculum, or program of instruction of any school or school system of any school agency.'

"12. Under an appropriation of \$250 million the allocation under this bill will range from approximately \$6 per pupil in New York to \$9 per pupil in Mississippi; an average of about \$7.50 per child."

Mr. Hays. Mr. Chairman, No pending legislation before any of the committees of the Congress is as important or more important certainly than the bill which this committee is considering.

I feel that the time has come for the Federal Government to clarify its policy with reference to Federal aid for education.

It is not accurate to say that we have no policy, because actually over the years we have been evolving a policy with reference to the Federal Government's relation to its public schools.

When I speak of clarification, I mean clarification by recognizing some responsibilities for secondary and elementary education.

Of course, it is known that we participated in higher education as early as 1862 and even earlier, but that was the most dramatic and most notable participation by the Federal Government, because in the land-grant college legislation the Government's concern for education was recognized in a substantial way.

And even earlier, our leaders knew that there was a national responsibility for the schools of this Nation

I was struck, for example, by the words in George Washington's Farewell Address, a message that has been regarded as emphasizing other policies. You will recall that he said, "promote those institutions that make for diffusion of knowledge."

James Madison in the same period, forecasting the future of this experiment in free government, said that without popular education it will be either a tragedy or a farce.

So we are not talking about something that is new. We are simply recognizing the changes that have come about in the patterns of our economic, political, and social life since the Constitution was written.

Foreseeing that the foundations upon which popular government rests should be strong and firm, there was this responsibility for education which our forefathers recognized. But the changes I refer to create new demands.

I have the honor of being a member of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, generally referred to as the Kestnbaum Com-I had hoped that our work would mission. be completed before I appeared before this committee, that out of its studies I would have some facts that would be helpful to the committee, but as the committee knows, its work has not been completed and I am not free to discuss the tentative conclusions that have been recommended by the members of that important Presidential Commission studying the whole range of interrelationships of Government-Federal, State, and

Mr. PERKINS. May I interrupt you to state that I just wish all the membership of the committee were present to hear this presentation, because so many of the members on this committee want to speak of Federal ald to school construction as being a new proposition.

I am hopeful that before you get through other members will come in to hear your views this morning, Mr. HAYS.

Go shead.

Mr. Hays. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I certainly do not speak as an authority in this field. Of course, I have had vast experience as an educator. I was the 1916 summer-session teacher at the Sunny Point School, District No. 7, Illinois Township, Pope County, Ark., but since 1916 I have had no professional experience with the school problems.

Mr. Perkins. I believe also you may have

little influence on the gentleman from Georgia today, Mr. Hays,

Mr. LANDRUM. Well, the gentleman has also had influence on me if we happened to be in the same line of thought. I respect his position. I love him as a Christian gentleman. He has influenced me greatly.

Mr. Hays. Mr. Chairman, I am not going to assume that the gentleman's thinking conflicts with mine. I am only going to try to fortify him in the view that the people of rural Georgia are entitled to the help that a mighty Nation can give them, and without the help that this Government can give I know that the future of some of the schools of the South is bleak. Not that we propose to relieve the States of their responsibility or to ease the burdens or the pressures on them, but merely to supplement what the States are doing under proper criteria, the Federal Government to establish and define those criteria as they lay out a plan for school-building construction.

Mr. Gwinn. Mr. Chairman, I hope that the gentleman from Arkansas, before he quits the stand, will give us another one of those good stories from Pope County that have made him famous in the Congress.

I hope, too, that the gentleman from Arkansas will not skirt around that Kestnbaum report that is not yet out. The little leak that we got indicated that that report was going to be against, or, in fact, the professional report that is now on file was against the point of view that you have, of the functions of the Federal Government; namely, that the function of the local community was to take care of education in the States and in the school districts.

You might tell us whether or not your suspicion is that that is the nature of the

Mr. HAYS. My beloved friend from New York is very effective and I find myself struggling here with the decision that he poses, that is, whether to praise this Commission as I would like to do sincerely, because I think its overall performance is good, and then be extremely embarrassed by finding what he says is true, or to say that the Commission, great as it is, can make mistakes and feel easier about having differed with them officially at the time I want to differ with them:

So I leave that unresolved, and I leave your question unanswered, because it would not be proper for me to say anything about its tentative conclusions on the question of aid for schools.

But I have plead with that Commissionthis certainly would not be improper for me to say, and you would suspect it if I did not admit it-I have plead with them to recognize the realities of the situation and whether or not I have influenced a lot of them with the help I have had from others with like points of view, remains a question.

I think the proper thing to do is to wait until its conclusions are reached and made

I am grateful to my friend for his comment and since he has referred to Pope County I recall one story which fits the comment of the chairman.

My father was a census enumerator back in 1900 up in the Ozark country. He said to one old man standing in front of his cabin: 'I am a census enumerator, sir, I need some information. What is your name? "Hearn, Randall J. Hearn."

"How do you spell it?"
He said, "spell it yourself, stranger, I am & nonscholar."

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Chairman, I think this morning instead of having anything about school construction, you and Brooks should just start in telling stories.

Mr. GWINN. It would be a great relief to

Chairman Barden. I have seen times in this committee room when there was less

I want to apologize for being late. Mrs. Hobby's assistant called yesterday afternoon. I told her I would check with the office today and see what arrangements we could

you have Mr. Hays. Mr. Chairman, missed very much. I would like to repeat one Point I made, however, because it basis for some conclusions. I know that it has been often stated to the committee that this is not a new idea and I think that there is precedent in our national life for a recognition, a monetary recognition of the responsibility that the Federal Government has for its public-school system.

That is a vital point that cannot be evaded. It should be, I think, the basis of

all of our thinking in this field.

The point being that as we defend Federal ald for education we defend it not as an innovation, but as a modification of an old policy, a recognition of altered economic and social patterns. That is the principal point that I tried to make at the beginning.

Yet I recognize that at this stage, since our aid has been heretofore limited largely to higher education and specialized fields, such as vocational aid and the school lunch program, we should approach it with tentareservations about the final form that it should take. The best programs evolve, they are not written with complete wisdom at the beginning.

For that reason, if I had the power just to Order this legislation into existence, I would inaugurate it on a conservative basis. would not provide \$500 million which I think may be justified in the light of our national income. I would make it \$250 million. I would not make it indefinite. I would limit it to 5 years. I would take another look at it in a 5-year period after a program of that modest proportion had been tested and tried.

We should inaugurate it on a modest basis, considering the severity of our Federal budget problem and the fact that we will profit by experience as we go into a program that does have terrific implications in terms of the relationship of the States to the Federal Government, which is now under my concept a partner in the business of educating the children of this country.

Now, when I speak of altered patterns of social and economic life, I have in mind comparing it with the period in which George Washington spoke, of promoting the institutions which make for the diffusion

of knowledge.

I have in mind the simple life which found almost each State enjoying self-contain-ment, self-sufficiency, but now with the com-merical life of the Nation regarding State lines as of no consequence whatever, you have two factors that enter into the equation, one, the mobility of people, and I come from a State which has felt its impact.

Second, the mobility of wealth, its tendency to throw out of States that rest their economy basically on agriculture to States

that have a different structure.

That does not carry frightening implica-tions at all, though if we succumb to an equalitarian philosophy of an extreme type, We might find them dangerous.

I do not want to be guilty of any false reasoning on that score. I would not have the Pederal Government undertake by some magic formula to equalize the incomes of

people or of schools.

But I would take into account in devising a national policy the wide extremes in per capita incomes and the fact, strangely enough, that where the incomes are lowest the children are most plentiful. That is a fact that I am sure this committee is aware The stork and the wolf always did pal around together.

For that reason, the poorer States should be helped by the States that are in a position to supply some of the wealth to carry the educational burdens of this country.

I spoke of the mobility of people. They are moving out of areas like mine. I do not want to press the point that I am speaking. ing for a special situation this morning,

Arkansas, which, of course, has prior claim upon me. I would not apologize for speaking of its peculiar and urgent problems, but I hope that I can rest my case upon the national situation.

But the picture in Arkansas belongs in this composite and people have spent money to rear children that are giving their adult and taxpaying years to other States. Why should not the Federal Government tax the wealth of California where our people live their taxpaying period to educate the children of the State in the succeeding generation that has supplied some of the manpower of the State of California?

Yet under the formula that I would suggest to this commission which has only a modest equalization factor, I would provide California money to deal with the problem that Arkansas, by sending children there, has helped create.

As an illustration of the fact that it costs the poorer States something, my friend Howard Dolson quotes these figures:

In a 10-year period it cost the South \$2 billion to rear and educate the children that went into other States outside the South in the 10-year period between 1930 and 1940.

I speak guardedly on this point because I do not believe that you should overdo the

equalization factor.

I only ask the committee take it into count. The synopsis that I will give you of the bill which I believe will be acceptable on that point would range from 6 to 9 dollars per child. It would be 46, a one to one and a half range.

I would suggest that the committee give careful consideration to the equalization factor in order to take care of the States that have a higher proportion of children and at the same time suffer this disparity of income.

I am resting this not only upon the move-ment of people out of States, but also the draining off of some of the wealth of those States. This is said without envy of the richer States, or without blindness to the problems that they have, because I have been in New England and I know that the agricultural areas of New England suffer from the same disparities within the region, and that wealth tends to get out of the rural areas into the cities.

But even within urban areas there are disparities that can be corrected, I think, only by some recognition by the Federal Government so that we supplement the States

that are harassed by problems of revenues. Now, I have tried in other words, Mr. Chairman, to get a balanced view of this problem of getting the States and the Federal Government together on a partnership

When my friend, Mr. Gwinn, asked me, in my appearance for a bill that had general aid in mind as its purpose years ago, about that, why we should give the wealthier States anything at all, I replied that even as a symbol it would have value because to withhold from the richer States some help for its problem would imply that we think there are no problems in the States that have large incomes.

It is not true. In the State of my friend, Mr. KEARNS, I have seen evidence in the interior of Pennsylvania of the problem and in spite of the exertions of Pennsylvania, which are impressive, there is work to be done.

I would trust the State of Pennsylvania to put that money where it is intended by the Federal Government to be spent.

Once we imply in any kind of legislative provision that we distrust the States, that we must write out the formula with meticulousness, when we destroy that reciprocity that should exist between the States, then we would, I think, meet frustration.

We have to proceed on the basis of maximum faith in the States to do their job

and to determine the favored and the unfavored areas within their own borders.

One of the best speeches I ever heard made for Federal aid to education was by a Pennsylvanian. He went back to the fact I spoke of a moment ago, the movement of people from Arkansas into Pennsylvania. He said, "It would cost my State under the general aid for education about \$10 million. We maybe would put in \$20 million, but we would get back \$10 million. But it would be worth \$10 million to the State of Pennsylvania to have the Arkansans come better equipped to work on the assembly line, better trained as vocational school products.

As a taxpayer, Pennsylvania knows that the Federal Government spent through the Defense Department millions of dollars to give simple elementary instruction to enlisted men that should have been done in the schools of the United States.

Now, that is to impress the committee with my conviction that this is a national responsibility. Can we say that we are going to leave it to the States to struggle alone

with the problem?

At the same time I hope that the committee will see to it that a criterion is written into the law. The principle of faith in the States does not call upon you to do otherwise than to say you shall not participate unless you meet your responsibilities, too.

Mr. Gwinn. Mr. Chairman, has the gentleman from Arkansas a formula in his mind that would work this thing out? That has been one of our difficulties. If you are going to spread this \$250 million all around among the 48 States, Arkansas is going to have no relief comparable to its needs at all.

Mr. HAYS. Yes, we would get \$4,218,000. California would get \$14 million.

Mr. KEARNS. Under which formula? Mr. Hays. Under the formula 1 to 11/4, 40 to 60. Nine dollars per child approximately for the poorest State, \$6 per child for the richest State.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Which bill is that? Mr. Hays. I am going to put my bill in tomorrow. I hope it will help the committee. I have no pride of authorship. I only hope you might find in what I am saying. something that appeals to you and can find in the material that I am going to put in the record, some figures and facts that will be a help.

Mr. McConnell, I am a little bit puzzled as to your philosophy. I understood you to say you believe in giving to the rich as well as to the poor States, but you make a distinction when you say give to the poorer State more than to the richer State.

Mr. HAYS. Per child.

Mr. McConnell. Why do you follow such a procedure? Why not start with the procedure of what you are going to give to the poorer State and not give anything to the richer States at all? They just send it back down to get it back again with a big brokerage fee taken out of it.

Mr. HAYS. If you left the richer States out you would deny the basis of any legislation at all; namely, that it is a matter of national interest; this would deny that the Federal Government is concerned with the school problems of New York and Pennsylvania.

Mr. McConnell. I do not see the logic to that. I do not know why you say that. does the Federal Government have to give anything to Pennsylvania if we have our own money which we send down and we get it back again with quite a bit taken out

Why not keep what we start with and give to the poorer States then? I would not have made this statement if you said to give to all States, but you said you gave more to the poorer States than you do to the richer. Therefore, you are making a distinction in your thinking.

Mr. Hays. I am recognizing the disparity of wealth in the distribution of Federal funds just as in the State of Arkansas in the distribution of our revenues to the districts, we take into account the disparity of wealth between districts.

I think exactly the same principle should

Mr. McConnell. I accept that philosophy then. Therefore, why give anything to the rich States and give a certain amount to the poor States, if you once accept that philos-ophy that the poorer States should get more than the richer. Then you are in a position that it is just a matter of how you work it

Mr. Hays. I do not want to pursue that. still believe that there is some value in what I call the symbol of national interest. think it would be very unfortunate if in adopting the equalization idea we did not say as a matter of national concern that what takes place in the richer State is important.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Will the gentleman

yield?

Mr. McConnell. Yes. Mr. Frelinghuysen. You say there is a na-You sav tional responsibility in the field. also that there must be, as I recall it, a minimum exertion or responsibility on the part of the State before they can qualify for Federal funds.

But as Mr. Gwinn has pointed out, there is where our trouble lies. To what extent do you think it is necessary that, for instance, a State or a school district show that there is a need and show that they are incapable of meeting that need themselves? Do you think it is essential that they go through a qualifications test such as that, a means test of some kind?

Mr. Hays. I think it would be impossible for the Federal Government to determine that on a district basis. Now, I realize that puts me against one of the administration proposals and I have such respect for the position of the administration. I mean in its overall purposes and approach, that I hope the gentleman will not attach too much importance to my differences with the administration on that point.

But if I am right as to the principle of trusting the States to deal with the problem of low income and district impoverishment, then you must avoid bypassing the States in our eagerness to get to the local difficulty.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I hope the gentleman does not think that the administration ap-

proach bypasses the States.

Mr. HAYS. It provides, does it not, that the Federal Government shall determine by formula which districts within the States might qualify? . It goes to the district sit-uation even though they do not bypass the State. Even though they take into account the State's judgment as to a district's impoverishment, the net result would be that you would encourage the tendency of the States to put off its own equalization plans, and it would bolster unwise districting.

What would you do to a State like North Carolina that has virtually a State district.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I hate to disagree. I think the basic administration approach is just the opposite, that is that it is an attempt to encourage the State to solve its own problems, the State and local community combined, definitely not any at-tempt to bypass the States as one of those agencies responsible for the solution of its

Mr. HAYS. As I say, I have great respect for much of the content of the administration's proposal also. It would certainly be better than making no beginning at all, but I was under the impression that the administration proposal simply took into account a condition of insolvency by districts within the States to be determined by the State and then the Federal Government would come to the rescue of that particular district instead of leaving it to the State with some aid in a measure like this to equalize, and, of course, when I say equalize, I am not speaking in terms of the absolute.

Now, if I am wrong about that, then, of

course, you can disregard that comment.

What we really want to do is to help the States. The State is the key to this problem.

Mr. FreLinghuysen. But to what extent is it necessary to set up the means test in the allocation of Federal funds? That is my original question.

Mr. Hays. All right, let us get to that. I think you have a good example in Mr.

Taft's approach.

As I recall it, what I have in my bill is the same requirement as in Mr. Taft's bill. It requires that 21/2 percent of the total income of the State be devoted to school purposes. It will be impossible to get an altogether perfect criterion. You are going to have difficulty with that.

But I do suggest to the committee that

they consider Mr. Taft's formula.

As I recall it, it was based upon an expenditure for education of 21/2 percent of the State's income, not the State government's income, but 21/2 percent of the income of the

Now, it seems to me that you need some criterion to determine the exertions of the State. I would not object, as it is applied to my own State, which on the whole does a good job. You can hardly do it percentagewise in an altogether acceptable way for this reason: A State with a low per capita income-and my State has only 40 percent of the per capita income of New York, for example, in other words, for every dollar the Arkansan has, the New Yorker has two and a half dollars.

If we gave as much percentagewise we still have so much less per child.

Mr. GWINN. I must rise to the defense

Mr. Hays. It is not a criticism. I would praise New York for its industry, for its high income.

Mr. GWINN, I think one of our difficulties lies in the fact that if after a long, agonizing period, we come to a formula, by the time we get to adopt a formula down here, our whole factual basis has changed.

Now, your Commission, the Kestnbaum Commission, found a state of facts that apparently is surprising on this per capita capacity to respond, and one of the reasons that I believe they are going to hold that it is a local matter is because the Federal Government just cannot adjust itself to all the differing 63,000 school districts in these United States.

Here is a factor, for example, that they found. Your Southern States are increasing in their per capita income nearly three times faster than we are in New York State, in the Northern States. For example, the rise in per capita income in constant dollars from 1940 to 1953 in the 12 northern States, is 38 percent.

In the 13 Southern States It was 95 per-That is how this movement of population is benefiting you in Arkansas in terms of a rising per capita income and a rising capacity to meet your own needs.

Therefore, when we try to find a formula in 1955 that suits, by the time 1960 comes around we are clear out of joint.

Mr. Hays. I think what the gentleman says certainly must be given weight by the Commission. It fortifies my point that a 5-year cutoff, or maybe even shorter, would be good, because you may be in danger of building schoolhouses where the children are now, but will not be 5 years from now.

I recognize that and it is an important point, but I have this comment to make to the point that you suggest: That we are increasing disproportionately. Of course, you increase in high proportions, sir, when your income is so low.

When Arkansas went from a per capita income of \$250-and I remember struggling with some economic problems down when that was all we had-up to \$900, we dld pretty well.

Still New York is two and a half times our per capita income. I say that with no implications as to taking from New York and giving it to Arkansas to equalize wealth. want to be understood on that point.

Mr. GWINN. Again referring to the facts in your own commission which I think is doing a tremendous job on this, it shows that disposable income for education in the Northern States is \$1,490 and in the 13 Southern States it is \$1.017.

Mr. Hays. Now, what index are you using? Mr. GWINN. This is the per capita income as Federal taxes of the Northern, Central, the West, and the Southern States. It is a very interesting change that has taken

Mr. HAYS. I apologize for using the money index if it is to be assumed that I think that conditions are measured altogether by money terms.

But I do not see how you can consider the national problem of disparity if you do not pick out certain States to make comparisons.

Mr. Gwinn. We have been thinking of New York as a certain status as we have gone along. We have forgotten what the inroads have been in the last few years.

Mr. Hays. Certainly I realize as I know the gentleman will remember my stating that New York has its problems. Of course, if we gave to everybody, just returned to the States on the basis of population without reference to higher ratio of children, if we just made any kind of distribution, you get a degree of equalization because you are taking from a high income State a larger amount than they would get proportion-ately. So there is an element of equalization in any grant-in-aid program.

Now, this is arguing, perhaps, against one of the points I made, but it is something to keep in mind that a family with one child having the same income as a family with four children will have double the per capita income.

So those things may be deceptive. I realize, where calculations are made without reference to a family situation.

But I still insist, Mr. Gwinn, and we are talking now about dollar income, that there is a great disparity within States and within country.

Now, I would be just as eager to put pressure upon the States that are poor to carry their equivalent share, maybe more. And I think it is possible for Federal aid to have that effect.

I do not think there is the least danger of the Federal Government getting under a burden that Arkansas ought to carry if Arkansas gets only \$4 million in Federal funds for school-building construction when Arkansas in 1953-54 had a capital outlay of \$14 million. a capital outlay in the present year of \$131/2 million, and when the legislature was asked this year by the Governor to find new revenues for \$12 million.

I do not think if you eased Arkansas' burden to that extent that you are in any danger whatever of encouraging a lag on the part of the poorer States.

I cannot see that that is a consequence that you need to fear, but, at the same time, the necessity for getting maximum exertions by the State should cause you to take a conservative approach.

Now, sometimes you hear those who carry heavy tax burdens say, "How can we carry more? Arkansas has every tax you can find." Arkansas has every tax you can find. and we do. We devote a higher percentage to schools than the State of California, if I might use California as an example. We de-

vote more, percentagewise, in spite of our lower per capita income to our schools than the great State of California.

But the taxpayer says, "I am paying all I

can in State taxes."

I thought this was rather interesting, a conversation between two men on their way to the Cotton Bowl game in Dallas to see the Arkansas football team play. And, dentally, I hope none of you will say that I can hardly contend Arkansas is a poor State When we had the best football team in that part of the country. I pause to say that because I can just see a question in the chairman's eye, but we did not get that football team with money. These Arkansas boys running up and down the hills have better muscles than the level-ground boys and that is the reason for it.

On their way to the bowl this conversation took place. One Arkansas taxpayer sald, "I cannot afford to pay any more

taxes"

And the man who believed in more revenues for schools in Arkansas said, "Well, I am begging my friends in the Arkansas Leg-Islature to vote new tax burdens on me that will mean another \$200 out of my pocket.

You ought to see it the same way. You are spending a hundred dollars to come to

this football game."

So, I say that the States can find more money for schools if they see this in the right proportions which is that we are fac-

ing an emergency.

I know I do not need to belabor that point. What I am trying to say is that it is inconceivable that we will do anything to lessen the pressures on the States to exert themselves to the fullest.

Now, the committee is well aware of the fact that there are three grounds for particl-Pation by the Federal Government in State functions. One is to support a service which the Federal Government has the responsibility for.

Another is to stimulate a service which We think ultimately should be borne by the States, but which we think needs to be

stimulated.

The other is to equalize. That would call for some continuation.

It seems to me that on all three bases there is justification for a modest, conservative, soundly conceived Federal program of this kind.

It deals with a physical program in the first place and is important because you are not involved in any way in the problems of selection of teachers or curricula. You are dealing exclusively with the problem that escapes the delicate, troublesome questions that caused such concern to the committee in the years when you considered general Federal aid for education.

Mr. LANDRUM. You have raised a point which has given me quite a bit of concern. We come to the Federal Government now because of a crisis existing in our construction, in our plant setup, capital outlay for schools. We are coming to the Federal Gov-

ernment for help.

In my own State, for example, during the last 10 years we have increased the number or teachers and increased considerably the average salary of teachers.

But just 2 weeks ago our State auditor announced down there that the State was

now facing a financial crisis.

Because of that crisis and because of the fact that we have, for the last several years, devoted more than 50 percent of our income to education, we have to raise more money to pay these new teachers.

His statement headlined in the papers was this: Georgia will either raise more revenue or take off the payrolls about 3,500 schoolteachers.

Now, if such a crisis as that facing us in Georgia today develops nationwide, are we not going to also come to the Federal Government seeking aid to employ teachers?

I raise that question because of the statement you made that you are not concerned with the selection of teachers or the establishment of curricula. You are concerned only now with the building of our plants in which we house these educational instruc-

Mr. Hays. Let me explain what I mean when I say it does not involve us in the local questions. I felt that general aid for education did not involve us to the extent that it was charged. Certainly this does not involve us in criteria for the selection of teachers.

Mr. LANDRUM. I certainly follow the gentleman. I appreciate his remarks. I recognize it is not now a problem, but based on history and our experience in coming to the Government and particularly the history that we have established over the last 20 or 25 years, is it not true that the more our crises develop at home, the greater the tendency to come to a beneficient Federal bureaucracy. Is not that true? Mr. Hays, Yes, that is a fact of life that

has to be confronted.

But if I am right, that this is justice, if it rests on that concept of justice to the less favored States, then you cannot refrain from doing now what ought to be done in the interest of justice because it makes more difficult a decision that the Congress might have to make 5 years from now.

We can never afford to make an easy decision because of a complication that might

lie ahead.

I have no case whatever, unless the committee agrees with me that the Federal Government has a stake in education.

How can it be said that the Federal Government has no responsibility or no moral obligation? We take the lad when he is 18 years of age, we have not provided in the Nation an adequate minimum standard school system that enables him to understand the manual of arms.

Mr. LANDRUM. I agree with you that the Federal Government has something at stake. has an interest there. There is no belaboring that point. We all agree on that. We all agree that we come now to a crisis in building.

But I am assuming that the gentleman, and I have the same feeling that we want maximum control on the local level. want a minimum amount of control on the Federal level, none if we can get it.

Mr. HAYS. That is right.

Mr. LANDRUM. But my question was raised. as we come more and more to these other problems that are beginning to confront us, and will confront us 5 years from now, as the gentleman suggests, are we not going to gradually turn over our entire local responsibility to the Federal Government? Are we not facing that danger?

Mr. Hays. I know the gentleman is entitled to an answer from me. It has forced, and I want to meet it squarely, I certainly could not deny that the extension of Federal aid even to this milder extent, of \$250 million a year. I could not deny that it would have its impact on related programs within the

Of course it does. As you ease the pressures from the revenue standpoint, you release funds for raising teachers' salaries, of course, and other purposes.

But I would not be afraid of that. You are still holding the Federal Government to participation in a fiscal program.

Mr. Landrum. Would the gentleman say, then, why in the early stages of your re-marks you suggested that maybe we would limit this to 5 years, this experiment of \$250 million a year?

Mr. Hays. It gives us an opportunity to experiment.

Mr. LANDRUM. Where do we go at the end of 5 years if we find it not satisfactory

Mr. Hays. In all honesty, I would not want what I say in support of it to seal my lips to come back and say 5 years from now, "Give us further help."

But I would point out to the opponents of the program that their arguments against Federal aid of a general character do not apply to this bill. I would plead for a chance to see what experience produces on the question my friend from Georgia raises.

Mr. Landrum. I am not yet ready to let

the gentleman or any other, catalog me as an antagonist of the program.

Mr. HAYS. Good.

Mr. LANDRUM. I just simply want to recognize that these problems are confronting us. I want to hear the gentleman's discussion of it.

Now, while I have the gentleman's ear. may I ask one question?

You are familiar with the resolution introduced by the gentleman from Kansas, [Mr. SCRIVNER on the 22d of February? Mr. Hays. Yes, I am.

Mr. Landrum. Would you care to comment

on the provisions of that?

Mr. Hays. I am not well informed on it, but I did take time to look over the scale. Of course, it completely disregards this element which I have emphasized, of recognizing the children, the ratio of children, and differences in incomes.

For that reason it should not be considered if we believe in the equalization principle. The mere fact that you might save a little money in the handling in funds is not related to the purpose and the goal of this program.

Releasing Federal funds through subtracting a simple percentage would release

funds that are not needed.

The disparity is terrific between the wealthier States and the poorer States. Under his bill, as I remember it, Arkansas would get \$1 million.

Mr. LANDRUM. One million eight hundred thousand dollars.

Mr. Hays. I forget what California would get, but at any rate, you would not correct this disparity between California and Arkansas.

I use that just as an illustration.

Mr. Gwinn. I hate to interrupt so distinguished a member and so good a friend, but we are talking about the real nub of this thing right now.

Mr. Hays. Yes; we are.

Mr. Gwinn. We are struggling with this idea of how the national interest is better served by letting the parents and the local teachers, the school boards, be responsible. We are talking about responsibility. We are anxious about the Federal Government taking responsibility.

Can you imagine any better device for stimulating local responsibility and aid to the children in your State than the reduction of taxation which we gave Arkansas last year?

You are talking about a measly little \$4 million of aid to education for Arkansas by this \$250-million appropriation which must come out of more taxes.

Last year when we reduced the tax burden generally, Arkansas got back in 1 year \$47 million. That is the year 1954, and you spent on your whole public-school program \$46 million.

So you got back a million dollars more, which is available to the State, than you actually spent on your entire school pro-

Now, that is the way to help the folks back home, take this incredible burden off from Washington, then you have local responsi-bility. Then you do not have the problem of Federal aid, of Federal control and influence and waste and costs.

Mr. Hays. Well, the gentleman is very kind in his reference to me and I am sure he knows how I feel toward him. He and I \ have discussed these things in the spirit of warm friendship which we have enjoyed since he first came here. I am grateful to him.

Mr. GWINN. I thank you for that remark. Mr. HAYES. That is one thing I always delight to say about my friend from New York. Our differences, of course, are fundamental on this point. But he would let me say this, The Federal Government would not say that because of the grace of the Congress in extending tax relief and helping the taxpayer to that extent that we will be indifferent to these appeals for the schools. It just seems to me that that would be the wrong response. I believe that we helped the economic life of Arkansas greatly by that tax reduction. It stimulated it.

Further, I have given every indication that I do not defend all of my State's policies, or feel that they are to be relieved of burdens.

Now, the gentleman is interested in family life, in social conditions in the less favored areas, and I have supported those things which would keep my State with a balanced industrial life.

When I say balanced, I mean to keep those fine elements of its agrarian life that tend

to be lost when industry overtakes it.

I do not want to say that this is related to that problem, but I do think that a nation which disregards, shall I say, moral values, that inhere in its rural life, that that nation will encounter trouble.

Let me give these figures:

In 1950 the urban areas of the 9 most favored States-they happened to be in the Northeast-had 22 percent of the Nation's children and 30 percent of the Nation's income.

The less favored area, which was the rural section of the South, of 12 southern States, had 8.6 of the children and 1.6 of the income.

Now, you find, in other words, that in that favored area there was 19 times the income.

and 21/2 times the children.

So the favored area gets an advantage of seven and a half times per child over the least favored region. But again I would not withhold from the favored region some help from the Federal Government so that they would deal with their less favored districts because, while as a group it was favored, as I indicated to Mr. Kearns, I know that there were islands of distress within the favored areas.

Chairman BARDEN. Are there any further questions?

I would like to drop this, Mr. HAYS. That is, the constant and increasing invasion of the State's stores of taxes by the Federal Government has brought us to this rather distressing hour. I see no tendency on the part of the Government to either relax or give any consideration to relief to the State.

I expect last year we spent more in Europe on the field of education than the final bill, if one comes out of this committee, will carry.

Now, I do not know by what process of reasoning people arrive at that illogical conclusion, but we certainly cannot keep on doing things that force the Government to further invade the sources of revenue of the States and expect to relieve the situation in the next 2 or 3 or 4 or 5 years.

The gloomy side of this picture to me, in addition to the fact that our schools are in great need-I say that and we must work out some way to help-is that unless this Federal Government begins to take stock a little bit the States will be in worse shape 5 years from now than they are on this very

I do not know about the State of Arkansas, but the State of North Carolina has been bled pretty nearly white and we have every form of taxation that anybody could think of and at the present moment the legislature is wrestling with the problem of trying to raise about \$26 million additional revenue.

Now, to these folks that just go along and vote for every big appropriation on the theory that we can spend ourselves rich, then they had better turn their light on their own backyards and the States and see where we are going to wind up.

Your State has not any more loose revenue running around in it than mine. Federal Government took out of the State of Arkansas last year the modest little sum of \$148 million in income tax alone.

So I do not know. I join with you in hop-ing that we can put a limitation on this bill for a certain number of years, but we have the solution of this problem right here in the Congress, and we have the problem right in our laps.

But instead of helping solve it by giving the States some consideration, we talk about, well, we do not want any Federal control over the State.

No. I don't want any; we have too much as it is now.

But let me tell you this: When you are taking all the money from the State that the State needs to run its government, somebody eventually will have to take over and run it because the State will not have the sources of revenue.

I just felt like saying that and that is the sermon I preach often without the slightest provocation.

Mr. Hays. I always profit by hearing you issue a warning because I know how you

Chairman BARDEN. Well, we have brought about this condition, have we not?

Mr. HAYS, Yes.

Chairman BARDEN. And we are going to further aggravate it this year because we are just going right along and everybody is requesting a bigger budget and a bigger appropriation and here comes the foreign bill that will take all the rest of it and create a bigger overdraft.

But we still wrestle with it. I say we are going to have to do something with the schools.

Mr. Hays. May I make one comment on that? You have been very patient.

Chairman BARDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. Hays. I feel that sometime, Mr. Chairman, we tend to deplore this centralization in Washington because it is in sharp contrast to the old Jeffersonian patterns. We say the Government is away from the people and we are incapable of making these decisions as responsible servants because of its hugeness.

I think maybe we underestimate our capacity to meet these changes in our society. But you and I are as close to the people down there in our townships as the governor in the State capitol used to be.

We can act with as much sensitivity to local needs as the State government. feeling is that when a bill is brought out, and I trust that this committee will recommend some form of aid, there is going to be glory in it for all of us, but I actually wish I could be a member of this committee to look back on what is going to be one of the significant events of 1955. I do hope that as it is done we can say that we have not done it with indifference to the dangers that the chairman wisely mentioned, but that we regard ourselves as still equal to that challenge.

For that reason I hope that the committee will defend what it does and will feel that it is something that is historic.

Chairman Barden. That is a very fine statement and I think we can meet the challenge, but here is the problem: It is much easier for us to cast a ballot than it is for folks down there to dig up some more money. That is what disturbs me. passed a resolution out of this committee

unanimously that went to the floor of the House and was passed by the House and then went to the Senate and for some reason it died a slow death, requiring this Federal Government to have some central point whereby we could find what this Federal Government is spending in the field of education, and yet, no, apparently somebody has not the nerve to even look at the picture because the best investigation this committee could make from the best research that we put on it, we found that this Federal Government in the field of education is spending more money that it cost to run the entire public-school system of the United States.

That is an appalling fact, yet we apparently have not the nerve to just look at the result of our acts.

So I get very much confused when I see apparently the carelessness with which we continue to invade the State sources of revenue, and I know and you know they are on their knees so far as sources of revenue are concerned.

It disturbs me greatly. Thank you so much.

Mr. Hays. I appreciate your patience with

Statistical Hokum and Broken Promises-Immediate Hearing Justified on Walter-McCarran Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to call to the attention of Congress an article which appeared in the March 25, 1955. Detroit edition of the Jewish News. The statements which appear in this report explode the mythical advantages of the present Walter-McCarran Immigration and Naturalization Act, and certainly justify a hearing without further delay on the several bills to revise this statute, including my own, H. R. 4797, and H. R. 636, authored by the distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee, the Honorable EMANUEL CELLER: ADL ATTACKS CONGRESSIONAL REPORT ON IM-MIGRATION AS STATISTICAL HOKUM

New York.—The Antidefamation League of B'nai B'rith criticized as "statistical hokum" a Senate-House staff report supporting the McCarran-Walter immigration law.

Challenging the report, Henry Edward Schultz, the league's national chairman, said it was drawn by apologists for the contro-versial law. He disputed the report's conclusions as being based on invalid and unfair comparisons.

Schultz said that the report sceks to justify the present immigration law because the number of immigrants we allowed in last year was higher than that of 1953.

"The report plays up the statistic that 94,098 quota immigrants arrived here last year," the ADL leaders said. "But it ignores the more pertinent figure that some 60,000 visas were unused, despite the fact that there is a tremendous unsatisfied demand for visas in many countries throughout the world."

Meanwhile, in Washington, Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, Jr., said he does not believe the Justice Department has been assigned an implementing task to bring about revision of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act in conformity with President Eisenhower's state of the Union request for revision of the act.

Brownell added, however, that he would check with Gen. Joseph M. Swing, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, in order to be sure. The Attorney General spoke in reply to a question put to him by Milton Friedman, Washington correspondent of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, who asked What the Justice Department was doing to implement revision of the discriminatory Immigration law.

Another question put to Mr. Brownell by Priedman concerned a challenge by Chairman Francis E. Walter, of the House Immigration Subcommittee, for the Justice Department to produce specific recommenda-tions for McCarran-Walter revision.

Representative Walter has said that if President Eisenhower were sincere in his criticism of the McCarran-Walter Act, he would "have the Attorney General of the United States submit specific legislation."

The Attorney General said that in a communication to Representative WALTER he took the position that a number of bills have been introduced in Congress in which the Justice Department is very much interested and would be glad to testify soon if requested.

"Sorry Day for Small Business"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. DEMPSEY

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include, by request, the following statement:

George J. Burger, vice president, National Federation Independent Business, stated today that it will be a sorry day for small business of this Nation, and in fact for our overall domestic economy, if we find that the action as taken by Subcommittee No. 5 of the House Small Business Committee on Yesterday's date is continued by the Small Business Committee of the House and duplicated by other committees of the Congress.

He further charged, "We would then have arrived at a situation in our Nation of censored actions and a complete gag rule."

The National Federation expressed its Wholehearted opposition to such action by the following message which was today directed to the Honorable James Roosevelt, Democrat, California, chairman, Subcommittee No. 5, House Small Business Committee; the Honorable Tom STEED, Democrat, Oklahoma; the Honorable TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN, Republican, Illinois:

"The action of your subcommittee of the House Small Business Committee on yesterday's date re announced hearings on complaints of independent gasoline dealers nationwide registered against major oil com-Panies for alleged violations of the antitrust laws has come as one of the most severe blows ever leveled at small business of this Nation.

"If small business cannot obtain an open forum through the committee in the Congress which is specifically designated to handle their problems through public hearings. then it can only be understood that small business, insofar as Government is concerned, is truly the forgotten man.

"Our position is based on close to 15 years experience with the help rendered by the Small Business Committees of the Congress through their heretofore procedure of holding hearings in which the public and the press were welcome guests. The record will show that during the life of the Small Business Committees no charge ever leveled against large corporations and others, in violation of the antitrust laws has ever been considered 'secret' evidence, and the charges made by independent business have been sustained. The only open forum that small business has in this Nation through which their problems may be brought forth is through the help of the Small Business Committees.

"It is our firm belief a poll of the indi-vidual Members of the House would determine that in the enactment of House Resolution 151 'to amend the rules of the House of Representatives to provide for a code of fair procedure for all committees,' it was never the intent of the Members of Congress that this rule should apply to small business or any other subject applying to our overall domestic economy.

"We urge that your committee immediately rescind and discontinue such action as was taken on yesterday's date."

Death of Joseph Pulitzer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I have just, a few minutes ago, learned with much sorrow of the death of a great newspaperman, publisher of a great newspaper, Mr. Joseph Pulitzer, of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

I think every Member of the House recognizes the Post-Dispatch as one of the truly outstanding newspapers published in the world today-a fearless searcher for the truth, a crusader for justice. We who live in St. Louis consider ourselves extremely fortunate in having this newspaper available to us every day of the year.

Mr. Joseph Pulitzer has published this paper in conscientious devotion to the principles established for the Post-Dispatch by its founder, his father, the late Joseph Pulitzer, who was one of the greatest figures in American journalism. Mr. Joseph Pulitzer has carried on the Pulitzer traditions in journalism and has been a credit to a famous name.

To his son, Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., editor of the Post-Dispatch, go the sympathies of all of us on the death of his father. As he carries on the family traditions in the publication of this great newspaper. I am sure the words of the Post-Dispatch platform as written by the original publisher on his retirement, will remain true as always, as follows:

"THE POST-DISPATCH PLATFORM"

I know that my retirement will make no difference in its cardinal principles; that it will always fight for progress and reform, never tolerate injustice or corruption, always fight demagogues of all parties, never belong to any party, always oppose privi-leged classes and public plunderers, never lack sympathy with the poor, always remain devoted to the public welfare; never be satisfied with merely printing news; always be

drastically independent; never be afraid to attack wrong, which racy or predatory poverty.

Joseph Pulitzer. attack wrong, whether by predatory plutoc-

APRIL 10, 1907.

John Foster Dulles Ouacks and Acts Like an Ambassador From Venezuela

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I direct the attention of my colleagues to the following article which appears in the April 1, 1955, edition of the United Mine Workers Journal.

This article which was written by Justin McCarthy, editor of the Journal, explains the difficulty of industry and labor in this country to receive any sympathetic attention from our State Department. It also emphasizes the necessity for the Congress to take back its constitutional authority for making the decisions regarding tariff policies.

The article follows:

JOHN FOSTER DULLES QUACKS AND ACTS LIKE AN AMBASSADOR FROM VENEZUELA

"I don't know of any department of our Government that knows less about the economics of the United States than the State Department." (UMWA Vice Thomas Kennedy.)

Is John Foster Dulles the American Secretary of State? Or is he a paid propagandist for the military dictatorship of Venezuela? There's an old saying that if something looks like a duck, waddles like a duck, quacks like a duck and acts like a duck-it's a duck. John Foster Dulles quacks and acts like an ambassador from Venezuela.

So worried is Dulles about the growing opposition in Congress to the administration's foreign trade bill that he took time out from his globe trotting on March 23 to make a return appearance before the Senate Finance Committee now considering Elsenhower free trade bill-H. R. 1. This is the legislation that would extend the socalled reciprocal trade agreements act for another 3 years and, theoretically, give the President virtual dictatorial powers to slash tariffs on foreign goods coming into the United States. Actually the power would be in the hands of State Department bureaucrats.

Among these foreign goods is the deluge of residual (waste) cil being dumped into coal's eastern markets from Venezuela. Senator MATTHEW M. NEELY, Democrat, West Virginia, and 16 other Senators of both parties are sponsoring an amendment to H. R. 1 that would restrict imports of foreign oil to 10 percent of domestic production.

Want to hear what cold-fish Dulles thinks of Venezuela, the military dictatorship now under a worldwide boycott by free labor for mistreatment of its labor leaders? This is what Dulles answered when Senator Alben W. BARKLEY, Democrat, Kentucky, questioned him about unemployment in the coalfields due to waste oil from the South American country:

Venezuela is a country that has adopted the kind of policies which we think the other countries of South America should adopt; namely, they have adopted policies which make Venezuela provide in Venezuela a climate that is attractive to foreign capital to come in. And that foreign capital has come in and, virtually, there has been an immense development of the economic life of Venezuela; social conditions are rapidly improved."

And how they have adopted policies that provide a climate that is attractive to foreign capital. And what are those policies? Well, Dulles didn't go into that, presumably because he admitted he couldn't speak as an expert. We'll tell you, though. They are the policies of a Fascist tyranny; namely, throw the labor leaders in jall and keep them there, destroy the labor organizations and slap down all efforts to improve wages and working conditions; make a deal with the international oil cartel to give them 60 percent of the take on the nation's greatest natural resource (the people of Venezuela would like to know who gets the other 40 percent); and then, just to make sure you keep things orderly, hoodwink the boys in the American State Department into thinking all this is necessary to prevent commu-nism, put full-page advertisements in the American papers telling the Yankees you're a good neighbor but can only remain so, so long as that unenlightened American Congress doesn't take action to put a stop to your rulnous shenanigans.

"Social conditions are rapidly improved," says Dulles. Sure, they are—in the country clubs and big estates and among the bankers and ruling politicians. What about the people of Venezuela? Well, some of those oil workers are getting as little as 15 cents an hour. But Dulles didn't mention this.

About low wages in such countries, Senator Russell Long, Democrat, of Louisiana, had a few pertinent remarks. He said:

"There is one thought that occurred to me, and that is—in connection with the efforts being made to help develop industries in these other countries, so long as we treat all these nations on a most favored basis—doesn't it stand to reason that American capital, in helping to develop these undeveloped countries, will tend to go to the countries with the lowest wage standards as long as government conditions there are the safest?"

And what do you suppose Dulles thought about that idea?

Why he didn't rightly think that had too much to do with it. There are a lot of factors, he said. "Freight transportation, all of those things would enter into it. Certainly cost of labor is one factor that we have seen in our country here." And then he added that in this country "the textile industry has, to some extent, shifted from the North to the South because of a combination, perhaps, of labor and power costs being more favorable."

Apparently it doesn't occur to Dulles that there is anything wrong about this. The comparison between our own country and Venezuela is, of course, ridiculous and another example of the fuzzy-headed thinking of Dulles and the rest of the State Department boys who have no sense of responsibility to the American people and make it quite clear with such remarks.

But then Dulles admitted he was no expert on such things.

Dulles, of course, goes right along with the phony old red-scare business. The theory is you have to let the bullyboys in Venezuela and similar countries do what they do or the "commies" will take over.

Someone ought to tell Dulles that the suppression of human liberty, sweatshop wages, had working conditions and the tyrannical actions of the bemedalled bums and thugs who run these countries with iron fists are just exactly what breeds communism. Don't kid yourself, Dulles—you with your patronizing attitude toward America's coal miners. We know these things.

You say if the Congress puts a quota restriction on Venezuelan waste oil "the consequences of it for our whole Latin-American policy will be very grave * * and (you say to Senator BARKLEY) that is the point of view which your coal miners cannot understand and I don't blame them for not understanding it." Whose coal miners are you talking about, anyway? They are your coal miners, too, you know. Or have you completely forgotten that you're supposed to represent the American people in foreign affairs and not the international oil cartel and the gunmen that run countries such as Venezuela.

A Wildcat Strike by Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include herewith an editorial entitled "A Wildcat Strike by Management," which appeared in the March 24, 1955, issue of the Machinist, the official publication of the International Association of Machinists:

A WILDCAT STRIKE BY MANAGEMENT

What do you suppose would have happened if union members on one of the Nation's class I railroads pulled a wildcat strike, defied a recommendation of a presidential board, and willfully refused to go along with the decision of all the other railroad workers in the country?

The answer isn't hard to guess. The newspaper columnists, the editorial writers, the politicians, would have been sounding off at the top of their voices about "irresponsibility." Union officers would have been hauled before a congressional committee. Every imaginable pressure would have been brought to bear to whip the strikers into line.

Well, there is a railroad strike, the first major strike of nonoperating railroad employees, including machinists, helpers, and apprentices, since 1922. And, it is a wildcat strike—by the management of the Louisville and Nashville and two subsidiaries—the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis and the Clinchfield.

MANAGEMENT DEFIANT

The management of these three roads has defied the recommendations of President Elsenhower's emergency board; they have refused to accept a reasonable, compromise health and welfare program that has been accepted by every other class I railroad in the United States.

If ever there was a strike forced by management in defiance of the Government and the majority decision of the industry, this is it.

However, as this is written, President Eisenhower has been strangely silent. No word of reproof has been directed at railroad management for defying the recommendations of the President's own emergency board. No column or editorial has been published in newspapers that come to our attention calling attention to the irresponsibility of management.

In Congress, only Senator Estes Kefauver, Democrat, Tennessee, has said a word so far about this strike. Senator Kefauver took the floor of the Scnate to explain the efforts that have been made by labor to avoid this strike and the hollowness of the management position. So far, no one else has said a word.

THREAT TO THE FUTURE

To read the newspapers, this is just another example of union members interfering with a public service. No attempt is made to put the onus for this interference where it belongs—on management.

What's behind the strike? There's no insurmountable economic problem attached to the settlement—or more than 100 other carriers could not have signed it. What's behind the strike appears to be a well-planned effort to break up industrywide bargaining on the railroads and thereafter to break down labor's bargaining strength on the railroads. Such a movement to force southern workers to accept substandard conditions is not limited to the railroad industry.

From the strange silence that surrounds this strike by management we can only conclude that a great many people in high places are tacitly supporting it. If this is to be a precedent allowed to stand unchallenged, the recommendations of future emergency boards won't be worth the paper they're written on.

It's a helluva way to run a railroad.

The United Nations Charter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the Members' attention to the following letter addressed to the Secretary of State by a group of public-minded citizens in my district, on revision of the United Nations Charter. A number of people, meeting at the Orange Unitarian Church, recently held a series of discussions on this subject and their conclusions were reported to the Secretary of State. I commend Mrs. Ethel T. Stolte, the chairman, and the other members of the United Nations Study Group, for their positive action toward helping us find the road to a safer and sounder peace.

The letter reads as follows:

Orange, N. J., February 22, 1955. The Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Secretarry: In connection with the proposed conference to review the United Nations Charter, and with your expressed willingness to receive suggestionss on this matter, a group of residents of Orange and East Orange, N. J., wish to submit the results of their study and discussion. Meeting at the Orange Unitarian Church, the group has devoted six evenings, besides individual study to the charter and related material; and the following views are based on genuine effort by laymen representing various walks of life and various shades of political opinion.

United Nations: First we wish to join with you in your many statements in voicing the heartiest support of the United Nations-Like you, we applaud its many achievements and regard it as the world's best hope for peace. Our desire is to enable it to prevent

all nations from building armaments and committing aggression. To this end, we see a great opportunity in the scheduled vote in the 1955 General Assembly on the holding of a review conference, and in your announced support of that conference.

Universal membership: All nations must be members, without right to resign, if laws binding upon all in regard to arms and aggression are to be effective. Moreover, justice requires that nations bound by these laws should have a share in making and applying them. It is especially necessary to bring belligerent powers into this system of enforcible, universal law. We feel that coercion is to be avoided, but that the obvious advantages of membership will in time lead all countries to join voluntarily. the case of undeveloped, colonial, or otherwise disputed areas, the General Assembly could decide when the people are ready for the responsibilities and privileges of nation-

General Assembly: The present basis of one vote for each nation is obviously impractical if the United Nations is to have any real authority. Some more realistic basis of representation must be devised, acceptable to our own country and others. Population should be a major factor, but not without qualification. Other elements might be productive capacity, resources, and of course political entity (as in the present Assembly). An assembly of two chambers, made up on different bases and exercising somewhat different functions, might be an acceptable arrangement.

Security Council: First, it is evident that there can be no veto power if universal law is to be impartially applied. Second, with a fair system of representation, the General Assembly can properly do the work of an executive body, taking over major decisions regarding aggression which the original Charter entrusts to the Security Council. Thus the Security Council (however named and constituted) would become an executive arm of the Assembly, responsible to it, for the supervising of the U. N. armed forces.

Security: Security can exist only under a fundamental law prohibiting aggression and the manufacture of arms. The United Nations Charter, altered along the lines we envision, would be this fundamental law, to be formulated in detail and implemented by the Assembly. The law would be limited to armaments and aggression, with all rights reserved to the nations in matters commonly considered domestic, and a bill of rights to prevent unjust trial or other actions by the United Nations against any nation or individual.

Responsibility for keeping the peace would lie with the Assembly, which would have to be able to act quickly and firmly. As in any true system of law, a preponderant U. N. armed force to enforce it, and courts to apply it, as indicated below, would be necessary.

Armament and disarmament: The crux of World peace, as has been indicated by President Eisenhower and many others, is disarmament—universal, total, and enforceable. This would have to be achieved over a period of years, by proportional steps, under strict supervision. With this would go the building up of an armed force to maintain Peace that will be part of the U. N.-not hational contingents and stronger than any force that could oppose it. It must be carefully composed and directly recruited, with a monopoly of major weapons, strategic bases, etc., while national forces must be kept to a police level under continuous inspection.

International law: Courts with compulsory jurisdiction would apply the funda-mental law of the amended U. N. Charter

against arms and aggression.

Taxation: A direct U. N. tax, perhaps limited to a total of 2 percent of the world's gross income, would provide the means of carrying on the essential functions outlined

We hope that these views, the fruit of serious consideration, may be of some value in your tremendous task of building a peaceful world. Our best wishes go to you for success in this great endeavor.

Very truly yours, (Mrs.) ETHEL F. STOLTE,

Chairman, United Nations Study Group. (Signed by Dr. and Mrs. Phillips E. Osgood, John Loudon, Phyllis A. Loudon, Edith Charter, Sophie C. Frew, Mr. and Mrs. Burrill, Hedy Rosen, Aileen Hetherington, Vira Bubleniec, Mildred Lever, William Alibut, William H. Allbut, Joyce Allbut.)

The New Way in the New World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks. I wish to include in the Record an article which appeared in the April issue of the Rotarian magazine entitled "The New Way in the New World." This article was written by the very able Carlos Davila, Secretary General, Organization of American States:

THE NEW WAY IN THE NEW WORLD

(By Carlos Davila, Secretary General, Organization of American States)

Just 32 years ago I helped 8 of my friends organize the Rotary Club of Santiago in my country, Chile. It is now the largest Spanish-speaking Rotary Club in the whole world.

Why did I help to found that club? The answer has something to do with a day we shall celebrate this month. Pan American Day. I was attracted by the idea of seeking international understanding through our individual selves. Rotary's way of going at international understanding—going at it with no governments, no treaties, no diplomats, no armed forces-this was something new, at least in modern times. It was also new to seek understanding by bringing men of different nations but like vocations together. I thought it almost revolutionary to establish friendly links between industrialists and merchants in Santiago and their counterparts in Washington or Rangoon. "But why not?" I wondered. "Notwithstanding the differences that separate them, they may really be closer than the man who lives next door."

It may surprise you, but that is also the way of the Organization of American States. We think together, the people of our 21 Republics. And we are working, really, the Rotary way. This work radiates from the central offices in Washington, D. C., branching out to no fewer than 600 specialized agencies, institutes, commissions, and committees at work all over the hemisphere. Our shared work deals with social welfare, scientific research, highways, navigation, banking, agriculture, medicine, business, industry, commerce, studies of art and literature, and even Indian affairs, folklore, and handicrafts.

We hear too little about these activities which constitute 90 percent of the task of the Organization of American States. The other 10 percent is the part which hits the front page. There is a certain fatality about this condition. The things that make news

are generally ones that build less. Latin America has been a casualty all over the world in this respect. We read so little about the upsurge in our countries during the last quarter of the century. And yet it is one of the great events of our times, in my opinion. Let us, then, examine some particulars.

The population of the Ibero-American republics is growing twice as fast as that of any other area on earth. It has just passed the 171-million mark, considerably greater than the population of the United States. The birthrate of Latin America is also increasing-at three times the rate of increase in the United States, and far above any other

part of the globe.

The Import capacity of Latin America grew 70 percent in the last 8 years alone; industrial production increased 66 percent, No wonder that Latin America is now on a par with Canada as the No. 1 customer of the United States. No wonder, too, that it is the largest area for United States investments abroad. In fact, these United States investments have doubled since the last world war, reaching a total of \$8 billion.

Yet this economic explosion in Latin America is such that United States investmentslarge as they are-look negligible in comparison with the sum total of all investments in Latin America. In the last 4 years, investments in these countries have been running at a rate of \$41/2 billion a year. Of that sum, both public and private investments of the United States have amounted to less

than 9 percent.

To that interesting fact, add this one: during the same 4-year period the total flow of cash dollars from Latin America to the United States has been \$100 million a year larger than the flow of dollars from the United States to Latin America—every year. This is a paradox, but it is a fact, so are these bits of information, even though they be crowded from the newspapers by more exciting news.

Buenos Aires is now larger than Paris. Rio de Janeiro is larger than Rome. Mexico City is larger than Madrid.

Had you imagined that the heaviest air traffic between any two cities in the world is today between Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo?

These countries with greater resources than the United States are now on the march, and nothing can stop them. Capital from abroad may help-but will not be indispensable. Those countries want neither gift nor grant. They invite their neighbors-good neighbors-to participate as partners in the grandest economic adventure of many centuries. These dramatic, if hardly noticed, events are affecting fundamentally the future of the whole world.

In this generation we have seen war disappearing from the American continent. I am certain that there will be no more wars between the American nations.

That is one of the greatest achievements in the history of mankind, and one of the most promising for the world at large. did not come without effort. The lat the patience, and the goodwill of many able men were invested in the ideal of a hemispheric organization long before that day-April 14, 1890-when diplomats resolved to create the Pan American Union. Nor did this resolution end the matter. Throughout 65 years, hard work has gone into our waging of peace.

Today the Organization of American States—for that has been its name since 1948-is the oldest organization of its kind in existence. It is a model for the world, as Dr. Milton Eisenhower states in his recent Dallas, Tex., speech. There is no difference in the Organization of American States between the vote of the powerful and the vote of the powerless. It has lived up to the purpose of its life.

It seems to me that Rotarians, sharing such sentiments, may well take pleasure this Pan-American Day in our new way in the New World.

Japan's Competition Chief Handicap of San Diego Tuna Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of March 29, 1955:

JAPAN'S COMPETITION CHIEF HANDICAP OF SAN DIEGO TUNA INDUSTRY-PRICE ADVANTAGE FAVORS FOREIGN FISH DESPITE EFFICIENCY OF AMERICAN METHODS

(By Bryant Evans)

If San Diego fishermen could sell tuna for the same price as Japanese frozen tuna sells for delivered here the tuna fleet prob-lem would be solved. The fleet would be fishing up to capacity, new ships would be on the ways and everybody concerned would be happy.

Up until now this has not been done. Critics of the tuna fishermen have accused them of uneconomic practices. The tunaboat owners have been said to insist on fishing "from yachts." They have been criticized for not using mother ships as some Japanese fishermen have done.

Thus it was thought advisable to inquire into the different methods the American and Japanese fishermen use and the reasons for the difference.

Most San Diegans know what a San Diego clipper looks like but they do not know how

The answer lies in a typical American fight for markets, marked by enterprise and financial courage. When the owners of small boats that fished locally found they had to go farther to fulfill the demand of a national market, created by advertising, they built

The same men who bought the first clippers have built some of the largest and most recent.

BOATS BECOME DEEP-FREEZE PLANTS

bigger, costlier boats.

"That kind of enterprise seems to be something that only grows on the North American continent," said Harold Cary, American Tunaboat Association manager.

"People say the boats had to be built big because the tuna moved south." The truth is that the market made it necessary to go any place.

Through the years the clippers have become models of efficiency. The space in their holds is utilized to carry fuel and bait on the way out and fish on the way back to port. Ice refrigeration, first used, was augmented

by an ammonia system to preserve the ice.
Then the boats were built with brine systems and became floating deep-freeze plants. During he war the Government found them to be the best refrigerated ships affoat.

The ships are built with low afterdecks to permit surface fishing. After balt is floated on the ocean to attract fish the fish are caught with bare hooks. No lines are set to catch the larger tuna that swim a considerable distance beneath the surface.

The ships make cruises of up to 15,000 and 20,000 miles in search of fish. Cruises take from 50 to 80 days, depending on fishing

The Japanese use an entirely different method of fishing. Instead of hooking fish from the surface, they use the long-line method of suspending baited hooks from buoys into deep water. These are allowed to float all day and then pulled up at night.

FISHING DONE FROM SMALL BOATS

The fish caught in this way are much larger than those caught at the surface. They will weigh an average of 125 to 150 pounds. They are then refrigerated, usually with ice only, for the trip to Japan.

Sometimes the fishing is done from small boats and fish are transferred to a mother ship which furnishes the crew with quarters.

Some Japanese ships actually fish at greater distances from home than the San Diego ships. Both fleets make extensive use of equatorial waters.

How do the two methods compare?

In terms of man-hours the American method is more efficient. A study has shown that in 2 typical boats of 175 to 185 tons capacity, the catch per man on a Japanese boat was 192.9 pounds of fish a day. On an American it was 391.4 pounds On small boats of 80 to 90 tons, the comparison was 111.3 and 391.3 pounds.

As a whole the United States boats are larger but some of the new Japanese boats are in the 400- and 500-ton class-as large as the larger American boats. Cary said the trend was toward American-sized boats. The new Japanese boats cost from 70 to 80 percent of new American boats.

DARK-MEAT TUNA FAVORED IN JAPAN

So far as Japanese and American methods of fishing, Cary said they both were suited to their need. The big dark-meat tuna caught by the long-line methods is favored in Japan. The method requires more man-hours. also requires larger ships for the same fish tonnage because the large Japanese crews from 21/2 to 3 times the size of American crews-take up more of the ship.

So far as the mother-ship system goes, Cary said Americans had tried it and found it a money loser. He said the Jap-anese had had so much trouble with the system that they were abandoning it.

Then why is the American cost so high

that the Americans cannot compete?

"In the first place," Cary said, "we have to pay American wages and compete in the American labor market. Our smaller crews are more costly.

"In the second place, if we could get the full use of our ships, I think we could come reasonably close to the Japanese costs. But we could never meet the Japanese price."

Syngman Rhee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DEWEY SHORT

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, it was my great privilege and good fortune a third of a century ago to have attended Boston University as a student of theology at the same time my good friend, You Chan Yang, was a student in the medical school at the same university. That was the beginning of a warm and lasting friendship which I shall cherish all the days on this earth and throughout eternity.

Today You Chan Yang is the Korean Ambassador to the United States of America. He has a lovely wife and two fine, handsome, and beautiful childrenall of the Yangs would be a credit to any nation

His Excellency You Chan Yang is an inspiration to all who know him. The fires of the love for liberty burn fiercely and inextinguishably in his soul. His patriotism is akin to that of Washington, who won our independence, and to Lincoln, who preserved the Union that Washington founded.

My very dear, close, and personal friend, You Chan Yang, like the great President of Korea, Syngman Rhee, and the Free Republic of Korea that he represents, rose from humble origin and unpromising beginnings to high stature not only among his own people but the free people throughout the world.

In the Korean Information Bulletin of February 1955 Dr. Yang paid a glowing-but certainly not an exaggeratedtribute to Syngman Rhee, one of the great men of our century, and a man who will go down in history as the George Washington of Korea.

On previous occasions I have paid tribute to Syngman Rhee, whom I met in his humble home at Pusan, Korea, in 1952; and I will not try to add brightness to the sun, polish the apple, or give additional fragrance to the rose at this time. I do, however, want to include in my remarks the sane and sound, beautiful, and well-deserved tribute which Ambassador Yang has paid to this stalwart, faithful, indefatigable, and unconquerable fighter for the rights of men, not only in his own country but all over the world:

SYNGMAN RHEE

The description which best fits Syngman Rhee, in my opinion, is the one which he gave himself several years ago. It was during the course of an interview in the mod-President's house (Kyung Mu Dai) in Seoul when a correspondent asked him how he would describe himself-as a statesman, political leader, liberal, conservative, or the like-and President Rhee replied:

"I am a revolutionist. I was born a revo-lutionist, and I shall die a revolutionist-a revolutionist for the rights of man."

History, I am sure, will never record & longer struggle by any individual for the rights of man than that of Syngman Rhee. His dedication to this cause and the singleness of purpose which has characterized his every act soon will encompass 60 consecutive years. Despite torture, imprisonment, a price of \$300,000 on his head set by the Japanese. long years of exile, actual hardship and penury, Syngman Rhee never has faltered in his purpose to redeem the liberty of the Korean people and set them on the road of democracy. Few patriots have had to pay a higher price, for just as Rhee seemed on the eve of triumph, hopeful that the United Nations might bring about the unification of Korea by peaceful means, the Communists launched their attack from the north in an effort to conquer the Government and people of the Republic of Korea south of the 38th parallel.

SOVIET ENMITY

Russia, realizing that Rhee was one of the world's foremost foes of communism, wanted his liquidation, politically and physically-The Kremlin also knew that so long as the Republic of Korea and Rhee continued to exist, its timetable of world domination would be held up, and used every means short of actual war between 1945 and 1950, to drive him out of office and thus communize the entire Nation. Fake broadcasts heralded the end of Rhee and the downfall of his Government. Armed guerrillas were landed in force to kill, pillage, and burn, thus to cause the people to believe the government in Seoul had perished. Not one, but many actual attempts were made to assassinate the President, but God must have a special form of protection for the right kind of a revolutionist, for all of these failed.

It may be difficult for some occidentals to get a Korean's perspective on Rhee. He is the product of an ancient civilization and culture. Chosen, the land of the morning calm, was first known to the west as the hermit kingdom. Not unlike the famous actress, who expressed the wish to live alone, our people—because massive China was poised on one side of our borders and war-like Japan on the other, separated only by a strip of water—also wanted to live alone. For nearly 40 centuries, with occasional interruptions, we were able to do this. But the modern world shattered our self-desired isolation for all time to come.

Isolation for all time to come.

Now Rhee, of all Koreans, was the first to perceive not only the transition of the past to the present, but he also foresaw the Perils of the future. His ability to sense the future is almost occult. There is on record, years in advance of Pearl Harbor, the intention of the Japanese to challenge the United States for mastery of the Pacific. Similarly, Rhee foretold precisely what the west would be up against in striving to live peacefully with a truculent and bullying Russia.

HIS LONG STRUGGLE

The Korean people, who have long memories for friends and enemies, are aware of these facts. That is part of their devotion to Rhee, but not all of this devotion, by any means. The Koreans know that Rhee, over and above any of their fellow citizens, kept alive the torch of hope of freedom for them when the Japanese, in their 40 years of harsh military occupation of our country, made the land a vast prison camp and visited every indignity upon us their bloodstained hands could do.

Denied equal educational rights, subject to the most menial services, our entire economy exploited for the benefit of our masters, is it any wonder despair engulfed us and would have overwhelmed us, had it not been for one man?

That man was Syngman Rhee, The underground in Korea told of his wanderings for us. Washington arms conferences-was Locarno-there, too. Geneva, where the III-fated League of Nations debated fruitlessly the sickness of the world-there, also was Syngman Rhee, pleading the cause of Korean freedom, trying to recall to the Statesmen of that era the injustice that had been done us. To what effect? None whatsoever. A powerful Japan already was thumbing its nose at those who would question its seizure of Manchuria. A strutting Mussolini was contemplating, without worry, the conquest of Ethiopia. A plotting, scheming Hitler was conjuring up even more grandiose dreams—dreams which ended in millions of graves, including his own. All this. Rhee saw and pondered—all this he re-Ported to his fellow countrymen, but no re-Port he ever made failed to carry these words: "Do not give up hope. Justice and the right must and will triumph."

How does it happen that a man can keep alive a faith like this for year after year? To understand, one must know something of Rhee's background.

RHEE'S BACKGROUND

Nearly 60 years ago a young Korean walked into the compound of an American missionary school in Seoul, our capital city. It was a time of fermentation in the Orient. Japan had just achieved the impossible—defeated China. Already, she was casting greedy eyes upon Korea. So, too, was Russia, our only other neighbor to the north besides China.

Addressed in Korean by a missionary, Rhee, young Rhee—still in his teens—replied: "My name is Yi Seung Man. I would like to study here and learn of the Western World." Yi Seung Man, in spite of his tender years, already was well known as a distinguished Confusian scholar and poet. Moreover, he was known to be of noble birth and ancestry, a direct descendent of the famed Yi dynasty.

Yi Seung Man proved to be an extraordinary pupil. With a fresh and open mind, he absorbed rapidly all the knowledge his teachers sought to impart. He feasted hungrily upon the tenets of democracy, American style, and with reverence and deep feeling he also embraced Christianity. then he seemed to know he was in a race with time, and immediately upon graduation he began to put his teachings into practice. He founded and published the first daily newspaper in his country. It preached the heady tonic of liberty, man's right to be free, but the Korean soil of that day and age was far from fallow. Royalty, including the king, was both inept and decadent; officialdom was grossly corrupt. What was would always be, so silence this young firebrand. Away with him. He was arrested and sentenced to 7 years in jail. During his early incarceration he was in stocks and his hands, held by thongs, extended helplessly beyond the bars of his cell. Sadistic failers beat his fingers almost into deformity to curry favor with those alarmed by Rhee. Yet, once out of stocks, the indomitable youth wrote and smuggled, sheet by sheet, out of prison the book which today remains the bible of liberty of the Korean people. Its title? "The Spirit of Independence." Does this not reflect the inflexible purpose of the author?

ARRIVAL IN AMERICA

In 1904, Japan defeated Russia and to all intents was in Korea to stay, despite the solemnity of treaties. Rhee learned the Japanese were searching for him. He also knew that if they found him, not imprisonment but death would be his lot. He fled to America and here anglicized Yi Seung Man into Syngman Rhee. He tried without success to safeguard Korea's future at the Portsmouth conference. In Washington, he begged the Korean envoy to the United States to burn down the legation building rather turn it over to the Japanese. The timid diplomat refused.

Barred from his homeland, Rhee recognized his fight would be a long one. To augment his education, he went to college and in rapid succession took his A. B. degree at George Washington, his M. A. degree at Harvard, and his Ph. D. at Princeton. He is the only chief of state today who has three earned academic degrees. He became a favorite pupil of Woodrow Wilson, then president of Princeton, and Mr. Wilson often invited Rhee to his home where he invariably introduced him as "the redeemer of Korean liberty." Rhee's burning zeal could not be hidden by a friendly and gentle countenance.

When World War I began, Rhee's old Princeton professor was the President of the United States. Korean hopes soared when, on the defeat of Germany, Mr. Wilson enunciated his famous 14 points as a basis of peace and among them was his promise of the right of self determination among small nations. Rhee had tried to go to the Paris Peace Conference, but was turned down by the State Department on the grounds that his presence there might be "embarrassing" to the Japanese. Japan was a "Johnnycome-lately" in that war on the side of the allies, just as was Russia in World War II.

THE PASSIVE REVOLUTION

But Rhee believed his old professor's words, and in March of 1919, he instituted in Korea the first passive revolution in history. There was nothing passive about Japan's actions against the unarmed Koreans who had gathered, bearing their nation's flag, and intoning their desire to be free. The Japanese military slaughtered tens of thousands of them with machine-gun fire and broadswords. Others were publicly crucified. Still more were hearded into Christian churches (we have more Christians proportionately than any Asian mainland nation), the doors locked from the outside, and the edifices set fire. Hundreds and hundreds suffered this horrible death.

The leaders of the revolution, or a part of them, who had escaped the massacre, fied to China. There they organized the Provisional Government of Korea and named Rhee president. So as to escape Japanese arrest when his steamship, en route from Honolulu to Shanghal, paused at a Japanese port. Rhee occupied a coffin, alongside the coffins of dead Chinese being returned to their homeland for burial. A trusted lieutenant, now Col. Ben C. Limb, Korea's Ambassador to the United Nations, ministered to him in the dark hold of the ship.

As the years went by, the chancellories of London and Paris and the American State Department saw visit after visit by this frail countryman of mine in pursuit of the will-o-the-wisp of Korean freedom. Korean offices would be opened in various cities, but the inevitable lot of each was closing because of the lack of funds. There were no means available to get funds out of Korea for Rhee's singlehanded campaign. The Japanese saw to that. And the nonresident Koreans were pitifully small in numbers—a few thousand in Hawaii, a few hundred in the United States, Mexico, and Cuba.

Then came World War II and Rhee's crusade took a new lease on life. The Korean-American Council was formed and Rhee returned from the Christian church and school he had founded in Hawaii to direct American activities again. Beside him was the lady he had met in Geneva, Francesca Donner, a distinguished Viennese, and who became Mme. Rhee in New York in 1934. His surprising health, even now at the advanced age of 70, is due to her watchful and loving care.

THE ROLE OF ALGER HISS

But again the State Department said no to everything Rhee suggested. "Put me aboard a submarine and land me on Korean soil," pleaded Rhee. "My people will follow me in open revolt against the Japanese," Many times he was unable to see division chiefs, but had to be content with the cold and negative intellectual arrogance of a young man—now a number in a penitentlary—but then known as Alger Hiss. He would listen with detached indifference to the pleas of a man who suffered exile, imprisonment and torture in behalf of the rights of man.

When World War II came to a climax, with Yalta, and Alger Hiss beside an ailing President as one of his chief advisors, Rhee learned of American promises to the Russians regarding Korea. Frantic as this new impending misfortune, he protested again, but in vain. He made a final effort at the San Francisco conference which saw the birth of the United Nations. The Secretary General of that Conference filed his petition without action or acknowledgement. The Secretary General was Alger Hiss.

With the help of the Army, however, Rhee was enabled to return to Korea after the Japanese surrender. From the moment he stepped on the soil of his homeland, there was not the slightest doubt as to his place in the hearts of the people. We Koreans have long memories for friends and foes. In Syngman Rhee's case, we had before us the embodiment of all of our prayers, hopes, and aspirations during the nearly 4 decades of anguish under a cruel Japanese military rule.

The task confronting Rhee could easily have daunted a less dauntless soul. He was in possession of only half his country. The problems of its transition from serfdom to

a vigorous democracy were multitudinous. Yet, little by little, land reform was put into effect, women were given the right to vote, and the people—responding to the sunshine of freedom—set about to build themselves up from their bootstraps. We all knew what Russia was doing in the north—training and arming a formidable army. Rhee pleaded for adequate arms, but again to a deaf ear, His forces possessed only the sidearms of a constabulary.

RHES'S LETTER TO HULL

Yet, when the Communists attacked, the people once more responded to Rhee's leader-ship and fought back. We would have been overwhelmed without aid from America and the United Nations, but even that—grateful as we are for it—does not diminish the glory of that first hour and Rhee's pronouncement, "We shall fight to the death rather than

accept Communist slavery."

I would like to close this article with a never-before published letter by Dr. Rhee to Secretary of State Hull which bears out all I have said about his gift of prophecy. But first, may I state that I should like an explanation from those who charge Rhee to be a dictator, the head of a police state, etc., etc., ad nauseam. Why is it that whenever he has appealed directly to the people on anything, and more specifically in two presidential elections, he has received their overwhelming support? Could they, by chance, know he is a champion of freedom and a revolutionsit for the rights of man?

And now to the letter to Mr. Hull. It was addressed to him on the stationery of the Korean Commission, which Rhee headed in Washington, and was written and delivered to the State Department 11 years ago, February 16, 1943, when the war was at its height.

It read as follows:

"Dear Mr. Secretary: You are familiar, I assume, with the many efforts I have made, as the representative of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, to bring to the attention of the Government of the United States, especially since December 7, 1941, the desire of the Korean people to be as active as are any participants in the war against Japan.

"I feel I can address you, my dear Mr. Secretary, as a contemporary who has, as you have done, both dedicated and devoted his

life to the cause of democracy.

"There have been times in the past when a representative of Korea could ask and be granted a hearing by the highest diplomatic officer of the United States—as Secretary of State Gresham, in the administration of President Cleveland, addressed on behalf of the President of this great democracy a sharp note of protest to the even-then menacing Japanese. He did this when the Korean Minister, invoking the treaty of 1882 between our two nations, sought under its terms the intercession of the powerful republic which had persuaded Korea to forsake isolation and to permit trade and diplomatic relations to exist between our two countries. That treaty has never been abrogated.

"You are aware of the long and bitter fight of the Korean people to regain their liberty; you are aware of the revolution of 1919 against the Japanese and the continuous struggle since then of a government-in-exile, the oldest government-in-exile in the world, to keep afiame the light of democracy for 23 million people who have ever willingly continued to give their life's blood in its

defense.

"We have, Mr. Secretary, a national existence of more than 40 centuries, and we are compelled to supplicate the world's greatest democracy and to receive, in nearly 15 months of war against a common enemy, no word of encouragement, no deed of assistance, no sign that America, save for one fleeting reference by President Roosevelt, who was aware of our existence, sympathized with us, wished to help us, or even cared to receive our offers of assistance."

HIS GIFT OF PROPHECY

"I wish in this letter to go on record that, with the publication of reported Russian aims to establish a Soviet Republic of Korea, your Department, more than a year ago, was warned both by me and American friends of Korea, in visits and talks with your aides that the inevitable consequences of the action of the Government of the United States in spurning the provisional government of the Republic of Korea—a Government conceived in the ideals of Democracy—would result in the creation of a Communist state.

"May I beseech you again, my dear Mr. Hull, for the opportunity to come by and

talk to you personally?"

Dr. Rhee never was given the opportunity to see Mr. Hull. Some of his American friends believe to this day that the Secretary of State never was given the opportunity to receive and read the letter.

Complete the Lewis and Clark Highway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GRACIE PFOST

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mrs. PFOST. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my own remarks, I include in the Congressional Record Senate Joint Memorial 4, which was passed by the recent session of the Idaho State Legislature.

The memorial asks that Congress appropriate sufficient funds to complete the last remaining link in the Lewis and Clark Highway—that fabled road which follows the trail blazed exactly 150 years ago from Montana to the sea by the intrepid explorers whose name it bears.

Sentiment has been growing for many years for the completion of the road, and has come to a head in this sesquicentennial year of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Organizations throughout the Northwest are joining in a crusade to complete the so-called missing link—all of which is in Idaho.

For more than 40 years Idaho has been whittling down the unfinished portion of this road, and now the remaining gap is less than 30 miles in length. Some of it is watergrade road—all of it is through the beautiful, but rugged, Bitterroot Mountains.

It is an expensive stretch of road to build—in fact, it is estimated it will cost \$10 million to close the gap. It is difficult for a small State like Idaho to raise sufficient funds to match available Federal funds for the construction of such a road.

Idaho Senate Joint Memorial 4 is eloquent argument for a congressional appropriation to complete the Lewis and Clark Highway. It follows:

Senate Joint Memorial 4

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress Assembled:

We, your memorialists, the Legislature of the State of Idaho, as assembled in its 33d session, do respectfully represent thatWhereas the building of the unfinished link in what is known as the Lewis and Clark Highway, popularly known as the Wash-Ho-Tana Link, over the Bitterroot Mountains, joining Washington, Idaho, and Montana, is vitally essential to the defense of the Pacific Northwest in the event a mass evacuation becomes necessary because of an enemy attack on the strategic defense installations in this area; and

Whereas the building of this link of approximately 30 miles on the transcontinental highway would bolster the economy of this region, by providing better transportation for its vast lumber, mining, and agricul-

tural products; and

Whereas said Lewis and Clark Highway, with its wealth of historical landmarks, can become one of the great tourist attractions of the North American Continent, attracting thousands of visitors annually; and

Whereas the completion of this highway would be a fitting tribute, by the people of this generation, to the heroic trailblazers. Lewis and Clark and their immortal Indian guide, Sacajawea, who opened up to exploration and settlement the great Northwest territory of the United tSates exactly 150 years ago; and

Whereas the sesquicentenntial celebration of this historic event will take place on said trail within the State of Idaho during the present year: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Thirty-third Legislative Assembly of Idaho of 1955, now in session (the senate and house of representatives concurring). That we do most earnestly request the Congress of the United States to appropriate sufficient moneys to provide for the construction of said unfinished link in said Lewis and Clark Highway; be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of State of the State of Idaho be authorized, and he is hereby directed to forward certified copies of this memorial to the President of the United States, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States, and to the Senators and Representatives representing this State in the Congress of the United States.

This senate joint memorial was adopted by the senate on the 22d day of February 1955.

J. Berkeley Larsen, President of the Senate.

This senate joint memorial was adopted by the house of representatives on the 4th day of March 1955.

R. H. Young, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The Easter Egg That Did Not Hatch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES C. MURRAY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. MURRAY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I understand the House is adjourning today for the Easter recess. I hope that all of the Members of the House will have an enjoyable Easter.

In their enjoyment of the Easter holiday I would like to direct the attention of the Members of the House to a few Government employees who will be working to make their holiday more enjoyable. These are the postal workers. They will be trudging muddy streets and

sunny streets, delivering Easter greetings to us from our many friends.

This Easter could have been a most joyous occasion for them if this Congress had acted upon their needed pay raise. The spirituality of Easter will, in all likelihood, be enjoyed by all of the postal workers, as well as all Americans, since the spiritual side of Easter discloses the hope of all humanity.

However, there will be no material en-Joyment of Easter for the postal workers. Materially, all it will mean is more un-Daid bills and fewer Easter eggs in their

children's baskets.

I hope that the significance of Easter will instill in the conscience of the Congress a recognition of our obligation to our fellow Government employees—the postal workers—and that we quickly enact legislation providing them with an adequate pay raise.

Story of a College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES A. HALEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Apbendix of the RECORD, I include a recent editorial from the Tampa Tribune of Tampa, Fla. This editorial is entitled "Story of a College." The editorial is quite short, and does not tell the whole story of the college or of its magnificent President, Dr. Ludd M. Spivey. The editorial is splendid and heaps additional praise on the college and Dr. Spivey. But words in a book cannot describe What a fabulous person Dr. Spivey truly is nor can words express the many contributions that he has made to higher education during his association with the college.

Florida Southern College at Lakeland has become one of the finest colleges in the Nation under Dr. Spivey's tutelage. For more than 30 years now Dr. Spivey has devoted his energies to this school, not only in building a physical plant of unique design, but has built an educational plant on a spiritual foundation.

About 2 years ago Dr. Spivey suffered from a heart attack. Perhaps many of my distinguished colleagues read a recent article in the Washington Post and Times Herald that was written as an aftermath of this malady. It was entitled "I'm Glad I Had a Heart Attack." This does seem strange coming from a man who has been as active as Dr. Spivey, but when one analyzes the contents he realizes that Dr. Spivey was hever more serious in his life. We here in the Congress can learn a lesson from this article. That lesson is to learn to relax while doing our jobs. By doing this we will find our jobs will be easier.

Dr. Spivey's contribution to higher education is well known throughout the educational and lay circles of this coun-

try. His complete devotion to his school, church, family, and Nation has endeared him to those who have had the opportunity of knowing him.

The editorial follows:

STORY OF A COLLEGE

The growth and development of Florida Southern College, at Lakeland, is a source of pride to the people of this section, particularly to the Methodist denomination, under whose auspices the institution is conducted. It took a long time for the college to become permanently established. During the 40 years to the time Dr. Judd M. Spivey became its president, in 1925, it had used 4 different names in 5 different cities, under 11 different presidents.

The story of Florida Southern under Dr. Spivey's presidency is interestingly told by Charles T. Thrift, Jr., in a book entitled "Through Three Decades." Dr. Spivey became its head at the height of the boom, when the college had only two buildings and a big debt. Now it has 1,600 full-time students during the regular academic year, with a faculty of more than 100, and an imposing plant of modern buildings and equipment.

Dr. Splvey has labored earnestly and successfully in the upbuilding of the college. He has had the assistance of outstanding Floridians as trustees and enlisted the services of the distinguished architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, in designing the buildings and campus. For many years the late J. Edgar Wall, of Tampa, was chairman of the board of trustees.

We congratulate Florida Southern on its record of progress and achievement and President Spivey on the wonderful results of his devoted leadership. In prospect are numerous other improvements and expansions which will make it a still greater institution.

As I See It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, trying to describe to the home folks the situation as it exists here is not a pleasant nor is it a simple task. This for the reason that the present outlook is for billions of additional tax dollars, conscription for universal military service, greater hardship for those without jobs, and no adequate remedy in sight for the immediate future. Now, as some radio commentators say, the details or specifications.

The increase in pay for Members of Congress and for the Judiciary is estimated to cost approximately \$5 million.

The conscription act passed by the House on February 8, 1955, calls for a minimum annual expenditure of \$36 billion.

The bill increasing the pay of men in the armed services, passed March 10, will cost approximately an additional \$745 million.

The contemplated increase in the pay of postal employees is estimated to cost an additional \$200 million. Additional pay for other Federal employees is figured at \$325 million.

One phase of foreign aid calls for \$3 billion.

The President, on March 11, reiterated his promise to keep our Armed Forces—250,000 fighting men, additional thousands of civilians—in Europe until there is no threat of war from Russia. Just when that will be, what it will cost, your guess is as good as anyone's.

By the adoption of the Formosa resolution, we promised to defend Formosa and any other territory the President might decide if and when Chou En-lai attempted to take that island as he has promised the world he will do. We authorized the President to use the Armed Forces for that purpose when and where he pleased.

Today's press states that Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson described talk of a war to defend two of the islands as "an irresponsible adventure for which we have not calculated all the risks."

Why authorize the President to exercise his judgment; then, when he does, complain?

Then, to finish the job there is in the hopper, with supplementing legislation in sight, a demand for universal military training for a period of 8 years with a possibility of an additional 2 years or a total of 10 years—120 months—confronting the youth of our land.

Oh, yes. Several hundred letters have come in from employees demanding that the minimum wage be increased to \$1.25 per hour. Personally, I have no idea how many employers can pay \$1.25 an hour, continue in business, create, and give jobs. Nor do I know the price at which the things produced by such employees and management must be sold; nor where the prospective customers are to get the purchase price to buy and so keep folks employed. Nor do I know whether or how many industries in small towns and cities will be forced to fold up because they cannot meet the competition of the billion-dollar corporations, which perhaps can pay a guaranteed annual wage at that rate.

Hope you are doing some serious thinking. Know I am.

The Problems of Our Older Folks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. T. JAMES TUMULTY

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. TUMULTY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the New Jersey Herald News, of Passaic, N. J., dated March 28, 1955. This is an illustration of the outstanding humanitarian work being conducted in so many fields by my distinguished colleague, the Honorable Peter W. Rodino, Jr., of Newark.

The editorial follows:

THE PROBLEMS OF OUR OLDER FOLKS

Having learned to live longer than our forefathers, we now face the need to do something about our old age. The number of Americans over 75 years old has almost dou-bled in the last 13 years, and the anticipated continuation of the trend for the next 50 years emphasizes the problem of what to do about the health, security, employment, housing, and care of the aged.

Most old people are not well off. Many are unable to work. In many instances, pension plans make it difficult or impossible for in-

dustries to hire them.

A Jerseyman in Congress, Representative PETER W. RODINO, Jr., of Newark, is interested in the housing problem of the elderly. He has introduced legislation authorizing the admission of elderly persons in straitened circumstances to low-rent housing projects.

In the other branch of Congress, Michigan's Senator CHARLES E. POTTER wants a thorough study of the whole problem by a special commission. His statistics point up the seriousness of the situation. Millions of our older folks, he finds, are not eligible to receive social-security benefits. Approximately half of our 7,500,000 widows are over 65. In too many cases their incomes do not meet the most modest needs. Physical as well as financial limitations make it impossible for many of our older people to do enough for themselves.
Senator Potter does not know the answers.

But his Commission on the Aging and Aged, if created, could turn up the answers.

Cal-Sag Waterways Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Marine News of March 1955 on the Cal-Sag waterways development:

CREDIT WHERE CREDIT IS DUE

Commenting on the formation of the Cal-Sig Waterways Development Committee in its Inland Waterways editorial appearing in the May 1954 issue, Marine News, said in

"The formation of the Cal-Sag Waterways Development Committee * * * constitutes a major forward step in the fight to develop and improve this vital link in the Nation's Great Lakes-to-gulf-waterway system. It is a guaranty of continuing effort.

In view of this, it is heartening to note that the Chicago committee, which last year (1953) was formed to sponsor this educational program for the development of the Cal-Sag project, has affiliated itself with the new organization, the Cal-Sag Waterways Development Committee; for by so doing it has assured continuity of effort. * * *

To achieve this continuity of effort * * * the new organization has retained the services of the group of men who were the creators of the dynamic and constructive program which has made of the Cal-Sag project

a major issue before Congress.

"Recognizing the national importance of Cal-Sag-and of so many other waterways projects falsely tagged with the label local interest-the Marine News in the past has given its unqualified support to those attempting to achieve improvements * * *

and shall continue to give this support.

That the confidence expressed by Marine News nearly a year ago was justified is proven by the fact that the President's Budget presented to the present Congress provides that funds amounting to \$4 million be spent in the first step toward the modernization and improvement of Cal-Sag.

This initial request constitutes the first crack in the wall of indifference that for so long seemed insurmountable-in fact, for

years was insurmountable.

Let it be recognized, then, that by no stretch of the imagination is this initial success a matter of luck or chance. On the contrary, it is the direct result of continuous effort to obtain action on behalf of Cal-Sag.

And, giving credit where credit is due, Marine News congratulates the Cal-Sag Waterways Development Committee on a job well

But sight cannot be lost of the need for continued effort. As Henry E. Seyfarth, Chairman of the Cal-Sag Waterways Development Committee, puts it: "One of the toughest phases of our work still lies ahead-for we must see to it that when the budget is finally passed the Cal-Sag project is still there and that the necessary funds for the start of construction are finally appropriated. As always, the last mile is the all important one."

Our Fraternal Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DEWEY SHORT

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include a brief biographical sketch of George E. Stringfellow, and an address he delivered before the Freehold Level Club at the Crescent Temple, Trenton, N. J., on February 20, 1955.

It is my hope that every American citizen might read the address delivered by George Stringfellow, because he is one of the finest Christian gentlemen I have ever known, one of the most successful businessmen who has been and is unselfishly devoting his life to the building of a better and stronger America:

GEORGE E. STRINGFELLOW

George E. Stringfellow, born in Reva, Va., the son of James and Elizabeth F. (Bowers) Stringfellow. Married Carrie M. Fearnow.

He is a director of Thomas A. Edison of Canada, Ltd., and Thomas A. Edison, Ltd., Scotland, and director and senior vice president of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., West Orange; was daily business associate of Thomas Alva Edison for many years.

He is director of Mine Safety Appliances Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.; member of the board of directors of the American Mining Congress, Washington, D. C.; member of the American Iron and Steel Institute and the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, New York City; member of the board of directors of Indiana Technical College, Fort Wayne, Ind.; and member of the board of governors, American Foundation of Religion and Psychiatry, New York City.

President and director of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association; founder and first president of the New Jersey division of the American Cancer Society; and the recipient of the American Cancer Society award. is also former chairman of the New Jersey Republican Finance Committee.

He is honorary member of the New Jersey Medical Society, was awarded the certificate of service by the Rotary Club of Orange. N. J.; was cited as the outstanding citizen of the Oranges and Maplewood; was cited by the Brotherhood Committee on Christians and Jews for bringing about a better under-standing among the three religious sects.

Received an honorary degree of doctor of fine arts from Ithaca College; honorary degree of doctor of laws from South Jersey Law School; honorary degree of doctor of laws from Upsala College; honorary degree of doctor of humanities from Indiana Technical College; a citation of merit award from the New Jersey Association of Business Schools; the 1953 Gustav Lucie brotherhood award.

Served 2 terms as president of the Kiwanis Club, of New York City; served 2 terms as president of the Chamber of Commerce and Civics of the Oranges and Maplewood; for-mer chairman of the finance committee of the Republican Party of New Jersey; mem-ber of the imperial divan of the Shrine of North America.

His clubs: The Kiwanis Club of New York City; Advertising Club of New Jersey; Union League Club of New York and Philadelphia; York Railroad Club; Duquesne Club of Pittsburgh; Montclair Golf Club, Montclair, N. J.; and the Essex Club of Newark, N. J.

Residence: 75 Prospect Street, East Orange, N. J.

Office: 177 Main Street, West Orange, N. J.

OUR FRATERNAL RESPONSIBILITY

(Address by George E. Stringfellow)

Gentlemen and brethren, I address you in this way because we are closely bound together by the precepts of our fraternity and by our belief in the brotherhood of man.

I was highly complimented by your invitation to address such a fine group of patriotic, liberty-loving, and enlightened citizens. who place the welfare of their country above all other considerations. I am sure that as citizens, you recognize your responsibility to preserve and protect our way of life, but I would like to remind you that as Masons you have an additional responsibility maintain the principles upon which our Nation was founded.

The doctrines that prompted our affiliation with our fraternity are those upon which our country rests. The foundation of which our country rests. our way of life, and of every institution of freedom, is faith in the existence of the Supreme Being. The thesis of our craft is the Golden Rule. To worship God as conscience dictates is our common statute.

Ours is a great Nation because it was born out of principle. It became strong through the application of integrity. But, let us take heed-it can die at the hands of moral decay, socialism, extravagance, or corruption-

The integrity of Rome, the cradle of western civilization was undetermined by moral corruption and extravagance. The power of France, once the protectorate of Christianity, was destroyed by selfishness and loose living. England sowed the seed of common law throughout the world, yet her great empire disintegrated when her people embraced socialism and placed social security above liberty. She is now in process of losing both.

We have observed in our country in recent ears, especially among some public officials. the kind of moral corruption and the kind of extravagance that ruined Rome. We have observed in America a trend to the kind of socialism that brought about England's disintegration, and we have observed the kind of loose living and selfishness that destroyed France.

In the last few years, loyalty to flag, to country, to our cherished institutions, and to our way of life, in some quarters, has been discounted and often jeered at by those disbelievers in God and those spreaders of hatred. Bereft of faith in God, they exercise their tyranny, unrestrained by the dictates of the Golden Rule. Their pattern is to impose on the people the fallacy that religion interferes with man's progress and the common good. They boldly proclaim that re-ligion is an opiate of the people and that belief in God must be destroyed.

We believe in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Our belief is in the right of the individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Such was the Philosophy of our Founding Fathers, who built on this continent a civilization which for prestige, wealth, and power, has no equal in the annals of history. We have had great material success, but with it we also encountered hazards of great magnitude.

In our economical gains we have suffered important spiritual losses. We have lost in a large measure that assurance that springs from faith in divine guidance, which was a powerful factor in the lives of those ploneers who laid the foundation of America. It was divine guidance that gave them faith and courage to push forward the frontiers of world commerce, and to build up our Nation and to increase the living standards of all people. To maintain all that we have gained in the short history of Our Nation, we must recapture that strength that comes only from a spiritual source.

While there is a dark side to the picture, there is also hopeful evidence that the people are turning more and more to God for help. In the period from 1945 to 1954 the number of church members in the United States increased from 72 million to 95 millionan increase of 13.7 percent, as compared with a 12.5-percent increase in the Nation's population. Today, 59 percent of the population of the United States are church members, as compared with 16 percent in 1850, when the record was first available.

Even in Russia the Communists are dis-Covering that too many Russians go to church and are stepping up their program to combat this movement which is a threat

to their atheistic philosophy.

There is the encouraging evidence that the membership in the Girl and Boy Scouts, in the YMCA, YWCA, the YMHA, and YWHA, and similar organizations, is increasing, and of course you all know that the number of Freemasons in our country is greater than ever before—having increased about 550 percent during the last 75 years, compared to a 276-percent increase in population.

These are good omens and should encourage every one of us. A revival of moral and ethical standards and the simple integrity of our people will insure the perpetuation of the basic principles of life for which our ancestors fought and died. There is hope for America when organizations such as ours reveal a deep appreciation for American ideals. There is hope for America when Masons put into practice the teachings of our great fraternity. As you know, we can preach a better sermon with our lives than with our lips. It is what we do in this world that counts, not so much what we say.

As Masons it is our responsibility to bring men of all faiths and groups to the understanding that there is a common meeting place where men can understand one another, cooperate in a tolerant way, and rec-Ognize that the true foundation of individual freedom is to be found in the Ten Commandments and the teachings of both the Old and

New Testaments.

Spiritual light is desperately needed throughout the world today. It is needed by enslaved people and it is needed by free people. We, as citizens and as Masons, must help develop the spiritual resources essential to the maintenance of freedom and democracy. We must, by our conduct and example, do our part to create a moral climate which will bring hope and freedom to the world.

Confucius stated this much better than I when he said:

"With righteousness in the heart, there will be beauty in the character; with beauty in the character, there will be harmony in the home; with harmony in the home, there will be order in the nation; and with order in the nation, there will be peace in the

We can do much, if we will, to make Confucius' philosophy become a living reality.

Kaskaskia Valley Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include House Joint Resolution 20 adopted by the 69th Illinois General Assembly, which calls upon the Congress of the United States to give favorable consideration to the survey report of the Kaskaskia Valley project and to appropriate sufficient funds to continue planning of the Carlyle Dam and to commence planning of the Shelbyville Dam of the project, as well as to provide appropriations for construction funds.

The resolution follows:

House Joint Resolution 20

Whereas the Congress of the United States. in 1938, authorized the construction of a dam on the Kaskaskia River at Carlyle, Ill., with auxiliary structures above and below such dam, in accordance with a report of the Corps of Engineers, for the purpose of flood control. with other incidental benefits; and

Whereas the 2d session of the 83d Congress of the United States appropriated a sum of \$50,000 to commence detailed planning of said dam, which planning is now being performed by the Corps of Engineers, and there is now a request before the Congress of the United States for additional funds to continue such planning; and

Whereas subsequent to the aforementioned authorization, the Corps of Engineers, at the behest of the Congress of the United States, made a comprehensive study and survey of the entire Kaskaskia River Basin, with a view to submitting a report outlining an economically feasible flood-control plan for the entire basin, and now have that report in its final stages before submission to Congress; and

Whereas said report is expected to recommend the expansion of the original authorization to include the construction of a dam and auxiliary structures at and below Shelbyville, Ill., on the Kaskaskia River; and

Whereas the Kaskaskia River services and drains 22 countles, representing approxi-mately one-fourth of the State of Illinois;

Whereas water is now universally recognized as our most valuable and limited natural resource, and the need for water conservation and control is both a local and national problem; and

Whereas the Kaskaskia River is noted, not only for its disastrous and costly floods, but also for its extremely low levels during the dry seasons, thereby causing the Kaskaskia

Valley Basin to be annually threatened with the prospect of disastrous floods followed by prolonged and dangerously low water supplies which now endanger the welfare of the people and acutely increase the economic necessities of the area; and

Whereas completion of the comprehensive plan of flood controls on the Kaskaskia River in accordance with the recommendations of the Corps of Engineers will control floodwaters, eliminate flood damages, and will hold and conserve floodwaters for use during seasons when the area normally suffers acute water shortages and will, thereby, encourage and increase the economic and social development of southern and central Illinois. and, in addition, will operate to alleviate flooding and improve essential navigation downstream on the Mississippi River; and

Whereas the benefits to be expected from completion of the Kaskaskia Valley project will exceed the estimated cost thereof and the State of Illinois is ready and willing to assist in this project: Now, therefore, be it Resolved by the House of Representatives

of the 69th General Assembly of the State of Illinois (the Senate concurring herein), That the Congress of the United States be, and it hereby is, memorialized to-

(a) Give immediate and favorable consideration to the recommendations in the survey report of the Kaskaskia Valley project, as soon as such report is submitted to Congress by the Corps of Engineers; and

(b) Appropriate sufficient funds in the current session of Congress to continue and complete the detailed planning of the Car-

lyle Dam; and

(c) Appropriate funds to commence detailed planning of the Shelbyville Dam as soon as the Corps of Engineers indicates it is ready to commence such planning; and

(d) Appropriate construction funds for both dams at such times as they can be economically used by the Corps of Engineers;

and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution and its preamble be forwarded by the Secretary of State to the President of the Senate of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, the chairman and minority leader of the Senate Appropriations Committee, the chairman and minority leader of the House Appropriations Committee, and to the Senators and Congressmen representing the State of Illinois in the Congress of the United States.

Byelorussian National Republic Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN LESINSKI, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention to a people whose national aspirations have not been realized. Nevertheless, the example of the Byelorussian people living under a relentless dictatorship offers a continued basis for our faith in the ultimate freedom of man everywhere. I am grateful for this opportunity to submit the following proclamation of the Governor of the State of Michigan, G. Mennen Williams;

PROCLAMATION

BYELORUSSIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC DAY

For historical and geographical reasons the Byelorussian people have been unable to establish a national state of their own. On March 25, 1918, the first Byelorussian congress declared the independence of their nation. As a result of the Communistic onslaught, this independence was short-lived.

However, citizens of Byelorussian descent throughout the world have continued to work for the liberty of their homeland. They have never accepted the domination of Moscow and have been one of the leading anti-Communistic voices in the world.

Therefore, I, G. Mennen Williams, Governor of the State of Michigan, do hereby proclaim March 25, 1955, as Byelorussian National Republic Day in Michigan, and urge all our citizens to join with their brethren of Eyelorussian descent in paying tribute to the great will for liberty and independence which these people have presented to the world.

Given under my hand and the great seal of the State of Michigan, this 23d day of Marchin the year of our Lord 1955, and of the Commonwealth the 119th.

By the Governor:

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS,
GOVERNOR,
JAMES M. HARE,
Sccretary of State.

The President and Formosa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, DEWEY SHORT

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the following editorial from the New York Herald Tribune of Thursday, March 31, 1955.

Only yesterday I had lunch and spent more than 2 hours with the President of the United States. My heart goes out to him in the tremendous decisions he himself must make.

As I stated to the press, I do not know what the President and Secretary Dulles, one of the great and good men of our times, has decided, but whatever decision they make, I am for wholeheartedly.

This is not "passing the buck"—because some of us who have visited all the countries in the Far East know a little about it, and will not capitulate to pressures from both sides—but we fully realize that the final decision must be made by those higher and bigger than ourselves.

Knowing our good and great President and his outstanding Secretary of State, I shall abide by their decision because I know they will act only in the best interests of America and Americans.

THE PRESIDENT AND FORMOSA

The country is fortunate that at this juncture in its affairs it should have in the White House a leader so calm, so able, so universally trusted as Dwight D. Eisenhower. It is impossible to exaggerate the degree to which he has steadled the potentially turbulent situation of these months. His steadfast devotion to peace, his absolute insistence of the Nation's long-range interests as opposed to narrow or partisan considerations, have been the factors which permitted the United States to proceed with confidence along the path of a difficult and complex policy.

At his press conference yesterday Mr. Eisenhower showed again the qualities which explain the trust in which he is held by an unprecedented majority of the citizens. He was unwilling to be stampeded by alarmist or unsubstantiated views. By the same token, he was unwilling to engage in any personal recriminations, in any show of pique or censoriousness. Standing upon the facts as he sees them—and no one else is in a position to see them all with so clear a perspective—he could focus public opinion upon the true center of our present situation.

A different kind of leader in the White

A different kind of leader in the White House could have brought the country before this to the brink of confusion and disunity. It will be recalled that the original Formosa resolution, when threatened by disquieting delays, was cleared for passage by the simple assurance that the President himself would make the decision as to what might be necessary for the defense of Formosa. The rock-like posture of the President has since then cemented the bipartisanship necessary to meeting the Far Eastern crisis. At every step the belief in his moderation and profound good sense has kept Americans together, even when they could not see for themselves the precise contours of our Asian commitment.

As things now stand, Mr. Elsenhower bears himself the responsibility for determining in the light of events what moves are necessary to safeguard Formosa and the Pescadores. It is a sobering responsibility. Even if the threat is not as immediate as some military sources have wanted to make it appear, a decision in regard to the offshore islands in all likelihood cannot be indefinitely postponed. A clarification of policy is perhaps possible in the interval before the Red Chinese take any action; indeed, this newspaper has urged a greater precision in relation to Quemoy and Matsu. But the burden of such clarification, too, rests on the President. He moves under a staggering load, and the people cannot but take heart from the realization that he moves with such quiet strength.

If ever a man deserved the understanding support of the people, if ever one was entitled to their prayers, it is Dwight D. Eisenhower today.

Tenth Anniversary of the Occupation of Hungary by the Russian Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEO W. O'BRIEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. O'BRIEN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I urge all who sorrow for the good peoples of the world who are enslaved behind the Iron Curtain to give thought to a sad anniversary for the

people of Hungary.

On April 4, Hungarians throughout this country and the world will mournfully observe a tragic date in their history. That date will mark the 10th anniversary of the complete occupation of Hungary by the Russian army.

I should like to insert in the RECORD the following letter from the Hungarian General Benevolent Society at Schenectady, N. Y.: MARCH 25, 1955.

Hon, Leo W. O'BRIEN.

Congressman, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, the American Hungarians of this Tricity area (Albany, Schenectady, and Troy) are respectfully calling your attention to the fact, that April 4 is a mournful day for Hungarians all over the world. On this day, April 4, 1945, the Russian Bolshevik Army completed the occupation of Hungary, the land of our birth.

For 10 years Hungary and her people are being ruled with tyranny and terror. Her rulers are not chosen by the people, but placed and kept in power by the Communist

dictators of Soviet Russia.

For 10 years this godless reign has been plundering the country and holding the people in terror and slavery. Tens of thousands are in prison, concentration, and slave labor camps.

For 10 years all of these suffering and bleeding people are waiting, hoping, and praying for their liberation by the western free world.

The American Hungarians of this Tricity area at their mass meeting on March 13. 1955, resolved to ask your Honor to bring this sorrow and mourning of the Hungarian people to the attention of your colleagues in the House of Representatives, asking them on this day to remember the Hungarian nation, the freedom-loving people of Louis Kossuth and Cardinal Mindszenty.

Your cooperation in this matter would be highly appreciated by all Americans of Hun-

garian origin.

Respectfully yours.

Andrew Toth, President.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 723, Supp. 2).

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by 'he Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Farm Research Is Not Keeping Pace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN STENNIS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address delivered by Mr. Frank R. Ahlgren, the editor of the Memphis Commercial Appeal, before the Valley Oilseed Processors Association at Biloxi, Miss., on March 29, 1955.

Mr. Ahlgren is an outstanding leader and newspaper editor of the Midsouth and has long taken a strong and effective lead in agricultural research for the entire Nation.

I strongly feel that an expanded research and educational program will assist greatly in developing a strong and prosperous American agriculture. This Speech by Mr. Ahlgren is an outstanding example of the recognition of this important program by one of the Nation's outstanding editors. I have been particularly impressed with the excellent manner which Mr. Ahlgren has described the problems, the challenges, and the opportunities offered by the program. I am particularly interested in developing a long-range approach for the program, and hope that the entire Senate will join with me at a later date in giving their full support to a long-range plan for agricultural research and education.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FARM RESEARCH IS NOT KEEPING PACE

(Address of Frank R. Ahlgren, editor, the Commercial Appeal, before the Valley Oliseed Processors Association, Biloxi, Miss., March 29, 1955)

Agriculture has been getting more than its usual share of headlines in the last couple of years. Headlines like these: "Farmers Still in Tight Cost-Price Squeeze—Farm Surpluses Pile Up in Storage—Farmers Vote To Take Acreage Cuts—Farm Acreage Increase Studied by Congress—Farm Groups Study Ways To Boost Foreign Markets."

Now the striking thing about my subject today is that it has to do with agriculture; it has a definite bearing on farm problems of the day; it concerns the welfare of every American; and yet it seldom makes big headlines

I want to talk with you about the Government's traditional job of doing farm research, and of extending the useful results of research to farmers.

Let me say right at the beginning that private enterprise also has a big job to do in this field, and that we ought to get just as much of the job done by private firms as we can. But everyone agrees that government, both State and Federal, also has a great responsibility for agricultural research

and education. It is the Government's part of the responsibility—and particularly the Federal Government's part—that I would like to discuss with you.

There are reasons why this subject doesn't

capture big headlines.

For one thing, Government farm research isn't new. It dates back to 1862, when the U. S. Department of AR

United States Department of Agriculture and the land-grant college system were founded.

For another, the idea of spending tax dollars on farm research isn't controversial. Everyone agrees that each small farmer can't possibly set up his own experiment station; that he nevertheless deserves to keep pace in a national economic growth geared to, and sparked by, scientific research; and that the taxpayer's research dollar is returned many times over in the form of abundant food and clothing.

This should be a happy situation. Here we have a long-standing Government program that has proved its worth in a hundred different ways. Everyone seems to think the idea is fine.

And yet I believe one of the most urgent farm issues of our time centers around research. Not whether we are to have it, but whether the program is going to be big enough and good enough. Farm research has been inadequate so long, it has been underemphasized so shamefully, that it cannot keep pace with the Nation's economic growth.

HOW CAN WE TELL THAT FARM RESEARCH IS NOT KEEPING PACE?

The answer comes in several parts. It comes first in a quick look at what has happened to research appropriations in the last 15 years.

Until 1940, the Federal Government's investment in farm research was steadily expanded. It kept in step with the general growth of the Nation.

Since 1940, the story has been different. Our Nation has surged into the greatest period of growth in its history. Our population has jumped by almost one-fourth. At the same time, our production of everything combined has jumped by about three-fourths—so that the average American can eat better, clothe himself better, live in a better house, drive a better car, and be better off than ever before.

Scientific research played a vital role in making this possible.

Almost everywhere-in business and industry, as well as in Government-scientific research won a new prominence, a wider acceptance. The new products and new methods developed in American research laboratories became the envy of the world. From 1941 to 1953, the number of scientists and engineers employed on research and development work in this country increased from 87,000 to 192,000. The total expenditure on such work rose from \$900 million to an estimated \$4 billion a year. And the Federal Government was clearly the leader in this great expansion. In 1953, it picked up the check for \$2.5 billion-or about five-eighths of all the money spent on research in this country by all public and private agencies combined. We must not suppose that all this was explained by military research. Actually some of the most striking increases were nonmilitary. For example, the Federal Security Agency is spending 21 times more money on research now than in 1940; the Department of Commerce over 5 times more; the Interior Department, over 21/2 times more.

When we come to agriculture, however, we get a shock. Between 1940 and 1953, the Federal funds appropriated for agricultural research increased only about 56 percent, and this was just barely enough to offset the increase in costs. In real buying power, the Government's investment in agricultural research had no increase at all.

If we should trace the record of appropriations for agricultural extension, we would find that it parallels the record for research. In research, to find ways of making better products at lower costs of production, and in educational work to get those findings into actual use, the record of Federal support for farmers since 1940 is a record of neglect.

The biggest exception to this record of neglect was in the appropriations made by Congress for agricultural research and education during the current fiscal year. We had an increase of nearly 20 percent. I am sure that all of us here are gratified that leadership in achieving this increase was provided by persons like Senator STENNIS and organizations like the National Cotton Council and the American Farm Bureau Federation.

This was a healthy step, but just the first healthy step, in the right direction. We have to go a long, long way from here before farm research and education can begin to keep pace.

Does the policy of neglect, which we have followed so long, find any justification in a dwindling need for agricultural research? The truth is, the need has never been so great before.

Look first at the problem of lowering the costs of production. The farmer is indeed feeling a painful cost-price squeeze, and not enough is being done to get those costs down, We see examples all around us:

Closest home to us, we see the many problems of chemistry and engineering and farm management that are standing in the way of faster progress toward mechanized production of cotton. But there are urgent problems which span the whole length and breadth of American agriculture:

Improvements in our knowledge of soil fertility have only begun to show what they could do for this Nation.

The principle of hybrid vigor, which has been applied with such spectacular success to corn, is an almost unexplored agricultural frontier.

We are losing 10 percent of all our farm animals from diseases and parasites.

animals from diseases and parasites.

The vast array of animal parasites bring wastage through lowered feeding efficiency, death loss, and unusable animal products.

Insects are costing the Nation \$4 billion worth of crops and livestock every year.

In this perid when form surpluses h

In this perid when farm surpluses have become a general source of national concern, it's very timely for us to think about utilization research. I wonder if people generally have any notion as to the inroads that are being made upon the farmer's markets because nonfarm products are being pushed more aggressively through utilization research. We can now cite many important examples, and the list will grow and grow until the people who are interested in agriculture—you and I—decide to face it and

to insist on a farm research program as big as the needs of this scientific age in which we are living.

The farmer must now face the fact that research has made it possible for a lot of alcohol to be made from natural gas instead of grain or sugarcane. He must contemplate the way detergents have been replacing soap, the way chemical extenders are replacing farm-produced fats, the way plastic products are taking the place of wood. The cotton farmer must consider the way synthetic fibers, supported by enormous programs of utilization research, have been attacking his markets in one use after another.

markets in one use after another.

Your great

And what about cottonseed? industry, which has done so much to create markets for southern farmers, is itself a product of modern scientific research, combined with the vision and capital and pioneering spirit of American free enter-

prise. *

For two or three decades, cotton people have been worried about the new competition facing their staple lint; but today one of the major worries is, or certainly should be, the new competition that is facing their seed as well.

I am not the least bit inclined to discount the problems involved in the governmental support programs affecting cottonseed. This, however, is not my subject today. I do want to say that it is increasingly evident, from the viewpoint of a layman, that we need a lot more research on the utilization of cot-

tonseed products.

Even to a layman, it is perfectly clear that your industry in recent years has had to contend with a lot of competition that was either bigger or stronger than it had been in years past. I refer to the competition of soybeans and other oilseeds for your oil and meal markets and the competition of woodpulp for your linters markets. In every case, as I see it, your industry needs a great deal of emphasis on scientific research, in order to keep you in the running with your competitors either by overcoming quality handicaps or by widening your margin of superiority. I'm not suggesting that this could solve all your problems-not by any means-but I do say it is a very fundamental problem of your industry, as I'm sure you realize.

All I have said up to now has been background for my chief point, which is this: Something must be done to put this program back in step with our national economic growth.

What is the remedy?

If we really want a good prescription, one that will give more than temporary relief, I think we must set our sights pretty high. I think we must have a long-range plan for building up farm research to an adequate level—a long-range plan based on the Na-tion's needs rather than on the shifting sands of political expediency.

The necessity of a long-range plan of farm research is my message to you today.

It is necessary because basic research, our most urgent need, is by nature a time-consuming, long-range business. This type of work promises the really big payoff in farm research, but a payoff which may be 5. 10 or 15 years away.

Our research men have been forced to skip most of the basic, longrange projects. Their budget leads such a precarious existence from year to year that they have had to conbudget leads such a centrate on short-term projects where the payoff may be small but is likely to be quick—say in a year or two. They know they will have money to complete the "quickle" projects, and that they will be armed with at least some new results in fighting for next year's appropriation.

This matter of shooting for the little rather than the big payoff can be pointed up in any number of ways. For example, we know weeds are a big problem in most crops, and that chemicals show great promise as a low-cost means of controlling weeds. The "quickle" project approaches this problem head-on. It simply starts field testing a head-on. It simply starts field testing a whole horde of chemicals in a search for those which will kill weeds, but not crops. We might call this the needle-in-the-haystack approach. Up to now, it has achieved many small successes in chemical weed conno really big ones.

The approach through basic research is The first job here is to search into the inner plant processes of both crops and weeds. The goal is to find out how these plant processes differ—why chemicals will kill one plant and not another. In short, basic research first tries to get an understanding of what should work and why; then it becomes possible to tailor-make various chemical compounds that should do the job. The big payoff in this case might be many years in coming, but it could completely revolutionize our methods of controlling This is the kind of payoff we weed pests. can expect with definite, long-range buildup in farm research.

But long-range planning is necessary for still another reason. If the fruits of research are to be applied on farms without wasteful delay, we must have a farsighted buildup in the size and effectiveness of the agricultural extension service.

County agents of the Extension Service are spread too thin to give farmers the kind of help they need in applying research.

Each time research turns up a new prac-tice, it must be carefully fitted into each individual farming pattern. Every pattern is complex, no two are quite alike. So the county agent, in helping apply research, should work directly with each farmer.

But even now our agents find it impossible to get foot on most farms. What of the future when science steps up the flow of complex new practices? Farmers will need individual help more than ever. We must have a long-range plan for supplying this

We can't just say to the Extension Service, "Go out and hire more men and work directly with farmers."

The immediate problem is, Where do we get the men? You can't send just anyone out to help farmers apply research. You must have men with sound agricultural backgrounds; men who have been trained in extension work; men who have been specially schooled to know the farming problems in the areas they are to serve.

Few such men are now available. Most would have to be trained. This would require a sharp expansion in the teaching facilities at agricultural colleges, perhaps setting up some entirely new departments. It would require a special effort to interest more promising young men in becoming county agents.

These things take time. They have to be planned and developed over a period of years. They require a gradual buildup in extension funds, carefully scheduled to meet both our needs on the one hand and our ability to staff the expansion on the other

The necessity of a long-range plan is clear, both for research and for research application. But a plan is worth little unless carried into action.

How can we make sure that our long-range plan, once set in motion, will not have its heart cut out next year, or the next?

How can we eliminate the annual guessing game over appropriations, so our research men can do their job as it should be done?

We cannot do it by simply having an allout drive to increase appropriations for any 1 year. We need firm commitments on how much money will be available 2 years from now, 3 years, 4 years, and 5 years.

Otherwise the annual guessing game will start all over again. The research man's

budget request will still be a compromise between what he needs and what he believes Congress and the administration will stand There will still be the regular battle of the Budget Bureau, with the friends of re-search besieging the White House if the ax gets too heavy. There will still be the House and Senate gauntlets to run every year, and the usual scurrying to restore vital items chopped from the budget request.

This kind of guessing game just doesn't make sense for a Government program which everyone agrees is good, which is politically nonpartisan, which so urgently demands

long-range planning.

That is why it is so important to commit ourselves to a definite buildup in farm re-

search over a period of years.

During the present session of the Congress Senator STENNIS and others like ourselves interested in agricultural research had a decision to make: Should we settle for the \$131/4 million increase for research recommended by the President's budget or continue to press for the \$20 million which we had thought would be a minimum appropriation? We decided on the \$131/4 million figure, but with a distinct understanding. we hope, that we will be supported in our plans for a long-range program in later appropriations.

A long-range plan should appeal to almost every lawmaker. At present he tends to see farm research as a year-to-year thing which may or may not help his constituents during his term of office. A long-range plan, iden-tified with the Nation's future progress and well-being, should allow him to raise his sights above the immediate interests of special groups. It should inspire his vision and statesmanship and patriotism.

Any taxpayer, properly informed of the facts, should welcome the idea of a longrange plan. His investment will earn higher dividends if research dollars can be spent more effectively in a long-range program.

And what about farmers themselves? How do they feel about a long-range program of

research and research application?

The leaders who have been chosen to represent farmers provide the answer. Those who represent the biggest cross-section of the Nation's farmers are not just for a longrange plan of research. They have taken leadership in actually developing such a plan. As soon as final details can be worked out. they believe their organizations will commit themselves to the plan.

The plan will call for a firm commitment to provide specified sums of money, for specified years, over a specified period of time.

As it now stands, the plan is being projected over a 5-year period. It will not call for a sudden, swift buildup in appropriations. Research projects are not developed in a day—nor laboratories built, nor new staff members trained. So the plan will call for moderate annual increases, scheduled to come no faster than they can be used in an orderly expansion of work.

The long-range plan sets 1960 as the target date for our farm-research program to be keeping pace with the overall growth of the country. But what of 1961 and beyond? Are we to start another 15-year cycle of neglect?

By no means. But it just isn't sensible to commit ourselves to specific annual appropriations that far in the future. Our longrange plan must have reasonable flexibility. As time goes by, we see new needs, new opportunities. They require new projections.

For the time being, it is enough to look

5 years ahead. Our farm organization leaders feel this is a critical period for agricultural research. So do our research and extension workers in the Department of Agriculture and the land-grant colleges. By working together, they are developing a practical long-range approach to the prob-lem. By drawing on the thoughts and resources of thousands of persons, they are putting the final touches on a realistic projection of where we need to go with farm research over the next 5 years.

So part of the lob is about done. soon have a long-range plan. Commitments to this plan will be in order before very

To be sure of success, we must have commitments from several different places.

The long-range research plan must be politically nonpartisan, so we need commit-ments from both major political parties.

The plan calls for united action by both bodies of Congress, so we need commitments from the House and from the Senate.

The plan calls for the President and the Budget Bureau to see eye-to-eye with Con-gress, so we need a commitment from the administration.

Of course, there is one additional commitment that underwrites all others; that is, a commitment from the American people. The issue of whether farm research keeps bace is not for farmers alone. It is for everyone who wants to see this country realize its true potential for improving the well-being of its citizens.

Americans do not hesitate to commit themselves when an issue is clear cut. So a part of our tob is to make the long-range program of farm research as clear cut as it really is. If we do this well the American people will not hestitate to give their commitment.

Sermon of Rev. Mitchell Whiterabbit on the Reinterment of Col. Mitchell Red

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD the sermon delivered by Rev. Mitchell Whiterabbit on the reinter-ment of Cpl. Mitchell Red Cloud on March 26. In a previous issue of the RECORD I covered the career of Corporal Red Cloud, who was killed in Korea on November 5, 1950, and awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor posthumously for his bravery. Corporal Red Cloud was born, raised, and educated in Jackson County. His mother, Mrs. Nellie Red Cloud, and brother, Merlin, now live at Route 5. Black River Falls. Following is the text of Reverend Whiterabbit's sermon.

Text: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

A son, a brother, a comrade, and a friend has returned. He has come back to the land of his birth, to the land of his fathers, to the land he loved. No more will he be called upon to leave us, for he has come back to rest in peace. Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., has returned not in the manner which he chose, nor in the way which we would like to have him return, but destiny has stepped in and has decreed the manner of his return. Yet he comes back in glory, full of honors and recognition.

Because Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., belongs to that select few of valiant men, we today are gathered here to render unto him the tribute which he rightfully earned on the field of battle. He was called upon again to defend the principles of freedom and our inalienable rights which were threatened. In that call to duty by his country he chose to make a supreme sacrifice in order that our heritages may be preserved. He gave his very life so others may live. His courageous action and self sacrifice can only bring to our minds the words of our Lord and Master, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends" (John 15:13). It is on this plane of love which he chose to die.

Some of the greatest chapters in human living have been written in terms of the sacrifices of life for the sake of others. Students of life have pointed out that the higher you ascend in the scale of life the stronger is this element of sacrifice. In the lower order of life you find parent organisms feeding on their own offspring. As life rises in the animal scale you find the mother principle asserting itself-life rising to the protection of the young. When you arrive at the human level you find the tender relationship of love between friend and friend, parent and child, and husband and wife. The highest level of human living is found at the point where one life is willing to sacrifice itself, if need be, for the good of another.

The classic story of the 4 chaplains of World War II on the naval ship Dorchester. is an illustration. Standing on the deck of the sinking ship the 4 chaplains, 1 Catholic, 1 Jew, 2 Protestants, gave their lifebelts to the enlisted men aboard, and with arms and hands joined in a symbol of fellowshin and love, went down with the ship. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

Such a sacrificial love can only command admiration.

In the days of old, Tigranes, King of Armenia, emerged victorious from battle after battle, but at last he met defeat at the hands of a Roman general, Pompey the Great. Before long, King Tigranes and his queen, with their children, were brought before Pompey to receive the sentence of death.

In that august presence the captive mon-arch pleaded that he alone might die, and that his queen might return to her home with the children, whom she loved. Moved by that plea, Pompey granted pardon and freedom to the entire family. On the way home Tigranes turned to the queen and said, "What do you think of Pompey the Great?"

"I do not know. I scarcely looked at Pompey."

"Where were your eyes that you did not see Pompey the Great?"

"My eyes were fixed upon the one who loved me and my children so much that he wished to die to set us free."

This is the kind of love which Jesus, the son of God, spoke about. It is a love which does not fail in the crucial moments. a love that demands all, even unto death.

This is the love which we desperately need in our time. Twice within the life span of man have our finest young men and women been called upon to go to war. There have also been lesser wars which did not demand the total effort of the Nation.

These young men and women obeyed and went. They helped to set things right. Some even failed to return home.

Once more the nations are arrayed against each other in armed camps ready to march. With long-range bombers capable of attaining tremendous speed and guided intercontinental missiles carrying atomic and hydrogen and even cobalt, warheads no nation is now safe from being totally destroyed and being rendered ineffective. The weapons of today, devised by ingenious men, are capable of destroying our civilization.

When Dr. Albert Einstein was asked if he when Dr. Albert Einstein was asked if he knew what would be the weapons used in world war 3 he replied, "I do not know. But I can tell you what the weapons of world war 4 will be—stone clubs!" By that he meant that our civilization will go back to barbarism. Nations and people can co-exist and endure only in the spirit of sacrificial and brotherly love.

Anger and hatred are destructive forces in

any heart or life.

Hatred and ill will can destroy the man who harbors them in his life.

All of us would then agree with Henry Drummond that love is "The greatest thing in the world." Love drives men and women to do wonderful deeds, to make unbellevable sacrifices. Love is the lubricant of life which makes for coexistence with others to run smoothly and without friction.

In the logic of the Christian faith, greater and prior to Drummond's "greatest thing in the world" is God's love for us. From that we learn what love is and can be-and we are then moved to love in return. That love for God can only be expressed by love

for our fellows

Sometimes love may seem slow and may seem to fail. It seems to have failed with Jesus, with Stephen and Paul, and with thousands of others. But has it failed? History gives testimony to the fact that, given opportunity and time, it will succeed. It is the persistence of love as manifested in Jesus and others that causes us to respond today. "Love may seem to be the long way around but it is the only way."

We here today ought to be thankful to our God that He has raised up in our midst men and women who believe in the power of love to change the climate of the times. Fortified with that conviction they have fought tyranny, injustice, and evil. They have pro-tected with their very lives our cherished freedoms and our inalienable rights and our right to pursue our own way of happiness. They died in faith in order that we may live.

The faith of a man, how he lives by faith, and how he defends that faith is the only true standard by which a man can be judged. No greater tribute can we pay to Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., and of valiant men of his kind than the tribute which our Lord and Master Himself gave: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

The Outlook for the Eisenhower Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert a speech delivered by me on March 28, 1955, before the Young Republican Club of Hunter College in New York City.

The topic of my talk was the outlook for the Eisenhower program, and is as

follows:

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE EISENHOWER PROGRAM

Mr. Chairman and young Republicans, I wish to thank the members of the Hunter Young Republican Club for this cordial invitation to speak to you on "The Outlook for the Elsenhower Program."

The focus of the Eisenhower program is of course Elsenhower himself. In coming here to speak to you about the outlook of that program I am beset by certain imponderables. A Government program in our country, depends upon the mind and the will of the people. Those who in the past have had the audacity to predict the public will—even the professional prophets—have had occasion since then to adopt more humble and mecker attitudes. They will not easily forget the literary digest poll and the assured election of Alf Landon in 1936. They will even less easily forget what happened in 1948—a catastrophe for the prophecy industry.

Apart from election results, ours is not a country in which a program is laid down and followed. Ours is a country in which a program is debated—after it is laid down. Then it is modified. And then the modification is debated, with quite likely, a modification of the modification, and concomitant debates for each change. The Congress of the United States as well as the administration see to it that the people are informed, a process of public education which on the whole is inescapable under the compulsion of our system. The Congress awaits or acts in anticipation of reaction from the grass roots. There are deliberately intended political irritants in the democratic system to protect our country from the practices that apply in a monolithic state—like Soviet Rus-

The major of these irritants is something rather sweetly called the party in opposition. It seems to some to be the function of the party in opposition to needle, to criticize, to waylay, to ambush and to so puncture, mo-lest and annoy the party in power, that the people will lose faith, elect the critics to power, and put the party in power in the being the party in opposition. position of In the Soviet Union they have an immediate, a summary, and a decisive answer for the faintest sign of a beginning of a party in opposition. Such a party ipsofacto becomes a party of traitors, of enemies of the people, of capitalists, imperialists, warmongers, and just plain and fancy scoundrels.

And, of course, they are shot and disappear from the Soviet scene, and from Soviet encyclopedias and history books.

So, as we can see, in a monolithic state a program is laid down and it is acted uponor else. This does away with all the non-sense of debate, it cuts through red tape, and it does not bother and baffle the people with details. In fact, Prayda and Izvestia are Soviet newspapers which see no point in printing more information about the government and the news for 200 million people than can be encompassed in something like 6 pages and often only 4. And there is no advertising to distract your attention from the pravda in Pravda-pravda being the Russian word for truth. In fact, in the Soviet Union you can go directly from your bed to the salt mines knowing simply that you are helping to fulfill patriotically the newest 5-year plan to make up for the old 5-year plan that the traitors they shot the day before sabotaged.

But since political science in the United States has not yet evolved to the fine sensitivity that prevails in the Soviet Union, we must necessarily put up with what we've got. So that under our awkward and faltering system when we speak of the outlook for the Eisenhower program we are dealing with imponderables which may very well knock whole chunks of any program into a cocked hat. Yet I believe that this is not going to happen to the Eisenhower program. I believe that the Eisenhower program will sail through to successful fruition mostly intact. And I feel so sanguine about this optimistic outcome, that in presenting it I do not feel that I am putting myself out on a limb, or joining my fortunes to those wretched unfortunates who predicted the election of Alf Landon, the defeat of the Dimocrats in 1948, or the election of a Republican Congress in 1954.

The basic essence of my faith in the Eisenhower program is Eisenhower.

If you relate the Eisenhower character, the Eisenhower personality, the Eisenhower pattern of action to the Eisenhower state of the Union speech-which is in so many words his program—then you can see the ground for my optimism. It is my purpose to give you a speech of evaluation, not a speech intended to inch. speech intended to incite or encourage applause. I want to be as objective as may be, in the light of my freely acknowledged bias for the Republican Party point of view. My admiration for President Eisenhower I shall make no effort to conceal. But if I give the effect of making a political address per se, I shall have failed in my aim. Of when a Republican discusses the outlook for the Eisenhower program certain political overtones are to be taken for granted. But this is a student group and I want you to enter into this evaluation with me more on the basis of what we both know than on the basis of what I want, or would seek to persuade you to believe.

Now the more I grow in legislative experience the more amazing it becomes to me how much it is really the people who make the decisions. I cannot tell you how that is beyond facts which are commonplace to us all. You decide because you write. You decide because Congress reads—but avidly—what you write. The newspapers you subscribe to and the comments you make in them, the meetings you attend, the issues that arouse your pride, your fear, your anger, your approval, all these become straws in the wind that contribute to the direction of legislative decision.

They are the meat and the potatoes that invest congressional action.

The Congress follows your thinking because for so many of us our official life depends upon doing what it is you want done. Out of this vast imponderable area of the public's mind on what direction the Government should take, the people, it seems to me, have found an extraordinary focus and an incredibly sympathetic reaction in President Elsenhower. They say the President is popular—but what does that mean? What it means is that the President's personality, his thinking or philosophy, his policies have been revealed to the American people in such a way that they find confidence in his leadership and comfort in his personality. find it a bulwark of strength to the Ameri can destiny that this man is in the White House. It means that for the era in which we live this relationship between the President of the United States and the 164 million people of the United States is about the happiest political marriage in the last quarter of a century.

That's what it means.

Suppose we inquire into the reasons for the happiness the American people feel in President Eisenhower. I have spoken about the era in which we live and the tailored suitability with which President Eisenhower meets the needs of this era. For what we seck so much out of our very soul's wish is amity-amity-amity with ourselves and with the world. What we want is a period of reason and reasonableness. We wear the scars and feel the exhaustion of two world wars, a depression and Korea. We seek the peace of untroubled waters. We know the meaning of stress and strain but we want the tensions released. No easement of any of our problems is worth an lota unless our security is intact, our strength formidable, our position mightily fortified. We know the threat from the Kremlin in all its ugly proportions. The question is; can we have alertness without fear, security without nervous friction. The question is can we move forward in our national life to a progressive future without feeling that we are

perpetually looking into the mouths of the Kremlin's cannon.

In Eisenhower the people have found the complete answer. He oozes amity at every pore. He avoids the bar room type of brawling that goes with a certain phase of politics. He has the common touch but he stands above the battle. Where other irritate, he reconciles. He is hard as nails and firm as Gibraltar with a proved soldier's knowledge on the complex problems of military strength. But he is sweepingly broad and paternally gentle in matters of the public welfare. Where he walks there is victory. The designs for success are woven into his career. His place, his superiors decided, when he had superiors, was in the foremost place of leadership. Leadership, not only of his own troops, but of the troops and the ships and the leaders of the allies. The judgment to give him leadership, determined by those set over him was afterwards overwhelmingly endorsed by the people. was a remarkable unanymity of opinion— everywhere—that in a crisis get Eisenhower.

It is a pity there is not time to go into the record of the 83d Congress, Eisenhower's first Congress: Governmental reorganization, veterans' and servicemen's legislation, legislation for the national defense and internal security, termination of economic controls, reduction of excise taxes, revision of the Internal Revenue Code—an omnibus tax revision bill that by itself is a historic achievement. The reciprocal trade agree-ments extension, and the extension of the Mutual Security Act, the agricultural legislation to give a sound basis for improving the lot of the farmer, all these and more constitute the foundation upon which the current program in the 84th Congress is built. The Eisenhower program in the 84th Congress is an extension logically of the Eisenhower program that went before.

In terms of the earth on which we live and with which we must survive or perish the President wants new billions voted in foreign aid. He wants lower tariffs. He asks that the United Nations be strengthened. The President wants the United States impregnable with 20th century emphasis on air power and the means to strike back with terrifying impact. In line with the possibilities under military developments he seeks to cut military manpower to 3 million by July 1 and to 2.85 million by 1956. But he wants to continue the power to draft for 2 years' service, building up a big military reserve and making professional military service attractive as a career. There is, of course, the continuation under the Eisenhower program of the stockpiling of strategic materials.

You have all heard about the Eisenhower \$101 billion highway plan. We know that while socialistic experiments are being curtailed, the President approves impetus toward partnership between Government and private interests in developing resources. Progress is indicated in the Federal development of major projects and there is the impending help to localities to build schools.

The President wants to raise the minimum wage to 90 cents an hour. Determination is strong to keep the price supports for farmers flexible. The Eisenhower program calls for changes favorable to unions in the Taft-Hartley Act. New housing units for lowerincome groups are planned by the tens of thousands. The President feels strongly about health reinsurance. The President's recommendation for raising the pay of the military—and substantially at that—is al-ready on its way through the congressional process. The same is true of salary increases for Federal employees. And the pay of judges and Members of Congress is already law-a long and painfully delayed consummation of elementary economic justice. President's program also seeks to bring Federal workers and the military under the oldage and survivors insurance program-social

If that program has not got the forward look then those who say so suffer from political bias and partisan blindness.

And it is not just a program like so many talking points in a sales pitch. Whole pieces of it are even now, as I speak, going through the congressional process-actively-on the path to the President's signature and to law. Some of it has already been made into law. Of course some of it will not go through entire. And, of course, there will be modifications here and there. The President's plan to have his authority extended to enable him to enter trade agreements passed the House, as I was preparing the material for this address, and is in a committee of the Senate. The same is true of the Uni-Versal Military Training and Service Act and the Dependents Assistance Act. The outlook is good for foreign aid especially since Harold E. Stassen, former director of the Foreign Operations Administration, returned With a favorable report after his tour of the Far East.

The amity and the peace I have been talk-ing about are predicated on hard steel and not on some visionary fool's paradise. President has said that the United States Would maintain fighting forces in Europe so long as there is the threat of a Russian attack on the continent. That is what I mean when I say the President's popularity is not the popularity built up on the basis of a smile and a benign expression, after the manner of an idol in the motion-picture industry. It is built on the faith of the people in a man of good will who knows the score and will not be deluded, cajoled, or softened up. They know he will avoid bloodshed and that he cannot be drawn into costly combat for indefinable ends in distant areas where results can be catastrophic If they go wrong and are of negligible consequence even if they go right. He knows the cost from firsthand knowledge to the Other fellow and his kith and kin, as well as to himself and his own kith and kin, and he will reckon with the cost. But above all, the people know that a man with an unbroken record of valor and achievement in combat like Eisenhower does not flinch and the people know that better than they know anything else.

History tells us that people in the mass have-for the most part-an unerring instinctual genius in their choice of leadership. And in a democracy this genius is, to be sure, developed to the finest point of sensitivity and accuracy. In fact I believe that the word "popular" is not the precise term. The word, I insist, should be faith. The word should be confidence. The word should be respect. The people know that they have a strong hand on the helm and that the man in the White House will not fling his fists about in random gestures, or make severe or abusive speeches, after the manner of the propaganda floods from the Kremlin. They know he will not be provoked by an enemy that would like to see him spend-if not waste-his country's substance and its prestige in the wrong place, in the wrong way at the wrong time.

What he insists our country shall have is a powerful economy at home—the most Powerful of all time in all the recorded anhals of nations—and formidible and prodigious military strength in being. He wants the potential enemy to know and to see both and to beware of their meaning. Behind all this is the moral principle of the West. There are allies tied to us with hoops of steel and integrated friendships founded upon a common faith in God, and a common civilization. We know and the President knows and the enemy knows that this country will not commit the overt act which may precipitate the unbelievable holocaust of world war III. But Eisenhower is letting the enemy know in no unmistakable terms that the Kremlin had better not commit the overt act either.

The same hard sense and bold planning the President has combined with understanding in his program for the domestic progress of the country, he has applied with perhaps even more intensity in confronting foreign policy and the half world of communism on the march. The United States has 6 Army divisions in Europe and 18 Air Force wings. The 6th United States Fleet is in the Mediterranean. There are equally mighty deterrent forces in the Pacific and I doubt whether the world has ever seen a more powerful fleet than the 7th which is now prowling the waters around Formosa. We hold the lead in the atomic race.

The peace the world enjoys today is not founded upon soft talk but upon hard muscle.

Of course the President's smile is warm and his expression is gracious. He has a word of praise for Marshal Zhukov, a good soldier's admiration for a good soldier, and this is returned in kind. Maybe good will come of it, But the President does not depend upon that for peace, except insofar as it may be an avenue to world amity. Now taking all these threads together, I think we can see the outlines of an Eisenhower program that makes for peace and I think the outlook for that program is sound, and that we can afford to be optimistic. But we cannot afford to be complacent, and we cannot afford to forget that we must remain forever on the ready.

There you have it.

I cannot pretend to know all the detours and corners that may have to be turned before the Eisenhower program becomes fact. But I hold it will be successful and that it will come to pass because it is a program that is not hitched to the moon. It is not a program that seeks the remaking of America. It is not a program that cuts corners with the Constitution of the United States. It is a program within foreseeable probability. It is not a program that has to be driven through with a sledge hammer to a rubberstamp Congress. What do the President's critics complain about-the critics of his own party? They complain that he is moderate and they want him to be extreme. And what is the answer to their criticism? The answer is that the President of the United States has become a mighty force inside our country for unity. Just what is wrong with that? When the President put through for congressional action his \$101 billion highway plan the complaints against it were not directed at the plan itself-more and better roads, for defense, for economy, for the safety of our people on the highways. The complaint against it was directed at the method of proposed financing, an all-important detail but still a detail. When I spoke of possible modifications in his program it is this kind of modification I have in mind. The basic idea will go through and become reality, like most of the rest of the program. That highway program is a monumental undertaking, an engineering feat comparable perhaps in our time, and in our context, to what the building of the pyramids must have meant to the ancient Egyptian civilization. But here is utility, here is national security, here is convenience, here are bigger and more avenues of communication for a more prosperous economy. I emphasize it because it lands itself to drama and easy explanation and because it is symptomatic of the Eisenhower philosophy.

The President seems to have effected to a considerable degree a cooperative reaction from a Congress the most powerful part of which is politically hostile. Of course there are rifts—here and there—and there would be if every Member of House and Senate were a Democrat and the President were a Democrat, too. And there would be if they were all Republicans. This is a democracy and not a monolithic state and rifts are what democracy is made of. But the President has drawn to himself the threads of

divergence and the threads of amity and brought about a harmonious pattern as nearly as that can be done by the genius of man dealing with a world of human conflict.

It is for these reasons that I believe the outlook for the Eisenhower program is solid and that the country is sensing this has achieved a prosperity in the last year that outstrips everything in the past. And the whole world, sensing the vigor of the Eisenhower program for peace, feels likewise a sense of sureness and of security, that, while not total, is at least reassuring and stronger than it has been since the end of World War II. Ladies and gentlemen, we are in the midst of a period of leadership comparable only to the greatest in our history. The future—I thank God—looks to me like an Eisenhower future.

Germany's Role in World Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ROMAN L. HRUSKA

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 1, 1955

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, on Sunday afternoon, March 27, His Excellency, Heinz L. Krekeler, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, delivered an address in Concert Hall, of Joslyn Memorial Art Museum, in Omaha, Nebr., on the subject Germany's Role in World Affairs.

His appearance on this occasion was in response to invitations to deliver the Alpha Sigma Nu lecture of 1955, as extended by the Very Reverend Carl N. Remert, S. J., president of Creighton University, its board of regents, and the Creighton University chapter of Alpha Sigma Nu, National Jesuit Honor Society.

My home city of Omaha and my alma mater, Creighton University, were highly honored by the visit of His Excellency, the Ambassador, and of the consul general, the Honorable K. Heinrich Knappstein, and of Dr. Erwin Boll, who accompanied him.

The Ambassador's address is timely and of especial interest in view of the present consideration by the Senate of the Paris protocol of 1954. Pursuant to leave to do so as kindly extended me by the Ambassador, I ask unanimous consent that the text of his address be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GERMANY'S ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS

(Address by His Excellency Heinz L. Krekeler, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, Omaha, Nebr., March 27, 1955)

Ladies and gentlemen, it is an honor and a privilege for me to be here in Omaha, the center of the United States and the gateway to the West. I am happy to say that I do not come as a stranger; for I made the acquaintance of your city many years ago, and I always feel at home in farm country.

It was 22 years ago, as a matter of fact, that I came here as a young businesman. Traveling by train from the East, I was tremendously impressed by the vast distances I had to cover. I was impressed, too, by the agricultural and livestock production that

was evident on all sides, because I myself come from farming stock and I still live on my farm whenever I have occasion to return home. These early impressions have stayed with me, but they are heightened by comparison with the changes that have taken place during these past two decades.

I think, therefore, that I can talk about farming people and those who live in rural areas with some assurance, and I believe I am correct in saying that these people combine their deep love of country and of nature—their idealism, if you like—with a keen sense of reality. Without the latter none of us could survive in a world which has changed so amazingly in a relatively short span of time. Just as a farmer would not survive, or at least would not succeed, if he did not learn to cope with such hard realities as climate, and weather.

The changing realities to which we all have to adjust, because they vitally affect the lives of all of us, result from the revolutionary developments in the fields of atomic energy and of transportation and communication. It is a breathtaking experience for every observer like myself, living in the United States, to see how you accept these changes in a true pioneer spirit. No other nation has adapted itself with such determination to a radically altered set of circumstances. And this adjustment is carried over into your conduct of foreign affairs. Your energetic participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and in the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization give ample proof of this.

Your foreign policy, as expressed in these community arrangements, is based on the concept of cooperation among friends and allies. This policy was cogently stated by Secretary Dulles when he said, and I quote: "Security for the free world depends, therefore, upon the development of collective security and community power rather than upon purely national potentials." Now this is true to an even greater degree for European nations, for our traditional military, political, and economic system is in many respects obsolete in mid-20th century.

We in Germany have realized that we cannot exist without closely cooperating with the other free nations of Europe. The entire concept of our national life and policy has changed. This is an adjustment that we have had to make, and I think we have made it successfully. We have come to understand that community power, as Secretary Dulles said, the consolidation of our resources is the first fact of life for us. We acted accordingly by participating in the formation of the Schuman plan, the European Community for Coal and Steel-an important step toward consolidation in the field of economics. The same six nations which pooled their resources in the Schuman plan attempted to extend the idea of consolidation to the military field by forming the European Defense Community. As it turned out, this was expecting too much in view of Europe's history; and the EDC failed. I am frank to say, though, that we in Germany still consider EDC the ideal solution.

It was at this time, however, that the real strength of the movement toward consolidation became apparent. The statesmen of the free world immediately recognized the urgency of the situation, and a short time later—within only a few weeks—they came together in London and then in Paris. That these meetings were held so promptly is a tribute to the statesmanship of your Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, for he made clear to the countries of the free world the need for united action while at the same time making known unmistakably the position of the United States Government and of public opinion in this country.

In Paris a number of treaties were signed. There are three principal ones. Each of them has an underlying philosophy, for a treaty, after all, is only the legal form given to an idea about which there is common consent among the partners of the treaty. This is not the place for me to go into the detailed provisions of these treaties; but I think, on the other hand, it would be appropriate and worthwhile to consider their underlying philosophies.

The first treaty is concerned with the termination of the occupation regime in the Federal Republic of Germany. This treaty gives Germany the status of equality with the other partners. In this way it frees German sovereignty-and sovereignty is an inherent attribute of any nation-from the restraints which have been placed upon it. The underlying philosophy of this treaty is that there can be no partnership except among equals and that only a free member of the community is able to give his best for the common effort. Thus this treaty, even though the German people are the foremost beneficiaries of it, also serves the interests of the other partners.

Perhaps many of you wonder why a complicated treaty is needed for this purpose instead of a simple declaration. The reasons are manifold and reflect a complicated situation. There are, for instance, special provisions included concerning the status of Berlin, this outpost of freedom behind the Iron Curtain. Berlin is not formally a part of the Federal Republic. The deputies from Berlin in the German parliament, for instance, do not vote but act only in an advisory capacity. This not because we do not consider Berlin a part of our country. Quite the contrary. The decision, for instance, to hold the election of the Federal President in Berlin in 1954—where then President Heuss was reelected-symbolized in an impressive way the affection we have for our old capital and the great importance that it still has for

One part of this city, however, is still under Soviet control. The three western allies have stated that they would, and I quote "treat every attack against Berlin from any quarter as an attack upon their forces and themselves." They can maintain this position, however, as Chancellor Adenauer has said, only if they remain in Berlin in their present capacity as occupying powers.

Other provisions related to this treaty concern the status of the allied troops in Germany. There are American forces today in Great Britain, in France, and other countries. And under present conditions defense considerations make it imperative that these friendly troops continue to be stationed in the Federal Republic as well. And I can assure you that your boys are welcomed as by the German people, because we friends know, as they do, that they are there for the protection of all of us. No wonder, therefore, that we were greatly encouraged by President Eisenhower's recent statement that the United States will, and I quote again: "Continue to maintain in Europe, including Germany, such units of its Armed Forces as may be necessary and appropriate to contribute its fair share of forces needed for the joint defense of the North Atlantic area while a threat to that area exists, and will continue to deploy such forces in accordance with agreed North Atlantic strategy for the defense of this area."

A second treaty concerns Germany's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Its underlying philosophy is obviously that the partner who enjoys the privileges of protection which only this mighty alliance can provide has to contribute his fair share to bearing the burdens of defense.

Let me say a word at this point about the attitude of my people toward this problem. You perhaps have noticed that so far I have not used the word rearmament. This was intentional, because rearmament, as such, is highly unpopular in Germany, I

think its unpopularity is understandable in the light of circumstances and is, as I have said often before, a rather healthy attitude. This does not mean, however, that the Germans are not prepared to do their duty when it comes to faithfully accepting the obligations that go with this new partnership. They will do so, for their sense of duty is as strong as ever. But they do it in a sober mood, because bearing arms again is not an occasion for jubilation among the German people.

I should like to mention one other point connected with this treaty. I refer to the declaration made first by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France and later supported by the other parties to the North Atlantic Treaty. They stated that, quote: "They consider the Government of the Federal Republic as the only German Government freely and legitimately constituted and, therefore, entitled to speak for Germany as the representative of the German people in international affairs." We are very grateful for this, because here is a basis for an approach to our greatest specific problem which I still talk about later.

Now there is a third treaty, and I would not be surprised if many of you wondered why we need it. For as far as you and many other members of NATO are concerned, the NATO treaty is the only instrument which is deemed necessary for the purpose of common defense. Indeed, if it were not for conditions peculiar to the Continent restoration of our status of equality and membership in NATO would have been sufficient.

The Western European Union treaty, however, in its underlying philosophy, again reflects specific needs of the participating European nations for closer cooperation in The purpose of the Western many fields. European Union, as stated in the treaty, is to strengthen peace and security, to promote unity and to encourage the progressive integration of Europe. The treaty is designed to serve not only the interests of collective self-defense, but collaboration in economic, social, and cultural matters as well. To this extent it is a substitute for the defunct EDC treaty, although it does not contain that element of all-out integration that was the essence of this treaty. Nevertheless, the Western European Union is proof that the member nations are prepared to adjust themselves to present-day circumstances. I should like to add that this adjustment is not easy for nations with traditional rivalries, old feuds, and highly diversified cultural developments. The most important aspect of WEU, however, rests in the following fact. This is that at the London conference the British Government, under the leadership of Sir Winston Churchill and through his Foreign Secretary, Sir Anthony Eden, announced its historic decision to abandon its traditional policy and commit itself to close cooperation with the continental countries. It was declared that the British Government would agree to maintain for the indefinite future on the Continent four divisions and an adequate air force and not to withdraw these troops against the wishes of the majority of the member nations. I believe all the other participating nations appreciated deeply decision, for you will, I think, remember that one of the main objections which its critics advanced again EDC was that Great Britain was not a partner.

I think that in the long run the emphasis which this treaty puts on the consolidation of economic, social, and cultural affairs is as significant as its military aspects. Military power, to be effective, must be founded on a healthy economy and on sound social conditions. I need only mention the importance of raising by common effort our standard of living in Europe, for a high standard of living is a most effective safeguard against Communist infiltration and subversion. Actually, we have already made more

progress than is generally known. We have achieved excellent cooperation in the field of transportation, in the operations of rail-roads, and in highway planning. We have abolished all visa requirements, and the next step is in preparation, that is, to make it unnecessary to carry passports from one country to another and to make traveling in Western Europe as easy as it is, for instance, between the United States and Canada.

One of the most important steps in this field concerns the convertibility of currencies, because restrictions on currency exchange are a great obstacle in the way of economic coperation. We have already achieved great progress in this respect. Among the partners of the European Payments Union this exchange of currencies is liberalized to an extent that was unthinkable some 4 or 5 years ago. But one thing remains to be done. We must also free the exchange of currencies from restrictions as far as the dollar is concerned. We have made some progress in this respect, too. German importers can get for most items, especially for consumer goods, all the dol-lars they need without specific licenses. But the final step remains to be taken; and this is a problem of special interest to you. to speak very frankly, that many regard these currency restrictions, which we had to establish in order to preserve our monetary stability, as discrimination against the dollar, although they were not meant to be. Of course, we are pleased about every step you take in the direction of facilitating trade with the European countries, but we are also aware of the fact that we have a contribution to make. We are prepared to do this, but we cannot do this alone. It must be in cooperation with other nations, especially with Great Britain.

I should like here to draw your attention to another very constructive element contained in the WEU Treaty, and one that we hope will have far-reaching effects in the future. It is an agreement on the limitation of armament. You will recall that President Eisenhower, in his famous address before newspaper editors and publishers in Washington on April 16, 1953, proposed such a limitation on a worldwide basis. The President now has followed up this farsighted proposal by appointing Governor Stassen his special assistant on disarmament Problems, and I think it is helpful in this context that the members of the Western European Union will, with your advice and encouragement, set an example by proving that a freely accepted limitation of armaments is workable.

Now, to realize the greatest benefit from these treaties, we must see to it that major points of disagreement among the partners do not stand in our way. One such point concerns the Saar. The population of this area is ethnically German. No one has ever questioned that. But France does have a great economic interest there. An agreement on the Saar has been signed in Paris, as you know, and has been ratified by our parliament. I am sure you are also aware of the many objections to this agreement in Germany. It is true that it was a difficult decision to reach, but we hope sincerely that, in the long run, it will serve the purpose of this whole complex of treaties—that is, to foster closer cooperation in Europe and, especially, between France and Germany.

It is important to remember. I think, that this Saar agreement, although formally concluded between France and Germany, involves the participation of other countries as well. The high commissioner for the Saar, for instance, will be appointed by the council of ministers of the Western European Union and this council will supervise his functions. In addition to this, the United States and Great Britain will be asked to guarantee this statute.

The statesmen who drew up these treaties and the people who are participating in them have been constantly aware of the great overriding problem that has profoundly influenced all their actions. That is the division of Germany into two unequal parts by the Iron Curtain. Their awareness of it is apparent at various points throughout the treaties. In the treaty concerning the termination of the occupation regime, for instance, the signatories pledge themselves to end the division of Germany. The declaration which I have already cited in which the NATO and WEU members say that they regard the Government of the Federal Republic as the only representative of the German people is further evidence of their interest in this problem. To understand this situation fully it is necessary to realize that my country is not divided equally; but that three-fourths of the population live in freedom and one-fourth in bondage under Soviet

This problem is at the center of the great debate that has been carried on in my country ever since the treaties came under discussion in Parliament. In this debate there is no disagreement that the split should come to an end in order that those 18 million Germans in the Soviet Zone may enjoy the privileges of freedom, their unalienable human rights. The issue here is not a geographical one and for that reason the label that is so often used-German reunification—is inadequate. Our primary aim is to help our countrymen in their plight and to bring it to an end through peaceful means. When these men and women are again able freely to exercise their human rights, the unification of Germany will follow as a matter of course. On all these points there is agreement in Germany.

The difference in opinion lies in the best means of attaining this goal. The opposition wanted, for instance, that another try at negotiation with the Soviets over the question of reunification should have been made before ratification of the Paris agreements. The government position has always been that such negotiation could hope to be successful only if the nations of the West could negotiate from that position of unity and consolidation that the completed treaties will provide. We, in Germany, are happy that this is also your position, and grateful that we have your support, both moral and physical, in this matter.

I have tried at some length to explain certain recent developments as adjustments to the realities of the present-day situation and to make clear the meaning of Germany's role in these developments. That we can role in these developments. That we can make these adjustments of our own free will is, I think, an indication of foresightedness and strength of character. This pic-ture would not be complete, however, if we forget even for a moment one other important point. And that is that there are fundamental principles on which we must and will be firm, principles on which there can be no adjustment. These are the principles which form the basis of our common western heritage. This heritage is in great danger today, and in our constant preoccupation with preserving it we have formulated these treaties, which I have just outlined to you. We think that they are good and practical instruments and that they will serve this purpose.

The developments which I have spoken about, and to which we have tried and shall continue to try to adjust, can, I think, broadly be interpreted in the following way: Our scientific and technological achievements have outraced in many respects our social and political accomplishments. Perhaps one could say that scientifically man has achieved a far greater stature than morally or ethically. The achievements, therefore, present a challenge to our moral strength. Every single human being as well

as every nation is called upon to meet this challenge.

In our endeavor to atain unity among free peoples through freely negotiated agreements we meet many obstacles. We must overcome selfish desires; we shall have to abandon old and cherished ideas; we shall have to make sacrifices. If we can do these things, that will be proof that we can meet the supreme challenge of our time. If it is difficult to do this, if it hurts to make sacrifices, then I think we should always remember that infinitely more is asked of the present and following generation than was required of the preceding ones. If we cannot solve these problems that are small in proportion to the crucial questions of our day, we shall not survive.

day, we shall not survive.

If, however, we constantly prove that our moral fiber is strong enough to match the marvelous achievements of our brains, that the power of our soul is always greater than the power of our intellect, then we shall be able to hand down to our children and grandchildren a better and safer world. I believe that this thought contains the true meaning of the efforts being made by statesmen of the free world to bring about greater harmony and greater unity between their peoples. I can assure you that we in Germany shall continue to do our best to contribute toward the attainment of this goal.

Thank you.

Surgical Triumphs of the University of Minnesota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 1, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial which was published in the Minneapolis Star of March 28, 1955, commenting on surgical triumphs at the university.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U'S SURGICAL TRIUMPHS

Minnesota is building a worldwide reputation for preeminence in heart surgery. The most recent operation, performed on a 13-year-old boy Wednesday, involved the use of a dog's lung to oxygenate the patient's blood. It was the first operation of its kind performed anywhere.

Minnesota's reputation in heart surgery has been steadily increasing since 1953 when university surgeons announced methods of refrigerating patients' blood in order to slow down the flow and thus give operators more time to work within the heart.

In 1954 the university again wrote international headlines with news of the first cross-circulation, or hooked-up heart, operation in which a human donor was used to supply heart and lung action for the patient. Since then more than 40 cross-circulation operations have been performed at the university hospitals.

Now the doctors have found a way to eliminate use of a human donor, thus decreasing the risks of each operation. A dog's lung is used to oxygenate the blood from the patient while surgeons are working within his heart. These techniques give surgeons a chance to operate in a dry field with the heart directly exposed to view. Earlier heart operations were "shots in the dark," because

the surgeon necessarily had to work within a pool of blood, obscuring his vision.

These surgical triumphs reflect great credit on our State university. They are striking evidence of the high quality of teaching and research that are carried on within its

Commencement Address by Spyros P. Skouras at the New York Medical College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, April 1, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, about a year ago Mr. Spyros P. Skouras, president of Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corp., and one of the outstanding public-spirited citizens of America, delivered a commencement address before the New York Medical College, in the course of receiving an honorary degree from that college. Mr. Skouras spoke on a subject which is most timely today, Mental Health.

I ask unanimous consent that this fine address by my good and eminent friend, Mr. Skouras, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY SPYROS P. SKOURAS, PRESIDENT, TWENTIETH CENTURY-FOX FILM CORP., NEW YORK MEDICAL COLLEGE, WEDNESDAY, JUNE

Mr. President (Charles Halsey, president of board of trustees), members of the graduating class, ladies and gentlemen, with humility, and appreciation, I accept this honor from one of the great institutions of medical learning of our land. I thank you from my heart.

For nearly a century, New York Medical College has sent forth its young men, rep-resenting the blood of many races, to minlater to the afflicted and allay mortal pain.

These ministrations have been given, regardless of race, or creed, or national boundaries, for the art of medicine is the true practice of brotherhood among men. It represents democracy at its best.

Therefore, I feel an exaltation today, like that I have had on other wonderful occasions in my life.

One such unforgettable thrill came to me when, as an immigrant boy, I was uplifted by my first sight of the Statue of Liberty and its symbolic meaning to the tired masses of humanity.

Again, many years later, I was equally overwhelmed with emotion, when I returned to my native Greece-the cradle of democracy-as a citizen of the American democracy, and gazed upon the ancient Acropolis, lighted up at night in honor of the occasion.

At another time, when I visited old Jerusalem, and stood at the sepulchre of our Lord. I was carried away by a feeling of awesome reverence.

Years later, I was moved to the depths of my being, when I flew over the border between Chile and Argentina, and had my first view of Christ of the Andes, standing high among the peaks, imploring the peo-ple of the New World to give an example of peace and brotherhood to the people of the

On all these occasions, I was profoundly thrilled, as I am now, over the bonds that unite men and make democracy a blessing.

The profession you, young men, are about to enter, is the most democratic and noblest of all mortal callings.

The sacred trust reposed in you is exemplified, best of all, by the exalted words of the oath of Hippocrates. This vow of devotion has guided the medical profession for many centuries.

As you know so well, it was Hippocrates and his contemporaries who rationalized medicine as a science and removed it from the realm of superstition.

These early Greeks drew upon all sound knowledge existing, up to that time, in order to organize the medical profession. This was another of their great gifts to the arts, sciences, and culture of civilization.

That was a golden age of human progress. But, even so, the Greeks could not have dreamed of this miracle age of medical advancement, and the great discoveries which save human life and abate pain.

Your profession is now repaying these pioneers in the laboratory, in the hospital and home, on the battlefield, and in the midst of disaster.

Besides constant endeavors to widen the horizon of medical science, the doctor is always present where there is suffering, and his courage and fortitude are taken for He expects no honors, and no medals for gallantry. But he is, nevertheless, brave under all circumstances, whether in ministering to the wounded soldier in Korea, or in Indochina, or to the victim of violence, or accident, at home.

Only last week, many lives were saved by the extraordinary medical preparedness that followed the disaster aboard the aircraft carrier, Bennington.

Always the doctor stands in the presence of God.

I welcome this opportunity to speak to you because, in spite of the breathtaking achievements in modern medicine, I want to implore you, and through you, the entire medical profession, to conquer another great human suffering. I refer to the related field of mental health.

Another adage of the ancient Greeks was in effect this, "A healthy body, a healthy mind."

A healthy mind is the first requirement of a health citizen. But, believe me, gentlemen, there remains no greater challenge for you than that of penetrating into this vast and pathetic field.

Words cannot express the gratitude that future generations will owe you, if your profession can also help to ease the torment of the mentally ill, and explore more deeply this field, in order to reduce this awful sickness.

I know of no illness that brings greater torment, both to the afflicted ones, and to loved ones around them.

Beyond that, the ills of this world of ours can largely be traced to minds that are warped and twisted. It is the madmen of history who have created wars.

Who knows, but that it is along the lines of meeting this problem that, in time, we can help bring peace, and security to the world.

This is an age of miracles, in every branch of science, and all human endeavor. Let us pray that we can bring about another one. In view of the wonders achieved in the last half century, the possibilities of the next 50 years are staggering.

This golden opportunity is yours. You, young men, receive your degrees today from a warm and vibrant human institution, interested in a healthy citizenship. Your heritage is a precious one.

As a respected leader of his community, the doctor must minister to the soul and to the aspiration of his neighbors.

The community, where people are knit closely together, is the source of great ideas

that reach to all the corners of the earth. The communities into which you will go, are the segments of America which constitute the glorious sum total of our country which, today, is the hope of the world.

Your community will look up to each of you for the spiritual inspiration which will help to make your neighbors better citizens

of a free world.

You are the most fortunate of men, and you can render tremendous service. You will be leaders in the whole fight for freedom, because no matter what treasures of health, and prosperity we possess, they are of little consequence if we are not freemen.

Today, our freedom is again threatened because evil despots want to conquer and control all the world.

Yesterday, it was the Nazis and Fascists who inflicted sorrow, and suffering upon the world, and particularly upon their own people, by their greedy and insane ambitions.

Today, it is the distorted minds of the Kremlin which have enslaved half the world, and seek to conquer the rest of it with their satanic doctrines.

As long as our country has faith in God, and freedom, as long as it is the good neighbor and the good Samaritan to all peoples, and as long as its devotion to democracy remains, we know that this effort to conquer and enslave cannot succeed.

We must, therefore, work with all our hearts and souls, whatever our calling may be, to build a better America, as strong in its faith to these principles, as it is strong in its material resources and resolute purpose to resist, and overcome any aggression,

May God grant you the power to build a citizenship that is as healthy in mind as it is robust in body, to meet this respon-sibility without flinching.

Your generation, and your profession can give greatly to the leadership that will keep America safe, and the beacon of liberty aflame for all men.

The Late Senator Maybank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY M. JACKSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, in accordance with the unanimous-consent agreement of March 2, 1955, I present and ask to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement in tribute to my late colleague, the Senator from South Carolina, Burnet R. Maybank.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JACKSON HONORING SENATOR BURNET R. MAYBANK

Mr. President, it is not possible for me to add to the outstanding tributes that have been paid today to Burnet Maybank. I can only confirm and corroborate these deserving statements. I shall always remember him for his deep and devoted interest to the problems of not just the State of South Carolina but the the Nation as a whole. He was sincerely interested in assisting other Senators with their many problems. He never hesitated to devote his talent, his energy, and his wisdom to the many social and economic problems of the Nation. He had a broad vision, a broad understanding of our country and the world as it is today. His wise counsel, his devoted service, will be sorely missed in this Chamber. I wish to join with my colleagues in extending to his family my deepest sympathy.

Ike Frowns on War Talk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 1, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Ike Frowns on War Talk," which was published in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of March 30, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IKE FROWNS ON WAR TALK

President Eisenhower has done his countrymen and the free world a great service by letting it be known that he is not a party to the war talk being put out by some of his principal advisers.

his principal advisers.

This talk appears to be designed to maneuver the President into a position in which he will be publicly committed to using the Armed Porces of the United States to keep the Chinese Communists from taking islands within a few miles of the Chinese mainland.

Some of the President's military advisers and top commanders in the Far East want the President to say he will fight for Quemoy and Matsu. They have the support of a few Members of Congress who share their desire for an early showdown with the Communists and conviction that the United States can win such a showdown with atomic weapons.

This faction believes a declaration that the United States will fight for Quemoy and Matsu as well as for Formosa may deter the Communists from trying to take the offshore islands. It contends Russia wouldn't help China fight the United States if war broke out over those islands.

Admiral Carney, Chief of Naval Operations, recently gave rise to a flock of stories that the Communists are likely to attempt to take the offshore islands any time after April 15.

Talk of early Communist moves against the islands is accompanied by warnings that fallure to resist such a move would cause all of Asia to lose faith in the United States and turn toward communism.

Despite their exalted position those who put out this talk about what the Communists will do and how Asians will react are Just guessing. They are in no better position to know what is in the minds of the top leaders of China and Russia than any other diligent students of communism and Chinese and Russian history.

Confident predictions that Russia will not go to China's aid reflect wishful thinking rather than something to be relied upon.

Most Asian governments think the United States has no right to use its Armed Forces to keep the Communists from taking islands within a few miles of the coast. That view is shared by our Western allies. Asians are as likely to be alienated by use of United States atomic weapons to hold Quemoy and Matsu as by nonintervention in those islands,

President Eisenhower cast doubt on Carney's estimate that the Communists are likely to try to take offshore islands by the middle of next month. The political and military intelligence reaching the White House does not support the Navy's estimate that the Communists will have enough strength for such an operation by that date.

The President is keenly aware of the danger of war in the Formosa Strait but he does

not take the view that war is imminent or inevitable. He does not intend to be maneuvered into a position in which the danger will be unnecessarily increased.

It is to be hoped that the President's public indication of displeasure with warscare talk will have a restraining influence on those in his administration who have been talking along those lines.

It is to be hoped that the President's views and clear indication that he continues to make basic decisions in Formosa will have a reassuring effect in allied countries.

Allied relations with Russia are entering a stage in which the allied cause may suffer greatly if our principal allies do not have full confidence in American policy in Formosa as well as in Europe. The President's advisers must not be permitted to undermine allied confidence in his leadership by irresponsible talk and uncoordinated actions.

Hans Christian Andersen Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAT McNAMARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, April 1, 1955

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a proclamation issued by the eminent Governor of Michigan, G. Mennen Williams, designating Saturday, April 2, 1955, as Hans Christian Andersen Day.

There being no objection, the proclamation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF MICHIGAN, EXECUTIVE OFFICE, Lansing.

PROCLAMATION: HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN

In a world where accomplishment, not ostentation and vain glory, is the foundation of enduring fame, the man longest and best remembered is the man who serves his fellows with honesty of heart and mind.

Such a man was the Danish writer Hans Christian Andersen, the 150th aniversary of whose birth will be celebrated on April 2 in 60 lands throughout the world. Born in the little village of Odense, the son of a poor shoemaker, he learned early in life how often men, deceived by outward show, forget to be human.

First recognized in Europe as a novelist, his international and lasting reputation rests not on his plays and novels but on the unpretentious fairy tales in which he set down countless wise and witty observations. When in 1875, at the age of 70, he closed his eyes to the world, he did so in the knowledge that his stories were read by grownups as well as children everywhere, and that he had become Denmark's best known and most widely respected son.

As young and old in every land to whom his tales have brought delight and pleasure observe with special ceremonies the sesquicentennial of the poor village boy, who within his lifetime achieved worldwide fame but who always remained sympathetic to the humble and the poor, it is most appropriate that in America every State in our great Union join in the celebrations honoring his memory.

Therefore, I, G. Mennen Williams, Governor of the State of Michigan, do hereby proclaim Saturday, April 2, 1955, as Hans Christian Andersen Day in Michigan, and urge that on that day our people, individually and

as members of literary, educational, and other groups and organizations, pay tribute to the memory of the man born on that date in 1805, whose fanciful yet profound fairy stories, written more than a century ago for the boys and girls of his native Denmark, today are still read and loved by an ever-growing worldwide audience of children and adults.

Given under my hand and the great seal of the State of Michigan, this 24th day of March, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-five, and of the Commonwealth the 119th.

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS,

By the Governor:

James M. Hare, Secretary of State.

Industry Moves South, and With It, Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 1, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a very fine article entitled "Industry Moves South, and With It, Prosperity" from the Evening Star of March 31. This article, by Mr. Joseph Fox, emphasizes the great role being played by former Senator Charles E. Daniel in attracting and building new industries in our great Southland. It also points out that the Piedmont area of South Carolina has become the textile center of the United States.

Speaking further of our great State of South Carolina, Mr. President, I should also like to call to the attention of the Senate the outstanding performance of South Carolina bands and floats in the Cherry Blossom Festival parade in Washington last night. For the second year in a row, the parade's grand prize was won by the South Carolina float from Myrtle Beach, S. C.

The Winyah High School Band of Georgetown, S. C., also won first prize in the State band competition, for the second consecutive year. In addition to all this, Mr. President, the Spartanburg High School Band won third place in another contest yesterday afternoon.

On behalf of these able representa-

On behalf of these able representatives of the State of South Carolina, I wish to say that I am proud of these remarkable achievements, Mr. President. I salute them, and extend to them my most sincere congratulations.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDUSTRY MOVES SOUTH, AND WITH IT,
PROSPERITY

(By Joseph A. Fox)

This is the story of one of history's greatest industrial migrations.

It is mostly about textiles and their move from New England to the South. But it goes much deeper than that. It involves other industries, related and unrelated, which have joined the parade. It involves changes—potentially great changes—in the social and economic structure of the Nation. It also involves a prime example of short-

sighted labor policies.

In New England, where office workers are the poorest paid in the country, textile wages are the highest in the country. unions made the fatal mistake of demanding more than the textile traffic could bear. Exodus to nonunion territory has been the result.

To assess the dispersion of America's light industry-its causes and effects-this reporter recently completed an extensive tour through New England and Dixie. It was a study in many different contrasts. But the greatest contrast between the two regions, businesswise, is one of mood.

In the late winter chill, the grimy windows of New England towns stare from deserted buildings like empty sockets in a

row of skulls.

Spindles and looms—that once clattered a symphony of prosperity-are junk.

Jobless men and women are counted in the thousands.

Decay and despair go hand in hand.

This is how it is in Lawrence and Lowell-New Bedford, Woonsocket, Pawtucket, Manchester-in scores of once thriving communities from Connecticut to Maine to which America looked for its cottons and woolens.

The new textile empire centers, like the head of a comet, in the Piedmont area of the Carolinas and George-but the tail of the comet trails all the way to the Gulf of Mex-To the hard core of the region's longestablished textile industry, runaways from the North add constant increments.

In this expanding network, the drab work centers that other generations knew are disappearing before the push of a resurgent

economy.

Ultramodern machinery in specially designed buildings raises production rates far above old levels.

Everywhere, the economy hums with busy confidence. The South is experiencing a new reconstruction era. This time, it's good.

New England is fighting for its life; some of the tough Yankee strain, which never gives up, still professes to see hope for the textile industry there. But the battle is most unequal. Just how unequal, a few statistics will show.

EIGHTY PERCENT IN SOUTH

The South now claims 80 percent of the Nation's clothmaking business. There are about 600,000 textile workers in Dixie—all of them white—as against the 170,000 jobs in cotton synthetics and woolen worsted left in New England.

The shift has been accelerated since World War II and has almost exactly reversed the situation which obtained in the World War

More than 350 New England mills have called it quits or made a start elsewhere during the last 20 years. In the past 9 years, liquidations have wiped out 236 plants with nearly 92,000 workers. It is not possible to say how many of these mills actually moved south. The migration does not work that way. A factory closes in the North. Sometime later-or perhaps earlier-the company operating it opens a new plant or several plants south of the Mason-Dixon line.

The business has gone, and with it the jobs. But the people who manned the northern plant do not move to the new operation. A few key workers may be trans-planted, but the rest stay behind jobless.

New England's exact unemployment figures are hard to come by-a clue to the size of the problem may lie in the fact that 127,877 people are now drawing unemployment benefits in the six-State area. There is no telling how many may have used up their benefit privileges and failed to find new work. On the other side of the coin, Labor Department employment figures are

significant. From 1939 to 1953, New England showed a gain of 37.4 percent in nonagricultural employment as against the national average of 63 percent. In comparison no State in the Southeast was less than the national average. This ratio still holds good.

UNJUSTIFIED OPTIMISM?

New Englanders like to tell themselves things will pick up shortly; that the textile migration is about over. They will draw migration is about over. They will draw little comfort in this connection from a recent check which showed that 21 textile firms from the North were conducting simultaneous scouting operations-in the Greenville (S. C.) area alone.

In any economic development of this sort, there is an inevitable snow-balling effect. In the wake of the textile shift, manufacturers of textile machinery and the pro-ducers of chemical materials that are woven into synthetics are heading southward to get

nearer their market.

And, having observed the happy experience of these pioneers, other industries, totally unrelated to textiles, these days, are taking their clue from the clothmakers and looking toward the South. Why? What is the exp

What is the explanation of this

phenomenon?

As already indicated, union labor must take a large share of the responsibility for industry's flight from New England to Dixie. What labor did to the New England millsand what the burgeoning of the industrial South is doing to the cause of unionismwill be examined in detail in later articles of this series.

LABOR NOT ONLY FACTOR

But the labor problem is not the only factor behind the great migration. Besides offering an abundance of nonunion labor at nonunion wages, the South is fighting aggressively to attract new industry-and the effort is paving off.

Free plant sites and relief from taxation are big weapons in the southern arsenal. Cities are issuing bonds-borrowing money to buy attractive factory locations for prospective customers. State governments see to it that the newcomers get a break from the tax collector. The theory is that increased payrolls are better revenue producers than are taxes.

Greenville, mentioned above, calls itself the textile center of the country. But this South Carolina city is not above capitalizing on the current trend. It is busy promoting its Golden Strip, a large area of undeveloped land which is envisioned as the eventual site of a huge development of di-

versified plants furnishing employment for thousands.

It already has attracted one important and perhaps surprising customer: The W. R. Grace Co. This old-established shipping firm is branching out into plastics—and setting up a multi-million-dollar operation

in food packaging.
South Carolina's efforts to attract new industry are typical of the South, though few if any can match this State for aggressive-The State frees immigrant business ness. from all but the school-millage tax for the first 5 years.

STATE'S PRIME MOVER

A big cog in the South Carolina industrial-recruitment program is Charles E. Daniel, of Greenville, head of the construction company which bears his name, and an associate of the former Gov. James F. Byrnes. Mr. Daniel was Governor Byrnes' interim appointee to the Senate last year after the death of Senator Maybank. But he is a businessman rather than a politician. Even in adjoining North Carolina, which might be pardoned a bit of jealousy, he is rated as the principal driving force behind the buildup in the Piedmont.

A visitor is told that Mr. Daniel not only does the spadework to pave the way for attracting industry, but promises to have a modern plant ready for occupancy by the newcomer in 6 months, at minimum cost.

Some of the structures the Daniel concern turn out are show places. Always the utilitarian side is stressed.

ONE-LEVEL BUILDINGS

Most of these buildings, for example, are of ground-level design, with great production advantages over the traditional multistoried factory. In textiles they are set up for an integrated operation that may carry a bale of cotton right through to the point where it emerges from the mechanical maze as a finished sheet.

All of which only adds to the migratory snowball. The tired old New England mills lack that sort of efficiency. And dwindling receipts have kept their owners from doing the plant modernizing that is needed so

They have spent about \$185 million for this purpose since World War II. It has not been nearly enough.

Thomas Parran

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, April 1, 1955

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Thomas Parran," which was published in the Baltimore Sun of April 1, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows.

THOMAS PARRAN

Thomas Parran was the Republican candidate for the United States Senate in the year before the outbreak of the First World He was at the time 53 years of age. These bits of history tell us that Mr. Parran reached his fullness of life in a kind of world that is past forever. Adaptable though he was, Mr. Parran must have had in later years a feeling of movement through strange, unreal places. And younger people who met him-say, people under 50-must occasionally have wondered whether he belonged in the period of William McKinley, Abraham Lincoln, or Andrew Jackson. Perhaps, they felt that these periods merged and blended, anyway.

The great time in Mr. Parran's life was 60 years ago, come November. That was the day when the Republicans elected their first governor after the Civil War. Two months later, Lloyd Lowndes assumed his duties as governor and ambitious Republicans saw & new panorama unfold before their eyes. lift their spirits further, Republican victory in the Nation was in the air and, in fact, 10 months after Mr. Lowndes was installed in Annapolis, Mr. McKinley won his first victory over William Jennings Bryan and started 16 years of Republican rule in Washington.

Exciting days. And there in Annapolis was Tom Parran, a man beginning to be well seasoned at 36. Other men who fasten their names in the minds of older men and women were there, too. Phil Goldsborough, the young State's attorney in Dorchester County. was there. He had the audacity to shoot for a seat in the United States Senate though he was barely eligible in age. He got the seat 32 years later. Sydney Mudd was therethe first Sydney. He was planning to make southern Maryland his personal domain, and

he made it such later that year. He went to Congress and became "Marse Sydney." His name was so potent that, after his death, his elder son soon followed him in Congress

because his name was Sydney.

Also there was George L. Wellington, the self-educated man from Cumberland, who had the best mind and the best tongue in the lot. He had managed Mr. Lowndes' campaign and he was to break with him. He was also to break with President McKinley while a Republican Senator and to support Mr. Bryan in 1900. His speech for Mr. Bryan in the Lyric was one of the things in Maryland politics to be remembered. In the Politics of the day, which might be described as mischievously innocent, Wellington was an Aneurin Bevan-a man of talents and moods who seemed to have wells of inexhaustible fervor which could be governed neither by himself nor any or all of his associates. He lived to support Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. Stricken and crippled he made from a box in Ford's Theater a short speech which still echoes in the memories of some who heard it.

In that faraway life, Tom Parran had his fulfillment and to him, and to others who go that far back, it was a pleasant life, in which politics could be at once a serious purpose and a gay game in a broad land which was safe and sure of itself. He was wise enough to spend the overflow of years as a humorous patriarch who thought the Lord had been wonderously good in planting

his feet in Calvert County.

Cost of the United States Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 1, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, recently the distinguished Representative from the 18th District of Pennsylvania, the Honorable Richard M. Simpson, in his weekly letter to his constituents, gave some interesting figures on the cost of the United States Army. I ask unanimous consent that an excerpt from his letter be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the extract was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Some facts and figures were developed during hearings by the Military Appropriations Committee which I am sure will be of interest to all my readers. We hear about the billions spent for national defense, but that is a vague figure which may not be thoroughly understood. However, some of the facts and figures are understandable, fascinating, and almost fantastic.

For instance, for aviation fuel, the Air Force uses over 400,000 tank cars a year. For auxiliary fuel tanks alone, 6,000 freight carloads of these tanks, which would form a train over 50 miles long, are utilized.

Our military men are the best fed in the world. The Air Force alone used enough eggs in 1 year to supply the needs of a city of 10,000 for 100 years. Our chicken farmers would probably put it this way: The Air Force alone would use the products of 2 million laying hens per year. Our beef cattlemen will be interested to know that the Army consumes beef from about 700,000 animals each year. Our potato farmers will be amazed at the fact that the Navy consumes

150 million pounds of potatoes a year, and our dairymen to learn that the Navy alone consumes 18,500,000 pounds of butter.

For bread, pastries, etc., the Army, Navy, and Air Force consume the wheat yield of 500,000 acres.

Our servicemen are also the cleanest in the world, so we are told. In 1 month, for instance, our sallors alone used 22 carloads of paper toweling just to dry their hands.

The Principles of Collective Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 1, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was interested to read in the Letters to the Editor" column of the New York Herald Tribune a significant comment from Mr. Goodhue Livingston, Jr., making certain important observations on the future of American foreign policy and pointing out the unsound alternatives to the present wise American policies of partnership with the free nations.

I send to the desk the text of this letter and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITING FOR PEACE

To the New York Herald Tribune:

Can America go it alone? Can our country meet the threat of Communist aggression without allies?

There are some who would have us believe so—recently their voices have grown more strident.

They would have us believe that collective security—the concept of free nations working together to safeguard freedom—is somehow a dangerous doctrine. With their impaired vision they see the network of defenses which our country is building throughout the free world as entangling alliances.

The neo-isolationists would have us break diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and thus reduce the possibility of preventing a world war. They would expel Communist-controlled countries from the United Nations and so encourage international lawlessness by freeing such governments from the "invisible deterrent" which the U. N. membership imposes. They would discontinue the work of special agencies of the U. N. and thereby abandon the fight against the breeding grounds of communism—hunger, sickness, and poverty.

Perhaps their most insidious and fallacious argument is that collective security is incompatible with national sovereignty and that our very freedom is threatened when we make agreements to give strength and encouragement to our allies.

They exploit false fears by charging that we have surrendered our independence and relinquished our rights. They ignore the fact that no treaty can deprive us of the liberties which are guaranteed by the Bill of Rights in our Constitution.

What are the alternatives in American foreign policy today?

Should America stand isolated and alone, or seek the active support and cooperation of the other free peoples of the world?

Shall we abandon these peoples, leaving them helpless before the economic, political, and military pressures of the Communists—or give them the strength that will enable them to resist these pressures and maintain their freedom?

Shall we give the Communists the chance to spread their falsehoods, escaping our arguments and evading our logic—or shall we make sure that there is a world forum where Communist propaganda can be effectively answered, where world opinion can be mobilized, and where joint action to resist aggression and maintain peace can be taken?

Shall we surrender to the counsel of despair and defeat—or seek to convince all men who would be free that they must be willing to fight to defend their freedom?

willing to fight to defend their freedom?

Only through constant effort, in public debate and action, can we demonstrate to all the world the superiority of our ideas and our ideals over the Communist program.

Only by being militarily, economically, politically, and spiritually strong can the free nations of the world prevent aggression.

Only by uniting for peace can we secure peace.

Chairman, Policy Committee, Chairman, Policy Committee, Committee for Collective Security. New York, March 15, 1955.

Accomplishments of the Civilian Conservation Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. IRVING M. IVES

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 1, 1955

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, yesterday, March 31, marked the 22d anniversary of the Civilian Conservation Corps. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a short summary of the accomplishments of this important organization.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the REBORD, as follows:

Some Accomplishments of the Civilian Conservation Corps

March 31 marks the 22d anniversary of a memorable adventure in service to American youth through the conservation of natural resources. On that day, in 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the act that that gave new meaning to the letters CCC. For 9 years thereafter, the Civilian Conservation Corps offered needy, unemployed young men opportunities to earn, learn, and serve.

Camps were set up in every State and Territory, and in the insular possessions. From these as bases, the boys built truck roads and telephone lines, erected towers, and helped promote a nationwide program of forest-fire prevention and suppression.

They planted nearly 3 million acres to trees, fought fires, and removed diseased and deformed trees from other millions of acres of forest. Where they worked green stands of forests now grow and protect the hills and mountains as they yield valuable crops of wood and give places for recreation.

They built check dams, diversion ditches, terraces, and did other jobs to fix the moving soil and restore fertility on millions of acres from coast to coast.

Western stockmen are indebted to them for better grasslands, sportsmen for wildlife cover and fish ponds, and everybody for parks and places to picnic or make overnight camps.

When the Civilian Conservation Corps was ended on June 30, 1942, its accomplishments were estimated as worth some \$2 billion. Greater than this, however, were the benefits received by some 3 million young men, with their parents or dependents. To them was given health, hope, a sense of security, and an understanding of man's dependence upon the earth. The record of this organization is a dramatic example of the influence a nation can have on the lives of its citizens.

Experiments in Mung Bean Sprouts in Treatment of Burns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR WICKERSHAM

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I should like to have inserted the following article by John O'Donnel, of the New York Daily News, and chief of the Washington bureau for this publication.

Mr. Speaker, this article was called to my attention by a constituent of mine through the mail.

Ninety-five percent of all the mung beans in the United States are grown in my district. I have made several insertions in the Record pertaining to the subject matters in this article in the 82d and 83d Congress. I am pleased to hear that the product is now undergoing a test by the Medical Research Foundation of Oklahoma.

Mr. Speaker, I feel that this product properly tested will certainly be of great service to the people of the world. I certainly hope that the Medical Research Foundation of Oklahoma will not hesitate to call on the chemist who discovered this product to assist them in anyway possible in making this product available for the use of mankind.

Mr. Speaker, I personally speak as a layman on medical research and biochemistry, but I have certainly seen and know of some terrific results that this product has done for people in the Washington area and my State. I am looking forward to hearing from the results.

CAPITOL STUFF (By John O'Donnell)

Washington, D. C., December 29.—In these final hours of 1954 we are happy to report that a combination of eagerness by farmers in the Southwest to make more money out of their mung bean crops (the product is now used almost entirely in making chop suey) and the political influence of such powerful individuals as Senator Kerr, Democrat, Oklahoma, the new junior Senator from Kentucky, Alben Barkley, and others on Capitol Hill is about to confer a boon on suffering mankind.

This is the now successful effort to have the Oklahoma Medical Foundation conduct a year-long test under the auspices of the medical chiefs of the Armed Forces to determine the efficacy of the mung bean sprouts in the treatment of burns of all degrees. This project has been considered for more than 2 years by the all-powerful National Research Council and top medical men who realize the importance of treatment of burns in these days of atom warfare and the hazards of fire and explosion from jet plane fuel.

In the past 12 months, this reporter has listened to some of the most conservative and highly esteemed medical men in this Capital. The accidental discovery of the mung bean juice as a medical weapon to treat burns on a par with other important aids to human life which have been stumbled upon by accident.

It isn't clear what old wife discovered that the leaves of the blooming foxglove in her kitchen garden eased pains around the heart. But from the discovery we got digitalis. Some Indian in old Peru learned that the scrapings from the bark of the cinchona shrubs releived the bone-shaking agony of majaria. That gave us quining

malaria. That gave us quinine.

The story of the mung bean juice and its present part in modern medical investigation is one of absorbing interest.

In 1944 an explosion took place in a chop suey canning factory in a Chicago suburb. Several employees were severely scalded. The uninjured who rushed to give first aid seized the nearest cool liquid at hand. This was in the vats containing the freshly cut mung bean sprouts and their juices. It was poured on the injured and they were hurried to a hospital.

THE JUICE PROVIDED PROTECTION

Several were on the dangerous list. An observant surgeon in the hospital noticed an unusual development. Although the parts of the bodies which had not been drenched with the juice showed deep blisters, the faces, throats, and limbs which the juice had reached showed little blistering. What wounds there were healed with remarkable speed and left little or no scar tissue. The doctor went back to the manufacturing plant and made his own investigation on the nature of the first aid treatment.

The doctor suggested to the head of the chop suey plant, Ben Zaremba and his research chemist, Joseph Ryankeiwicz, that there was evidently some property in the raw juice of the mung bean that was unusually effective in the treatment of burns. For a year and a half the experiments went on.

The raw juice, it developed, was an effective agent in the treatment of burns or a skin affliction (such as poison ivy, sunburn, etc.) for only 24 or 48 hours. The trick was to discover an enzyme which would preserve the qualities and so make the juice available for bottling and shipment.

O. K. ITS SALE FOR MINOR BURNS

This was accomplished a year and a half later. The Food and Drug Administration gave its O. K. to the sale of the product for "the relief of minor burns, sunburns, poison oak, and poison ivy." But efforts to get the medical qualities of the product tested for surgical use in the treatment of burns by the Armed Forces, hospitals, Red Cross, etc., ran into years of delay—delays which continued until this month.

Then the accidental, human element moved into the picture. The head of the chop suey factory and his research chemist came to Washington to see if it were possible to get a test by a foundation to determine the worth of the discovery. They finally invaded the suite of the then Vice President BARKLEY and talked the Veep's administrative assistant, William Vaughan.

Vaughan wasn't much interested.

Then came the interesting development. A case of samples was left by the disappointed visitors from Chicago. The Veep took some home. Several months later, Mrs. Barkley suffered a severe accident in the kitchen, she poured a bottle over the burns, called the doctor and came back to Capitol Hill singing the praise of the lotion.

Then came a series of fortuitous events. Washington's senior radio broadcaster, Earl Godwin, picked up a few sample bottles in the Veep's office. Some time later, Mrs. Godwin, opening a can of steamed plum pudding screamed when the Christmas delicacy exploded in her face. Husband Godwin emptied the bottles over the burns, called the doctor and a few days later went on the air extolling the power of the magic drug.

Six months later, more than 60 reputable physicians were using the lotion in their private practice.

MUST GET RESEARCH COUNCIL'S O. K.

But—and this is highly proper—the medical men of the Armed Forces cannot use any medication or drug on personnel until it has first been formally tested and approved by the Nation's top scientific board, the National Research Council.

Now, the mung bean juice is getting its formal year-long test, first on animals, later, if it works, on the human hide. And the force that finally put the test across was the demand of the Oklahoma and Arizona mung bean growers on their Senators and Representatives that they wanted the test made because here was what seemed to be a good chance to increase their acreage of mung beans.

The National Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, April 1, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the matter of the debt of the United States is, to my mind, one of the most serious problems confronting us. In a recent editorial entitled "Visualizing the National Debt," the Oil City (Pa.) Derrick presented some figures showing that if we took the salaries and the wages of all our people, including those in the armed services, the total would be \$70 billion less than the total debt.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VISUALIZING THE NATIONAL DEBT

The national debt is owed, in part, by ever American family. It amounts to a first lien on all our national assets.

Just how big is the national debt? In round figures it is \$279 billion.

Figures like that, however, mean little to the average individual. To get a better ides of the magnitude of the national debt, the Tax Foundation draws this graphic picture:

Suppose we took the total annual paychecks of ever one of the 55 million people
who work in our factories, our businesses,
and on our farms. Suppose we added to
that the pay of 7 million civilians on Government payrolls and the 3 million persons
in the Armed Forces. Suppose we then added
such extras as all the social-security payments made by employers—

We'd then have a total of \$209 billion, or \$70 billion less than the total of the national debt.

Isn't this a convincing argument of the necessity for the vigorous support of every citizen of continued efforts to reduce Government spending and bring the budget into.

Urgent Need: Bossier City Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I have previously brought to the attention of the Congress the situation in reference to a separate and independent post office for Bossier City, La. The Planters Press, of Bossier City, La., in its issue of March 19, 1955, carried a further news article on this subject. This well-written, clearly thoughtout article presents the thinking of the citizens of this fine city. The editor is prompted to carry this article by his real for the improvement of this community and is deeply interested in his fellow citizens. The article answers many of the points which have been raised and I feel it should be presented to the Congress so that the full and com-Plete picture will be known.

The article is as follows:

CONFUSED POSTAL MESSENGER HAD HIS FACTS
BADLY TWISTED

(By Ned Touchstone)

A confused Texan came to Bossier City Tuesday afternoon to tell Bossierites why he thinks he should turn thumbs down on this city's request for independent postal service.

Emery W. Roderick, manager of the Dallas district, based a large part of his argument on difficulty in other cities in sorting mail which would be addressed to Bossier City. He indicated that mail handlers are very familiar with Shreveport but would have difficulty recalling the small city of Bossier City when they see an envelope addressed here

What never occurred to the Dallasite is this fact; Mail which comes to Bossier City as a branch is addressed "Bossier City." Mail which would come if a change is made is also addressed "Bossier City."

The other half of his argument against separate postal service was based upon the high cost. He indicated that it would be too expensive to give Bossier City the type of mail service that West Monroe and Pineville have been able to get for themselves. He estimated that it would cost \$30,000 more per year to sort outgoing mail on this side of the river instead of sending it across the river to be sorted in Shreveport. He did not explain why the same number of employees relieved of duties in Shreveport by taking away a fifth of the mail volume could not be used in Bossier City to handle that volume of mail.

He cited efficiencies and improvement of mail service under the administration which appointed him to his new post of high authority. He seemed surprised to learn that Bossier City receives just as bad, or worse, mail service than it received under earlier administrations.

Several of the Bossler City civic leaders interrupted him while he was discussing efficiency to determine why the mail service requires 2 days to deliver a letter from Bossler City 2 miles out the Benton Road, or to Red Chute. He explained that the rural routes serving these areas run out of Benton and Haughton and that it is politically unwise to change a mail route. He had no ready prepared answer for the unbelievably poor service given Benton patrons on letters from Bossler City.

Roderick told the gathering that his Dallas file does not show when or why the Shreveport Post Office abandoned its promise to cancel Bossier City mail "Bossier City." He promised that this promise to Bossierites would be remembered in the future and again promised some of the other promises made earlier by postal officials.

He indicated that a final decision had not been made officially, and that he might give the city a favorable decision even though he is personally convinced that Bossier City would be better off doing things like they are done in Texas. He frequently cited suburban areas and small towns in the Lone Star State which have asked to be made branch offices instead of independent offices.

Bossier City is the seventh largest city in the State of Louisiana. Although Bossier Parish is among the top parishes in the State in total population, it does not have a first-class post office.

J. Murray Durham, president of the National Bank of Bossier City, presented Roderick with written arguments in behalf of independent service for Bossier City. Homer Cox, commander of the American Legion post here, also presented arguments in behalf of Bossier City.

Nearly everyone at the meeting cited examples of poor service to the Bossier branch. Roderick suggested that the problems be taken up with the local postmaster.

After the meeting he was reminded that Bossier City is one of those few cities in the United States which doesn't have a local postmaster.

Again, I state it is my hope the Postmaster General will act immediately to give these citizens the postal facilities to which they are entitled—an independent and separate post office.

Senator Neely's Attack on the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 1, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial which was published in the Washington Post of March 31, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEELY'S SLIPPERY GROUND

Senator Neely's blast at President Eisenhower could be dismissed as merely an explosion of political gas, except for one fact. The Senator accused the President of making a show of his religion and of hypocrisy in his profession of faith. That is a foul blow which will be resented by a large number of people without regard for political or religious affiliations.

In this land of free worship religion is entirely a personal matter. A man's faith has no place in the political arena. If there were a shadow of truth in Senator Neely's accusation of insincerity on the part of the President in his profession of faith—and we do not think there is—the President would be answerable for his offense before his God and not before the people. For a politician to invade this realm and presume to judge the state of the President's conscience is a gross disservice to the cause of religion, as well as that of politics. We agree with Senator Durf in saying that "To criticize how or

where any American worships is a direct violation of that right and infringes the very spirit of religious freedom." If Senator NEELY thinks this sort of bigotry will pay political dividends, he has gravely misjudged the temper of the American people.

John F. Stevens and the Panama Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 1, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, the history of the construction of the Panama Canal was marked by a series of grave crises. Fortunately for the future welfare of our Nation, able leaders were available to cope with the acute problems which arose. Those leaders included men such as President Theodore Roosevelt, Secretary of War William Howard Taft, Gen. William C. Gorgas, and John F. Stevens.

Of all these men, John Stevens has received the least recognition for his role in the construction of the Panama Canal. He served as Chief Engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission from 1905 to 1907, and was Chairman of the Commission, as well as Chief Engineer, in 1907. It was largely on his recommendation that Congress decided in 1906 to authorize construction of a lock instead of a sea-level canal. Of particular significance in this early stage was his determined support of General Gorgas. whose plan for exterminating mosquitoes as a first step to combating yellow fever was considered impractical by many people. Stevens drafted complete plans for most of the canal, assembled and organized the working force, rebuilt most of the Panama Railroad, and prepared specifications for and began the digging of Culebra Cut, which presented the greatest single obstacle. He resigned in 1907, when the canal project was placed under the War Department, and was succeeded by George W. Goethals.

John Stevens was born at West Gardiner, Maine, on April 25, 1853, and died at Southern Pines, N. C., on June 2, 1943. The State of Maine is indeed proud of this illustrious son who became one of the world's greatest engineers. In addition to being the basic architect of the Panama Canal, his notable achievements in the field of engineering included discovery of the Grand Marais Pass in Montana, construction of the Great Northern Railroad, and rehabilitation of Russian and Siberian railroads following World War I.

Recently, his son, John F. Stevens, Jr., brought to my attention an unpublished account of some of the events connected with the construction of the Panama Canal which Mr. Stevens wrote after the death of the other principals. This brief account throws new light on the history of the construction of the Panama Canal, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record. As an aid in identifying the

individuals mentioned in the article their names have been inserted in parentheses.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A MOMENTOUS HOUR AT PANAMA

(By John F. Stevens, former Chairman (1907) and Chief Engineer (1905-7), Isthmian Canal Commission)

There has been published from time to time such a mass of information about the Panama Canal, a project which aroused much controversy a quarter of a century ago, that any reference to it after the lapse of years may seem to be quite superfluous; but as is often the case in human affairs, history does not always record events which have had a profound influence for good or evil upon the solution of the problems involved. The history of the planning and construction of the Panama Canal is no exception to such general rule.

The condition of affairs on the isthmus during a part of the year 1905 can truly be described as desperate; by many well-wishers even it was regarded as hopeless. When the speaker arrived there in July of that year, he found not even the skeleton of a general organization, Supreme authority was vested in no one. The sanitary department was the only one having the semblance of a proper organization, and it was doing a limited amount of work under what would probably have proven a fatal handicap had it continued. The usual tropical diseases were prevalent, and that scourge of the white race, yellow fever, was taking its deadly toll daily. While the situation was in some degree psychologic, the danger was great, enough so that unless the disease was promptly checked and thereafter held under control, the success of the great enterprise would be jeopardized.

The tragic story of the French attempt to build a canal there was in many mouths, and predictions were freely made that the history of the Americans on the isthmus would be a repetition of the De Lesseps failure. Under the then existing conditions it would not have been possible to have held the small force of clerical and skilled white labor which had been collected, much less to have induced thousands of other whites to have entered the service. Especially so in view of the pessimistic attitude which some of the American press had taken, and the exaggerated accounts which they were publishing as to living and health conditions on the isthmus, some influential members openly advocating that the whole undertaking should be abandoned as affording no hope of a successful outcome.

At that time few of the general public knew anything of the so-called mosquito theory of the transmission of yellow fever, and they mostly regarded it as purely theoretical. Not so with the medical scientists who had successfully demonstrated it Cuba, and of those scientists was Col. William C. Gorgas of the Medical Corps of the Army, who was the head of the sanitary department on the isthmus. He was working intelligently with a small but efficient staff, but with an utter lack of cooperation on the part of his immediate superiors. He was one of the first officials that I met there, and from him I gained my real insight into the famous theory.

Of Colonel (later general) Gorgas, his work and supreme service to mankind, it is unnecessary to speak here. His memory is so deeply cherished, and his fame is so secure that no words of mine can add to either. Best of all, he was a kindly, sincere man, the highest type of gentleman, and I am proud to have known him, not only officially, but also as a warm friend.

The then Chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission, Theodore P. Shonts, accompanied me on my first vist to the isthmus, he remaining there but 5 days, as the situation did not appeal to him. At that time Colonel Gorgas was reporting to the Governor of the Canal Zone, Charles E. Magoon. Neither the Governor or the Chairman had the least faith in the efficacy of the mosquito theory, at least they so emphatically advised me at once, and their actions confirmed their words.

Quoting from a brochure of General Gorgas' life and activities, written by the president of the American College of Surgeons:

"Finally, in June 1905, the Governor [Magoon] and chief engineer [John F. Wallace, my predecessor], members of the executive committee of the Commission, united in a recommendation to the Secretary of War, William H. Taft, that the chief sanitary officer, Colonel Gorgas, and those who believed with him in the mosquito theory should be relieved, and men with more practical views be appointed in their stead. They stated that the sanitary authorities had visionary ideas with regard to the course of yellow fever, and no practical methods even of carrying them into effect.

The President, Theodore Roosevelt, declared his faith in the theory and directed that every possible support and assistance be extended to the sanitary officials. Personally, I have no knowledge except from hearsay of the accuracy of these statements, although I believe them to be true. What I do know is that such directions were not carried out either in letter or spirit.

Quoting again from the same authority: "About this time Mr. John F. Stevens was appointed Chief Engineer of the Commission, and he recommended that the Sanitary Department should be made an independent bureau and report directly to himself. This enabled Colonel Gorgas to make known his needs directly to the highest authority, and there he was accorded loyal support. This, remarks Gorgas, was the high-water mark of sanitary efficiency on the isthmus, and more sanitation was done at this time than during any other period of the construction of the canal."

Incidentally, I may here remark that on my recommendations some time afterward the President [Roosevelt] appointed Gorgas as a member of the Isthmian Canal Commission.

However, these results were not achieved without a sharp controversy during which the Chief Engineer [Stevens] clashed sharply with the Chairman [Shonts] and the Governor [Magoon]. I had been very deeply impressed by my conferences with Colonel Gorgas as to the probable truth of the mosquito theory, as well as by his personality. I also feit well assured that no canal could be built at Panama until the specter of yellow fever had been laid. There was no other promise of relief in sight than that of Gorgas and the mosquito theory, and there seemed to be but one course to follow.

On the occasion of a trip over the Panama Railroad, accompanied by the Chairman [Shonts] and the Governor [Magoon], the sanitary work which was in progress, visible from the train, such as drainage of pools of water, applying oil where drainage was not practicable, fumigation of houses, etc., was pointed out to me in great detail by these officials, accompanied by constant ridicule, not only of Colonel Gorgas but also of the mosquito theory, some of these comments reflecting very severely upon the quality of the colonel's mental equipment.

My attention was repeatedly called to the great waste of money and the utter futility of the whole procedure. It became very apparent that a serious situation existed, and I was in a quandary as to how it could be met, as I well knew that it must be, or a total collapse was inevitable. The climax came quickly.

The day before the chairman (Shonts) sailed for the States he advised me that he and the governor (Magoon) had decided that Colonel Gorgas must be gotten rid of (in his precise language, that he would fire him) and the mosquito theory, also. Some quick thinking and an important decision needed on my part, which decision I proclaimed in rather heated language, not to be repeated here. At the close of the harangue I said that if there seemed to be the least likelihood of approval of his action being given by the President (Roosevelt) (which I did not believe possible) I should take the matter in person to Washington; and that if Colonel Gorgas were removed I should not come back to the Isthmus.

I asked him what he thought the resction would be from the doubtful ones, and from the already unfriendly press, if it became known that the Commission had urged the abandonment of the mosquito theory and the disruption of the sanitary department, and stated that, furthermore, if after a hasty visit to the Isthmus the new chief engineer (Stevens) had, by his action. indicated his belief that the construction of the canal was impossible, it would mean chaos, whatever attitude the President (Roosevelt) might take. If it did not kill the project, it would certainly delay it, and the end no man could foresee. He left for the States without further comment on the matter. If he urged his views in Washington (which I do not believe he did) was never advised, and so the matter ended there, as it should.

I was seeking a way to stabilize the situation, for it was no time to be rocking the boat. Opportunity must be given for the sanitary department to prove its faith by its works, which I believed it could do.

It was not a question of Colonel Gorgas' business ability, but one of making the isthmus a safe place for white people to live and work, and that quickly, regardless of whatever cost in mere money might be involved. Beyond doubt, those officials were sincere in their opinions, but in my judgment they were wrong.

It was after this occurrence that Colonel Gorgas began to report to me, and from that time forward harmony prevailed. The Santary Department was furnished with everything it asked for as fast as it could be provided, and every other activity was made subordinate to its needs. Sanitary success soon became so apparent, coincident with the creation of a general organization, that carping criticism was practically stilled, for the first time since the American occupation of the isthmus. Science had scored a wonderful triumph over a deadly foe to the human race.

Sanitation was fundamental, and the success which the Sanitary Department achieved under Colonel Gorgas made the Panama Canal possible. When the results of its work became manfest, and when the lock type had been adopted, then the successful construction of the canal was as well assured, early in 1906, as it was on that historic day in August 1914, when the steamship Ancon passed through it from ocean to ocean.

At this distance of time and space the episodes related may seem trivial. Only one who was on the ground, charged with tremendous responsibilities, can comprehend the magnitude of the issues at stake. A rejection of the mosquito theory at that juncture would probably have meant the indefinite postponement of the canal project.

I have said that I did not then deem it possible that President Roosevelt would uphold the elimination of Colonol Gargas, but an occurrence which took place some years later gave me food for thought. Some time after Mr. Taft had become President, Colonel Roosevelt sent me an invitation to call upon him, which I did at the office of the Outlook magazine in New York, After some prelim-

inary talk, he told me that friction among Officials on the canal had reached such a Point that changes would have to be made, and that he thought Colonel Gorgas would have to go. He said that he was well aware that I knew more of Gorgas and his work than any man, and asked if in my opinion he should be kept.

It is needless to repeat what I told him. It was emphatic and to the point, and I closed by saying that if Gorgas were removed, it would be a stupid blunder. Colonel Roosevelt pounded the desk in his usual vehement manner and exclaimed, "That settles it; Gorgas stays." Which he did, through what influences one can only conjecture.

I have thought since that time that pos-Bibly it was just as well that the issue was not raised to a finality in July 1905. reason to know that the President [Roose-Velt] then had great confidence in the Chairman [Shonts], but the status of the Chief Engineer [Stevens] in that respect had yet to be demonstrated. I did not have faith enough in the result to wish the matter put to a test.

In the year 1914, when Gorgas was Surgeon General, I received a letter from him

reading in part as follows:

"I have a very clear and grateful recollection of the support and friendship you always gave me on the Isthmus. I knew very Well that you were the only one of the chief officials who believed in the sanitary work we were doing, and who was not taking active measures to oppose us. The fact is that you are the only one of the higher offi-cials on the Isthmus who always supported the Sanitary Department, and I mean this to apply to the whole 10 years, both before and after your time, so you can understand that our relations, yours and mine, stand out in my memory of the very trying 10 years I spent on the Isthmus, as a green and pleasant oasis."

Only fragmentary accounts of these episodes have ever been related, and as now that every one of those officials who were directly concerned with them, President [Roosevelt], Secretary of War [Taft], Governor [Magoon], Chairman [Shonts], General Gorgas everyone excepting myself-has passed beyond the sphere of human activities, it seems fitting that while firsthand knowledge of the matters then at issue is yet available, it should become a part of the history of the construction of the Canal, for it is not believed that the full significance of these events has ever been appreciated.

The Leading Question: What Should Be Done About Wiretap Evidence?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD a transcript of the CBS radio program, The Leading Question, of March 28, 1955, on which appeared our colleagues the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEATING] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEOGH]. The program consisted of a most interesting discussion on the subject of wiretapping and its use as evidence in Federal courts.

The transcript follows:

Mr. Cooke. What should be done about Wiretap evidence?

The development of electronic knowledge now means that almost any telephone can be easily listened in on without cutting your telephone wire or making clicks or warning noises to you; and one wiretapper has already testified to a congressional committee that he has tapped over 60,000 different telephones.

Some 30 States have legalized the admission of evidence that you get from wiretapping; but under a 1934 Federal law, the Department of Justice has tapped phones but has not been able to use the material it got in a court of law.

Today the House Judiciary Committee is holding hearings on whether or not the Federal Government should authorize and legalize wiretap evidence.

There are three big questions, maybe two big ones, and a small one, involved here.

First, the most important overall tion: Should wiretapping be legalized in any form; if so, who should O. K. it? The Attorney General, the courts, or whomever

And then, one other thing the Attorney General is especially interested in: If you O. K. wiretap evidence, should the bill be so passed that past evidence which he has and has not been able to use should be legalized along with future evidence?

Mr. KEATING, you have introduced the bill, you have a firm set of positions on all of

these questions.

Mr. Keating. Yes, Mr. Cooke, I have a bill in this Congress, and my bill, if you want just a word about it, does this:

First, as regard national security cases sabotage, espionage, treason, and crimes of that kind, some six enumerated crimes, it provides that evidence obtained by wiretapping can be used in court.

As to evidence heretofore obtained, upon the written authority of the Attorney Gen-

eral, that can be used.

As to evidence hereafter obtained, it is necessary to go to a court and convince a court that a crime or crimes have been or are about to be committed in this category, and that these communications may contain information which would assist in the conduct of those investigations.

Mr. Cooke. What about Mr. KEATING, a question like kidnaping, which is a Federal offense?

Mr. KEATING. Kidnaping is not covered in this bill. That's one of the controversial areas. It has been contended that the bill should be enlarged to include kidnapping and, for instance, another heinous crime that we all abhor, the selling of narcotics to minors.

Now, that's one type-that's one part of the bill.

The other part of it, equally important, I think, Mr. Cooke, is this: that it makes it a criminal offense to do any wiretapping which is not in accordance either (1) with the terms of this bill, that is, by the FBI under that bill, or (2) by the FBI in detect-ing other crimes, because they have a perfect right under the law now to wiretap; and third, anything done by the authorized agents of the various States or Territories in the 30 States that you have referred to who do legalize wiretapping.

Mr. Cooke, All right, Mr. Keoch. How do you feel?

Mr. Keogh. Now, Mr. Cooke, I am delighted to be here with my distinguished colleague, Mr. KEATING, who has made such a great study of this subject.
Mr. Cooke. Be careful, Mr. Keating, that

sounds like a windup.

Mr. KEATING. That's always dangerous with Mr. KEOGH.

Mr. KEOGH. Well, Mr. KEATING has in fact spent a great deal of time on this subject.

I would like, if I could, to divide our question, and take up first whether wiretapping should be permitted; and then follow that

with-what should be done with evidence obtained thereby?

Now, Mr. Keating, I think that this new bill of yours, H. R. 5096, is a successor to the one you had in the 83d, the last Congress, which passed the House but never became

You have indicated that you have sought to set up safeguards that would impose criminal penalties upon people not authorized to make the taps authorized under your bill.

Is that not a basic admission that the tapping of wires is inherently dangerous and should, if it is permitted, be confined to authorized agents?

Mr. KEATING. Well, I would agree that wiretapping is, as it's been described, a "dirty business." It is something which we do not like, and the thing that my criminal penalties are seeking to reach are the criminals and the snoopers and the blackmailers and that kind of people that use the telephone wires improperly.

Now, we have to balance that against our national security, and I know that the gen-

tleman, Mr. Keogh, is equally interested in our national security as am I. Mr. Cooks. Does Mr. Keogh agree with Justice Holmes that wiretapping is a dirty

Mr. KEOGH. I do, indeed, and it is from that agreement that my basic opposition to permitting or authorizing anyone to tap wires springs.

Now, you must realize, Mr. KEATING, as I know you do, that the Federal rule of permitting the introduction of evidence obtained by illegal wiretapping sprang from the decision of the Supreme Court in the Olmstead case, which took place in 1927, and involved a violation of the then noble experiment which will go down into history as the Prohibition Act, and as I read the decision of the Court, the Court turned on the fact that no trespass of the property of thet defendant had been committed in order to affect the tap. They did not directly pass on the legality or the illegality of wiretapping, as such, but dodged by indicating that since there was no basic violation of the fourth or the new much discussed fifth amendment, that the evidence so obtained could be used to support a conviction for violating the Prohibition Act.

Mr. Kearing. Well, now, in 1934, we passed the Communications Act, and ever since that time it has been generally accepted by every Attorney General, from the time of Justice Jackson down to the present time, under all administrations, it has been accepted that the FBI, upon the written authority of the Attorney General, could tap wires. cannot use that evidence in court. In other words, the hitch that we are in now is that if over the telephone an FBI agent hears that somebody has stolen or peddled important bomb secrets, or that he is plotting the assassination of a high Government official, or he is about to blow up a strategic defense plant, and hears that over the telephone, he can listen to it, that's perfectly legal, but he cannot use that evidence in

court. If he heard it behind a door or heard it in the next room, he could use it, but just because he heard it over a telephone

cannot use it, and it seems to me that that gives the enemies of our country a distinct advantage with regard to our technological progress in this country, which they are not entitled to have.

Mr. KEOGH, But, Mr. KEATING, when you do, as you so ably point to these types of crimes that you would seek to prevent, I think that you are begging the basic question.

Mr. COOKE. Which is?

Mr. Keogh. Which is: Should we encourage the violation of the basic guarantees of our Constitution for however high and noble a purpose it may be contended?

not the rights of our people greater than apprehending a criminal?

Mr. Keating. The only people who would suffer, under the bill that I have introduced, are the traitors or enemies of our country, nobody else.

Mr. KEOGH. That's-

Mr. KEATING. Because all other wiretapping, all this snooping and the-the listenin on one business concern against another, or one union against another, or a business concern against a union, or a uinon against a business concern, or somebody trying to blackmail somebody, all of that is made a Federal crime under this bill.

Mr. Keogh. That is not true, actually it is not true, and if it were true, I'm sure that

no one would oppose your bill.

Mr. Keating. Well, that is provided right

in the bill.

Mr. KEOCH. All the Attorney Generalsbut the bill, you know that bills are not selfexecuting, they have to be administered by

Mr. Cooke. Could you make that a little clearer for me, Mr. KEOGH? What do you mean, it isn't true? You mean an Attorney General in courts would not follow out what the bill says, or the bill wouldn't protect

Mr. Keogh. No, I do not contend that any Attorney General will encourage the violation of the basic rights of the people. What I am contending is that permitting wiretapping is permitting an invasion in the basic guaranteed rights of our people.

Mr. KEATING. It is permitted now.

Mr. KEOGH. Permitted? It's suffered; it's

not permitted.

Mr. KEATING. Under the Communications Act, it is only made illegal to wiretap and divulge the information; simply to wiretap is not made illegal.

Mr. KEOGH. Well, what is the protection the person whose wires are being tapped

Mr. KEATING. The protection is this-Mr. Keoch. The protection is that under the Communications Act. no one-no one is authorized to disseminate the information obtained. There is an admission that there is something wrong with the practice.

Mr. Keating. That is correct, that no one can disseminate it, and this bill only enlarges that in the very limited area-

Mr. KEOGH. That's right.

Mr. Keating. Of treason, sabotage, and espionage.

Mr. KEOGH. That's right.

Mr. KEATING. And it seems to me in balancing the interest, we must do something to protect our country against that type of activity.

Mr. KEOGH. We must do everything we can to protect our country against saboteurs and traitors and espionage agents, but I contend, Mr. Keating, that in order to afford that protection, it is not necessary for us to create what is the basis of a police state of our

Mr. Cooke, Well, are you saying, Mr. KEOGH, that wiretapping is a basis or intrinsically unconstitutional and contrary to the Bill of Rights?

Mr. KEOGH. It certainly is. It goes directly to the heart of the fourth and fifth amendments. We recognize, Mr. Cooke, the inviolability of the United States mails and we do do not permit anyone to interfere with the sending of mails and we place heavy penalties on that.

Mr. KEATING, I would be very interested to know-

Mr. KEOGH. Would not the espionage agent who wants to transmit messages have the protection that the Constitution guarantees everyone?

Mr. KEATING. I'd be very much interested to know what provisions of the Constitution

are violated by it because it's been held again and again that the right of privacy, which is an important right-I don't minimize it at all-is not a constitutional right. You've got a right now to place a dictaphone in anybody else's home. You've got a right to wear a radio transmitter under your necktie when you are talking to someone and have him say something which you can then use in court. You've got a right to do all of these things, which are, all of them, violations of the right of privacy, but it is not a constitutional right-

Mr. Keogh, Oh-Mr. Cooke, Wait a minute.

Mr. KEATING. All of which have again and again been approved in the courts.

Mr. Keogh. And all of them-Mr. COOKE. Let me get one thing clear,

You mean I can, if I choose, put a dictaphone in anybody's place I choose, and then

use any information I get from that in a court of law? Mr. KEATING. If you get a dictaphone in

there, no matter how you get it there, the courts have held that you have a right to use the evidence that's obtained over that dictaphone.

Mr. KEOGH. That's the difficulty. That's why your bills are pending, you want to give legislative sanction to an iniquitous practice that has grown up.

Mr. Keating. My bill has nothing to do with dictaphones. The dictaphone business hasn't anything to do with—

Mr. KEOGH. Then why talk about it?

Mr. KEATING. Because I am pointing out that the right of privacy has already been invaded in many instances, and legalized by the courts.

Mr. KEOGH. And you-

Mr. KEATING. And mine is limited. There are many objections made to my bill because it does not include kidnaping and some of these other heinous crimes, but mine is limited purposely to those crimes involving our national security. There is no one who can suffer under the provisions of this bill except a traitor or an enemy of our country.

And in addition to that, as a recognition of the necessity of clamping down and tightening up on this wiretapping, is this criminal provision that any wiretapping that isn't done in accordance with this bill shall be a Federal offense.

This bill tightens up on the whole wiretap situation, instead of loosening it up.

Mr. KEOGH, Which, Mr. KEATING, again I repeat, is an admission on your part that wiretapping is inherently dangerous.

Mr. KEATING. Wiretapping is not good, I agree with you.

Mr. KEOGH. Well, if it's not good, do not authorize it. That's my position.

Mr. KEATING. It is not authorized in this That's one of the things that the opponents of this again and again say-wiretapping is today perfectly legal, it's being done every day by the FBI. This does not legalize anything which is not done, it simply legalizes the use in court of evidence that the Capitol is going to be blown up, when it's heard over a telephone, just the same as it would be legal if it were heard behind a closed door.

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Keating, do not frighten people with statements that unless your bill to authorize wiretapping is passed the Capitol will be blown up.

Mr. Cooke. Especially when we are sitting in it, gentlemen, talking.

Mr. KEOGH. I have far more confidence in the security agencies of our Government.

But I want to point out to you, without discussing the merits of a pending judicial matter in New York, where a private organization cloaking itself with a pseudo-public character, has contended seriously in court that that quasi-pseudo-public character of the Anticrime Committee vests in it the authority and the power to engage in wiretapping and to seek refuge in not revealing the sources of information.

Mr. KEATING. I am very glad you brought up that New York case.

Mr. KEOGH. I knew you would be, Mr. KEATING; that's why I brought it up.

Mr. KEATING. Because under this bill, under this very bill, it would tighten up on such a situation as the New York situation. It would make it not only a violation of a State crime but a violation of a Federal crime, if it was done, not by the FBI and not to get a traitor or an enemy of our country.

Mr. KEOGH. I question that very much, Mr. KEATING, and I take refuge in my position by the-in the learned words of a great jurist in this country, Mr. Justice Brandeis, whom you referred to earlier, who in 1927, in the

Olmstead case, said:

"The progress of science in furnishing the Government with means of espionage is not likely to stop with wiretapping. Ways may some day be developed by which the Government, without removing papers from secret drawers, can reproduce them in court; and by which it will be enabled to expose to a jury the most intimate occurrences of the home. Advances in the psychic and related sciences may bring means of exploring unexpressed beliefs, thoughts, and emotions."

Mr. KEATING. And right today, Mr. KEOGH, it is only the enemies of our country who can use these technological processes, and equally with them we should give that right-

Mr. KEOGH. It's only-

Mr. Keating. To the proper officials of our Government.

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Keating-

Mr. KEATING. Let me read you one sentence from Mr. Justice Jackson, who says:

"That unless the Court starts to temper Its doctrine with logic and a little bit of commonsense, you are going to turn the Bill of Rights into a suicide pact."

Now, that applies just as much to our legislative arm of government as it does to the judicial arm, in my judgment.

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. KEATING, you are not con-tending that the potential enemies of our country are the only ones who have access to developments in science?

Mr. KEATING. I am not, but-

Mr. Keogh. You said that.

Mr. KEATING. But they are the only ones that are in any way covered by this bill which is before us, because it applies only in those cases of treason and sabotage.

Mr. Keogh. That's what you think. Mr. Keating. Well, it says so, in so many words.

Mr. Cooke. As I hear this discussion, gentlemen, this narrows down to a difference of opinion here over whether or not in one particular category of possible crime, namely, crimes against our national security and subversion, in that area only; as I understand it, the question is whether or not evidence obtained via wiretapping should be submitted in court.

You'll agree, Mr. KEATING, in other areas it should not?

Mr. KEATING. I do, yes.

Mr. Cooke. But in this area it should. Therefore, Mr. KEOGH, it sounds as if Mr. KEATING was saying there was a difference of category here, the fact that it was a national security item raised the importance of changing-

Mr. KEOGH. Of course, Mr. Cooke, the only possible way for justifying our flying in the face of our basic guaranties is to wrap ourselves around such terms as "national security," and "protecting the Capitol from being blown up," and "apprehending espionage agents."

I want to say this, and I think it sums up my position as well as any brief statement could: That the resasons for not permitting wiretapping, and therefore not permitting the introduction of the evidence obtained therefrom, are basic and historical in this country. The reasons for permitting it, that are now being advanced, are, in my opinion, more hysterical, and the Founding Fathers of our country, in my judgment, provided us with a system that can protect the lawabiding and apprehend and punish the criminals, without violating the rights of any citizens.

Mr. KEATING. Our Founding Fathers weren't faced with technological progress that has been made, and which the enemies of our country are now able to use. This whole

question has arisen since-

Mr. Keogh. Then, Mr. Keating, excuse me. KEATING. Just a minute. Let me fin-Mr. ish this.

This whole question has arisen since 1934, when the Communications Act was passed. There is nothing historical back of That is the only-up to that time you could use wiretap or any other evidence. was no restriction on it. But here, in this limited class of cases, and this is the reason why it is limited to this, here we're got a lot of subversive zealots dedicated to a cause hostile to the very existence of our Government, who are expertly trained to operate Within the confines of our country in secrecy and stealth. They are equipped with all these latest technological devices, and if We do not allow our Federal agents to cope with this problem, then we are putting them at a disadvantage in the use of this technological equipment and letting the enemies

of our country have the sole use of it.

Mr. KEOGH. Well, now, Mr. KEATING, you will have to admit I have been pretty patient in letting you finish that last statement; but again you return to the statement that the enemies of our country, or the agents of potential enemies, are the ones who are using these developments and improvements

in science.

I maintain that our security agents are just as capable, are just as alert, and are just as diligent; and I return again to the basic question before us, and that is, that I believe far greater harm to our system, and far greater danger to all the law-abiding people of this country, will flow from authorizing the tapping of wires and the intercepting of communications, than the benefits you'll gain thereby.

Mr. KEATING. Again, this bill does not authorize any interception which is not done every day right now, and done perfectly

This bill only says that if you hear this evidence over a telephone, you are not going to give the traitor an immunity over the telephone, you are going to allow that evidence to be used in court. And that's all this bill does.

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. KEATING, I have to take exception with-to your statement that it is done perfectly legally. If it were done perfectly legally, you would not have to draft this pending bill.

Mr. KEATING. Oh, yes, you would.

Mr. Keogh. You wouldn't have to give them the express right. You would not have to make it a crime for any unauthorized person to do it. You—you admit, I'm sure you will admit, because you are a reasonable man, that the difficulties with which your committee have been—has been faced in considering the proper type of bill is an indication of the difficulty that besets-

Mr. Keating. That's right. There are many details about the bill upon which reasonable men may differ, but this bill does not authorize the wiretapping. This bill recognizes the legality of the wiretapping that is done now, and every other bill we have had before us recognizes that, because everyone that has introduced a bill has rec-Ognized that they are doing that all the time, but this authorizes the use of that in court, in the cases of treason and sabotage, and then says anything outside of that will be a Federal criminal offense, as well as an offense in any of these States.

Mr. KEOGH. But, Mr. KEATING, under the Federal rule now, evidence, however obtained, is admissable in Federal cases.

Mr. KEATING. Not-it's not admissible if it's obtained over a telephone.

Mr. Cooke. By wiretapping. Mr. KEOGH. In Federal cases.

Mr. KEATING. No, it's not. Under the Communications Act, it has been held that not only-that you-if you divulge the information, you are then violating the Communications Act, and it's been held that divulging in court would be the same as

divulging elsewhere.

Mr. Cooke. Well, gentlemen, thank you for divulging much material on this rather pertinent question of wiretapping.

Give Mr. Benson a Chance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN W. HESELTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted to me to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I am including an editorial in the March 25 issue of the Springfield Union, of Springfield, Mass., which, I submit, points up most effectively the problem facing all of us in terms of the recommendation of the House Committee on Agriculture that we should amend what we did last year and return to the completely unsound program of high rigid price supports.

In recent days we have heard many justifiable complaints as to the enormous stocks of wheat, cotton, corn, butter, and other commodities purchased by the Government under that program and of the cost of storing them. Obviously, all of that has occurred under the high rigid price-support program since existing law will not apply until this year's

crops are harvested.

I hope that this sound editorial will be helpful to all those who will have the responsibility of acting upon the recommendation of the majority of our Committee on Agriculture.

GIVE MR. BENSON A CHANCE

Many of the harshest critics of the administration's flexible price-support farm program believe it is headed in the right direction and is economically sound. But some of them—particularly the farm-bloc Congressmen—are still afraid of it polit-

Most of these know, and will admit privately, that rigid price supports were largely responsible for the enormous surpluses of wheat, cotton, corn, butter, and so on. They admit, too, that a return to the rigid pricesupport program will not reduce these costly surpluses.

The administration program recognizes that radical shifts in production are necessary to bring production in line with consumer demand. And most critics of that program agree that rigid price supports prevent the very changes that are necessary.

Seven years ago a majority in Congress agreed that flexible supports provided the proper peacetime Government assistance to agriculture. But when the Eisenhower administration proposes to make a start toward gradually returning to a peacetime plan for agriculture, these same Congressmen reject the program they advocated 7 years ago and demand restoration of the rigid high pricesupport plan.

In 1948 President Truman favored the principle of the present Eisenhower program and said in his message to Congress: shifts in production will have to be made, and flexible price supports will help us make them in an orderly manner." But the farmbloc Congressmen later changed his mind

on the eve of an election.

Secretary Benson says the only way to show that the administration program will work is to give the gradual introduction of flexible supports a chance to work. Certainly the high rigid supports have not worked in the past.

High supports did not keep farm prices high during World War I and the following years. It was demand that did it. Rigid price supports have not held prices even at 90 percent of parity when supplies overtook demand.

It is doubtful that the majority of farmers are against flexible price supports, as the politicians claim. It is doubtful that the Republican Party would suffer at the polls, or that the Democrats would gain by rejecting the Republican program. We doubt that the farmers wish to revert to the rigid price-support program. In other words, it is highly probable that the Benson program has the backing of a substantial majority of the farmers. At least the President seems willing to stand or fall by their votes.

Postal Pay Raise

SPEECH

HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. I vield. Mr. MOSS. In discussing the question of a compromise, I was rather interested in reading this morning in the Washington Post a statement in the column by Mr. Jerry Kluttz, contending that we have not compromised, that it has been a one-way street, and that all the compromises have been on the part of the administration. Is it not true that as far as showing the need-not the desirability, but the need—for reclassifi-cation, little or no case was made either last year or this year by the administration.

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. The gentleman is absolutely correct.

Mr. MOSS. They did say they needed the authority in order to bring about the changes which might be desirable in the overall relationship of supervisory personnel to those whom they supervised. Despite our misgivings-and they are very fundamental in many ways-we did yield point after point on the question of reclassification. During this week, we offered to support a rule which would permit only one amendment to be offered affecting the classification procedures in the bill. That amendment would give a simple right to the Civil Service Commission to review the decisions taken by the Postmaster General or those to whom he might delegate the authority contained in the legislation. Is it not true that that right of review is held by every other executive department of this Government, and that under H. R. 4644 a new precedent is being created which could effectively cripple the merit system?

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. The gentleman is right. I am sorry to say that while I have always had a great deal of respect for the Washington Post, I do not think its readers are being given an accurate account of this controversy, and particularly of the position of the minority. It was quite evident again in the newspaper report this morning.

Mr. MOSS. In view of the fact that the chairman of the committee and the administration have taken the position—which is now quite clear and a matter of record—of not yielding, and in order to prevent any loss of income to those employees because of the policy of studied procrastination which seems to prevail at the moment, we will offer an amendment to make the salary retroactive to the first of March. That is the date our own salary increase becomes effective, and that amendment will be offered when the bill comes to the floor of the House after the recess.

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. That would be a meritorious amendment. I think it would be a real test as to where the Members stand on this legislation.

Mr. MOSS. It is not our intention to delay action, nor did we contribute to the deadlock which resulted in this matter going over until after Easter. We tried every means possible to get this matter before the House so that the Members of the House could work their will.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. I yield.

Co-ops and Tax Concessions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, in the course of my customary reading of the daily newspapers and various specialty publications I frequently encounter material which is unfamiliar to me or once learned and then forgotten material. The news story which I submit herewith falls in that category. It was printed in Labor's Daily and points out that cooperative corporations were overlooked in the 1954 Republican tax concession bill.

CO-OF CORPORATIONS IGNORED IN HANDOUT OF TAX CONCESSIONS

CHICAGO.—The Eisenhower administration's tax law of 1954 gave favored treatment to stockholders in private profit corporations but not to stockholders in cooperative corporations, according to the Cooperative League of the United States.

The league, in a memorandum issued to counter antico-op assertions coming mainly

from the National Tax Equality Association, said the Republican Congress exempted from taxation the first \$50 in dividends from stock most taxpayers receive and gave them a 4 percent tax credit on additional dividend income.

"But stock dividends received from cooperatives and credit unions are expressly denied this favored treatment."

(The Senate last week rejected a Democratic Party tax bill which also would have removed this "favored treatment" from tax laws.)

The league said that most co-ops pay exactly the same taxes other corporations pay, in the same manner and at the same rate, with some exceptions.

One exception pertains only to rural electric co-ops. They are exempted from Federal corporate income taxes because they ordinarily make few if any profits.

("Until the Government gets back most of the money, with interest, that it has loaned these co-ops, Congress has felt it unwise to wipe out this exemption.")

Most co-ops pay a corporate income tax on profits put into surplus. Again there is an exception; credit unions must set aside a fixed amount under law, so are not required to pay a tax on that amount.

DIVIDENDS LIMITED

Most co-ops pay corporate income taxes on dividends paid out to stockholders, although their dividends are limited by law whereas the dividends of non-co-ops are not limited. Some farmer-owned co-ops don't pay a corporate tax because they refund profits to their members; only about 20 percent of those co-ops which can qualify seek this status, however.

Cooperatives—just like other businesses—don't pay taxes on money refunded to customers.

Representatives NOAH M. MASON, Republican, of Illinois, and CLIFFORD DAVIS, Democrat. Tennessee, have introduced legislation which would tax the refunds of co-ops but would not tax refunds of other types of corporations, the league said. It called this punitive taxation aimed at reducing competion in the economy.

Co-ops don't pay corporate taxes on cash received from the issuance of shares or investment certificates.

Neither does any other corporation.

The league said mutual fire and casualty insurance companies pay more taxes than stock companies do proportionately either to premium income or profits.

Stock companies pay either that tax or 1 percent of gross income from interest, dividends, rents, and net premium income less dividends to policyholders and tax-exempt interest—whichever is greater.

HIGHER MUTUAL PAYMENTS

In 1942-50, mutual companies paid 6.07 percent of their premium income in Federal income taxes; stock companies paid 2.81 percent.

Or, compared with profits, mutuals paid 80.3 percent of their profits in income taxes while stock companies paid only 32.3 percent.

There is an exception for mutual companies with incomes of less than \$75,000 a year. They make up 78 percent of the total number of such companies but handle only 3 percent of the total premium income.

Life-insurance companies are taxed the same—on net investment income—whether mutually owned or not.

The league said co-ops generally pay more property taxes than other businesses of the same size because their financial statements are so much more readily available to local assessors.

It cited an example where a co-op service station had an assessed valuation twice as large as a nearby station of approximately equal facilities owned by a major oil company.

Asian Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting an editorial from the Christian Science Monitor of March 21, 1955, which deals with a great many aspects of our current policy with respect to Asia:

FOR A STRONG LINE IN ASIA

Strength derives more from acts than words, more from resolute clarity than from belligerency. The United States has improved its position in Asia in the last 2 years by giving greater attention to Asian thought and needs. Relief of famine in India and Pakistan, stepped-up economic aid, practical measures to help Vietnam and Thailand resist Red pressures—such acts may well count more than SEATO.

But the greatest gain has come in the response of Asian opinion to President Eisenhower's developing peace program. The President's manifest "courage to be patient" in face of plane incidents, truce violations in Korea, prisoner outrages, and Peiping's belligerent threats has blunted Communist charges that the United States is "an imperialist aggressor" reaching clear across the Pacific to interfere in Asian affairs.

Mr. Eisenhower's call for a cease-fire and sharp disengagement from any Chinese Nationalist effort to attack the mainland were reinforced by the Washington-ordered withdrawal from the Tachens. These things all supported the worldwide drive for a relaxing of tensions which has been such an impressive feature of American policy in recent months. Even the firm declaration for defense of Formosa did not damage the impression that the United States position was genuinely a defensive one.

But one detail has been allowed to cloud the picture. That is Washington's ambiguous position regarding the Chinese coastal islands—the Quemoys and the Matsus. Geographically, militarily, and legally, they are tied to the mainland rather than to Formosa. But they have been fortified by the Chinese Nationalists as bases for attacks on Communist shipping and military installations.

OFFSHORE ISLANDS A MILITARY LIABILITY

As outposts they have some military value in the defense of Formosa. But they serve mainly as symbols of Chiang's aim to recapture mainland China. One argument voiced in Washington for American aid in holding them is that the morale of Nationalist forces depends on sustaining their hope of returning to China. But only by deceit can that hope now be fed. Deceit is no sound basis for morale and no business for the United States to engage in.

Moreover, these islands are military liabilities. Red artillery already rakes most of them. Bigger guns are being emplaced which can blanket the islands. They divide the forces available for defense of Formosa and could prove to be traps for Chiang's troops. Any effective American intervention is likely to require attacks on the mainland.

One body of American opinion says the coastal islands should be held as potential bases for defensive attacks on Red China if it attempts more expansion. But the most likely attempt will be continued efforts at subversion and infiltration—against which military action is not the most potent weapon.

It is contended that for the United States to withdraw support for the Nationalists on the Quemoys and Matsus would strike & major psychological blow at American prestige in the whole Far East. Fear is expressed that any such move would discourage and demoralize other peoples now resisting communism. That is arguable. But if withdrawal clarified American purposes and was accompanied by positive action to strengthen such peoples it need have no such effect.

Moreover, the alternative must be considered. Would not the damage to prestige be greater if the United States were forced by the Chinese Reds to give up the Quemoys and Matsus? Indeed, when one gets into psychological values it is easy to believe that the Communists would prefer the second course. Surely their propaganda is better served so long as they can point to American power on their doorstep.

UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITY TO DRAW A CLEAR LINE

It is hard for Americans, sure of their own nonaggressive purposes, to understand how other peoples may feel about American operations in far corners of the globe. Particularly do Asian peoples, sensitive from their colonial experience, feel that American military forces are defending the United States very far from home. But countries such as India have shown that they can understand defense of Formosa. Mr. Nehru has urged the Communists not to use force against it.

The Formosa Strait offers a natural buffer—an unusual opportunity to draw a clear line. Crossing it would plainly spell aggression. Actually the United States sought to draw that line with its declaration on defense of Formosa. It intended to disengage cleanly from Chiang's project for invading the mainland. But the islands, plus certain military and political crosscurrents, have been allowed to blur the picture.

There has also been a hope in Washing-

There has also been a hope in Washington that the coastal islands could be used in bargaining for a cease-fire. But Peking shows no interest in a cease-fire. Quite possibly the Reds prefer to use the islands as talking points at home and abroad. If they would rather push the United States out,

Why bargain?

The bargain Washington might better be interested in is trading the military and psychological incubus imposed by support of the Nationalists on the islands for a clean and plainly defensive line in the Strait of Formosa. In such a bargain it could win the confidence of many Asians and turn them against a Peking move on Formosa. It could strengthen its own position militarily and morally.

The National Cotton Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, the board of directors of the National Cotton Council met in Washington last month to discuss the council's position in regard to the cotton export trade. The leaders of the council decided that this organization could not properly become involved in a controversy involving export price policy for cotton.

At the same time the council reafnmed its belief that maintaining a high level of international trade and a wider distribution of goods and services throughout the world is vital to the continued prosperity of the cotton industry and to the national economy, as well as to the security of the free world. The council recognizes that the greatest opportunity to expand United States exports of cotton and cotton products is through increased per capita consumption of cotton goods over the world.

The National Cotton Council represents all segments of the cotton industry—producers, ginners, warehousemen, cottonseed crushers, merchants, and spinners. Naturally conflicts of interest develop among these groups and differences over price policy can never be satisfactorily reconciled. President W. T. Wynn and the other leaders of the council were wise in their decision to avoid involvement in such conflicts.

The basic purpose of the council is to help increase the efficient production of cotton. Under Mr. Wynn's leadership the council expects to expand its efforts to encourage general economic development, advertising, and sales promotion, market research and development, and more efficient production and distribution of cotton products throughout the world. Such a program will be of primary benefit to the American cotton producer.

Under unanimous consent, I include an editorial concerning the work of the cotton council from the March 1955 issue of the Progressive Farmer, the South's outstanding farm publication:

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE COTTON COUNCIL

In 1939 when the National Cotton Council was organized, cotton was a sick industry. It was losing out to its competitors. Rayon, the first of the synthetic fibers, was capturing its markets. In United States stores, cotton goods had been pushed into the bargain basements. On the farm, both cotton yields and quality were unsatisfactory; production costs were excessively high, due to heavy use of hand labor. All in all, the outlook for cotton was dismal.

Once organized, the council had to choose between two broad objectives. It could follow the lead of the butter industry, which for many years sought a way out of its troubles by imposing Government restrictions on its competitor. Or it could meet competition (1) by promoting a program of better cotton at lower cost, and (2) by developing new uses and new markets. Fortunately, it chose a constructive program of building up cotton in preference to one of tearing down rayon and other synthetic fibers. This basic choice has set the pattern for its program over the years. And with such a program the council has developed a proved formula for success.

Now, 16 years later, what is the situation? Cotton has a new outlook. It has confidence in a bright and shining future. It believes that it has no problem that can't be whipped by the industry cooperation in a program of research, education, and promotion.

Summing up its regeneration, cotton can point proudly to these accomplishments:

1. It has expanded its domestic market by 50 percent in the face of ever-increasing competition from synthetics. Losing heavily in some uses, such as bags and tires, it has more than offset these losses by large gains in wearing apparel and other fields. It has triumpled because it has won more market battles than it has lost. Cotton, once considered the poor man's fiber, is now equally at home in high society.

2. It has stopped the downward trend in exports that started in the middle twenties, and hopes to turn exports upward.

3. United States farmers have outdistanced foreign competitors in improving production practices.

4. The quality of United States cotton has been improving constantly. Fiber strength has increased 13 percent.

5. Man-hour requirements, for producing cotton have been cut in half; lint yields increased 30 percent.

increased 30 percent.
6. Mechanization has come so fast that 22 percent of the 1954 crop was harvested with machines.

7. The cotton industry, from farmer to spinner, has a vastly improved spirit of mutual understanding. Its leaders have been meeting around conference tables for 16 years and have developed an immense stockpile of know-how.

The council would be among the first to admit that it cannot claim credit for all that has happened in the world of cotton during the last 16 years. It first duty has been to get others to work harder and more enthusiastically for cotton—and to help them work more effectively. The council does not operate its own research laboratories. It investigates to see what research is needed. Then it works to obtain the needed expansion in research. And it follows a similar strategy to obtain needed educational work for getting research findings into use.

The cotton council is the joint effort of six groups—growers, ginners, cottonseed crushers, warehousemen, merchants, and spinners. Most outstanding is the success of the council in getting the majority of people in each of these groups to contribute to its financial support. On an average, about 70 percent of all 6 branches of the cotton industry is now making a financial contribution to the council.

Viewpoints in Asian Policy-MacArthur and the Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting, for inclusion in the Record, two thoughtful editorials from the Bakersfield Californian, a daily newspaper published in my district. The first editorial, published March 5, 1955, deals with the current situation in Asia. The second editorial, published March 25, 1955, discusses the role of General MacArthur in the Yalta Treaty controversy:

[From the Bakersfield Californian of March 5, 1955]

VIEWPOINTS IN ASIAN POLICY

As Secretary Dulles and Chiang Kal-shek concluded their negotiations with a mutual-assistance pact this week, there was much discussion concerning just what the United States intended to do about the Matsu and Quemoy Islands and how far the defense of Formosa will extend.

These subjects have led to more discussion concerning the lengths of the administration's commitment in the Asiatic region, particularly since the meeting of Manila Pact members and the tour of Secretary of State Dulles through Southeast Asia.

It would seem that the President, armed with the resolution of full powers passed by Congress last month, is determined to keep the Communists out of areas considered vital to our defense and out of areas whose possession by unfriendly powers would in the long run jeopardize the stability of the Pacific area.

To draw a line and embark upon a rigid policy is to invite irritation and challenges from an enemy, and the administration is not willing to give the Communists this advantage, nor is it willing to give them a full plan of its operations. But it has shown enough of its hand to let the Reds know that the bluffing stage is over, at least as far as we are concerned, and that further aggression will be firmly dealt with if it infringes upon the areas we consider sensi-

Some observers, basing their views on agreements, public statements, and policy moves, both diplomatic and military, believe the situation to be roughly this: Wherever Communist aggression touches our outer perimeter of defenses in the Pacific, we will react forcefully. Wherever possible, we will bolster independent nations in Southeast Asia and elsewhere in the Pacific area with military, technical, and economic assistance, so that Communist infiltration or intimidation will be blunted. Already this doctrine has begun to take beneficial effect in Vietnam, a territory that today is considered to have a good chance to stop Communist ambitions in its direction, although 6 months ago it was being written off.

These observers regard as unlikely any plan for the United States to assist Chiang Kai-shek to invade the mainland of China, since the risks for this country in such an adventure are far greater than any advantage. It is likely that the Matsu and Quemoy Islands will be allowed to pass into Red China's possession. Possession of Formosa by a friendly power as a key spot in the outer perimeter of our Pacific defense has been underscored many times by administration leaders, although they have carefully avoided any pledge to underwrite an inva-

sion of the mainland.

As a matter of fact, there is little Chiang can do in this direction without our aid, and indeed, there is little he can do about anything except serving as a guard for Formosa. Therefore he serves the purpose of relieving his ally of the burden of securing this outpost; any disappointment he may feel about this will be mitigated by the fact that the United States is the only nation

offering him any support at all.

Insistently, there comes from Washington the report that in time, the administration will come to some sort of recognition of the present regime in China as the de facto government on the mainland. will imply no approval of the regime nor of its beliefs and practices, and certainly will indicate no relaxation in our posture of opposition to its designs beyond its own borders, but the fact of its existence cannot be denied, and acknowledgement of it can hardly be avoided. At least, this seems to be the gist of articles coming from the Nation's capital by informed writers.

These are thoughts on the subject that have been expressed in various places and at various times recently, and are based, as we have said before, on public expressions by administration spokesmen, on policy moves and on appraisals of directives and

actions in the Pacific area.

It would seem that the administration has set certain definite limits upon its toleration of Communist action but it refuses to be stampeded into mistakes or revolation of its strategy. It likewise declines to be bound by a rigid policy, realizing that no policy can be rigid unless all the elements of a situation are under control.

[From the Bakersfield Californian of March 25, 1955]

MACAETHUR AND THE RECORD

To avoid getting himself identified with the military leaders who are said to have advised President Roosevelt and others that the Japanese were still, in February 1945, full of fight and would undoubtedly put up a good scrap if an attempt were to be made to invade their homeland, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, who commanded the Pacific forces at the time, has come forth with a statement of his own views on the subject.

The statement is very interesting both against the background of the Yalta conference and the events of the Pacific war subsequent to the Yalta conference. It points out the broad strategic concept of the Pacific campaign and declared that as early as September 1944, he advised Washington that Japan had defeat staring her in the face.

The statement concludes as follows:

"In broad strategic conception the defensive line of the Japanese which extends along the coast of Asia from the Japan Islands through Formosa, the Philippines, the East Indies to Singapore and Burma, will be pierced in the center, permitting an en-velopment to the south and to the north. Either flank will be vulnerable and can be rolled up at will.

"All my reports from that time on presaged the imminent collapse of Japan. Discussions were even held at my headquarters concerning the possibility of ending the war with Japan before its termination in Europe.

"As a matter of fact, the time for Soviet Russia to have entered the war against Japan was after the Japanese attack upon Pearl Harbor. At that time the German onslaught had been stopped on the Eastern front and the great counteroffensive of the Soviet armies was well underway. Had the Soviet then brought combat pressure on Japan in the Far East, Japan would have been unable to conduct operations on two fronts. Had she been engaged in the north, the southern front, in all probability, never would have been opened. This would have saved the Philippines, Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies and prevented the Japanese thrust out into the Pacific to the very threshold of Australia. Millions of lives and untold agonies would have been spared by such a strategic course which I recommended most urgently in a message to Secretary of War Stimson on or about December 13, 1941. I received no reply.

"Had my views been requested with reference to Yalta I would most emphatically recommended against bringing the Soviet into the Pacific war at that late date. To have made vital concessions for such a purpose would have seemed to me fantastic.

"I have no slightest desire to be involved In the debates now going on and am making this statement solely to correct certain misinterpretations which have been advanced through error."

The Japanese evidently disagreed with General MacArthur's confidence, because in February 1945, at Iowa Jima, they required the American Forces to employ 115,000 men, 495 ships, including 17 aircraft carriers; 1,170 planes, and killed 4,590 Americans, while losing 20,000 of their own men; on Okinawa in April 1945, a battle between American and Japanese Forces began that lasted 63 days, cost the Americans 49,151 casualties and required the employment of more than 1,000 ships and engaged more than 300,000 American soldiers, sailors, and Marines. The Japanese lost 110,000 men. On the basis of resistance at Tarawa, Guadalcanal, Bouganville, Vella Lavella, New Guinea, and the Philippines, and of that encountered on the islands closer to the homeland, it was reasonable to assume that the Japanese would put up a pretty good scrap at home, and from the representations made to the Russian Government by the United States occupation command after the war concerning the thousands of Japanese held prisoner in Manchuria, there must have been a sizable force engaged here that otherwise would have complicated things in any invasion.

Then, too, if Japan had been so close to defeat in 1914, there would have been no reason to employ the atomic bomb to bring the war to an end a year later.

As far as the Russians entering the war in December 1941 the record shows that they

were taking a pretty good beating from the Germans then and continued to take one until nearly the end of 1943. Their lack of interest in a two-front war is understandable.

While statements are interesting, the record should be the determining factor in any decision, if there must be one.

Teachers and the School Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I should like to insert an article entitled "So You Need More Teachers," which appeared in the February 1955 issue of the American Teacher magazine, written by Mr. James L. Fitzpatrick, vice president of the American Federation of Teachers, president of the Milwaukee Teachers Union, editor of the Wisconsin Teacher, and since 1920 a public-school classroom teacher in our Milwaukee public schools.

Mr. Fitzpatrick's article is a thoughtprovoking analysis of the current crisis in our teaching profession. The article

SO YOU NEED MORE TEACHERS (By James L. Fitzpatrick)

Yes, you do need more teachers. And the thousands of overburdened teachers now struggling with classes that are too large, in classrooms too small, need help. But we are not going to get more teachers by merely talking about it, or appointing committees to investigate what we already know about the school crisis and viewing it with alarm.

How, then, are we going to get them? The answer, Mr. Congressman, Mr. Legislator, and Mr. Citizen, is quite simple. We are going to get them by offering them salaries on which they can support families decently, and maybe buy homes on the installment plan and drive Fords, or perhaps secondhand

All this, so they won't have to do odd jobs after school hours, or run to the credit union every summer to borrow enough money to them over the vacation months finance a study course demanded by a lay school board to demonstrate to you, Mr. Citizen, that it makes your teachers keep on

And after we get more teachers, we are going to hold them by also giving them job security and by improving teaching condi-tions, both in the classroom and in other required school activities.

Did I hear you say: "I thought teachers were dedicated and received their reward from that warm feeling inside, that comes from serving others," Well, how else do you think you have been hiring teachers in so many cases for less than the corner grocer pays its delivery boys?

That warm feeling, however, doesn't heat a teacher's home on a cold winter night. For this and nor does it buy coal to do so. other reasons, more than 450,000 teachers. a number nearly equivalent to half the total now teaching, have left their desks in the

last 10 years. More are leaving annually.
Where do they go? One New Jersey teacher, tired of odd jobs after hours and being continually in debt, took a job driving a truck. The majority go into business and industry, where their education and train-ing get them ahead more rapidly. The teachers' college of an eastern university recently released the results of a survey of salaries being drawn by its graduates. Many reported incomes of \$20,000 a year, others \$40,000 to \$50,00 and some \$100,000 a vear.

The editor of the American Teacher magazine received a press release about the survey and fired back the inquiry: "Are your graduates reporting these kinds of incomes still in education, or if not what are they doing? After quite a wait, she got a letter saying the survey returns had not been sufficiently analyzed to make the question answerable.

The cold, hard facts are that there is not enough money in classroom teaching to fill schools of education or teachers' colleges. One-third of the 35,000 who do graduate annually, do not go into teaching. Some of the young women marry and become housewives, but the majority of the truant group take other positions. Industry simply outbids the schools for youngsters coming out of teachers colleges with good grades, especially for those majoring in the sciences.

We not only lose one-third of the graduates of teacher-training institutions to business and industry. Many of the remaining two-thirds are not available for new teaching jobs, since many of them are teachers already employed, who have completed courses for degrees through extension or summer-school courses. A 1954 report of the Illinois State department of instruction stated that only slightly more than 65 percent of the available new graduates could be classed as new teachers.

There are sundry estimates of the number of qualified teachers the public schools now need but don't have. This is mainly because there are so many legal and other definitions of a qualified teacher. Some States qualify for teaching after 1 or 2 years of college. Many small country schools are lucky to obtain high-school graduates.

There ought to be a reasonable standard with which to measure whether a teacher is qualified, but there isn't. Some State legislatures, including the Illinois legislature, have passed laws lowering requirements in order to get emergency teachers.

Let's assume, for the sake of argument (and it's a pretty good argument), that a public-school teacher, to be qualified to teach your child and mine, should hold a degree from a teachers college, or a degree from the school of education of some State university or private college, or have some other equivalency in specialized training in art, music, business, industry, or the like.

This equivalent training should represent only a part of the usual 4-year college course; there should be sufficient teacher training courses to meet the usual requirement of a qualified teacher, as well as other basic cultural courses.

These are yardsticks legally and otherwise used to measure minimum qualifications in most other professions. A reasonable estimate is that more than 300,000 of the 1 million teachers this year do not measure up to them.

Nostrums to correct the shortage are numerous. But like all nostrums they are not effective medicine. Future Teachers of America Clubs might be helpful if the high-school youngsters joining them could be shown that there's a future in teaching. The project to bring in housewives with college degrees after short teaching courses isn't working very well.

This latest stopgap, to bring women from the kitchen to the classroom, seems to have hit some 50 communities in various parts of the country. As a temporary expedient in an emergency it may be justified. But, Mr. School Board Member, beware of it as a solution. Undoubtedly, some of these women are qualified to become teachers, or eventually may qualify. Obviously, however, only a small percentage of them will stay in the profession. What is really needed is to retire the housewife to the home, to eliminate most if not all the emergency-certified teachers, and start building the profession with career men and women.

Citizens in many areas are becoming concerned over the problem of finding and keeping enough teachers to take care of ever-increasing enrollments. Newspapers, magazines, the radio, and citizens organizations have been highlighting the needs. But it's largely in the form of resolutions, talk and little action.

Horace Mann, the father of American education, once remarked: "I've never heard anything about the resolutions of the Apostles, but an entire book was written about the acts of the Apostles." What we must have now, Mr. Congressman, Mr. Legislator, and Mr. Citizen, are fewer resolutions, less alm-less and worried talk about the teacher shortage, and more action.

What if you don't take action? Well, the schools will probably continue to muddle through, with more and more students and fewer and fewer qualified teachers. Fifty thousand new teachers will be needed every year for the next 10 years to take care of increased enrollments, and 50,000 more will be required to replace those retiring. This, on top of the present shortage. It will be quite a muddle.

What will it take to get enough teachers? The American Federation of Teachers has recommended as the first prerequisite, adequate salaries. The salary of the average teacher, currently, in the United States, is about \$3,600 a year. The A. F. of T. recommendation is for a starting salary of \$4,500, to reach \$8,000 a year in 8 or fewer annual steps.

Benjamin Fine, the New York Times' dean of education editors, has recommended that the present average salaries be doubled. Carl J. Megel, A. F. of T. president, and himself a classroom science teacher, has estimated that it will take \$500 to \$1,200 across-the-board increases, depending on current local schedules, to even stop teachers from seeking cost-of-living pay elsewhere.

Those delving deeply into the justification for such increases, will find that teachers' salaries generally are currently 25 percent less than those in the occupations, and 65 percent under those in the other professions. Half the teachers in the United States work after hours and during vacations to supplement their teaching incomes sufficiently to be able to support their families.

This low estate of public-school teachers impelled Superintendent Louis P. Hoyer, of Philadelphia, to Join in declaring that one of our first objectives is to "place salaries on a level in keeping with the rising cost of living."

Many salary schedules are essentially paper schedules. There are so many hurdles and roadblocks that it is almost impossible to reach the maximum. These phony schedules serve only to fool the public and frustrate teachers. States should help school boards find enough money for honest schedules, enabling teachers to advance rapidly and automatically.

A few, but only a few, communities are beginning to realistically approach good maximum salaries, but teachers must have masters degrees or better to get them. Most communities do not have the funds to "go it alone."

What's the answer, Mr. Congressman, Mr. Legislator and Mr. Citizen? At the risk of dividing the responsibility three ways, it's Federal aid for teachers' salaries, greater State aid earmarked for the same purpose,

and increased local financing. How much will it take?

Mr. Megel has estimated that it will take \$1 billion to meet the need for increased teachers' salaries. Obviously it is a national, State and local job. Congress should not pass the responsibility to the States, meanwhile letting the schools deteriorate.

Federal aid will be more than just financial help. It will be an incentive for the States to develop standards for salaries and certification. A few salary standards set up by Congress as a requisite for obtaining Federal aid will do no harm and will certainly not mean Federal control. Imagine the crazy-quilt of our national highways if the Federal Government had not guided the States in helping to route them. States and communities have had control of the schools up to now without too great success. Surely no one can say the addition of Federal funds could make them worse.

Next to low salaries and slow promotions, the lack of job security is obviously the major cause of the teacher shortage. Only a few States now have adequate tenure laws, giving their teachers job security. The ideal law for this purpose is one enabling a teacher after 2 or 3 years of probation to go under tenure, to be discharged only for reasons proven at public hearing.

Seventy-five percent of the teachers of the country are not under tenure of any kind. This means they can be removed at any time without recourse. Tenure established by board of education regulation is unsatisfactory because it can be abolished as it was created—by board action. In the tenureless States, teachers' contracts are renewable from year to year, and the renewal time has come to be known as the "open season on teachers."

Tenure bills have been introduced in the majority of State legislatures. You can increase the teacher supply in your State greatly, Mr. Legislator, by (a) first making sure such a bill's provisions are clear and adequate, and (b) if it is, working to pass it. If the bill pending is inadequate, or none has been introduced, then help your children toward a good education. Introduce and back a good one.

Next to lack of tenure, certification laws (as they now exist) do most to confuse a teacher's life. They differ in nearly every State, and one State is said to issue 23 different kinds of certificates, but none of them good for more than 4 or 5 years.

Physicians receive licenses enabling them to practice for life, after they fulfill educational requirements and successfully pass State examinations. So do dentists, osteopaths, chiropractors, naturopaths, and accountants in most States. Similar lifetime certification of teachers is another prerequisite to the stabilization of the profession.

The adequate financing of teachers salaries is a combined responsibility of Congress, State legislatures, and local school boards. Tenure and certification are responsibilities of the State legislatures. Another coming under legislatures this year is the enactment of enabling laws for social security for teachers if they want it.

Now, let's get down to local levels—to what school boards and citizens must do if they want more teachers. We include you, Mr. Citizen, in this, because the schools belong to you, and it is your responsibility to see to it that school boards which you elect take the leadership in promoting solutions to your educational problems. Many school boards have failed to accept this responsibility with the excuse they could do nothing since funds were not available.

Not all local communities are channeling as much money as they should into teachers' salaries, and many do not allocate as much State aid to salaries as they must allocate. Presently this financing is a two-way street, with the State legislature and the local community treading it. Federal aid will be forthcoming when the States and localities make themselves heard in Congress.

You, Mr. Citizen, can look into your school, but not cursorily. To get at some of the other things that are causing the teacher shortage locally you'll have to dig deeper than study meetings and interviews with your school administrators.

Are your classrooms overcrowded, making it difficult for teachers to teach and do the good job they know they owe your children? Is a teacher expected to handle more than one class at a time, with a teacher substitute (a student) sitting in for her in one of them?

Are teachers in your school badgered and bothered by unnecessary class interruptions by the school's administrators? Is lunch at lunchtime mostly prohibited, because teachers are given supervisory jobs to do or called into urgent conference with the principal during their lunch hour? Is your principal an Osgood Conklin or a minor dictator?

Do your school board and principal consult with teachers on school affairs and extracurricular activities? Does your school superintendent consult with the teachers' representatives on such things as regulations affecting them, their salaries, and so on?

If you discover that the answer to most of these questions is "No." then you have another reason why there is a teacher shortage in your community, or why teachers are cool or shy when parents come around, and fail to take part in community affairs.

And, Mr. Citizen, that matter of taking part in community affairs is an important one. Does your school board permit your teachers to exercise the same rights as you do, or are your teachers second-class citizens, who are not supposed to participate fully and freely in the political and other civic affairs of the community?

Does your school board allow your teachers to join the professional organization of their own choice, attend the State conventions of their own choice, and to negotiate and bargain collectively?

You will find that these freedoms are important in the thinking of teachers, and help to build the profession. The best teachers want to be able to say with Ralph Waldo Emerson, an early advocate of academic freedom, who wrote in the American Scholar; "We will walk on our own feet; we will work with our own hands; we will speak our own minds."

One last suggestion, Mr. Congressman, Mr. Legislator, and Mr. Citizen: If you want to find out about what teachers need to enable them to stay on the job of teaching, talk to the teachers themselves. I mean the class-room teachers.

It will, of course, be impossible for you to get the views of every teacher. But in most States and communities the teachers, or many of them, have their local federation affiliates with the American Federation of Teachers.

They will tell you that you have to do all, or most, of the things I have outlined here to make teaching a good job and an attractive profession. Without waiting to be asked, I want to mention a jibe that was aimed at me early in my career when I was struggling to support a growing family. When I told a salesman I couldn't afford to buy a new car, and when he found that I was a teacher with graduate training, he remarked: "With your education you ought to be able to get a good job."

What you need to do is to make teaching a good job, so that you will attract more capable career people. Then, when you get these dedicated teachers, you can keep them—and you can keep them dedicated.

Seriously, you had better reverse the usual process and go to the teachers instead of waiting for the teachers to come to you. When they come to you, you think they

merely represent another pressure group with an ax to grind.

So, ask the officers or legislative representatives of the teachers' federations, or the rank-and-file members. They know the score.

The Yalta Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, the Fresno Bee, one of the outstanding independent newspapers in the United States, has seen fit to comment editorially on the burning controversy over the release of the Yalta papers and the background of those documents. Aside from their intrinsic worth these editorials, one published March 21, 1955, and the other March 22, 1955, are noteworthy because they reflect the reaction of a newspaper which is not committed to the undying promotion of either of the major political parties.

[From the Fresno (Calif.) Bee of March 21, 1955]

PRESIDENT STILL MAY READ THE FACTS ABOUT YALTA

Release of the 500,000 word Yalta conference record may have been planned to embarrass the Democrats. But the first person to be spread eagled on this piece of political flypaper was President Dwight D. Elsenhower.

The President's press secretary, James C. Hagerty, in an apparent effort to clear his chief of any responsibility for the document's release, raised even more urgent questions of Presidential responsibility. Hagerty said Eisenhower did not release the papers, had not gone over them, and indeed, never had studied them.

Any reasonable man would conclude that this being so, the President could have no strong opinions on the subject, at least, no informed opinions. Yet Eisenhower ran on a platform which pledged the repudiation of the Yalta Pact and in his 1953 state of the Union message he called for such a repudiation.

The move to repudiate the Yalta agreements was embodied in a 1953 congressional resolution favored by Eisenhower which was sidetracked largely through the intercession of the so-called Taft Republicans.

What kind of bamboozlement and flummery is this? The president was making political capital of the Yalta agreements in 1953 and urged their repudiation, with all the legal international consequences, when now it is revealed he never had studied the documents involved.

Who then told him the Yalta agreements were bad? Or who told him to say they were bad? What shall be assumed of other positions taken by the President?

Will they be the result of his own investigation of the facts? Or will they be based on the political potential in any given subject, to be followed by a gigantic display of disinterest in the facts once they become available?

These are disquieting but necessary questions. The revelation the President espoused a course of vital import to American foreign policy without examining the record is an appalling one. It is particularly appalling when it is recognized this course was politically advantageous.

It is a sad but powerful illustration of how the American people have been victimized by deliberate efforts to heap political advantage from unavoidable events in world history.

Publication of the Yalta documents already has served the great purpose of demonstrating how many passed judgment on this event without ever having read the evidence.

It is said the President has no plan to submit another resolution repudiating Yalta. Let us hope he does have a resolution to read the record at last.

[From the Fresno (Calif.) Bee of March 22, 1955]

HATRED OF ROOSEVELT IS KEY TO YALTA CONTROVERSY

Like scavenging hordes of little foxes, the haters of Franklin D. Roosevelt are digging in the boneyard of Yalta.

The release of the incomplete, already challenged records of the Yalta Conference has been leaped upon with smug indignation or ill-concealed delight, to degrade, belittle, and defame the man who did as much as any single person to see America through both its worst domestic crisis and its greatest hour of peril.

The defamers of the dead are almost drooling over every action and word of Roosevelt which in their own extensive hindsight can be presented as a mistake.

Sooner or later their vindictive second guessing is bound to boomerang. The American people are not that stupid, not that petty, and not that ungrateful.

Had it not been for Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, yes and Josef Stalin, there might

Had it not been for Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, yes and Josef Stalin, there might not have been a Yalta Conference. It might have been a Berlin conference presided over by Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini to which America, Britain, and Russia might have gone as defeated supplicants.

The bold and ridiculed goal of 50,000 American fighting planes set by Roosevelt, the lend-lease deal which kept Britain in the war, the long struggle back from Pearl Harbor, the unbelievable acceleration of American industry, the high level of national morale, and the brilliant battlefield strategy all were in part contributions of Roosevelt to his Nation's victory and salvation.

Yet never since Abraham Lincoln has any American encountered such hatred and deprecation as that heaped upon Roosevelt. It is an unrelenting hatred which he incurred by the methods he employed to save the Nation from economic disaster just before he was called upon to shoulder the burdens of a world war. It is a hatred which does not have the best interest of the American people at heart.

To these detractors Roosevelt in death is a threat. It is necessary from their view to destroy even his image and reputation. To accomplish this end they cry imprecations against a voice which is silent; with eyes which have seen all that has happend these last 10 years they damn those eyes which being mortal, could not foresee the precise future. And to make this cowardly hypocrisy supreme many who now denounce Roosevelt's efforts in Yalta to keep Russia in the war are the very ones who cheered loudest when he succeeded in doing just that.

The man who attended the Yalta Conference did not have long to live. He did not see V-day. He had led the Nation out of the pit of fear in the depression and done much to invest it with sufficient strength to save the free world.

Certainly he deserves from all freemen a resolute resistance to the present nibbling of the scavengers. Deep in the heart of the hatred of Roosevelt is hatred of the people themselves. The affection the people held for Roosevelt is what the defamers really seek to destroy. Only disgust and indignation should greet their efforts.

Appendix

Getting Surplus Food to Those Who Are Hungry or Undernourished

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill H. R. 5239, making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and Farm Credit Administration for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, and for other purposes.

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to the chairman of the Subcommittee on Agricultural Department Appropriations for yielding to me for these comments on one phase of our surplus agricultural supplies which seems to receive little attention—the distribution of this food to needy Americans.

I do not say this in criticism of the subcommittee, which I believe has done an outstanding job in drafting this bill, particularly in regard to funds for the school-lunch program. I was simply aghast earlier this year in looking over that portion of the President's budget recommendations to see that the administration was actually recommending a cut of more than \$15 million in funds for the school-lunch program, apparently under a mistaken belief that the use of surplus foods would make up that difference.

The subcommittee's action, then, in placing in the bill the full \$83,236,197 for the school-lunch program, refusing to make the reduction of \$15,236,197 suggested by the President and his advisers, was a fine thing, for which I am most appreciative. All of us have heard of the difficulties of the schools participating in the school-lunch program in obtaining the share of surplus-food commodities promised them, so that a cut in funds for the purchase of foods of high nutritional value would have created a much more severe problem, and would have forced either an increase in the cost of the lunches or a poorer menu.

DISTRIBUTING SURPLUSES TO THE NEEDY

There has been a great deal of discussion here on the House floor, Mr. Chairman, and also in the hearings of both the Appropriations Subcommittee and of the Committee on Agriculture of the problem of disposing of our huge surpluses of food. We passed several bills here last year to encourage a greater distribution of our surpluses by either sale or gift abroad, and there has been much criticism of the slowness of the distribution.

My concern, however, is over the extremely limited distribution of these surplus foods to needy Americans—to those who are unemployed, on relief, actually hungry right here in the midst of the most abundant harvests we have ever known—here in rich America.

Unfortunately, the Department of Agriculture does not apear to be too much concerned about this. It has made some of this surplus food available on a rather hit-and-miss basis to the States for distribution pretty much as they see fit to persons of low income. The standards, if any, seem to be extremely loose.

It is, I believe, a wholly unsatisfactory system of distribution of this surplus food if the desire is to reach those who really need this food—people who are hungry or undernourished.

Last year, Mr. Chairman, I attempted to correct this situation by introducing H. R. 7870, a bill to establish a food stamp plan for the distribution of up to \$1 billion a year of this surplus food to needy persons, particularly those on relief or old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, and so on.

The Agriculture Department showed no interest in the proposal last year and so far has shown very little interest—publicly at least—this year. I am hoping that the Committee on Agriculture of the House will soon schedule hearings on my new bill this year, H. R. 5105, which differs in some particulars but not in overall concept from the one I introduced last year.

MECHANICS OF SULLIVAN FOOD-STAMP BILL

My new bill requires consultation by the Secretary of Agriculture with both the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Secretary of Labor in establishing standards for the distribution of the surplus foods.

This provision arises primarily out of a suggestion which was made to me by Missouri Welfare Director Proctor N. Carter, who pointed out that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare maintains direct relations with the State and local welfare agencies which would play such a large part in a successful food-stamp-distribution program.

I added the provision giving the Secretary of Labor a voice in the distribution of the surplus foods because of the responsibilities of his Department in the field of unemployment.

The continuing high level of unemployment in the country, even though production has been increasing over the levels of last year, makes it important that we devise an effective program for getting some of our vast stores of surplus food to needy families.

The present system of distribution of the surpluses has been, I am sorry to say, very much of a hit-and-miss proposition, with some States participating and some

not, with some areas operating their own food-stamp plan, and others giving out the food to anybody who wants to come and register for it. So far as I can determine, there are no uniform standards and no means of assuring that the people who really need this help are actually getting it. The Department of Agriculture seems to be concerned more with getting rid of a storage headache than in helping to solve a serious human problem.

Furthermore, there has been a good deal of criticism of the program in some areas of the country for permitting or encouraging so-called chiselers to get this food, while elsewhere people who are really hungry can get none. I do not know that the chiseling is actually occurring, but the whole surplus-food-distribution system has been chaotic and that encourages all kinds of abuses and criticisms.

Under the food-stamp plan the Secretary of Agriculture would be given broad discretion in setting up the actual mechanics of the distribution system-that is, in determining whether or not the food should be distributed through regular grocery stores or at special outlets set up in each participating commu-The bill would require, however, that the food be packaged in convenient form for distribution at the local level, with the food stamps themselves to be issued by the welfare department or equivalent agency of the individual State or political subdivision participating in the program.

Stamps would be issued for each type of surplus food to be distributed.

A major principle of the bill is that any surplus food distributed under the act be in addition to, and not in place of, welfare assistance normally granted to needy persons by a State or local welfare agency.

For the purposes of the act needy persons are defined as those receiving public-welfare assistance or who are in need of such assistance but are ineligible because of State or local law—such as Missouri's employability law.

Many of the bills which have been introduced on this subject since I first put mine in last year, and the surplus-food distribution system itself in some areas. provide for issuance of surplus food to people on unemployment compensation, or on social-security pensions or who have low-paying jobs. I do not oppose that idea at all-I think it is tragic to have people going hungry or not getting enough to eat when we have all this surplus food-but I think the most important part of this whole problem is to get this food to those who need it most. That is, to those on relief, those without jobs or unemployment compenedge of malnutrition.

Perhaps once we get a food-stamp program actually started and functioning smoothly then we can include all these other groups. My bill calls for a report by the Secretary of Agriculture within 6 months after the food-stamp program starts on the costs and problems of expanding it to include all of these other groups. But I think primarily we should get busy at once on providing a direct and effective system of distribution to those who we know are in real distress.

PRESENT DISTRIBUTION LIMITED IN SCOPE

Among the foods which are, or have been, available for such distribution, are butter, cheese, dry milk, cottonseed oil, shortening, beef and gravy, dry beans, and several others.

Only a small percentage of the millions of persons in the United States who are receiving public assistance of one type or another are obtaining any of this food. Three-fourths of the distribution has been to families in temporary straits due to drought or localized unemployment. They are certainly in need of and entitled to help of this nature-particularly in the coal mining areas. But there is so much of this surplus food available-constituting a storage headache for the Government-that we can certainly do much better than we have done in getting it to needy folks.

For instance, of the 2,620,000 persons last reported to have been certified for such food in the country, more than 950,000 are from 1 State-Pennsylvania. Most of the remainder are in Mississippi, Alabama, West Virginia, and Kentucky. And all we are getting out to these people is about \$5 million worth a month-\$60 million a year at that rate.

A MORE EFFECTIVE PROGRAM NEEDED

Mr. Chairman, instead of the hit-andmiss method now employed in the distribution of this food to the needy, we should adopt a national, unified, intelligently planned and organized system, using food stamps which would go to those most in need of this extra help.

The fact is that there are more persons in this country on old-age assistance-not social security pensions, but old-age relief-than the total of those now receiving surplus food help. When you add the extra millions who are receiving aid for dependent children, aid to the blind, sid to the permanently and totally disabled, and the hundreds of thousands of general assistance cases in the country, it is obvious that the 600,000 persons in this category receiving surplus food are only a small minority of those who need the help.

There are, in addition, many persons in actual need of public assistance but unable because of State or local law including such laws as Missouri's employability law, who cannot qualify for public agency financial aid and who are dependent upon private charities.

These, too, should receive surplus food. as provided for under my bill, H. R. 5105.

Mr. Chairman, I submit for the Recorn at this point, for the information of interested Members of the House the full text of my bill, as follows:

sation, those who are living right on the [84th Cong., 1st sess., in the House of Representatives, March 21, 19551

Mrs. Sullivan introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture:

H. R. 5105

A bill to provide for the establishment of a food stamp plan for the distribution of \$1 billion worth of surplus food commodities a year to needy persons and families in the United States

Be it enacted, etc., That in order to promote the general welfare, raise the levels of health and of nourishment for needy persons whose incomes prevent them from enjoying adequate diets, and to remove the specter of want, malnutrition, or hunger in the midst of mountains of surplus food now accumulating under Government ownership in warehouses and other storage facilities, the Secretary of Agriculture (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") is hereby authorized and directed to promulgate and put into operation, as quickly as possible, a program to distribute to needy persons in the United States through a food stamp system a portion of the surpluses of food commodities acquired and being stored by the Federal Government by reason of its price-support operations or other purchase programs.

SEC. 2. In carrying out such program, the

Secretary shall-

(1) distribute surplus food made available by the Secretary for distribution under this program only when requested to do so by a State or political subdivision thereof;

(2) issue, or cause to be issued, pursuant to section 3, food stamps redeemable by eligible needy persons for such types and quantities of surplus food as the Secretary shall determine:

(3) distribute surplus food in packaged or other convenient form on the local level at

such places as he may determine;

(4) establish standards under which, pursuant to section 3, the welfare authorities of any State or political subdivision thereof may participate in the food stamp plan for distribution of surplus foods to the

(5) consult the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Secretary of Labor, in establishing standards for eligibility for surplus foods and in the conduct of the program generally to assure achievement of the goals outlined in the first section of this act; and

(6) make such other rules and regulations as he may deem necessary to carry out the

purpose of this act.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall issue, to each welfare department or equivalent agency of a State or political subdivision requesting the distribution of surplus food under section 2 (1), food stamps for each kind of surplus food to be distributed, in amounts based on the total amount of surplus food to be distributed and on the total number of needy persons in the various States and political subdivisions eligible to receive such food. The food stamps shall be issued by each such welfare department or equivalent agency to needy persons receiving welfare assistance, or in need of welfare assistance but ineligible because of State or local law, and shall be redeemable by such needy persons at local distribution points to be determined by the Secretary under section 2 (3).

SEC. 4. Surplus food distributed under this act shall be in addition to, and not in place of, any welfare assistance (financial or otherwise) granted needy persons by a State or any political subdivision thereof.

SEC. 5. In any one calendar year the Secretary is authorized to distribute surplus under this act of a value of up to \$1 billion, based on the cost to the Federal Government of acquiring, storing, and handling such food.

SEC. 6. The distribution of surplus food to needy persons in the United States under this act shall be in place of distribution to such needy persons under section 32 of the act entitled "An act to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and for other purposes," approved August 24, 1935 (7 U.S.C., sec. 612c), as amended, and section 416 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended: Provided, however, That nothing in this act shall affect distribution of surplus food presently provided for in such sections other than to needy persons as defined in section 7 of this act.

Sec. 7. For the purposes of this act, needy person is anyone receiving welfare assistance (financial or otherwise) from the welfare department or equivalent agency of any State or political subdivision thereof, or who is, in the opinion of such agency or agencies, in need of welfare assistance but is ineligible to receive it because of State or local law.

SEC. 8. The Secretary of Agriculture, in consultation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Secretary of Labor, shall make a study of, and shall report to Congress within 6 months after the date of enactment of this act, on the feasibility of, the costs of, and the problems involved in, extending the scope of the foodstamp plan established by this act to include persons receiving unemployment compensation, receiving old-age and survivor's insurance (social security) pensions, and other low-income groups not eligible to receive food stamps under this act by reason of section 7 of this act.

SEC. 9. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary to carry out the pur-poses of this act.

Our Neighbor the Indian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I present herewith the third in a series of firsthand articles written about the plight of the American Indian by Harold E. Fey, executive editor of Christian Century magazine. Written with keen insight, this article describes the Pima Indian people of Arizona and their problems:

OUR NEIGHBOR THE INDIAN (By Harold E. Fey)

When Z. Simpson Cox was asked to address a gathering of protestant churchwomen in his native city of Phoenix, Ariz., he decided to talk about his clients, the Pima tribe of Indians. This young attorney told the churchwomen of Phoenix that the easiest way they could obey the biblical injunction to leve their neighbor would be to support an orphan in school or to collect clothing for needy people far away. Such activities are worth doing and reward the doer with a sense of satisfaction out of all proportion to the amount of real sacrifice involved.

But if they were really serious about loving their neighbors, said Mr. Cox, they should plunge into politics and work for justice for the Indians of their own State. He noted that several of the Arizona Congressmen, who have to legislate on Indian affairs, are sympathetic with Indians. But they cannot survive in politics unless they receive votes, and most of the voters in Arizona are white people. White people and Indians compete for the use of water for irrigation in an arid State where the politics of water is deadly and relentless. It happens that the Indians have prior rights to water in the parts of the State where they live. Nevertheless, the whites get most of the water. So, said Mr. Cox, women who are moved to Work for justice for the Indians will have to face opposition from members of their They will not go far before they own race. arouse their best friends to anguish or even to anger.

- PREFER TO HELP THEMSELVES

Mr. Cox admitted that it is easier to hold a cake-social to raise money so an Indian boy or girl can go to school than it is to help the Indian child's father contend for justice at the polls or in the courts. But if the Indians can secure the water to which they are entitled by prior possession and by law, they can and will earn a good living and be able to educate their own children. The attorney pointed out that the Indians prefer justice to charity, just as we do. He argued that Christians should prefer that Indians receive equality of protection in the courts and legislatures, rather than hand-outs. He asked whether Christian love can be divorced from justice and remain Christian love.

The question asked by this Phoenix attorney of his townswomen is one which every church member in this country should ask of himself. Like the Arizona Congressmen, most Americans have an attitude of benevolent good will toward the Indian. We are prepared to help him on occasion by appropriations in Congress to avert starvation, or by gifts to missions, or by approving bills to end Federal wardship, which we are told are for his good. But are we prepared to help the Indian help himself, when such help may involve offending or causing economic loss to people of our own race? The real choice we have to make is between a course of action based on sentimental aversion to seeing people suffer and another course based on readiness to endure suffering ourselves to insure that justice is done.

To be specific, consider the situation of the Pima Indians. Most Americans became aware of the existence of this tribe through the publicity given to Ira Hayes. Who does not know he was the Pima Indian who with five other marines, all white, raised the United States fiag on Mount Suribachi in the bloody attack on Iwo Jima just 10 years When Ira Hayes died of acute alcoholism in February 1955, a funeral service was held in the Presbyterian Church in Sacaton. central town of the Pima Reservation. Next day his body lay in state in the capitol building in Phoenix. Then it was taken to Washington and buried in Arlington National Cemetery, near a 75-foot bronze replica of the Iwo Jima flag-raising scene. Veterans' organizations raised money to give to the Hayes family—father, mother and three brothers—so its members would be clothed in presentable fashion for the trip to the National Capital.

HOME IN THE DESERT

The second day after the funeral, Nelson Jose, the Pima tribal judge, took Russell Carter, Indian affairs secretary of the national council, and myself to the trading Post called Bapchule, Ariz. There we saw the home of Ira Hayes. The family was away, being en route to Washington with the body of their son. On the desert we found a typical Indian house, made of wood Posts and mud bricks, 25 or 30 feet square. Nearby were a shed and an arbor covered with sticks and boards to provide shade. About 100 feet away was another little mud-walled building with a cross on top. That was the

Bapchule Presbyterian Church. A quarter of a mile away were the trading post and the Catholic Church and school. That was Bapchule.

Although the soll was said to be fertile, the surroundings of the Hayes home presented a picture of dust and desolation, since no water was available for irrigation. After seeing this place, it was easier to understand why Ira Hayes drank his way to oblivion and death; why alcoholism is a major affliction to a frustrated and discouraged people.

A few miles away water runs in the irrigation ditches and the desert produces cotton, barley, wheat, and alfalfa, to say nothing of citrus fruit. Why, then, do the Hayes family and its neighbors have no water? Search for the answer to that question leads one another step into the difference between justice and sentimentality in our dealings with the Indians.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

The Pimas have lived on the Gila River and its tributaries for many centuries. These "peaceful corn growers," as Ruth Murray Underhill describes them in Red Man's America, had developed a large-scale corn culture on this river before the beginning of the Christian era. By A. D. 1000 irrigation ditches had reached a length of 10 to 16 miles. Villages of pit houses stood near the cornfields; the people were dressed in coarse cotton woven on a horizontal loom. They were making handsome painted pottery, figurines, and shell ornaments.

The arrival of the Spaniards made little difference to the Pimas, except that they got their name, meaning the "I don't know people." from the newcomers. Their right to hold their land and to use water from the Gila and its tributaries for irrigation was recognized first by Spain and then by Mexico. About 150 years ago they were joined by the Maricopa Tribe, which settled peacefully to the south of the Pimas and lives there today, using the same means of livelihood and having the same problems in keeping them.

This tribe supplied a large quantity of wheat to American soldiers in the Mexican War, and later helped the United States Army in wars against the Apaches. It is their boast that they do not know the color of white man's blood, never having spilled any. The Gila River Reservation was established in 1859 for the sole use of the Pimas and Maricopas by an act of Congress which specified that the waters of the Gila and Salt Rivers should be for the use of its wards, the Indians. But after the Civil War white squatters, first Mormons and then others, settled upstream and took the water river for their own use. In a few years the ancient canals of the Pimas went dry, and for nearly 40 years these peaceful farmers fought a losing fight against starvation.

MISSIONARY DEFENDER

Then Dirk Lay, a tall and earnest Presbyterian missionary, took up the cause of the Indians. He went around the country crying out against the injustice which was being done them and finally carried his campaign to Congress. In 1924, largely through his efforts, Congress passed a law authorizing the Department of the Interior to build Coolidge Dam across the Gila River. act specified that the dam was for the purpose first of providing water for the irrigation of lands allotted to Pima Indians on the Gila River Reservation, Ariz., now without an adequate supply of water, and, second, for the irrigation of such other lands in public or private ownership as in the opinion of the said Secretary can be served by water impounded by said dam without diminishing the supply necessary for said Indian lands.

That should have settled the matter. The Indians had first rights to Gila water through immemorial use and now through two ac-

tions of Congress. But they were Indians, and so nothing was settled. Political pressure from white Arizona caused the Interior Department to go into court and swear the Pimas did not need all the water Congress had given them. When the Pimas sought to protest, the Indian Bureau and the Interior Department refused to recognize their lawyer and caused him and the Indians to be thrown out of court. The resulting Gila River decree, which is still operative, has been described as one of the greatest crimes of water law.

Meanwhile the area around the Indian reservation was filling up with white farmers, attracted by the warm climate and the productive capacity of the soil when it had water. These farmers combined in a land-owners' agreement which concerned the pumping of underground water to the surface for irrigation. The drilling of wells was to be subject to approvel by the Secretary of the Interior. Indian priority in use of water was not recognized. Today there are 144 wells on land farmed by whites surrounding the Indian reservation. Many of the wells are just across a fence or road from Indian land. Attorney Cox and the Pimas insist they are illegally taking water which belongs to the Indians, or in which they have

SHUT DOWN YOUP PUMP

Why don't the Indians drill their own wells? Is this just another case of shiftlessness and lack of initiative? Hardly. The Pimas tried to secure the required permission from Washington and nothing happened. Many Indians believe the Indian Bureau had made a secret agreement not to allow the Indians to drill irrigation wells. When after many efforts they could not secure official approval, Mr. Cox's clients de-They drilled four wells, using cided to act. their own funds. One well is pumping. Another produced water too alkaline for use. The Indians have been unable to get electricity for a third from the Government-owned powerline. At a cost of \$3,500 a fourth well was dug, equipped with a pump, connected with the powerline and started. It threw a big stream of good water.

But again political pressure was applied by white people on the Interior Department. Again that Department acted to favor the greatest political strength. Within 15 days a telegram arrived from the Interior Department ordering the Indians to shut down their well until the Solicitor of the Department could give them a legal opinion as to whether they were entitled to use the water under their own land. This was in the summer of 1954. Threats were made that if the Indians did not comply the limited supply of water they get from the Coolidge Dam would cut off. Other threats said Indian tribal funds in Washington would be frozen. Meanwhile, the 144 wells around the reservation continue to pump, and the Ira Hayes home and many others sit in the dust of the That was the status in early Febdesert. ruary 1955.

TYPICAL STORY OF SOUTHWEST

Obviously the business of loving one's neighbor becomes somewhat more complicated in Arizona than holding a cake sale. In their troubles over land and water the Pimas are typical of many of the tribes of the Southwest, where a good share of the 400,000 American Indians live. But they are interesting for many more reasons than those which have been mentioned. To discuss these it is necessary to glance at some figures, drawn from Government sources and less than 5 years old.

The Pima Indian Agency, at Sacaton, Ariz., is responsible for about 7,300 Indians, of whom 6,700 are Pimas. In 4 areas their reservation consists of 465,169 acres, being mostly mountain and desert. Tribal ownership accounts for over 340,000 acres of this

domain. "Allotted lands" is nearly 100,000 acres, and four-fifths of this is involved in heirship proceedings. The reports show Indians farm over 25,000 acres and lease about 20,000 to whites. Indians have 2,600 head of beef cattle, about the same number of horses, about one-tenth as many dairy cattle. About 900 Indians are listed as employed; of these only a few over 100 are working on the reservation. Nearly all are farmers, so they work as field hands for whites. The average income per family is estimated at \$960 for the Pima, \$540 for the Maricopa. Nine out of ten of the Indians read and write English; 6 have finished college, 137 high school, 1,050 elementary school. Only a few have intermarried with whites.

Why don't more Indians work? Why don't more of them work on the reservation? Why do they lease nearly half their arable land?

Perhaps we had better begin with those 100,000 acres of allotted land, since that is the best they have. This was land par-celed out to individual Indians under the 1887 Allotment Act, passed when Congress decided without consulting the Indians that it was going to make farmers out of them. The idea was that a farm of his own would make the Indian acquisitive, and his awakened acquisitiveness would make him indus-It might have worked out that way in New England, where everybody's land gets rain, but not in the Southwest, where the man who owns the riverside or the water hole controls everything dependent upon it. The best land was parceled out and soon most of it was lost to whites. During the 47 years the act was in force, land in Indian possession shrank from 139 million to 48 million acres. These 100,000 acres are what is left of the Pima allotted land.

TRIBAL FARM

That is a great deal more land than these Indians are farming. Why? One reason is that much of the land is tied up in fractionated parcels too small for any economic The death of the original owner and of his heirs has split the land up into splinters, so the heirs let the land be leased to others who can assemble enough land to make a field and can afford the tractors and other machinery to farm it. This consequence of the Allotment Act will provide employment for all the lawyers in the Indian country for the next hundred years unless Congress attempts to undo the harm it has done.

The Pimas have a tribal farm of around 5,000 acres. It is run by an Indian farm manager who is a graduate in business administration from the University of Arizona. About half of the farm is idle each year for lack of water.

Current gross income from the tribal farming operations is expected to be around \$200,000, coming mainly from cotton, barley, and cattle. The tribe owns several huge cotton-picking machines, as well as other machinery. I saw these complicated machines lumbering slowly up and down the rows of ripe cotton, driven by intent Indian mechanics. The machines do not pick up all the cotton, so the old method of gleaning by hand is also used. Ira Hayes was so employed just before he died. Cost of operations is considerable, and much of the net farm income goes to pay costs of tribal government. Last year when farm operations produced a little extra money, the tribe gave scholarships to four boys and a girl, who are now in school. The productivity of Indian-operated land is not as high as that of whiteoperated, and this is given as a reason for not permitting the Indians to have bigger allotments for cotton.

Critics of the big-farming operation of the tribe say it is a welfare-state proposition. Other lands are neglected and people depend on the little they get from the big farm. In the Salt River area 70 percent of the arable land is leased to whites. Leases run from \$20 to \$49 an acre. The Indian Bureau is accused of encouraging leasing and of being partly responsible for the fact that many Indians sit in idleness and drink up their meager income. Yet the Indians say: can we do? They lack capital, experience, machinery. It takes all three, plus some in-They lack capital, experience, fluence in the right places, if one is to assemble an economically viable plot of land and get water to farm it.

INDIAN INITIATIVE

It is not surprising that many Indians are bitterly unhappy about their situation. In the old days of Pima self-sufficiency, everybody worked on the irrigation ditches and in the fields. They worked, but they had an economy of plenty, and the neighboring Papagos came and worked for them and were paid in food and cotton. Now, there is idleness and many of the young people get into trouble. Pima tribal income from prison labor, mainly of persons arrested for being drunk and disorderly, is \$18,000 a year. Some of the villages are social cesspools. The old men shake their heads and mourn the loss of initiative and energy on the part of the young. Yet the old men sit in the tribal council and draw their \$8 a day and show little initiative or energy themselves. They feel so dependent on the Indian Bureau.

A short distance away, however, a development is taking place which presents a very different picture. The Maricopa Reservation is even farther downstream than the Pima, and its people know even greater hardship. But part of this tribe have started a cooperative farm. Its leaders are young Indians, many of them former GI's. Although the farm is only a year old, it has two irrigation wells pumping, has more than 300 acres in production, and is working to subjugate 200 more. Instead of relying on free water, the cooperators are paying for theirs and are getting help to pay \$100 for subjugating each 10 acres. The chairman of the cooperative is a dynamic man of about 40, who is not afraid to go before the tribal council or any other group and argue his cause.

It would not be expected that a departure as radical as this would occur without oppo-sition. Some of the opposition is in the tribe, from persons who fear this energy will imperil their position or income. Some of it is from persons who are skeptical as to whether this venture will not go the way of previous enterprises of one kind or another. Other opposition can be laid to pure inertia.

AFSC OFFERS HELP

The Maricopa cooperative is fortunate to have the help of James and Lois Hayes. Jim Hayes is a white Californian who got very deeply involved in the Pacific fighting in World War II. A journalism graduate, he and his wife came to Phoenix after the war to work on a newspaper. Assigned to write about the Maricopas, he became well acquainted with many members of the tribe, and eventually found his work with them taking all his time. After a year a representative of the American Friends Service Committee heard about what he was doing. Now the committee is backing his efforts to encourage the Maricopa cooperative. The Haveses are grateful for this backing.

This courageous young man, whose nonpacifist police dog accompanies him on surveying expeditions, recognizes that the cooperative confronts many adversaries, but believes its simple democracy awakens something deep in the Indian heritage. Hayes says it is a mistake to assume that all prewhite Indian culture was communal. of the Pueblos was communal, and the tribal organization of the Plains Indians may have been strong. But the Pima-Maricopa life-way allowed considerable room for individualistic action, and it is this which is coming to the surface now in this new turn of the Maricopas.

When he was asked what might be the next step in Indian development, Jim Hayes replied he would like to see a planning and operations board set up on each reservation. It would work with all governmental and voluntary organizations, and not just with the Indian Bureau. He finds the soil-con-servation staff most helpful, for example. The board should consist of people who are best qualified to help Indians with their problems, and not just bankers who are protecting their loans or lawyers who represent Indians in legal matters. The Indian Bureau has a plans and development board, but it is responsible only to the Commissioner and is not close enough to the people. The Hayeses believe and practice their conviction that real cooperation requires day-in and day-out living if it is to be effective for

So the business of loving one's Indian neighbor consists not only in political action. as Mr. Cox said, but in economic and other kinds of action as well. It requires breaking down the wall of strangeness with which we isolated the Indian with even more effectiveness than the Government has isolated him on the reservations. It demands repentance for our toleration of injustice and a determination that we shall not through ignorance continue to do collectively what any decent man would be ashamed to do if he were singly and personally responsible.

The situation of the Pima Indians applies in part to others in the Southwest. moves being made in Congress toward termination do not immediately threaten their security, such as it is. They are nevertheless keenly aware of what is happening to the Northwest Indians and want to be ready for self-sufficiency. At present it seems a safe guess that they will be ready before the American people are. Does Congress realize that ending wardship lays upon us the obligation to do justly?

The Limit of Our Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the greatest single issue confronting the American people today is the foreign policy of the United States. Unless it is successful all other issues become incon-

Our foreign policy has expanded to all parts of the world, involving us in tremendous economic and political problems, until the very existence of our Nation depends upon their correct solution.

If we should become involved in the holocaust of a worldwide war with its H-bomb, jet planes, and the mechanized weapons of modern warfare, not only the future of our Nation but even the world would be at stake.

It will not help us, however, to have any illusions about our foreign policy. No one need have any obligation or inclination to look through rose-colored glasses to see what has been done or to minimize the difficulties of the future.

In a constantly changing world we cannot pull a master switch and shunt independent sovercign nations around to do our bidding as if they were boxcars

in a switch yard, or outline a new master simplification we must constantly keep plan for the future.

The difficulties of master planning are Well illustrated by archy, the cockroach, spelled with a lower case a, appearing in the Don Marquis stories. Archy, in discussing with his brethren the sad life of cockroaches in general, their struggle for food and their danger of being oppressed by human feet, discovered a wonderful solution to their problems by simply deciding to change all roaches into grasshoppers so life would be merry and food plentiful.

But when Archy was confronted by one of the more practical of his brethren as to just how this could be accomplished, his only reply was, "Oh, just leave the mere details of the transformation to the administrators of the

Just because of the difficulties of master planning, this does not mean we must adopt the views of those who apparently adhere to a doctrine that the United States is better off to pretend the world beyond our shores does not exist.

We need not wash our hands of the whole business and concentrate on building shelters that will be proof against the H-bomb. In our foreign operations we have not reached the place where we ought to close up shop and liquidate our assets or liabilities for whatever they may bring.

While we are not prophets, we can plan for the future by analyzing successes of the past, avoiding our mistakes as far as possible, and constantly keeping in mind the objectives of our foreign policy and strive for their success.

But before we do so, we must have the firm realization that there are certain definite limitations in dealing with for-

eign policy.

One of our best diplomats frequently makes the statement, "If you can give the other fellow orders, it isn't foreign policy." His point is that you can't give orders to independent sovereign nations. If the nation has a status which makes it possible for it to be ordered around. in the way Russia orders its satellites, it is no longer foreign policy but domestic policy which is involved. All this means that the methods which we can use to get a foreign country to do what we want it to do are limited. We should not base Our foreign policy on an assumption that other countries are going to behave differently than they really are.

We cannot by edict or flat in Washington control the action of our allies. to say nothing of our adversaries. We know that each nation has interests different from those of every other nation and that its reactions are not likely to

be identical to ours.

We cannot halt the actions of Russia or Communist China-all we can do is try to deter them from aggressive action by creating conditions that will be in their own self-interest to do so.

This will become abundantly clear as We analyze what has happened in the past and consider the possibilities of our future course of action.

But before we do this let us state the primary objectives of our foreign policy. Fully realizing the danger of overin mind our goal or we will lose sight of the forest because of the trees.

We must promote and obtain security and peace for the United States. We must maintain our independent sovereignty. For our own self-interest our foreign policy must be inherently selfish.

At the same time, if by cooperating with our allies and freedom-loving peoples we can accomplish these goals we should likewise strive for permanent peace everywhere in the world.

We cannot be the sole gladiator to save the world. We need all the help we can get. But if by overtaxing our own strength we destroy ourselves, we destroy the world.

The time has come, however, to call in some engineers who are not "yes men" for the old management to make sure that our future foreign operations get on the right track.

No matter on which side of the world we look the most vigorous defender of United States foreign aid has to admit our program has not worked as well as was expected. This is true whether one sympathizes with what has been done or sees in recent events their past predictions of failure.

There are few people who still believe we have not been generous enough in dealing with other countries. If we could have bought friendship there would be little doubt as to the success of our efforts.

The policy of "give them the aid and assume they will do the right thing" might make sense if you can assume that the recipients of our help are seeking the same things we are, that they agree with us on major issues, and that they are ready to accept our leadership in the step-by-step action necessary to attain our major goals. I am afraid that many of our internationalists have allowed themselves to be fooled on this point. It is natural for everyone who regards himself as intelligent, highminded, and a keen analyst to think that others who possess these same characteristics will see issues in the same way that he does and will react in specific emergencies in a similar manner.

It is easy to see how, at the beginning of the Marshall plan, our officials and many of our people believed that an aidwithout-detailed-commitments policy was sound. The United States at the end of World War II was undoubtedly preeminent among the nations of the world. We had the best Army, Navy, and Air Force. We had the atomic bomb. We had the highest standard of living, the most food, and the most money. It was, and it is, easy for us to visualize ourselves as having reached the most advanced stage of civilization known to mankind as the result of a process of natural development. It was, and it is, easy for us to visualize the rest of the world as struggling forward in a sort of evolutionary process, striving to be as much like the United States as possible. Under such circumstances, if by giving aid we could hasten this evolution a little bit, it would be sound policy to do so.

But France, after dragging its feet for years with regard to the European Defense Community, has finally rejected it. Our hopes now must be based on a substitute plan which is now in the process of acceptance. The United Kingdom advocates a policy toward Red China which is opposed to ours. India does not believe in a regional defense effort in southeast Asia. Denmark has recently announced that its membership in NATO is now on an inactive basis.

We have only secured an uneasy peace in Korea and Indochina, and face a most critical situation in Formosa and the Pacific area.

It would seem, therefore, we have been wrong in some of our fundamental assumptions. We have gone wrong in assuming other countries want the same things we do and will react the same way we react in specific events. We must recognize these new developments for which we have not made adequate adjustments in our policy. In the future we must assume our allies will not always carry out our dictates as we wish they would, even if we place certain conditions on our aid. We have reached the place where we must assume many countries will demonstrate their freedom from United States domination by doing just the opposite.

I think that, therefore, we are going to have to work out with nations what each of us is to do about certain specific matters in the current year and the next year and the next. If we can agree as to a course of action, each party should contribute on a fair basis to carrying out the agreement. If we cannot agree, let us not go ahead assuming that things will work themselves out in the long run.

This does not mean that every nation which is unwilling to join us in a military alliance against Russia is immediately classified as an enemy and denied future United States aid or cooperation. Whether we like it or not there are many countries, particularly those which have only recently emerged from a colonial status, that sincerely believe they can remain neutral. There is no advantage to us in driving them into the enemy camp. On the other hand, we should limit our aid and our expectations to those things that can be undertaken by mutual agreement and mutual selfinterest.

For example we must recognize that the problem of unification of Europe not only is of the utmost importance to us. but that it is also a European problem whose solution must be worked out by the Europeans themselves.

It seems to me that the United States should state its policy unequivocally favoring European unification, and we should stand ready to assist in specific matters when asked by the Europeans to help. The United States should not, however, take the initiative in the matter. We should not have our Ambassadors in London, Paris, and Bonn calling on Ministers with various proposals and counter-proposals to advance the cause of unification. We should not have the United States Information Agency putting out propaganda in favor of unification. There is no use trying to go faster than the Europeans are able and willing to go themselves.

They must realize once and for all that they must help themselves and that their own fate is involved; and that their only chance of survival is to cooperate to the fullest extent with other libertyloving nations of the free world.

I believe our future policy should be to continue to strengthen regional arrangements such as NATO and SEATO if they are willing to cooperate on a basis of self-help and mutual aid. This is necessary because assistance should only be given to a country if it advances the foreign policy of the United States.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was ratified by the United States Senate. It is the law of the land. Aggression against one of the member nations is considered aggression against all. Under this treaty we have entered into mutual security arrangements to protect ourselves as well as other liberty-loving nations.

We have furnished NATO with military end items amounting to billions of dollars, and are maintaining thousands of our young men in the military service in that area. For us to withdraw at this time our aid and leave a vacuum for the Soviet to take over is unthinkable. We have but a Hobson's choice—no choice at all.

The situation reminds me of the Texas jackrabbit which, under hot pursuit by the hounds, climbed a tree remarking. "This is contrary to my natural predisposition but necessity leaves no choice."

Our aim should be liberation rather than containment. We should continue to encourage and implement the military arrangements entered into by Greece, Turkey, and Pakistan. We should use our good offices as well as the United Nations to settle the disputes in the Middle East between Israel and the Arab States.

I believe the recent implementing of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization is a step in the right direction. Taken together with our arrangements with Japan, South Korea, and Formosa, these agreements greatly strengthen the security of the United States and our allies in the Pacific area, and in my judgment are a great deterrent to the further aggression of the Communists. Without such arrangements the chances of becoming involved in war would be much greater and without them our defenses would have to be, for all practical purposes, withdrawn to the continental United States.

The resolution which was passed almost unanimously by the Congress expressing our determination to defend Formosa and the Pescadores and related positions and territories of that area, strengthens our security in that part of the world. In unfriendly hands these islands would seriously dislocate our military strategy in the Pacific. It would create a breach in the island chain of the western Pacific which constitutes for the United States and other free nations, the geographical backbone of their security structure in that area.

We should not trade any part of this area for a cease fire or recognition of the Red Communists in the United Nations.

Another policy which I feel should be continued and implemented is the point 4 program for the rehabilitation of so-called backward countries. I do not know of any program from which we receive more benefit for as few dollars. However, we must be careful in its implementation that we confine it to its original purpose; namely, to help those countries to help themselves by giving them scientific knowledge and the know-how in the fields of education, agriculture, health, and sanitation. We should not permit these programs to grow into a worldwide WPA.

In my judgment we should not engage in a preventative war. While it might be a temptation to precipitate a general war while we are still ahead in the armament race, in the field of nuclear and mechanized weapons, the ruin, exhaustion and devastating effects which would follow would make it preposterous to follow such a course.

To fight a preventive war to avoid such a worldwide conflict is equally foolhardy. It would be as absurd as a man committing suicide because he is afraid to die.

There are those who believe that the Soviet, ourselves, and our allies can settle our differences by peaceful coexistence, Such an argument is fallacious. It would allow the Soviet to retain all the territory that they have won by aggression, and we would have to write off to Communist domination without a contest all the territory which they now control. It would permit the Soviets unimpeded exploitation of these tremendous areas with their high industrial potential and natural resources, including the vast area of China. By such a policy we would strengthen the hand of the Kremlin for further world conquest.

One of the doctrines espoused by President Wilson in his fight for the League of Nations was that we should have open covenants openly arrived at. While I do not decry the use of international organizations as not being helpful in the cause of peace, I do feel that sometimes this public or "microphone diplomacy" is fraught with danger. While the United Nations gives us an open forum and a sounding board to answer the illogical charges and propaganda of the Soviet and her satellites, it seems to me the very publicity attending such open forums places limitations upon what we may accomplish. For example, a somewhat minor issue may be publicly debated, each party taking opposite sides, until an issue is blown up to so much importance that neither side can retract from the position it has publicly taken. Each side may find itself in the position of the small boy who has put a chip on his shoulder and dared his opponent to knock it off. Both sides are afraid to

While it may be a slow and tedious process, I believe we should continue our discussions of the issues that come up in the foreign fields with the countries concerned, working together to find mutual and reciprocal solutions. It may be a tedious and difficult process to reach such an understanding and mutual consent that will be for the benefit of all

concerned, but I believe such negotiations will be on a more firm basis by such methods, and will help to bring about the permanent peace and security all the free world is so devotedly striving to accomplish.

Expansion of Farm Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, the great economic and social progress we have made as a nation is in direct relation to what we have done in this country to expand our production and increase distribution. Through these efforts more and more goods have steadily become available to more and more people. Through this process, we have greatly expanded employment opportunities for our people and sharply increased both their income and buying power. All of this is directly reflected in the high standard of living that prevails throughout this land and of which we are all so justly proud.

In large part, the improvement in living conditions which has so steadily taken place in this country stems from the fact that our people have long had the incentives needed to encourage the exercise of individual initiative. Our people have the willingness to work and the desire to bring about improvements. These attributes and the advanced techniques that have been developed in production are among the basic reasons for the striking gains we have made as a nation.

The productive resources of our agriculture have contributed heavily to our national progress. The capacity of our farms to produce has risen to an unprecedented level. The very fact that our agriculture is so highly productive provides our Nation with a firm foundation for continued growth and development.

Looking ahead to the future, one of our basic needs is to improve the balance in our agriculture so as to make the most effective use of our productive resources and at the same time meet all of our requirements for farm products. We need to promote desirable shifts in production, both from the standpoint of improved nutrition and pattern of land use. In all of this, we need to make sure that agriculture continues to make its full contribution to the Nation's healthy growth and development.

Last year Congress took definite action to help facilitate the adjustment that our agriculture needs to make to cope with the sharp changes in demand that have come about since the end of the war. One important step was to provide a system of flexible price supports which will enable farmers to keep their operations adjusted to the requirements of our expanding economy. This move will

also help minimize the need for production and marketing controls which have had to be imposed by virtue of mandatory high rigid price supports. Although this is the first year that flexible price supports will go into effect under the legislation enacted by the last Congress, it is already becoming evident that this is the best course we can take to achieve and maintain a balanced and fully productive agriculture.

Experience in recent years has amply demonstrated that rigid high price supports lead to the accumulation of unwanted surpluses which necessitate forced restrictions and sharper and sharper cutbacks in production. To the extent that farm production is cut back and restricted, it, of course, tends to reduce farm operations. This in turn tends to undermine national prosperity on which profitable farm markets depend.

High rigid 90-percent price supports have continued in effect over the last few years despite the drastic changes that have taken place in the war and immediate postwar demand picture. The conditions created by this have made it necessary for the farmers of our country to cut back their highest profit crops by some 35 to 40 million acres. These reductions were made in some of the most fertile and productive farming areas. The effect of this curtailment is already being felt in many communities. From an overall standpoint, it tends to slow down the expansion of our total economy.

When agricultural production is restricted and cut back as has been necessitated by the high rigid price supports. all those who sell to or serve farmers, transact less business. This affects sales of farm machinery, fertilizers, chemicals, automobiles, and all other supplies and services required when farms are in full production. The decline in sales to farmers brings on a reduction in the amount of employment in both business and industry. This is in addition to the great loss of jobs that result directly from cutting production back on the farms and is reflected in less work in producing, harvesting, processing, transporting, selling, and storing agricultural products. The result of all this is a vicious spiral of declining incomes and buying power in virtually every segment of our economy.

The importance of increasing and maintaining farm production at a high level, cannot be overemphasized if we are to maintain full employment at good wages. For farmers to get more profits there must be increasing production—and increasing consumption. This cannot be achieved by restrictions and production cutbacks which in reality mean scarcity. Agriculture must produce—and produce in large volume if it is to be most profitable and also provide the means for farmers to buy the goods and services which our towns and cities have to offer.

There is an interdependence between agriculture and business and industry which is too easy to overlook. Full agricultural production helps maintain full employment of labor in productive enterprises. In turn, when workers have good

incomes, it helps insure strong markets for the farm products desired by consumers.

Our farm people represent close to a 30-billion-dollar market for nonfarm goods and services of all kinds. In terms of raw materials alone, our farmers are customers for 7 million tons of finished steel, 50 million tons of chemical materials, 17½ billion gallons of crude petroleum, 300 million pounds of raw rubber, and 22 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power.

This huge volume of buying power exerts a tremendous leverage throughout our national economy. It is estimated that the purchases made by farmers provide nonfarm employment for from 5 to 6 million persons, or about 10 percent of total nonagricultural employment. In addition, these nonfarm workers employed because of agricultural purchases also make a market for industrial goods-and these workers, in turn, create an additional market. Altogether, it is reasonable to assume the expenditures by farmers account both directly and indirectly for about 15 percent of the total nonfarm employment.

The great contribution that agriculture is making to our way of living can be maintained and increased only by expanding production in keeping with the requirements of our growing economy. Our country did not become great by restricting production and following a policy of scarcity. By the same token, our country will not remain great under such an approach which would ultimately place us in an economic straightjacket of inhibited production and consumption. Through the years we have learned that a dynamic economy requires both increased production and increased consumption. Ours is a dynamic economy and we must keep it so if we are to enjoy a continuing rise in our standards of living.

New York Times Says "Time To Face Facts" on Quemoy and Matsu

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the Sunday New York Times reported a "very perceptible movement of press and public opinion against getting into a war over Quemoy and Matsu." Over the past several weeks the Times itself, with its customary caution, has analyzed the issues at stake and has now come to the firm conclusion that we should not risk military involvement over these islands. The lead editorial yesterday sums up the thinking of the Times on this crucial problem and should merit our attention:

THE BALANCE SHEET

At the end of last week, as William S. White wrote for this newspaper: "The President did not know and could not yet know whether he would intervene militarily if the Communists attacked Quemoy and Matsu,

just off the China mainland." We believe Mr. Eisenhower is honestly puzzled. We also have to admit that his puzzlement is based on a wider knowledge of soldiering and considerably more inside information than the rest of us possess. However, these considerations should not prevent the public from speculating as to the Far Eastern situation and making up its own mind as to certain phases of that situation.

Let us therefore try to draw up a kind of balance sheet as to Quemoy and Matsu. In the first place, the strategic value of these islands, except as they interfere with traffic going in and out of Amoy and Foochow, is not great. The second point made in favor of retaining freedom of action toward the islands is that morale on Formosa would be weakened if we said we would not defend Quemoy and Matsu. Maybe it would. There are, however, other ways of maintaining morale than by trying to defend territory that is not needed.

In the third place, it is argued that American prestige in Asia would decline if we made another retreat. But it is hard to believe that communism would immediately sweep still-free areas of southeast Asia if we told Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek that he had better draw in his lines a little. These arguments for retaining the islands or for defending them with American lives and at the risk of a great war are too simple. They

are almost naive.

Let us consider the arguments against retaining the islands. First, there is a danger that an attempt to retain them by force may produce a big war in which, unless it becomes worldwide and a question of naked survival for the free countries, our allies in the Pacific and in Europe would not support In the second place, if such a war as it might, to bombing attacks on the Chinese mainland-even though by some miracle the bombs actually hit only the "pinpoints" at which they were aimed-we would kill countless numbers of innocent persons, Would this not-inevitably, we might say rightly-alienate the multitudinous millions of Asiatics who are ready enough to believe evil things of the United States? It seems to this newspaper that this risk is too great to be run.

What sort of solution can we find? It would be possible, surely, to evacuate the Quemoy and Matsu Island groups. Simultaneously with this action or preceding it, we could give a new guaranty to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek for the defense of Formosa, and we might induce our allies in the Pacific and Western Europe to join us in this guaranty.

Finally—and this is crucially important—we might push for United Nations action, already pending, to guarantee a cease-fire in the Formosa Strait. If the Security Council would not give such a guaranty—and presumably it would not, because of a Soviet veto—then there could easily be a special session of the Assembly in which there could be a two-thirds vote for the moral commitment of the United Nations.

While this was going on we could increase our aid to Formosa on the understanding that Chiang Kai-shek's government would not attack the mainland. We could put in a force of infantry as a token of our intentions. Surely the visible signs of American aid—and possibly of United Nations aid—would reassure the Formosan population. The oriental tradition of "face" is not really oriental—it is human. If we say to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek that we and our friends will do our best to make Formosa a prosperous and democratic state, if we say again that we will defend it against its enemies, surely we give Chiang's government the "face" it needs.

It is time for ourselves and for our friends on Formosa to face the facts. Communist China at this moment cannot be conquered from Formosa. The essential task is to keep the spark of freedom alive on Formosa and to fan it into greater vitality. When that task is viewed in its right proportions the Quemoy and Matsu Islands shrink to what they are—inconsequential heaps of rock and soil not worth the shedding of blood or the risk of worldwide catastrophe.

The Trend Toward Larger Farms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, the trend toward larger farms concerns us in the smaller communities. When consolidation brings efficiency to a family unit it means a higher living standard. However, in event holdings grow depriving family ownership it inflates detriment to the whole of a rural community. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert an article from the Warren Sheaf, a county newspaper in my district, for interest and study, to show the trend in Marshall County.

The article follows:

FARMS IN MARSHALL COUNTY ARE GETTING LARGER

Marshall County is following the trend of most counties in the State with farm acreage in the county being slowly consolidated into larger farms. This has made fewer and fewer jobs on the farm available and the rural population of the county continues to reduce as surplus people go to the city and village.

Concentration into larger farming units is being forced on the operator as a trend of the times with more and more machinery available making the economical farming unit larger than was previously the case.

At present Marshall County is second only to Kittson in the largest number of acres per farm in the State, according to the Minnesota State farm census for 1954.

Marshall County has a total of 1,152,000 acres of land, of which 859,817 were under cultivation in 1945 in 2,635 farms for an average acreage of 326.3. In 1950 the land under cultivation had dropped to 848,731 acres divided among 2,567 farms for an average of 330.6 acres per farm.

In the last 4 years the land farmed has dropped 14,000 acres to 834,817 and the number of operators has dropped by 270 to a total of 2,297. This has increase the average size Marshall County farm in the past 4 years to 363 acres.

One good sign, however, is that most of the drop off in farm operators came in the tenants and this is a healthy economic sign. The number of farm owners was 2,217 in 1945, 2,297 in 1950, and 2,101 in 1954, while the number of tenants dropped from 418 in 1945 to 270 in 1950 and 196 in 1954. People living on Marshall County farms in 1954 were 8,699.

On a statewide basis the decline in farms has been at a rate of about 1 percent a year, with the biggest decline coming since 1935 when there was a record high of 184,203 farms in the State as compared with 154,277 now. According to the 1953 census there were 1,762 more farms then than currently.

With the decrease in the number of farms there has been a slight increase in the number of acres in each; an average of 201 acres in 1954 as compared against 198 in 1953 and 195 in 1952. In 1935, when the peak number of farms was reported, the average acreage was only 165.

The most notable thing in production was the decrease in wheat acreage, due undoubtedly to the allotment quotas now in effect, and the increase in the production of barley, the latter being doubled over the 5-year period from 1946-54.

Acreage figures for all crops in Marshall County as reported by the Minnesota farm census are as follows:

Marshall County farm statistics

	1954	1049	1944
Farms	2, 207	2, 567	2, 635
Acreage in farms	834, 817	848, 731	859, 817
Average size	363	330, 6	326.3
Spring wheat	101, 757	144, 635	(1)
Barley	133, 559	65, 100	61, 213
Corn	9,849	9, 621	15, 609
Oats	83, 623	63, 558	78, 084
Flaxseed	53, 293	64, 767	33, 168
Søybeans	96	20000	156
Sugar beets	7,018	(1)	(1)
Rye	1, 289	3, 104	3, 735
Winter wheat	185	19	50
Red clover for seed	633	808	549
Alsike clover for seed	2, 131	1, 159	(1)
Sweet clover for seed	3, 906	4,817	(1)
Timothy for seed	726	1,596	(1)
Alfalfa seed	845	1, 359	5, 289
Potatoes	7, 304	5, 876	10, 285
All hay	77, 990	82, 037	
Chickens on farms	95, 598	147, 465	260, 414
Sows farrowing spring pigs.	756	1, 117	2,062
Milk cows	12, 334	13, 160	
Sheep for market	2, 538	14, 672	32, 854
Cattle for market	761	5, 916	

Unavallable.

Federal Contributions to the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I observe from current press reports that the District of Columbia is also having its revenue problems. According to these reports, it is anticipated that the District's revenue will fall short of meeting the budget requirements for the next fiscal year considerably in excess of \$20 million. It is further stated that for the first time in its history, the District government is faced with deficit spend-

Furthermore, the current press reports indicate that the annual cry for additional Federal contributions is going up by those responsible for the fiscal affairs of the District. In fact, it seems that the city commissioners are prepared, if they have not already acted, to call upon Uncle Sam to again increase the annual Federal contribution to the District of Columbia. There are even suggestions that this contribution should be increased to meet half of the city's budget of approximately \$175 million.

That the Federal Government should make some reasonable and equitable contribution to the maintenance of the District government is recognized. This, of course, is based upon the fact that the Federal Government occupies a considerable portion of the District

territory. But what seems to be overlooked by the advocates of ever-increasing Federal financial contributions to the operation of the District Government is the economic contribution made to the city of Washington, D. C., by the Federal Government. We are constrained to believe that most any city in the United States would be willing to contribute to the Federal Government in return for the Federal payroll and other advantages enjoyed by the economy of the District. In fact, the city of Washington is one of the most prosperous cities in the world as a result of this Federal situation.

Mr. Speaker, other cities, States, and subdivisions of government have their financial problems also, but they cannot look to the Federal Government to bail them out. It so happens that the legislature of my State of Mississippi is now and has been in session for the past 3 months for the sole purpose of raising enough taxes to meet the increased demands on the treasury of that State. But the State of Mississippi and all other States as well as cities must look to their own resources rather than Uncle Sam for the needed revenues to operate their governments. As a Representative in the Congress of that State, I cannot idly sit by and permit my people to be taxed further for such increases by the Federal Government to the city of Washington, D. C., while the legislature of my State is verily scraping the bottom of the barrel to get further taxes with which to operate our State government.

The following table shows how the Federal contribution to the District of Columbia has been steadily increasing for the past 10 years:

Federal annual contributions to the District
of Columbia, fiscal years 1946-55

Year:	Amount
1946	\$6,000,000
1947	8,000,000
1948	12,000,000
1949	12,000,000
1950	12,000,000
1951	10, 800, 000
1952	11, 400, 000
1953	11, 000, 000
1954	12,000,000
1955	21, 890, 000

Mr. Speaker, I hope that the Congress will not grant this increase and that the District government, like the other governments of the country, will relie on its own resources.

Ode to the White House Squirrels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the Record the following poem which has to do with the subject which has reached national proportions in its appeal within the past few weeks. The author, Mr. Clifford Hall, is the State

auditor of Delaware. During the political campaign last fall, he became quite famous in my State as a campaigner through his ability to add a touch of humor from time to time through his political poems.

ODE TO THE WHITE HOUSE SQUIRRELS

The squirrels on the lawn of the White House they say,

Are fouling up a game that Ike likes to play. He putted his little balls all around the place,

With a smile of contentment all over his face.

But those wicked little varmints with the long bushy talls,

Had better retreat—and lower their sails.

For they have stirred up the anger, the
wrath, and the ire

Of our Republican leader—our Five-Starred

They have presumed to scamper and romp

and play.

On Ike's private golf course—and get in his way.

They scatter his balls out into the rough, And play heck with his score, which sure makes it tough.

On Republicans and Democrats, and wife Mamie too;

'Cause the people catch heck when Chief Ike is blue.

The stock market zooms up—then falls to the ground,

And his thousands of aides must not make a sound.

Secretary Humphrey wants an interest increase,

And Secretary Benson wants crop payments to cease.

Then Secretary Wilson turns his bird dogs loose,

And all the people have left—is the egg of a goose.

So please, little squirrels, get you back in

your beds, Before you get shipped—to the Siberian

Reds. It ain't worth the price you're asking us

to pay,
So get off Ike's golf course—it's no place
to play.

Mr. Farley's New Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Watertown Daily Times of February 23, 1955:

MR. FARLEY'S NEW JOB

Governor Harriman has appointed James A. Farley, of New York, as a member of the State banking board and, through speedy confirmation, the senate has heartily concurred in the choice of the chief executive, Mr. Farley, who succeeds Carl T. Hogan, begins his 3-year term in the nonsalaried job on March 1.

If the many whose services are available to the new Democratic Governor, we can think of no one better equipped by training, by temperament, by energy, and by conservative political persuasion than Mr. Farley. The particular position the latter will full is that of public representative on the board, and if there is a man in the United States

whose finger is closer to the pulse of the people than Mr. Farley, we should like to know who it is.

The former New York State and National Democratic chairman and the one-time Postmaster General is now chairman of the Coca-Cola Export Co. He knows business and he knows management, but, best of all, he knows the people. Here is the ideal public-relations man in the very highest sense of that now somewhat abused term.

We think, too, that the appointment of Mr. Farley reflects a breadth of judgment and political know-how in Mr. Harriman that many of us had not initially discerned among his attributes. It is a good appointment, conferring, as it does, honor on the giver as well as the receiver.

Mr. Farley is in political retirement, but not in political eclipse. His counsel is still sought and abided by in important circles, and that with all his duties he can still find time to serve on the banking board is a new indication of this worthwhile man's great sense of responsibility to the public.

Fiftieth Anniversary of Stuyvesant High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT ZELENKO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, crowded in between stores, hospitals, and apartment houses in the lower East Side of New York City is an educational institution which has an amazing 50-year record. Since it was founded, in 1904, Stuyvesant High School has made a reality of the American ideal, "each according to his ability," for thousands of talented boys who later made their marks in the world.

Among its nationally known alumni are Actors James Cagney, George Raft, and Sam Levene: Judge Irving Saypol, former United States attorney for the southern district of New York; and New York Supreme Court Judges Samuel DiFalco and Saul Streit; Motion-Picture Director Joseph Mankiewicz; former New York Health Commissioner Dr. Marcus Kogel; Radio Announcer Ted Husing: former West Point coach and war hero Maj. Gen. Gar Davidson; Queens College President John Theobold; worldfamous Photographer Victor Keppler; Philip Sporn, president of American Gas & Electric Co., one of the Nation's largest utilities: Dr. Irving Fischer, worldfamous obstetrician; Dr. William Hitzig, one of the world's greatest diagnosticians and heart specialists; Federal Judge Sidney Sugarman: Architect William Hohauser; Commissioner of Taxation and Finance of the State of New York George Bragalini; and Olympic champion Frank Hussey.

What makes Stuyvesant so unique? It has an excellent educational record. It has many famous alumni. It has a great athletic record.

All of these things are part of the Stuyvesant story. However, there is much more to it. In many areas of the world, education of any type is difficult to

obtain at best. Special education for leadership is even more difficult. Stuyvesant was created to provide such education at no cost to all New York boys who could meet its high entrance requirements.

Although the school prides itself on scholastic achievement—61 percent of the students have I. Q.'s of 120 or over—its record in other fields is equally impressive. Last fall its football team was coholder of the city championship. Recently Stuyvesant's undefeated fencing team won the school's ninth city crown in the sport. Its track teams have garnered 16 city championships.

Dr. Irving Fischer, president of the alumni association, reports that Stuyvesant boys have set a national record by earning more than \$2 million in scholarships during the last 10 years. To supplement this achievement, alumni are setting up a scholarship fund to help the school's many other talented youngsters to obtain a higher education. Dr. Fischer says, "It is an investment that will pay off in tomorrow's leaders."

Stuyvesant teachers also help make the school unique. Many have successful careers outside the field of education. For example, swimming coach and physics instructor Dr. Siegfried Meyers has made notable contributions to radar, medical, and guided missile research. Art instructor and sculptor, Nat Werner, has had two of his works accepted in the new Whitney Museum for permanent exhibition.

Because the need to develop leaders in a democracy was never greater, New York City has started a multi-milliondollar renovation of the school.

With this kind of support Stuyvesant hopes to continue its great record of service to students, community, and Nation.

Materials Handling Handbook

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following letter addressed to Mr. J. W. Hall under date of March 25, 1955, by the materials handling division of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers:

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY
OF MECHANICAL ENGINEERS,
MATERIALS HANDLING DIVISION,
March 25, 1955.

Mr. J. W. HALL,

Westinghouse Electric Corp.,
Meter Division, Newark, N. J.

DEAR MR. HALL: You have asked me for informations regarding the Materials Handling Handbook.

For some time it has been felt that there was an urgent need for a handbook covering various phases of materials handling. There was a widespread interest in materials handling but there were very few books on this subject and none of these, individually or collectively, properly covered the field.

About 4 years ago the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, material handling division, and the American Materials Handling Society decided to jointly sponsor a material handling handbook. After some discussion of the project a contract was made with the Ronald Press Co. of New York City.

A joint materials handling handbook committee was formed, most of the men on this committee being members of both ASME and AMHS. After many meetings and much discussion on the coverage of the subject, an outline was drawn up on the specific subjects to be included. This outline covered the analytical phases of material handling, operating procedures for the five main divisions of material handling—bulk handling, unit handling, packaging, warehousing, and carrier handling. Also included in the handbook will be descriptions of the principal types of material-handling equipment.

The collection of this mass of information has taken several years and now the material is being organized for printing the latter part of this year. The handbook will be a very comprehensive volume and we are sure will fill a need in the colleges and in industry. A great many experienced material-handling men are contributing to the handbook, which will have a much wider scope than anything previously published on this subject.

The widespread interest in this handbook is another manifestation of the importance of material handling to the modern industrial life of the Nation. It, therefore, seems appropriate that a National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week be proclaimed and celebrated to bring to the attention of the public at large the importance of this new science and art of material handling.

I would suggest that the importance of this new Materials Handling Handbook be drawn to the attention of the Honorable Peter W. Rodino as a further contributing reason for establishing a National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week.

Sincerely yours,

HERBERT H. HALL,

Chairman, Materials Handling Division, ASME.; Chairman, ASMEAMHS, Joint Materials Handling
Handbook Committee.

Just Share for United States Sugar Producers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OTTO KRUEGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the following resolution adopted by the Grand Forks Chamber of Commerce. In view of the expanded consumption of sugar, it is necessary to maintain our production. The quota provisions of the 1948 Sugar Act are out of date. The following resolution well expresses the need for a revision of these figures:

Whereas the sugar industry is a vital and necessary part of the agricultural and industrial life of this community Grafton and North Dakota; and

Whereas quota provisions incorporated in the Sugar Act of 1948 as temporarily expedient still are in force, denying the historic right of this industry to grow with our Nation; and

Whereas the domestic sugar industry has, through important technological progress, increased its own productivity per acre by some 20 percent since establishment of fixed marketing quotas in the Sugar Act of 1948; and

Whereas the combination of rigid marketing restrictions and increased productivity per acre is forcing injurious acreage reductions and other sharp constrictions of the domestic sugar industry; and

Whereas these pressures not only are acting to the severe and unwarranted detriment of the domestic sugar industry but also are having a depressing effect upon the economic life of this community and North Dakota: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be and hereby is petitioned to provide for immediate quota increases for the domestic industry and restoration to the domestic industry of its historic right to share in all future increases in United States sugar requirements; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Grafton Chamber of Commerce is hereby instructed to forward copies of this resolution to the Senators and Representatives elected to the Congress by the people of North Dakota; and to the Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of State, and the Secretary of the Interior.

Passed by the Grafton Chamber of Commerce, Grafton, N. Dak., April 2, 1955.

Dr. J. V. Jaehning,
President.
Donald O. Numedahl,
Secretary.

What Went Wrong With TVA?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 1, 1955

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the Appleton (Wis.) Post-Crescent:

WHAT WENT WRONG WITH TVA?

Elsewhere on this page today is reprinted an article from the Milwaukee Journal about Gordon Clapp, a distinguished alumnus of Lawrence College, who along with his family is well-known here in Appleton, both as a former student and administrator at the college. Shortly after leaving here he became employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority and rose to the position of Chairman of that vast Government project before being dropped by President Eisenhower last year. Clapp has great things to say for the ac-

Clapp has great things to say for the accomplishments of TVA in the Tennessee Valley region, and few will dispute his words on that subject. But what he fails to say is as important as what he says.

For like all laudators of the TVA, he talks about the people who have benefited from it but says not a word about the people who paid for it. TVA is the biggest example in our history of a project instituted for the benefit of a relatively small portion of the country but paid for by the taxpayers of all 48 States.

There is nothing wrong with that; indeed, it is one of the things that has made this country great. Every since the inception of our Central Government, citizens all through the Nation, usually without protest, have

contributed through their taxes to projects designed to do for the people of certain areas what they could not do for themselves. Texans and Californians will contribute to the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway. New Yorkers and Wisconsinites and Virginians have helped to build hundreds of dams and reservoirs in the West, and will help to build many more. The money that pays for a dredging operation on the Fox or the Chattahoochee or the Columbia comes from the taxpayers located everywhere in the Nation.

Clapp tells of TVA's accomplishment in wiping out malaria, encouraging good crop practices and forestry methods, and controlling floods and erosion. The people of Wisconsin and of all the other States, we believe, are happy to have helped with their tax dollars this fine work in the Tennessee Valley. But Clapp passes over very quickly the fact that cheaper electricity made possible by TVA power is the heart of the TVA operation, and that it also is a present to the people of the Tennessee Valley from the taxpayers of all the other States.

TVA was a great dream and in many ways has seen a great fulfillment of that dream. But something went wrong. For the men who operated it were not content with controlling floods, fighting erosion and malaria, and encouraging good crop practices. They wanted the people of the region to feel favorably toward TVA, and set about to buy that favor with cheap electricity subsidized by taxpayers in Ohio and Wisconsin and California and New Mexico.

TVA produces power from hydroelectric dams, and from coal-burning steam plants as does any privately owned utility. It can sell that power more cheaply than a private company simply because it does not pay any Federal income taxes or any other taxes although it occasionally makes token payments to localities in lieu of taxes. If it paid those taxes it would have to charge as much as a private company except, of course, for the profit factor which is so small that it would make a negligible difference in the unit price of electricity.

Residents of Wisconsin are happy and proud to have helped make possible the many fine things that TVA has done for the people of the Tennessee Valley. They realize that flood control and erosion control and a lessening of malaria in that area or any other part of the country contributes to the well-being of the Nation as a whole. But they fail to see why they should reach in their pockets every April 15 so that the people of the Tennessee Valley can enjoy cheaper power rates than we do, and attract industry away from us with those rates. That is something Mr. Clapp apparently did not talk about in his interview with the Journal reporter.

A Connecticut Farmer Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial captioned "A Connecticut Farmer Speaks," which appeared in the March 29 issue of the Meriden (Conn.) Record.

The bill to which George Dudley, the president of the Connecticut Farm Bu-

read Federation, has reference is H. R. 12, which soon shall be considered on the floor of this House. The article follows:

A CONNECTICUT FARMER SPEAKS

Tremendous pressure is building up to fight for the House farm bill when it comes up for debate in Congress right after the Easter recess. This bill which the administration opposes in its entirety would restore mandatory 90 percent of price supports to wheat, corn, cotton, peanuts, and rice. It is reported that House farm leaders are taking advantage of the time provided by postponement of debate to fill the mails in the next few days to sell city slickers the case for high rigid farm-price supports. One pamphiet is reported to tell how organized labor backs such supports. The other attempts to make out a good case that high supports for basic crops have no appreciable effect on prices paid by consumers for food, which on the face of its seems unreasonable.

It is refreshing to hear a loud voice from Connecticut giving another side to this case, and one which should bear considerable weight since it comes from the farmer ranks in a clear and positive statement. The president of the Connecticut Farm Bureau Federation, George Dudley, who is a dairy farmer in Litchfield, says Chairman Cooley, of the House Agricultural Committee must be forgetting that the Nation's farmers have told Congress plainly what sort of price support they want, and it is not the plan advocated by organized labor leader Walter Reuther for rigid high supports, the plan ac-

claimed by Mr. Cooley.

Mr. Dudley is quoted as saying more than 700,000 farmers at 23,000 local meetings throughout the United States in 1953 voiced their desire for flexible supports. Mr. Dudley fears the public will also forget this fact as Mr. COOLEY seems to have done. He was quick to take up the gauntlet and to utter a warning that the public must not be misled by distorted facts promoted by leaders with selfish interests at heart. Perhaps he had in mind the persistent rumor that organized labor support of rigid high farm supports is tied in to a hope that farm leaders would not fight a labor-supported proposal to raise the Federal minimum-wage standard from its present 75 cents an hour There has been talk of a mutual potsweetening understanding which we can hope is rumor only, because it is not the just way to determine national policy.

At any rate the battle will be joined. Administration foes are sure to bring up the GOP platform promise to farmers for full parity in the market place, a promise that can be variously interpreted. But common sense should dictate a flexible program that is fairer to everyone in the country than the proposed rigid high supports. If Mr. Dudley is right about the general feeling among farmers, we can hope his voice reaches to the halls in Washington.

Anniversary of Russian Occupation of Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, today, April 4, is an anniversary of a day which must be forever circled in blood in the annals of Hungarian history. It was on this date in 1945 that the armies of So-

viet Russia completed their brutal occupation of Hungary. Earlier the siege of Budapest from December 1944 until February 1945 had resulted in the virtually complete destruction of that historic

It has now been 10 years that the Hungarian people have been kept in subjection under the hirelings of the Soviet Union and the Red army. These years have held untold hardships and deprivations, both psysical and of the spirit. There has been a systematic attempt by the Communists to destroy all vestiges of racial and national autonomy. In order to further convert the individual Hungarian into the soulless, subservient robot, which is the ideal Communist citizen, the government under the aegis of the Red army has through mass deportations, terrorization, and religious persecution attempted to instill in him a feeling of individual helplessness. He has been made to feel that no aspect of his daily existence is safe from the mad caprices and controls of the government.

And yet, the Hungarian people have resisted the alien ideologies which the Communists have attempted to force upon them. Time and again the Communists have retreated from a manifestly unpopular course in an effort to obtain popular support. The very variety of their tactics and their reversals of policy attest to the fact that they have been unable to carry out their plan for Hungary.

On this sorrowful anniversary for Hungarians the world over, we join in praying that the liberation they so earnestly desire will soon reward the steadfastness of the Hungarian people.

Treatment of Advance Subscription Payments as Prepaid Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, an amendment has been proposed to the Internal Revenue Code which would repeal the 1954 provisions permitting newspapers to treat advance subscription payments as prepaid income. Such a repeal done on a retroactive basis would be a hardship to many weekly and small daily newspapers, the large majority of which have adjusted their operations so as to use the 1954 provisions on the reasonable and justifiable basis that was intended by the Congress.

The South Dakota Press Association at its annual meeting on March 26 stated their views as to the effect of the proposed change. The resolution reads as follows:

The revision of the Federal tax laws in 1954 contained a provision that authorized newspapers to treat subscription payments as prepaid income, as they properly are, and permitted them to set up reserves in proportion to this obligation. This was in ac-

cord with good business principles and sound accounting practices.

Now it is proposed that this provision be repealed and that the repeal be made retroactive to January 1, 1954.

The South Dakota Press Association strongly opposes the proposed repeal of this section and urges Congress to respect the sound sense of the 1954 provision in respect to newspaper subscription revenues. Furthermore, it considers the proposal that the section be repealed on a retroactive basis to be sharply in violation of good faith. Many newspapers have adjusted their books to conform to the 1954 provision and they would be subjected to a considerable hardship to be compelled to go back now and make changes in records that they had every reason to believe were past history.

Relief for Farm Losses From Natural Causes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the recent freeze during the last days of March imposed another economic loss on the Nation's farmers. The result of the record low temperatures on March 26 and 27 across the greater southern farm belt will be added economic loss to our farmers, who have already suffered by drastic cutbacks in all controlled crops.

The fruit and vegetable farmers will be especially hurt. In Arkansas the fruit and vegetable farmers, in many cases, have suffered the entire loss of their crops. From North Carolina down to Florida and across the South to Arkansas, Texas, and Oklahoma, the peach crops are considered a near total loss. It is reported, that with few exceptions, it will not pay the fruit farmers to set up packing sheds for what crops remain. The same is true of the apple crops.

For this reason, it was pleasing to see the dispatch of interested Members of the other House of the Congress through the introduction of S. 1628. This would appear to be a method of relieving to some degree the great burden to the farmers, and it is my hope that the House of Representatives Committee on Agriculture will study this matter along the principles of S. 1628 immediately upon the resumption of sessions following the Easter holidays.

This action, together with the disaster loan assistance from the Farmers' Home Administration will be of great assistance to these farmers. I am pleased to be notified by the officials of the Farmers' Home Administration that they are rushing their surveys and county eligibility designations throughout this disaster area.

The economy of our Nation is dependent on the solvency of our farmers, and we must not delay in striving to relieve this latest blow to our Nation's agricultural economy. I include the following copy of S. 1628: 8. 1628

A bill to provide relief to farmers and farmworkers suffering crop losses or loss of employment because of damage to crops caused by drought, flood, hall, frost, freeze, wind, insect infestation, plant disease, or other natural causes

Be it enacted, etc .-

CONGRESSIONAL FINDINGS

SECTION 1. The Congress hereby finds (1) that crop losses due to drought, flood, hail, frost, freeze, wind, insect infestation, plant disease, or other natural causes result in severe hardship, suffering, and economic loss, not only in the case of operators of farms but in the case of their tenants and employees as well: (2) that, by reason of acreage limitations or other production controls, farmers suffering such losses are often prevented from planting other crops to replace those lost or damaged; (3) that as a result thereof agricultural workers and other persons dependent on such crops for a livelihood are forced to seek other employment. thus causing dislocation of populations and other trends which tend to unbalance existing ratios between rural and urban populations: (4) that the economies of the areas affected are thereby disrupted and the economy of the entire Nation adversely affected.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Sec. 2. It is the purpose of this act to alleviate hardship, suffering, and economic losses resulting from disastrous loss or damage to agricultural crops due to natural causes, and to prevent serious dislocation of populations, and other adverse effects on the economies of the areas affected and the Nation, by making possible the planting of additional acreage of other crops which will in part replace those destroyed or damaged and thus provide a livelihood for farm operators and workers who would otherwise be forced to seek other means of support for themselves and their families.

INCREASE IN ACREAGE ALLOTMENTS

SEC. 3. (a) Whenever the Secretary of Agriculture determines—

(1) that in any area any agricultural crop which is important to the economy of such area has been destroyed or severely damaged by drought, flood, hail, frost, freeze, wind, insect infestation, plant disease, or other natural cause; and

(2) that, except for acreage limitations or other production controls, other crops could be planted to replace or supplement the crop destroyed or damaged,

the Secretary, upon application by the operator of any farm within such area, shall cause to be allotted to such farm additional acreage for the planting of any such crop in such amount as the Secretary determines to be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act.

- (b) The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized and directed, whenever he determines that the normal production from the acreage allotment for the principal crop produced on any farm, together with the normal production of other crops grown on such farm, is insufficient to provide a livelihood for the operator of such farm and his family, to increase such acreage allotment to the extent necessary to enable such operator to produce sufficient agricultural commodities to provide such livelihood.
- (c) The aggregate of the additional acreage allotted for any crop year under this section for the planting of any agricultural commodity shall not exceed (1) 500,000 acres, or (2) 3 percent of the national acreage allotment for such commodity for such year, whichever is smaller.

ADDITIONAL ACREAGE NOT TO BE CONSIDERED FOR PURPOSE OF FUTURE ALLOTMENTS

SEC. 4. The additional acreage authorized to be allotted to farms under this act for

any year shall be in addition to the county, State, and national acreage allotments for such year. Such additional acreage shall not be taken into account in establishing future State, county, and farm acreage allotments.

DEFINITION OF AGRICULTURAL CROP

SEC. 5. As used in this act, the term "agricultural crop" means any crop of a product of the soil, including horticultural crops.

TERMINATION DATE

Sec. 6. This act shall cease to be in effect on June 1, 1958.

The United States Foreign Policy Toward India, 1947-52

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, India is a new member of the sisterhood of nations, having achieved her independence in August 1947, a very short time ago indeed. Already she is taking her place as a leader of world opinion. We need her love for freedom, and she needs ours. We need her patience and understanding, and she needs ours. All these, I think, our two countries have for each other to a very great degree. The peace of the world depends upon further growth of these attributes in our own country and hers. We are neighbors.

Recently I have become acquainted with a young man from India, Shiwaram K. Kshirsagar, who is a student at American University here in Washington, where he is a candidate for his doctorate of philosophy degree in international relations. I am impressed with the love and respect which he holds for our country, and his deep devote for his own beloved country. Recently as an assignment for one of his classes at American University, he wrote an article touching upon our relations with his own country. I though it rich in historic detail and am inserting it as a part of my remarks so that my colleagues may read it also:

THE UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD INDIA, 1947-52

(By Shiwaram K. Kshirsagar)

After President Franklin D. Roosevelt had influenced Prime Minister Winston Churchill's views toward India's efforts to achieve her independence, only one significant incident in the last 10 years in United States—Indian foreign policy preceded the proclamation of Indian independence by Great Britain in June 1947. This was Col. Louis Johnson's mission to India in April 1942. As the personal representative of the President, Colonel Johnson went to India at the time when Sir Stafford Cripps was there on his mission to solve the Indian political deadlock of 1942. The Indian National Congress was appreciative of this friendly action by President Roosevelt.

II. PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN ON INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE

On August 15, 1947, India achieved her independence. On this memorable occasion, in Indian history, United States President Harry S. Truman telegraphed the best wishes of his Government and the American people to Lord Louis Mountbatten, the Governor

General of the Dominion of India, and to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian people. President Truman expressed his hope that Indo-American friendship would continue and that these two great nations would cooperate in the international struggle to fashion a world society founded on mutual trust and respect. He continued that to achieve this objective a mutual understanding and cooperation were essential. Both the Government and the people of India greatly appreciated these best wishes of the President of his Govern-ment and of the American people. India, extended reciprocal good wishes to President Truman, his Government, and the American people. She assured the President and the American people that such mutual cooperation would be forthcoming from India. Such action on the part of United States carried great influence in India. It has strengthened the hope and given encouragement to the people in their own efforts to raise the standard of living and to educate the Indian masses for the success of a democracy is largely dependent on the spread of education. After President Truman's recognition of Indian independence, diplomatic relations were established between the United States and India.

III. PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS, JANUARY 1949

Recognizing the world's new problems, President Truman, in the fourth point of his inaugural address in 1949, suggested a "bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas." President Truman's proposal was hailed as an instrument toward fashioning world peace not only by India but by all the freedomloving countries. The free citizens of these countries have always hoped that once they made a start toward self-help to solving their own problems, some help might be forthcoming from the world's greatest democracy. There is no question that India shared such a hope. In a democracy dis-semination of foreign aid has always resulted in strengthening ties of mutual understanding and cooperation among nations. When such nations are willing to help themselves, then there is no fear whatsoever that foreign aid might make the receiving country a parasite. But if no such foreign aid is forthcoming there is a possibility of the danger that the weaker nations may fall a prey to Communist imperialism.

IV. PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S INVITATION TO PRIME MINISTER JAWAHARLAL NEHRU TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In order to strengthen the ties of friendship between the United States and India Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit was appointed Indian Ambassador to United States in May 1949. President Truman still further strengthened these ties of mutual friendship by inviting Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to visit the United States in 1949. Prime Minister Nehru accepted this invitation and arrived in the United States in October 1949 for a month's stay. This was Mr. Nehru's first and only visit to the United States. For many years he evinced an interest in the United States and its democratic ideals. Mr. Nehru in his first speech to the House of Representatives on October 13, 1949, said:

"I deem it a high honor and privilege to be given this opportunity of addressing this honorable House, and I must express to you, Sir, my gratitude for it. For this House represents in large measure this great Republic which is playing such a vital part in the destinies of mankind today. I have come to this country to learn something of your great achievements. I have come also to convey the greetings of my people and in the hope that my visit may help to create a greater understanding between our respective people and those strong sometimes invisible links, stronger even than physical links, that bind countries together. * * It

may interest you to know that in drafting the constitution of the Republic of India we have been greatly influenced by your own Constitution which lays down as a self-evident truth that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. * * * The great democracy of the United States of America will, I feel sure, understand and appreciate our approach to life's problems because it could not have any other aim or a different ideal. Friendship and cooperation between our two countries are, therefore, natural. I stand here to offer both in the pursuit of justice, liberty, and peace."

Mr. Nehru was warmly appreciative of the hearty welcome that he received from both President Truman and the American people. V. UNITED STATES EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN THE TIES OF PRIENDSHIP WITH INDIA

The Truman administration took keen interest in establishing good Indo-American In 1949 the State Department started the educational exchange program between the United States and India under the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts. Under these acts Indian exchange students, teachers, and professors came to study and teach at different universities in the United States. - Likewise, United States exchange students and professors went to India. There has been a great change in India since August 15, 1947. After her independence many students began coming to the United States for their education. It is hoped that such young Indian people will contribute to the success of democracy in India.

In June 1950 the Korean war broke out. India supported the United Nations action in Korea. Prime Minister Nehru received full cooperation of his Government in this matter. He was in favor of halting the United Nations forces at the 38th parallel in Korea. This was the point where the U. N. authorities and Mr. Nehru differed. In order to effect a token participation, however, he sent a medical corps to Korea.

In December 1950 the Indian Ambassador, Madame Pandit, presented to President Truman an official request for a wheat loan to India since famine was rampant in India. That year the crops failed due to the paucity of rain. It always takes some time in democracles to take action on such international requests for long-term loans. Finally on June 15, 1951, President Truman signed the Indian emergency food aid bill. President expressed particular satisfaction with two provisions of the act. One permits the use of \$5 million from the interest of the loan for exchange of students and technicians between the two countries, and the other authorizes ocean transportation for relief supplies given to India by individuals and private organizations. Mr. Nehru expressed his deep gratitude at the adoption by the United States Congress of the Indian Emergency Assistance Act of 1951. This act made available \$190 million to purchase 2 million tons of food grains in America. Both Mr. Nehru's government and the people of India expressed their gratitude to the United States.

In the fall of 1951 the President appointed Mr. Chester Bowles as United States Ambassador to India. The credit for strengthening the mutual ties of friendship and better understanding goes to Ambassador Bowles. In his short tour of duty in India he represented the United States in the best Possible way. He truly deserves the title "The Ambassador of Good Will." He has recently published his book, Ambassador's Report, in which he presents the facts in an objective manner. It is a good picture of what is going on in India. His efforts should certainly achieve deserved success. He became interested in India's technical

development and on January 5, 1952, signed the joint Indo-American cooperative program, which extends technical assistance to India under the point 4 program. This assistance was proven to be of great help to the success of the Indian first 5-year plan.

Soon after Ambassador Bowles' arrival in New Delhi, he was invited, along with other Ambassadors, to attend a party at the Soviet Embassy. Every year the Soviet Embassy celebrates the October revolution of 1917 in honor of Lenin. At this party Ambassador Bowles observed that more than 3,000 people were invited from different walks of life. He immediately sensed that this was not the usual diplomatic party, but a covert ma-neuver to reach the Indian masses. In February 1952 Ambassador Bowles sent out 7,000 invitations to celebrate George Washington's Birthday. Some 5,000 people attended the function. This was perhaps a Machiavellian stroke on the part of the Ambassador toward informing the Indian people concerning this great man and his search for American independence.

VI. FUTURE TRENDS OF THE UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD INDIA

When we review the foreign policy of the Truman administration toward India, we find that President Truman has laid down a solid foundation for friendship between the United States and India. In the political picture of the world today both these countries need each other in combating world communism. Both countries have the same objectives, this is, to help the enslaved nations to achieve their independence and to maintain international peace and security. In reaching these objectives each nation follows an independent foreign policy. On these and similar lines the future foreign policies will shape themselves.

The Matanuska Valley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting article on the Matanuska Valley of Alaska, written by Max K. Gilstrap, chief of the central news bureau of the Christian Science Monitor, was recently published in that paper, and I take pleasure in quoting it here.

The article follows:

PALMER, ALASKA.—A look at the lush harvests of Matanuska Valley in south central Alaska, 'neath snow-covered peaks lifting in jagged outline, offers one of the best arguments this Territory has for attracting would-be settlers.

Even enthusiastic Matanuska Valley residents, however, candidiy advise that no one should come to this valley or anywhere else in Alaska to live without definite assurance of a job, and without enough money to pay for the trip back to the States should the job fail to materialize.

Greeting the visitor here are the happy, virile communities of Palmer and Wasilla, which have great faith in their own futures and in the future of Alaska. Their thriving appearances, together with the rich farmlands, quickly apprise one that the Matanuska Valley, with nearly 5,000 residents scattered over 1,200 square miles, no longer can be called a colonization project as it was when started in the day of the depression of the 1930's.

THRIVING COMMUNITY

Approaching by car, we left the pavement and took a dusty, graveled road. Palmer loomed before us along a branch of the Alaska Railroad. It was here in May 1935 that 200 refugees from the depression from Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan debarked from the train to live in a tent city until cabins could be built. It has been here 20 years that a lively, substantial commutty of 900 persons has grown up.

We drove past the cluster of buildings housing 100 businesses. Across the railroad track were large exhibit buildings for the annual Labor Day fair. A swing through the residential area took us past a red frame library, churches of logs and cement blocks, a new apartment building, and a mixture of

old and new houses.

BUMPY START RECALLED

We chatted with many residents, including Gary LaRose from Phillips, Wis., a dairy farmer; Bill Bowens of Rhinelander, Wis., grocery store owner; Mrs. Max Sherrod of Battle Creek, Mich., wife of a successful truck gardener; Bill Irvin of Basin, Wyo., and A. J. DeJulio, owner of Palmer's weekly tabloid, the Frontiersman.

Each settler, through the Alaska Rural Rehabilitation Corp., was provided with a home, 40 acres of land, and funds for its improvement. During the first summer, 50 of the first 200 families went back. By 1938 almost half the families had returned to their homes, but they were replaced by persons from throughout the United States and Alaska. The period of largest single exodus was during World War II. Now only about 30 of the original families are left.

Looking back, the original settlers spoke of early trials. From the first, they had complained about the paternalistic attitude of the Corporation and representatives of the Federal Government. A big mistake had been made, the settlers said, in turning over the selection of the settlers to young social workers instead of to farmers. As a result, 20 or 30 families never had been on a farm; some were physically unfit. A few came for the expense-paid trip and apparently expected to go back as soon as possible. In addition, transient laborers came up from Montana and California and elsewhere.

OUTGROW SMALL PLOTS

Another mistake, according to the early settlers, was the original idea of the colony founders that small self-sufficient types of farms on small plots should be established. They hadn't counted on the initiative and resourcefulness of the people. As the settlers forged ahead and the military brought an influx of people to create bigger farm markets, tracts were enlarged, buildings remodeled, and dairying, vegetable growing, general farming, and poultry raising expanded into commercial enterprises. This stimulated the activities of assisting farm organizations.

After 1938, the Federal Government began to lose interest in the Matanuska colonization project, financial assistance was withdrawn, and the corporation was left to work

its own way.

Since 1942, the remaining aspects of the colonization period have disappeared. No control over the social or economic condition or the farming development is exercised any longer by the colonization program or the corporation management. Many of the original contracts signed by the colonists are still in force since they were written to be paid over a 30-year period.

SELF-RELIANT SETUP

The corporation's activities now involve, primarily, the financing of farming projects principally within the Matanuska Valley. The corporation is presided over by a nineman board of directors made up of local farmers and businessmen. Its capital consists of about \$1 million in assets left from

the \$4,500,000 originally granted for the project by the Federal Government. The corporation at present lends about \$200,000 an-

nually for farm development.

In the opinion of James J. Hurley, general manager of the corporation, the colonization project was a success from the standpoint of the development of an agricultural community. From the standpoint of rehabilitating needy rural farm families, it was a success in the majority of the cases. Many mistakes were made, it is conceded, but in the process the immediate needs of the United States and Alaska were served.

Out of Matanuska Valley have come lessons that can be put to good use as Alaska, with an eager eye on statehood, beckons to more pioneers to swell its population.

Enormity of Needs of Schools Makes United States Aid Imperative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my reremarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Reading (Pa.) Times:

ENORMITY OF NEEDS OF SCHOOLS MAKES UNITED STATES AID IMPERATIVE

Albany Township, Berks County, Pa., would seem to a far cry from any of the considerations which impel the design of Federal policy on any matter at all. Yet the fact is that Albany Township, together with all the other Albany Townships in the United States, add up to a compelling reason why Congress should pass legislation granting substantial Federal aid to education.

Let Albany be a symbol of the urgent need for Federal aid to education. Like virtually every other school district in the Nation, its schools are supported by real-estate taxes, principally. Approximately half the township is mountainous, unarable. There is only one industry of any importance. As a consequence, its assessed valuation for school-tax purposes is low, woefully inadequate to permit the township to junk its 1-room schools and build a modern, consolidated school. In short, it needs help.

The Commonwealth provides some help—but not nearly enough for Albany's purposes. And there are thousands of other communities throughout the country in Albany's position—and in States which are in Albany's position, inasmuch as they don't have the assessed real estate valuation to bring in enough taxes properly to support their schools. In this situation, can one reasonably oppose Federal aid to education?

Yet many are opposed. Why? Well, there are stock arguments. Somehow or other, Federal aid to education is socialistic. Somehow or other, they say, aid for school construction would get lost between Washington and the school districts. Somehow or other (they argue) Federal aid would result in Faderal control. Let's examine these arguments.

In the first place, it costs the Government about one-fifth as much to collect Federal taxes as it costs local governments to collect real-estate taxes, according to reliable authority. In the second place, if Federal aid to education is socialistic, then George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were Socialists, for both believed in Federal aid to education. As a matter of historic fact,

even before the United States was the United States—in 1785, that is—the Congress of the Confederation voted grants for school construction, maintenance, and operation.

Would substantial Federal aid really result in Federal control? Well, it depends upon what the legislation provides. Thus, President Eisenhower's idea of Federal aid to the schools is opposed by 42 of the 48 principal State school officers because it might result in Federal control. On the other hand, legislation proposed by Senator Lister Hill, of Alabama, and Senator John McClellan, of Arkansas, is endorsed by the executive secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers as having "no possibility whatever for Federal control of educational programs."

The enormity of the problem must make every American wince. We are now short 390,000 classrooms; only 60,000 classrooms are scheduled for completion this year. We need teachers, by the thousands, especially in the sciences. Teachers are leaving the profession because of poor pay and the same reason prevents promising young mon and women from entering the profession.

women from entering the profession.

Moneywise, Neil H. McElroy, chairman of the White House Conference on Education, has indicated we will need \$10 billion a year more for our schools by 1965 if the are to do an adequate job. And the hard fact is that neither local nor State governments have any hope of providing that kind of money. Real estate can't and on the local level, and State taxes won't. Pennsylvania, for instance, is constitutionally barred from levying a State income tax for school purposes or any other purpose.

What, then, despite all the objections to Federal aid to education, is left but Federal aid? Unless, of course, we don't value our freedoms too highly. For it is as Thomas Jefferson said: "If a people expect to be both ignorant and free, they expect what never was and what never will be."

S. Regensberg's Interview With Max Abelman in the Forward Published in Congressional Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GEORGE S. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, I include the following statement from S. Regensberg's interview with Max Abelman in Forward:

S. REGENSBERG'S INTERVIEW WITH MAX ABEL-MAN IN THE FORWARD PUBLISHED IN CON-GRESSIONAL RECORD

The interview of the Forward's S. Regensberg with the Brooklyn Jewish community worker, Max Abelman, has been published in English translation, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 13, 1955. The article is translated by S. Haironson.

In the article, Regensberg told of the fine type of Jew which Abelman represents and of all the good he has done for Jew and Gentile alike, which has won for him so much

love and respect.

The article was entered in the RECORD on the floor of the House of Representatives by the Democratic New York Congressman, Hon. Eugens J. KEOGH, who, on introducing the article, said the following: "Mr. Speaker, I have the honor of entering into the Concarssional RECORD an article which was published in the Forward June 26, 1954. The article in the Forward is a wonderful tribute

to a Brooklyn Jewish citizen, Mr. Abelman, who deserves to be honored by all Americans."

In the introduction to Regensberg's translated article, it is explained that this is an article about a Brooklyn Jew who helps a Supreme Court Judge to smooth out disagreements botween married couples; that his name is Max Abelman, who is thought of as the "Ambassador from Brooklyn" and who, in the course of his 50 years of community work, has collected \$100 million for the American Government and for Jewish and Gentile philanthropic causes.

Col. Robert R. McCormick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, it is with great regret and a deep sense of loss that we learn of the death of Col_Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago Daily Tribune.

It is not often in the course of a generation that a name or a personality rolls across the horizon in such a manner as to attract almost worldwide attention to itself, but Colonel McCormick had such a personality.

No matter where one travels in the civilized world, the name and accomplishments of Colonel McCormick are readily recognized. Certainly he was one of the controversial figures of our century, but controversial only in the sense that he was a man of strong convictions who was willing and able to state those convictions and defend them. Many times in the course of Colonel McCormick's life he adopted stands and espoused principles which were unpopular at the time of his dedication to them. Yet, in the majority of cases, history has proven the correctness of those convictions and the brilliance of his foresight.

For instance, when the Nuremberg trials were underway, Colonel McCormick and his paper, the Chicago Daily Tribune, stood virtually alone in their denouncement of them and in warning the American public of the dangers inherent in these trials. Today, a decade later, most thinking Americans question the wisdom in the holding of these trials.

Similarly with the Yalta proceedings. Colonel McCormick immediately attacked, through the medium of his paper, the decisions made at Yalta. The publication of the Yalta documents last week—which, incidentally, resulted in the accomplishment of a feat rare in the annals of newspaper history when the Chicago Daily Tribune published 32 full newspaper pages of the Yalta proceedings in a matter of hours—gave proof positive to the correctness of Colonel McCormick's stand on the Yalta agreements,

His long, unrelenting fight against the prohibition amendment, his continuing fight against Communist infiltration, and the inroads socialism was making in our own Government, were stands that could be taken only by a man who was firm in his conviction and dedicated in

principle.

Colonel McCormick took great pride—and justly so—in the designation of his Chicago Daily Tribune as "the world's greatest newspaper." He also took great pride in carrying the American flag on the paper's masthead, with the caption underneath reading "The Voice of the Middle West." However, Colonel McCormick's greatest pride was in his country, and his fierce spirit of nationalism was always in evidence in the policies of his newspaper.

May America always be blessed with men of such stature as Colonel McCormick, who are willing to fight for the freedom of expressing their philosophy and principles which they will not compromise

Colonel McCormick took a very vital interest in the affairs of his native city of Chicago, having served as an alderman in the Chicago City Council from 1904 to 1906, and as president of the Chicago Sanitary District from 1905 to 1910.

He always fought against crime, corruption, and against political privileges for the few at the expense of the general public. Through his newspaper he continually brought to the attention of the citizens of Chicago civic conditions which were inimical to their well-being and the general welfare.

Colonel McCormick may have left us bodily, but his courageous spirit and his tenacious adherence to the principles he believed in will be remembered for a great many years to come.

Robert Rutherford McCormick, lawyer, editor, and publisher, was born in Chicago, Ill., July 30, 1880, the son of Robert Sanderson and Katharine Van Etta (Medill) McCormick, Education: Yale University, bachelor of arts 1903, and Northwestern University Law School, Political record: Member, Chicago City Council, 1904-06; president, Chicago Sanitary District, 1905-10; member of Chicago Charter Convention, 1907; member of Chicago Plan Commission. Business record: Editor and publisher of the Chicago Tribune; admitted to Illinois bar 1907. Military service: Major, 1st Illinois Cavalry on duty on Mexican border, 1916; attached to General Pershing's staff in France, American Expeditionary Forces, 1917; assigned as major, 5th Field Artillery, adjutant, 57th Artillery Brigade; lieutenant colonel, 122d Field Artillery, United States National Guard; colonel, 61st Field Artillery, United States Army; served as commandant, Fort Sheridan, Ill.; awarded Distinguished Service Medal; author of With the Russian Army-1915; Army of 1918-20; Ulysses S. Grant, the Great Soldier of America-1934; Freedom of the Press-1936: How We Acquired Our National Territory-1942; American Revolution and Its Effect on World Civilization-1945. Numerous shorter works on historical, military, scientific, legal, and Political subjects. Member, Racquet and Tennis Club, Chicago Club, Presbyterian. Home: DuPage County, Ill. Office, Tribune Square, Chicago, Ill.

The Meaning of Passover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT ZELENKO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday night, April 6, 1955, Jewish people all over the world will usher in the festival of freedom, Passover. Passover commemorates the exodus of the Jewish people from their slavery in Egypt, under the divinely inspired leadership of their great leader. Moses.

The season of Passover can serve to teach all Americans to be grateful for the manifold blessings of freedom which our beloved country confers upon all its citizens. Jewish people, especially, who have been among the most oppressed in history give due recognition to their blessings in this "land of the free and home of the brave."

Passover is the holiday which unites the family at one festive board at its main festive meal, the Seder. The entire family, young and old, are present. The table is set with special dishes, and the candles, lit and blessed by the mother, shed their soft light. A goblet stands at each plate to receive four fillings of wine, the amount that should be taken on this night of historic celebration. There is an additional great silver goblet, reserved to be filled later for Elijah the prophet, who will come one day to announce the Messiah and the final redemption.

The ceremonial ritual of the Seder service is conducted from special booklets, called Haggadahs. In Biblical narrative style and through bold, colorful pictures, the Haggadah tells the wondrous story of the deliverance from the ancient Pharaoh, the cruel king of Egypt. Before the master of the house is a special ornamental plate, containing pieces of food symbolic of this festival. On it is a bitter herb, representing the bitterness of the Egyptian slavery—the charoses, the fruit, nut, and wine mixture, designed to appear like the mortar out of which the Hebrew bondsmen were forced to make bricks for their masters-the roast bone, suggestive of the sacrifices offered in the Temple of Jerusalem on Passover in olden days-the egg, symbolizing the new life and hope of the free-the salt water, the tears shed by the enslaved.

Matzoh is the most important food at this meal. It is an unleavened cracker, suggested by the sunbaked dough eaten by the freed Hebrews as they marched without stopping on their way to liberty. There are thousands of years of history in every morsel. Much painstaking labor has gone into the preparation of this family ritual meal, for no detail may be omitted or performed incorrectly.

Children are especially joyful on this evening of evenings, for they have a special part to perform. They will recite the four questions, taken from the ancient Talmud and thoroughly memorized for this occasion. The story of passover

deliverance is chanted from the Haggadah, a full meal is served, and then the company reclines to sing the traditional songs of praise and hope. The songs go on into the night to end with Chad Gadyo, a delightfully simple ditty which details the fate of the beast who would destroy the kid, which is Israel.

The Seder, the Passover observances, and the prayer book, all keep alive the memory of the event known as the going out from Egypt. This has become one of the greatest Jewish doctrines. It declares that God is on the side of the slave and the oppressed. Tyranny may flourish for awhile, and may even appear all powerful. But God detests the oppressor and sooner or later overthrows him. Egypt seemed unconquerable but it fell before God's just punishment. So shall all tyrannies ultimately vanish and be destroyed.

The Jew is told not only not to despair of freedom, but also to take care never to fall into the temptation of becoming an oppressor himself. The Bible commands him, "Thou shalt treat the stranger who lives among you as the native, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." The story of Jewish slavery in Egypt always reminds all people never to lose the quality of sympathy and never to treat fellowmen without mercy.

Our world today should heed both these lessons of passover—first, that through the perspective of history, freedom is invincible, and second, that each man must remember that his fellow is equally entitled to freedom in the eyes of God.

Preferential Hiring Barred

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call to the attention of the House an article written by Louis R. Huber, special correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, noting that a trial examiner of the National Labor Relations Board has ruled that employers may not differentiate between residents and non-residents of Alaska in respect to offering employment.

The article follows:

FAIRBANKS, ALASKA.—A cherished frontier right—that employment, whenever it is available, shall be offered first to local residents—has been held illegal here by a trial examiner of the National Labor Relations Board.

The "Alaskans first" principle sprang up as

The "Alaskans first" principle sprang up as an encouragement for and protection of workmen who have chosen Alaska as their permanent home. It has had bold underscoring in the recent defense-construction boom, in which many workmen drawn northward had a tendency to get theirs and get

Territorial newspapers have long upheld the local-labor-first tenet editorially, and labor unions have insisted that it be written into contracts with employers. ACCEPTED BY UNION

The NLRB ruling to the contrary concerned A. B. Coates, who came here from California last March. On May 14, 1954, he was offered a job as night foreman by

a construction firm. Before leaving California, Mr. Coates applied for membership in Local 3 of the International Union of Operating Engineers, A. F. of L. After arriving in Alaska, he received notice he had been accepted as a

member

Local 302 of the same union, which has jurisdiction here, refused to accept a transfer of membership which Mr. Coates tried to secure and also refused to assign him to the job he had been offered by the employer.

Ten days later, however, Local 302 officials dispatched Mr. Coates to a job as bulldozer operator with the same firm; upon arriving for work, he was given the night-foreman

job.

By the NLRB action, the Alaska chapter of the Associated General Contractors of America. Inc., representing the construction firm, and local No. 302 must reimburse Mr. Coates for the approximate 10 days' pay he lost.

And they must also stop giving preference of employment to Alaska residents—although, the NLRB report of the case notes, the labor contract does not define the term "legal resident of Alaska."

Mr. Coates appears to be making his permanent residence in Alaska and, for the purposes of this record, must be deemed to be a resident of Alaska, observed Martin S. Bennett, trial examiner before whom the case was heard.

POSITION DEFENDED

Russell T. Conlon, secretary-treasurer of local No. 302, whose headquarters is in Seattle, commented there, "We have tried, like other agencies, to discourage men from going to Alaska unless jobs are available. believe men who have families and other ties in Alaska should be given the first op-

portunity at work when it opens up."

Observers here feel that the letter of the Taft-Hartley Act may well be upheld by the NLRB ruling, but that this ruling works a hardship on Alaska in its struggle to attain

economic stability.

Each winter the defense-belt cities of Anchorage and Fairbanks have a long list of unemployed workmen-Fairbanks currently has 1,000 unemployed and Anchorage around 2,000. The greater-area population of the 2 cities is around 60,000 and 40,000, respectively.

The NLRB ruling is seen also as seriously affecting the great transition going on among Indians and Eskimos of interior, western,

and northern Alaska.

few years ago these natives lived entirely by hunting and fishing and by the sale of furs to traders. Came the defenseconstruction boom and they got jobs building barracks, radar stations, airfields, and other military installations,

This has been their first real step from what was essentially a Stone Age existence

into modern civilization.

The Two-Price System for Rice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I wish to call attention to a letter

written by a good friend of mine, Mr. Bill Jones, of Fisher, Ark.

Mr. Jones is a member of the Poinsett County Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committee, and is a rice producer. He is intimately acquainted with the problems of the rice farmer and can appreciate from personal experience the situation created in the rice industry by the drastic cutbacks in acreages. In 1954 Mr. Jones raised 286 acres of rice. and under the 1955 rice acreage allotment program he was reduced to 165 acres-a reduction of 41 percent.

For this reason, Mr. Jones is quite interested in any proposal to increase the disposal of rice, and he has given deep consideration to the recent report by the Secretary of Agriculture on the various plans for a two-price system for rice.

The analysis of this matter as made by Mr. Jones should be of great interest to the Members, and I wish to place in the RECORD Mr. Jones' letter in its entirety:

Hon. E. C. GATHINGS.

Congress of the United States.

Washington, D. C.

DEAR TOOK: In response to your invitation to study the recent report by the USDA regarding the various two-price plans as applicable to rice, I respectfully submit some comments regarding these plans for your information and consideration.

Since receiving your letter, I have talked with several people interested in this subject and will try to present their views, as well

as my own, in a condensed form. The two-price plan, as applied to rice, is

unworkable for a number of reasons. 1. There is a real danger that the rest of the world would get the impression that we were merely using them as a dumping ground for our excess production since the primary

- or domestic market would be protected at a fairly high level and the excess sold in the secondary or world market at prevailing prices. It is reasonable to suppose that the other countries of the world would retaliate by setting up high import barriers against rice as well as other agricultural and industrial commodities from the United States. Should this happen, rice would have more to lose than any other agricultural commodity, because we export a larger percentage of its production than any other agricultural crop.
- 2. There is danger of consumer reaction against supporting the primary market at a relatively high-price level and selling our export production at considerable lower prices. This situation would be very undesirable at a time when the rice industry, through a very extensive advertising campaign, is raising the per capita consumption a little each year.
- 3. It is believed that it would be very undesirable to single out rice as a guinea-pig crop in a two-price plan experiment. If this plan should prove unworkable, it would hurt the future of the rice industry and might even lead to its being dropped from the basic crop group.
- 4. It is believed that the satisfactory administration of a two-price plan would be next to impossible. This was mentioned often in the report.
- 5. Since some 80 percent of the rice produced in Arkansas is consumed in the domestic market, which includes Cuba, we would be at a decided disadvantage in obtaining marketing cards or certificates in comparison to areas that export a large percentage of their production.
- 6. The report shows that it is possible for the farmers gross income to be increased under this plan. It is also possible in case of overproduction for the secondary market

for the farmers net income to be materially decreased.

With the drastic reduction in acreage, if the markets we lost during the Korean war would be substantially recovered plus the markets we now have in Asia, we wouldn't need to think about the two-price plan for rice. It is my present opinion, provided that we have even a normal year, that this year's production will be considerably below current estimates of the USDA. We have had 3 years of abnormally high yields and extremely good harvest conditions. If some method could be found to dispose of the rice now going into the hands of CCC, the acreage reduction plus any adverse conditions that might reduce yield, rice might well be in a strong position by the first of next year. Since we produce less than 2 percent of the world crop, it doesn't take much increase in demand by the world market to get us out of trouble.

Thanks very much for the invitation to write you concerning the report on the twoprice plan.

Sincerely.

BILL E. JONES.

FISHER, ARK.

The U. S. S. "Shangri-La"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the tense situation over Formosa and the Far East looms less serious on account of the strength of our Navy and particularly of our modern aircraft carriers. Most modern of all carriers afloat today is the U. S. S. Shangri-La, which has just undergone extensive conversion at the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard at Bremerton, Wash. Some idea of the new features incorporated in this great carrier can be gathered from the following article which appear in the Salute. I hope all Members of Congress will take time to read this short article.

I call particular attention to one paragraph which mentions the Shangri-La's forthcoming trials in California waters. Why the Navy continues to base no ships in the Pacific Northwest and why we concentrate our fleet in southern California, leaving a defense vacuum in the north, is beyond me.

FOR THE U. S. S. "SHANGRI-LA" LOOM NEW HORIZONS

Already known throughout the fleet as a carrier with a brilliant World War II record. this week, after an absence of nearly 21/2 years, she returns to active service ready to take her place in the foremost ranks of the Navy's carrier task forces.

A position for which the Shangri-La has been amply prepared, having just undergone in this naval shipyard the most extensive conversion yet given a Navy carrier.

NAVY'S LATEST

She is the Navy's latest move to offset the bewildering challenge of ever increasing aircraft speeds that have dogged its struggle to take airpower to sea.

Her modernization is further Navy recognition of the fact that, if our fleet is to sail, naval airpower must, as well, control the sky above the sea.

For she now embraces within her massive framework two recent advancements which Vice Adm. Raiph A. Ofstie, as Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Air) pointed out, "have tremendous implications for the development of the carrier."

A FORWARD STEP

The admiral was referring to the angled deck and the steam catapult which combined, complement the transition to an all-jet-powered aircraft team. "A forward step," he said, "in the development of naval air power still to come."

Today, with her angled deck, steam catapults and greatly reinforced flight deck, the Shangri-La can launch and land the world's most modern jet-propelled aircraft.

Not to be overlooked are other modernizations that likewise increase the carrier's worth to the fleet. Ranking high among these is the all-aluminum deck-edge elevator with its lighter weight but greater strength and lifting capacity.

A GREAT SHIP

The hurricane bow, the ultramodern primary flight-control tower, increased medical-hospital spaces, and improved facilities for fuel and provision replenishment at sea likewise add to the Shangri-La's seaworthiness.

Puget Sound Naval Shipyard worker pride in a job well done will be riding high on the Shangri-La's performance in her forthcoming sea trials in California waters.

Having given their best in making her the most modern attack carrier in the Navy, it is not out of line for them to expect her to perform magnificently.

She is a great ship with a great crew. How can she miss?

Court Decision on Indian Claims

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, the issue of native land claims in Alaska has been of concern to the people of the Territory for many years. Recently the Supreme Court made an important decision in a case bearing directly on the matter and Louis R. Huber, a special correspondent for the paper, has written about it in the Christian Science Monitor. The article follows:

JUNEAU, ALASKA,—The United States Supreme Court's recent 5-to-3 decision that Alaska natives have no legal claim to aboriginally occupied land has been received here with mixed feelings.

The Court's action rejected the claims of the Tee-Hit-Ton Indians that they should be paid damages because the Government sold timber from land they claimed as their property in the Tongass National Forest.

This was a test case, involving only a small number of southeastern Alaska Indians. By extension, the principle involved and the practical effect includes the entire Territorial native population of approximately 14,000 Indians, 4,000 Aleuts, and 16,000 Eskimos.

On the bright side, this decision removes a sword of Damocles that has been hanging over the Territory's prospects for industrial development. Entrepreneurs no longer need fear that natural resources on which their ventures are based many prove to be owned by natives.

COURT OF CLAIMS

On the dark side is the possibility that a morally justified claim by nearly 35,000 generally underprivileged Alaskans may now never receive full consideration and compensation

It has long been felt that court action not this Supreme Court action, but separate suits on each individual native land claim would be the only final solution to the native-claims issue in Alaska.

Bills introduced in Congress—but never passed—for years have envisioned the Court of Claims as the avenue for settlement of Alaska natives' land claims."

But the Tee-Hit-Ton case seems to have wrapped all these claims up in one package the Supreme Court was willing to handle. The trouble may be that the package was not unwrapped, but was merely handed to Congress.

"Our conclusion," said the Court's majority opinion, "does not uphold harshness as against tenderness toward the Indians, but it leaves with the Congress, where it belongs, the policy of Indian gratuities for the termination of Indian occupancy of Government-owned land rather than making compensation for its value a rigid constitutional principle."

MORAL RIGHTS?

Edward W. Allen, attorney in Seattle for the Alaska Salmon Industry, Inc., says the high court's decision ought to settle all aboriginal-claims questions

original-claims questions.

But a writer for the Juneau Independent remarked: "One can't help feeling that the court wasn't too sure about the whole thing. There seemed to be some question of moral rights involved."

The late Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes was concerned about such moral rights. So was Congress in 1936 when it passed an amendment to the Wheeler-Howard Act, to permit the forming of reservations for Alaska natives.

When reservations were set up, however, they didn't work out well. Alaska natives wanted—and still want—to join the white man's civilization, not to set themselves apart from it.

At the end of World War II, Secretary Ickes caused a series of hearings to be held in southeastern Alaska, in which Indian claims totaling 3,339,000 acres were lodged. The examiner for these hearings denied validity of 92 percent of those claims. No action was taken on the 8 percent of valid claims.

SCHOOLS PROVIDED

The Federal Government has provided grade school and sometimes high school education for most Alaska natives. They have been helped in forming cooperatives, for which Federal loans have been made. Some of these—salmon canneries mostly—have been successful. Free medical service is provided for Alaska natives.

Formerly, there was a school of thought that Alaska natives were helped most by sealing them off from civilization and letting them continue in their former, essentially Stone Age, existence.

This view has been discarded in recent years—especially by the natives themselves—and it is generally accepted that the criterion for natives' welfare is how well they match up to the white man's standard of living.

ECONOMIC EQUALITY

On that basis, the Alaska native runs a lengthy gamut—from settlements in southeastern Alaska that probably exceed the white United States average, to backward communities in the Aleutian Islands that are below Asia's lower levels.

Ironically, the areas in which help is most urgently needed are the areas where land claims have not even been asserted by Alaska natives. Only in southeastern Alaska, where natives are furthest advanced, has this matter been pushed.

It can be be argued that the white man's approach to this problem has not been moral, but only legal and materialistic—as when natives could prove they had been deprived of land.

This may be a shortsighted view. White men very possibly could gain more by working out compensation that would lift all Alaska natives toward ecnomic and social equality with themselvse (Alaska native have political equality and several of them serve in the legislature.)

Congress recognized some such moral obligation in its act (23 Stat. 24) of May 17, 1884, which provided "that the Indians * * * shall not be disturbed in their use or occupation or now claimed by them, but the terms under which such persons may acquire title to such lands is reserved for future legislation by Congress,"

In one respect the recent Supreme Court decision merely turned the clock back to 1884. For the debt then recognized is still unpaid. And Alaska natives are still looking forward to "future legislation by Congress."

Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
' Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I am inserting in the Record two editorials, one from the Washington Evening Star, and the other from the Kansas City Star, with regard to the purely political moves being made to repeal the flexible price-support program we adopted last year but which has not yet gone into effect.

I am also inserting a letter from a farmer which recently appeared in the Richmond Times Dispatch.

[From the Washington Evening Star of of March 23, 1955]

APPEAL FOR RESPONSIBILITY

A persuasive appeal for responsible House action on farm price supports has been made to that body by a bipartisan minority of the Agriculture Committee. It is an appeal to defeat legislation which would restore mandatory 90 percent of parity supports for five basic crops—corn, wheat, cotton, peanuts, and rice. And it is an appeal that should be honored.

By law enacted last year, the Government is authorized to apply a flexible support formula within a range of 821/2 to 90 percent of parity on these five commodities. Initial application of this authority would apply to 1955 crops and there has been no opportunity yet to establish claims that the flexible formula will be injurious to the farmers or to the national interest. There has, however, been ample opportunity to recognize the damaging impact of a high, rigid price support program that was adopted originally as a temporary wartime formula. The committee minority has summed up this evil result in one effective paragraph, as follows: "Rigid 90 percent mandatory price-support programs have failed to keep farm income from declining, created surpluses that have forced farm prices downward, held commodities off the market at great cost to the Government, undermined public support for sound farm programs, lost foreign and domestic markets, assisted foreign competitors to take our markets, and have taken the right to produce away from both small and

large farmers."

Effectively, too, the committee minority drew some parallels between price structures for the commodities "favored" by the rigid supports and those for so-called nonbasic commodities. "It is an interesting and sig-nificant fact," they pointed out, "that the average price for nonbasic (unsupported) commodities has been higher (as measured by parity price relationships) in every year since 1940, except one, than the price of socalled basic commodities." As a consequence, the outlook today for the nonbasics is better than for those which have been covered by high supports.

The flexible support theory is a keystone of the Republican's administration's program for dealing with the farm problem. Influential Democrats in both branches of Congress have favored it, at least to the point of urging that it be given a trial. Disposal of some of the huge Government-owned surpluses, expansion of research and educational work in agriculture, and some pending recommendations for helping the small, low-income farmers are other major parts of the administration blueprint. At this stage it appears to have much greater merit than a retreat to a program that already has been proved costly and unsuccessful.

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Star of March 28, 1955]

WHO CALLS THE KETTLE BLACK?

Funny things happen in politics.

Certain groups in Congress now are blaming Secretary Benson for acreage controls, surplus piles, and inadequate sales abroad of farm products, particularly cotton—all of which developed before he became head of

the Agriculture Department.

Benson came into office with a philosophy that farm products were produced to be sold and consumed. He warned that fixed, high price supports meant more and more acreage controls, bigger surplus piles, and difficulties in meeting world prices in export markets. He hoped to put greater emphasis on expanding markets, creating new ones, and finding additional uses for farm products. The Secretary asked for a flexible price-support program which would help put United States products in a competitive position,

The Secretary was able to get a compromise flexible price-support law enacted over tremendous opposition from those who were demanding retention of the old program with its fixed price supports and acreage controls. The new price-support rates will become effective with the harvest of this year's crops.

Those who fought loudest for the rigid supports now see other countries adding cotton acres for almost every acre cut taken They see the big surby American farmers. plus piles, and they find acreage reductions are not nearly so popular as advertised.

But if the Secretary of Agriculture could just whisk those surplus piles away in one way or another, all troubles would vanish. So they blame him for not getting them sold, some way, anyway, on the world market.

Meanwhile, this administration is doing more than any other to attempt to market farm products. Agricultural exports have been increasing since 1952.

Benson has been proving himself right even though he hasn't whipped the farm problem as yet. Blaming him for the trou-bles developed under the old program is striking a low blow.

[From the Richmond (Va.) Times Dispatch of March 30, 1955]

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

FARMER OPPOSES RIGID PRICE SUPPORTS CALLS FOR SHAKING OFF THE SOCIALISTIC SHACKLES

I notice that a few days ago the House Agriculture Committee in Washington in supporting a farm bill, known as H. R. 12, which will restore the 90 percent rigid price sup-ports on basic commodities. It is also on ports on basic commodities. record that Mr. Walter Reuther testified on behalf of the farmers of America in favor of the support of this bill. Mr. Cooley, chairman of this committee, made the remark that Mr. Reuther gave the best statement in behalf of farmers of any group before his committee.

I am wondering what Mr. Reuther and Mr. Cooley expect to gain for the farmers under the proposed bill, due to the fact that farm prices have declined 25 percent since 1947 under the rigid 90-percent parity and that the flexible support program will not actually go into effect until this fall.

It is a known fact that Mr. Reuther is interested only in benefits to the labor unions to the extent of high wages and low food costs. It seems to me, therefore, that neither Mr. Cooley nor Mr. Reuther are interested in the best interests of the farmers as a whole. I, for one, do not want any labor organization writing or helping write or administering any farm program for me to live

I think that the taxpayers of this Nation would be very wise to familiarize themselves with any and all of the proposed bills that will come up in Washington this year. realize, however, that it is rather hard for a farmer to compete on an equal basis with labor and industry and the highly subsidized economy of today. I believe, though, that we will be far better off as farmers to fight for less controls and fewer subsidies on other groups and at the same time try to shake off the shackles of the socialistic trend in America today.

As I see it, freedom to expand, to grow, to progress is not worth any subsidy control or doles that we might receive at the hand and expense of the Federal Government. It is a shame that many of the people of America today have the impression that money received by them from the Federal Government is free and will never be paid back.

I have a 7-year-old daughter, and far be it from me to credit any debt for which I am not able to pay and leave the responsibility to her to pay with interest in years to come. JOHN M. PUTNEY, Jr.

CUMBERLAND.

Where Times Are Getting Harder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, April 4, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, an article appeared in the U.S. News & World Report of March 25 with an account of the present farm situation. I include this in the Congressional Record under leave to extend my remarks: WHERE TIMES ARE GETTING HARDER-FARMERS

STILL ARE IN A RECESSION, WHILE OTHER PEOPLE PROSPER-THEIR PLICHT RECALLS THE 1920's, WHEN AGRICULTURE SLUMPED LONG BEFORE THE BIG DEPRESSION-THIS SHOWS THAT THE FARM PROBLEM IS WORSENING NOW, THAT MORE TROUBLE LIES AHEAD

One major industry affecting many millions of people is not sharing in the Nation's business recovery.

This great exception is agriculture.

Farmers are getting less for their crops. They are being forced to grow less. Their costs are high. Their incomes are shrinking.

Last year farmers had the smallest share of the national income on record, 7.2 percent, as shown in the chart on this page.

As yet, there is no solution in sight for their problem. Time and again Government officials have sensed a change for the better. At times, prices strengthened. But each time the improvement proved momentary. Thinking back to the 1920's, some econ-

omists now are wondering if this long-continued trouble in farming may not prove to be a serious weakness for the Nation as a whole. History, especially in the twenties, shows that when farmers suffer over a long period other business is likely to be hit.

MILLIONS ARE AFFECTED

Farmers today are a smaller group but still big enough to have an impact. The Government figures there are about 21 million people living on farms, and about 31 million more in rural areas closely tied to the farm. Thus, nearly a third of the Nation is affected by a drop in farm income.

Farm net income was about \$12 billion last year. That figure makes an allowance for expenses, taxes, and value of homegrown food and feed. Farmers got 40 percent more in their best year, 1947. Thus the drop, from peak prosperity, has been great, though most farmers still are much better off than before World War II. The drop in 1954 from 1953 was 10 percent.

The Government had expected the drop from 1953 to be about 6 percent.

Now, a further drop of about 4 percent, to 11.5 billion, is being forecast, unofficially, by the Federal experts for 1955.

WHAT'S THE TROUBLE

Behind the farmers' plight are two big factors: Price weakness and heavy surpluses. Farm prices just haven't leveled off the way the Government and many private economists thought they would. Right now, in a time of great business strength, farm prices have been showing weakness.

Cotton in rural areas, a short time ago, sold for slightly less than the Government

price support.

Farmers are selling wheat at a discount of about 14 cents a bushel from the price support, corn at a discount of 27 cents, rye at a discount of 31 cents.

Hogs are the cheapest since 1949. Cattle prices are up from last year's lows, but have

lost ground recently.

Supples are so big that, unless there is a war or some other calamity, real strength in prices can't be counted on soon. Farmers will produce less. But consumers will have plenty of meat, flour, fiber, eggs, poultry, dairy products, just about everything the farmer grows.

The supply of wheat on July 1 is expected to be about 975 million bushels. That is more than the United States uses in a year. and three times the normal carryover, as the Government figures it. And a new crop is

Corn at the start of the growing season this year is estimated at 918 million bushels, already on hand. That's a third of what is used in a year, and a whole new crop is about to be planted.

Before the 1955 cotton crop is picked, the United States will have on hand something like 9.8 million bales of old cotton.

EFFECT OF ACREAGE CUTS

The Government hopes to hold production on new crops to less than the normal year's use, thus reducing the huge surpluses. But the surpluses will shrink little, the economists say, unless there is a crop failure. Big supplies still will be hanging over the market at the end of this year.

But acreage cuts will mean this to the grower: Less income, Wheat farmers of the Great Plains will be sowing about 30 percent less than they did 2 years ago, and what they reap brings a lower price.

In Southern States cotton acreage has been reduced by more than 27 percent since 1953. Here, too, farmers are feeling the cuts.

Meanwhile, farmers expect to raise more pigs this year than last. That keeps the price low but holds volume up. Cattle on ranges and farms also are more numerous than they were a year ago, the Government says.

For those who sell livestock, big volume helps offset low prices. Still income declines. Most farmers will have less coming in.

EXPENSES HARD TO CUT

They'll be trying to cut expenses. So far, this has proved difficult. Since 1951, cash received by farmers has diminished by \$2.8 billion a year; production expenses have declined only half a billion.

Feed costs less. But feeder cattle cost more; cost of animals purchased for fattening early this year has risen more than has

the price of fattened steers.

The big corn-hog producer figures his costs at 12 cents per pound of hog; he gets about 15 cents. The 3-cent margin has to pay for his own work, his investment, and family expenses.

Fertilizer is costing less than last year. But seed to be planted on land taken out of corn and wheat has become more costly, especially grass seeds, clover, and alfalfa seed.

Farm wages are down. The farmer is buying less machinery than he did when he feit more prosperous. But the family needs are more expensive. And taxes are rising. Farmers have gone deeper into debt. The

Farmers have gone deeper into debt. The Government says mortgages on farms increased by 7 percent last year. Interest payments on mortgages are increasing.

The overall result is shown in the chart: Farm costs per unit of crop have inched up for the last 2 years despite efforts to cut down.

GETTING BY

What the broad figures don't reveal is the wide differences in the fortunes of different types of farmers. Hard hit are wheat growers on the Great Plains who haven't much choice but to grow wheat, or cotton farmers tied almost entirely to cotton and lacking latest equipment. Small farms without machinery feel a real pinch.

Less hurt is the medium-sized Midwestern farm that is well equipped and versatile. It still supports the family, with some profit, though the profit is smaller than before. There is more leeway to meet hard conditions.

Distress would be greater except that many have moved off the land in the last decade, A smaller income is being shared by fewer farmers. Those who remain are more efficient.

Even so, they feel the pinch. As consumers, they are not able to buy as freely as last year; they share the lowest income since World War II. When most other people are feeling well off, farmers get no lift from the business boom.

The Rose as the National Flower of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, on January 10 I introduced House Joint Resolution 102, to designate the rose as the national flower of the United States. An identical measure was introduced simultaneously in the Senate by Senator Margaret Chase Smith.

Since then there has been a great deal of public interest in this legislation, but at the same time many misconceptions have arisen. Several of my colleagues have expressed a personal interest in this bill and I understand that most Members of this House have received mail on the subject. To assist them in answering inquiries from their constituents, I am offering some further information about this resolution.

FOUR-TO-ONE SUPPORT

The mail I have been receiving on this legislation is about 4 to 1 in favor—with many of those in support representing large organizations and societies. I have been very free in permitting news correspondents to examine this mail, which has made the rose the subject of many fine news stories. These, in turn, have stimulated newspaper editorials in all parts of the United States.

However, some of these stories have emphasized the small proportion of mail which is opposed to the rose and thus gave the impression that this legislation is controversial. One article warned jokingly that a new war of the roses was about to break out in the Congress. Then, one of the most reputable newspapers in the country published an item that the House hopper began to receive bills proposing the national designation for everything from the Easter Lily to the stinkweed. This is completely false, since there have been no other bills on the subject.

OBJECTIONS TO ROSE

What are the objections to the rose as our national flower? The one most frequently raised is that it is not truly native to our soil.

It is difficult to find anything more native to America when you realize that fossils have been found in Oregon indicating that the rose was here as early as 6 million years ago.

Roses have contributed their special beauty to all of American history. An early visitor noted their presence in New Amsterdam and we have evidence that they were also grown in the gardens of old Virginia, New England, and South Carolina.

William Penn was a rose enthusiast and I am told that to this day his heirs annually accept a single red rose in payment for rent on certain Pennsylvania properties.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

George Washington may have been one of the earliest rose hybridizers in this country. His agricultural experiments are well known, and in Mount Vernon's gardens there are plants named Martha Washington and Mary Washington. While their origin is not definitely established, there is reason to believe that the General himself created them.

Rose hybridizing got an early start in America. A South Carolinian named John Champney created Champney's Pink Cluster around 1810, and the Reverend William Harrison, of New York's Trinity Church, originated Harrison's Yellow about 20 years later.

By the time of the Civil War, hybridizing techniques had improved and Robert

Buist published a Manual of Roses listing more than 900 varieties. Another author who contributed to the literature on the rose was the famous Francis Parkman who wrote the Book of Roses about his hopby.

Today the people who grow roses in the United States are legion. It is estimated that there are more than 30 million rose gardeners in this country and the number is growing each year.

OTHER NATIONS' INSIGNIA

Another objection is that the rose is the national flower of England. However, some type of rose is also the national flower of Honduras, Iran, and Luxembourg. But all of these have been adopted so long ago that we would not recognize them as the cultivated rose we know today.

Nor do we have the exclusive rights on several other national insignia. The red, white, and blue colors are used in the flags of 17 countries: Burma, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Paraguay, Panama, France, Liberia, Iceland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Thailand, and United Kingdom.

And the eagle is used in the coats of arms of at least six countries, Mexico, Panama, Ecuador, Poland, Syria, and Spain.

You might be interested to know that other national insignia of the United States, which we take almost for granted today, were the centers of considerable controversy before they were adopted.

FRANKLIN WANTED A TURKEY

On July 4, 1776, Congress set out to acquire a great seal for the new Government. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson were appointed as a committee to bring in a design for a seal. Each submitted a different design and one using the eagle, was finally adopted on June 20, 1782. But the venerable Franklin was very much opposed to the eagle. His choice was a turkey. Franklin wrote in 1784:

I wish that the bald eagle had not been chosen as the representative of our country; he is a bird of bad moral character; he does not get his living honestly; you may have seen him perched on some dead tree, where, too lazy to fish for himself, he watches the labor of the fishing-hawk, and when that diligent bird has at length taken a fish, and is bearing it to his nest for the support of his mate and young ones, the bald eagle pursues him and takes it from him. With all this injustice he is never in good case; but, like those among men who live by sharping and robbing, he is generally poor, and often very lousy. Besides he is a rank coward; the little kingbird, not bigger than a sparrow attacks him boldly and drives him out of the district. He is therefore by no means a proper emblem for the brave and honest Cincinnati of America, who have driven all the kingbirds from our country; though exactly fit for that order of knights which the French call Chevaliers d'Industrie. I am, on this account, not displeased that the figure (as represented on the medals or badges of the Order of Cincinnatus) is not known as a bald eagle, but looks more like a turkey. For a truth, the turkey is in comparison a much more respectable bird, and withal a true original native of America. * * He is, besides, (though a little vain and silly, it is true, but not the worse emblem for that), a bird of courage, and would not hesitate to attack a grenadier of the British guards, who should presume to invade his farmyard with a red coat on.

The Star-Spangled Banner was not accepted as our national anthem for more than 100 years after it was first proposed in Congress in 1830.

The song was the object of furious attacks. Its words were termed too belligerent and too bumptious. The music was branded as inappropriate and above all "utterly unsuitable" since some of it was said to lie beyond the range of the average voice.

ANACREON IN HEAVEN

Many people were distressed over the fact that Francis Scott Key's words had been put to the music of Anacreon in Heaven, the club song of an 18th century English convival society.

Some Members of Congress said the song should never take precedence over My Country 'Tis of Thee, Yankee Doodle, and the Battle Hymn of the Republic. Others claimed the words were too uncomplimentary to our English brethren and thought Hail Columbia would be more appropriate.

As late as July 2, 1926, the singing of the Star-Spangled Banner caused a near riot in New York City and police reserves had to be called out to quell the disturbance.

The Congress adopted it as our national anthem on March 3, 1931.

Finally, one of the objections is that we in the National Government should have more important things to do than to consider the subject of a national flower.

NEED FOR DIVERSION

None of us in this greatest legislative body on earth need apologize for the proportion of vital legislation we consider day in and day out. In these times of international turmoil we are so pre-occupied with troubles and failures, crises and frustrations, that we should welcome an occasional diversion of this sort. The rose is a beautiful product of nature. We think of it in a bouquet that a boy lovingly presents to a girl, or on a table piece at some bright celebration. Or perhaps we associate the rose with contemplative hours in a garden where the worries of the day fade before the glow of its soft colors.

Yes, it has thorns. Yes, some varieties can be terribly difficult to keep alive. But that, too, is beauty—something to be cultivated and cherished.

I would like to see the rose—which symbolizes peace, loyalty, love, devotion, and courage—associated with the United States of America in the minds of people in all corners of the world.

This legislation is now before the Committee on House Administration. It would be helpful if Members of Congress and the public generally would let the committee know of their support.

Banking's New Look

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, I hope my colleagues will read the article entitled "Banking's New Look," written by David Rockefeller, senior vice president of the Chase National Bank, of the city of New York, which I append to my brief remarks. In this speech, delivered recently before the Executives Club in Chicago, Mr. Rockefeller reviews the past, the present and the future in the banking profession. His analysis is clear-cut, readily understandable, and displays a vision of public service and efficiency which is stimulating and gives assurance for the future. Bankers who think in the terms and along the lines suggested by Mr. Rockefeller inspire confidence and support the theory that America today is on the threshold of a new era of expansion and service to humanity.

BANKING'S NEW LOOK

It is probably a good assumption that everyone here today uses a bank and is familiar with the services banks perform. Yet I suspect that some of those present may not have noticed the revolution which has occurred in banking in the past quarter of a century. This resolution has been gradual and orderly but is nonetheless real. If it were more fully recognized, I believe the view of banks and bankers in some quarters would be modified and their ability to serve society would be enhanced. Because I believe this to be so, I will review some of the recent changes in banking and point out certain areas where further constructive developments can be expected.

A PICTURE OF AUSTERITY

Cartoonists and satirists long depicted bankers as conservatively attired, elderly gentlemen who look with hard and unsympathetic eye on those who seek a loan. While this austere image was never fully justified, it must be conceded that the traditional banking house with its Greek columns outside and its vast and uninviting main hall too often reminded one of a mausoleum. The customer often felt unwelcome, insignificant, and ill at ease. ers at a certain period in the past frowned upon salesmanship as dangerous and undesirable for a lending officer. The customer was expected to take the initiative. If he needed a loan, he could ask for it, figuratively speaking, on bended knee. I hope I need not tell this audience that such an approach is long since outmoded.

Changes in banking have been especially pronounced in the recent past but it would be inaccurate to leave the impression that banking in this country was ever static. It is surprising what a number of activities banks at one time undertook, indeed in some instances pioneered, with which they are no longer concerned. At various times, for example, they issued and redeemed paper cur-

rency, issued life as well as marine and casulty insurance. They were travel agencies and real estate brokers. They underwrote and marketed corporate securities. In most instances, these and certain other functions were abandoned by commercial banks because it became clear that society would be better served by having them performed by more specialized agencies. Apart from the trusteeships, banks have tended to concentrate more on their basic function; Deposit handling and lending.

The great changes that have occurred in

The great changes that have occurred in banking in the past quarter of a century have been in response to fundamental upheavals in the world. These have been touched off mainly by the great depressions and World War II, both of which induced tremendous

social and technological changes.

The depression had a profound effect on the American banking system. Some of the climatic events of the depression-the stock market crash, going off the gold standard. and the bank holiday-all were associated closely with the supply of credit. Banks became a convenient scapegoat for the troubles of the times. It was natural, as a consequence, that the banking system should have been given close and careful scrutiny by the public, by the Government, and by its own management. The result was a number of changes, some internal, brought about by legislation-some of which, it must now be admitted, have turned out to be in the long-run interest of the banks.

The Securities Acts of 1933 and 1934, for example, established rules governing the issuance and sale of securities. The amount of money banks could lend for the purchase of securities was placed under regulation. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation was established to protect the small depositor. The Banking Act of 1933 prohibited commercial banks from underwriting or dealing in corporate securities. Most of these measures, and others which accompanied them, were widely criticized at the time. Despite inequities, however, some of which have since been corrected, their underlying wisdom is now accepted by most.

NEED FOR A NEW APPROACH

These legislative measures were supplemented by other forces and governmental policies. Thus, the cheap-money policy which characterized the depression, and which was pursued during and for a time after the war to help finance Government spending, caused bankers to be more inventive in finding new ways to assist industry. They were forced to become more sales conscious and to change their approach to borrowers, both big and small. Then, again, during the lean years of the depression and during the war, banks did not need or could not secure large quotas of new employees interested in a bank career. At the end of the war there was urgent need for men in the junior executive ranks, not only for banks but in industry generally. A scramble for able recruits became keenly competitive. Thus, banks found to their chagrin that their field no longer had glamor as a career for the young college graduate and that' industry was outbidding them. So bank executives belatedly turned their attention to the need for modern personnel policies to attract young men of top caliber for their important positions.

I have indicated some of the forces which have worked to bring changes in the banking system and some of the reactions to these forces. The far-reaching significance of the changes that have been the result can best be demonstrated by a few concrete examples of recent innovations in banking practice.

Lending always has been a prime function of banks. One might think there is little new that could be introduced in this area but that is not the case.

Until the 1930's, commercial bank loans in this country rarely exceeded 3 to 6 months. Then banks developed the socalled term loan in response to changing requirements of industry. Today term loans of 1 to 5 years are commonplace, and some run substantially longer. It is not too much to say that the great postwar expansion of trade and industry would have been impossible without the term loan. It has been used to equip new facilities, to finance the purchase of machinery designed to cut costs and to carry larger inventories and receivables. Term loans do not and should not replace equity capital and long-term debt, but they do create an element of elasticity in supplying funds to business. The importance they have come to assume is reealed in their volume-approximately \$8 billions in 1953, or about 30 percent of all bank loans to commerce and industry.

Another innovation is to be found in the petroleum industry. With the expanding use of petroleum products in the United States, and the entrance into this field of hundreds of small companies and individual drillers, a new basis for extending credit was needed. The banking system came up with an ingenious solution-the production loan. In this case, the loan is made against proven supplies of underground oil which the bank itself appraises. The security for the loan is the oil and the loan is paid off as the oil is produced and marketed. While this procedure now sounds simple and logical, 25 Years ago most oil producers had to meet the same credit tests based on financial statements which would be required of a department store or a textile mill. Departure from traditional standards was only possible because banks were willing to gain thorough knowledge of the technical intricacies of the oil industry. Some banks in the petroleum business today employ geologists, engineers, and economists to advise them in making production loans. We are especially indebted to banks in the Southwest for ploneering in this credit development.

NEW FINANCING IN AN OLD INDUSTRY

Finally, let me cite one more illustration of a new type of loan—this time developed to accommodate a special situation in the tele-Phone industry. There are about 6,000 individual telephone companies in the United States. Many of them are small, ranging from a half-dozen rural telephones on up to many thousands, yet they perform essential and efficient service in many places. After World War II, these companies were confronted with a crisis. Population growth, decentralization of industry, and technical change created urgent demands for expansion and modernization. Credit sources open to large companies were not at that time available to the small ones. Chase stepped into this situation and, after learnsomething about the business, began making loans, some with amounts as little as \$1,500. Part of Chase's task was to assist in developing sources for long-term funds in rather modest amounts as a method of funding such loans. This it accomplished by bringing them to the attention of institutional investors who were in a position to purchase securities directly. Here was a case, then, where a bank was called upon to fashion a new mode of financing for an im-Portant segment of an industry. Without such financing, many independent telephone companies could not have survived, let alone maintained their growth and improved the quality of their service.

It is not only through the development of new loan techniques that the banking community is keeping up with its customers' growing needs. Many large corporations transfer substantial funds from one point to another, either as incoming settlements to the central office from branch offices or as outgoing disbursements to cover branch ex-Through the imaginative use of improved wire communications, means of accelerating the flow of these funds have been developed with the consequent increase of important amounts of working cash available to the companies concerned. As another illustration, let me cite an arrangement that Chase has worked out with the major scheduled airlines in the United States, Canada, and Mexico. These lines share receipts resulting from passenger and freight operations between widely separated points on the North American continent. The bank functions as a centralized clearing agency for the settlement of the resulting interline balances by simply debiting and crediting the accounts which the lines maintain with the bank. Since the plan began in 1950, \$11/2 billion of interline bills have been processed. The annual saving to the airlines has been something like \$30,000 per

Other cases could be mentioned where creative banking has come to the aid of customers with a special problem. Trust departments of commercial banks, for example, have been pioneers in the development of common trusts which have proven a blessing to many small estate owners. Similarly, they have broken new ground in the development of pension trusts, the importance of which in today's capital market is too well known to require amplification. Rather than go into detail on these or other examples, let me turn to another broad development in banking-one that in many respects is as significant as the change in credit arrangements-namely the growth of retail banking.

DEVELOPMENT OF RETAIL BANKING

The term "retail banking" is used to describe certain banking services made available to the general public on a convenient and reasonable basis. These services include popular checking accounts with no minimum balance requirements, savings accounts, personal loans on a monthly repayment basis, money orders, Christmas clubs, and safe-deposit facilities. These services have departed sharply from tradition. The use of bank checks to pay household bills, for example, was a convenience not known to many housewives a generation ago. Today it is coming into widespread use. But perhaps no consumer service has grown so much as installment credit. As recently as 1940, such credit extended by banks amounted to only \$1.5 billion. In late 1954, they had more than \$8.5 billion of installment credit outstanding. Twenty-five years ago, relatively few banks extended installment credit to individuals whereas today almost all do. Banks now account for about 40 percent of all installment loans.

Why is it that banks have gone so avidly after the business of the consumer? The answer is simple. With the impact of steeply graduated income taxes on the wealthy and the growth at the same time of middleincome groups, it is logical that banks have sought to replace a smaller number of large accounts with a much larger number of accounts drawn from the middle-income group. Moreover, the rise of the middle-income group has been chiefly responsible for the higher level and greater stability in the demand for all those goods which contribute so much to modern living—such as auto-mobiles, electric appliances, TV sets and the like. By adjusting to the needs of consum-ers, banks are playing a major role in creating the conditions under which the higher demand for these products can be made effective. At the same time, they are protecting their own future by tapping a new source of deposits at a time when corporate treasurers, eager for maximum earnings, are tending to keep surplus funds invested in Government securities rather than in cash.

BANKERS TURN TO SALESMANSHIP

The trend toward retail banking is good business. More than that, it reflects a change in the way bankers approach their business, Banks for the first time have become sales conscious. They now try to sell their services and seek new business wherever it is profitable, just as would any other business. This is a sharp departure from the practices of the days before the 1930's when bankers waited for business to come in. The alert bank executive today must be a salesman as well as a credit officer. Each bank is competing with others for available business and new outlets. The extent of the change is evident in aggressive and imaginative advertising, in the concern of banks with public and community relations and even in the architecture and decor of their newest build-

The appearance of new banking premises today contrasts strongly with the conservative buildings of old. Classic columns, cold marble interiors, wired-in tellers' cages, and drab colors are disappearing in the newer buildings. Perhaps the modernistic appearance of the Republic National's new building in Dallas, or the Fifth Avenue and 43d Street Branch of the Manufacturers Trust in New York, may shock some who are accustomed to the old style. It is interesting to note. however, that the architects, Owings & Merrill, who designed the Manufacturers Trust branch, have just won the 1955 gold medal of the Architectural League of New York for their achievement. In any event, these banks are pioneering and, in my opinion, are on the right track. They seek to attract the public by being open and light and by using warm colors. The furniture is simple, comfortable, and well-designed. Tellers are at open counters. The atmosphere is friendly and inviting.

Further than this, in suburban areas many banks now provide free parking facilities, Others have drive-in windows where banking transactions can be handled from the driver's seat. In one Westchester County bank I know, loilopops are handed out to children and dog biscuits for the dog. This is, indeed, a far cry from the banking operations as they were carried on 30 or more years ago.

Along with other segments of the economy, banking today is stronger, healthier, and more competitive than it has been for a long time. I emphasize competition since recent mergers have caused some to question whether banking was tending toward monopoly. Actually competition, not monopoly, is the key factor in the current wave of mergers. Our prospective Chase-Manhattan merger makes good sense not because the resulting bank will be bigger but because it will be better-better able to compete with other New York City banks in the retail field. New York State, unlike Illinois and some other States, authorizes branch banking within restricted and specified areas. Chase, which has 28 branches, almost all on Manhattan Island, and the Bank of Manhattan. with the 65 branches it brings to the merger and which are largely in the Boroughs of the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Queens, combine to give the merged institution a citywide coverage which neither alone could claim. It is a remarkable fact that there is virtually no duplication between the 2 branch systems, or for that matter to any significant degree in any phase of the business of the 2 banks.

There are some 14,000 commercial banks in the United States. In New York City alone, 57 banks have approximately 560 outlets. In Chicago, there are 72. Clearly this makes for highly competitive activity. It is also a fact that banks in Chicago not only compete with one another but also compete effectively with those in New York, Boston, Detroit, and San Francisco, to name only a few cities, in providing loans and services on a nationwide scale. Moreover, banks find themselves in competition with other financial institutions. For example, they compete with insurance concerns, finance companies, savings and loan associations, credit unions, and the securities markets. of course, the Government has become more of a competitor in the field of financemore important, in fact, than many believe necessary. The keenness of competition in banking today is beyond dispute. If anything, it is increasing.

All this competition acts as an energizing, stimulating force in bringing about constructive change. It has been a powerful factor in developing retail banking. Since this involves many small operations, and relatively low return per unit, competition has forced banks to reduce costs by the mechanization of operations. The day of the handwritten ledger book is far behind us. High-speed business machines for handling bookkeeping, check sorting, currency counting, dividend calculating, and record reproducing are in general use. Banks cannot accept primary credit for developing such equipment, but many have cooperated with manufacturers in the process. Chase, for example, has a small unit which devotes full to the study of mechanization. It is working with a firm of engineers in determining how electronics can best be adapted to our operations. These advances may have far-reaching ramifications for our operations in the future.

BANKERS AND THE PUBLIC WELFARE

Banks have changed in still another respect, one which also is having important consequences. Their management has become increasingly aware of its public responsibility. Banks perform a rather unique function in that they are the institutions which bear heavy responsibility in administering the Nation's money supply. Al-though the profit motive is firmly entrenched in banking, as in other segments of our economy, bank executives have come to recthat they must examine problems ognize and policies from the standpoint of the pub-This was not always so-parlic welfare. ticularly in days when our economy was less complex and our position in the world less central. Today, bankers recognize that they must respond to the needs which emerge as great social and technical forces work themselves out. Enlightened leadership will be required if we are to keep up with this dynamic age—an age which has the con-stant stimulus of a growing population, rising living standards, and a continuing technological revolution.

Banks, like industry, must weigh the implications of these vast new developmentsboth for the world of which they form a part and for the discharge of their special functions. As an example, it has seemed clear to us in Chase that atomic energy will find wide adaptation in industry. The harnessing of this new source of energy will be tremendously expensive and will require bank credit as well as other capital. In anticipation of this development, we have added to our staff Dr. Lawrence Hafstad, formerly head of the Reactor Division of the Atomic Energy Commission. He is one of the country's leading authorities on peacetime application of atomic energy. His task will be to help in adapting atomic energy to industry. Through him we believe that we are helping to speed effective peaceful use of atomic discoveries, and we hope to find ways in which bank credit can be applied to an important new field.

Peaceful use of atomic energy on a significant scale is of course something for the future. For the present, the ability to release nuclear energy by dropping it from an airplane in a bomb has quite a different set of implications. Among others, it means that this country no longer can afford to live by itself. Ocean barriers do not protect us from the atom. The airplane, coupled with the rise of imperialistic communism in Russia, has exposed every part of our country to the possibility of devastation by air attack with little or no warning. These facts force us to seek friends in building a common de-The strength and well-being of other lands have become important to us.

Here again is a development from which banks cannot stand aloof. To do so would be to admit that private enterprise is not capable of contributing to one of the fundamental tasks of our time-the financing of economic development throughout the free world. To admit this is to abdicate in favor of government. Here once more is a field in which we may expect to see further experimentation and change by banks over the next generation. Until World War II, England and the continental European countries were the principal international bankers. Even today, although the United States plays a leading role in international affairs, our banking system has not fully measured up to the task of shouldering a major share of international financial operations.

A NEW SERVICE FOR EXPORTERS

A good beginning has been made, however, and further progress is in prospect. By way of illustration, the Chase is taking a leading part in developing a new enterprise to be known as the American Overseas Finance Corporation, which will make available for the benefit of American exporters mediumterm credits to companies in other countries which require machinery and equipment from the United States. AOFC, which will be an independent corporation, will buy foreign importers' paper. The common stock will be largely or wholly owned by Chase. Such financing has not heretofore been available. Lack of it has been a strong deterrent to exports by American companies which compete with foreign products sold on favorable credit terms under Government guarantee. In the past, term credits have not been made available to foreign importers by American banks because of the political and exchange risks. AOFC does not eliminate these risks, but it will spread and share them.

American manufacturers wishing to take advantage of these services will purchase preferred stock, and then, in addition, will assume 25 percent of the risk of the goods they export. Importers will be required to make a downpayment of 20 percent. The Export-Import Bank will guarantee an additional 25 percent of the risk. Moreover, the risk will be spread over many importers in many countries. With the protection this spreading of risk provides, plus the further backing afforded by the equity of the corporation, we believe commercial banks will be willing to buy the senior notes of AOFC which will be sold to provide the necessary financing. In that way, the banking system for the first time will be in position without unreasonable risk to participate in the financing of exports on a term basis, and yet will be able to assure export manufacturers of 80 percent of the sales price of their exports in cash immediately and without recourse. I feel sure that this corporation, when it commences to function, will be only a forerunner of other techniques which financial institutions will develop as a means of expanding our own trade and helping in the economic development of the free world.

Thus it is apparent that banks in this country have undergone, and are continu-

ing to undergo, many changes. This progress is good, for it expresses the dynamic qualities of the world we live in. what I have seen of banks, I am convinced they will rise to the challenge and opportunity the future holds for them. Certainly they will not fall for lack of leadership, for never has bank leadership been more in tune with the times than at present. As banks contribute to the great effort to create & society which is at once forward moving, stable, and peaceful, within a framework which enables men to remain free, I believe they will morit increasingly the high confidence which people of this country feel for them.

They Learn New Ways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under the above title Max K. Gilstrap, chief of the central news bureau of the Christian Science Monitor, wrote an article on the Eskimo people in Alaska which appeared in the paper March 23. Because it is of general interest I take pleasure in calling it to the attention of the House:

KOTZEBUE, ALASKA.—President Eisenhower and Cowboy Roy Rogers are nip-and-tuck choices as the most popular heroes of the wideawake Eskimo children who give a touch of rousing gaiety to this native village north of the Arctic Circle.

The most engaging experience in our Alaskan trip has been a lively exchange of questions and ideas with eager, alert, young descendants of an ancient race whose mysterious beginnings are lost in antiquity.

It has offered further reassurance that Alaska's future will be in the intelligent hands of an enlightened native as well as a progressive white population if—and this should be emphasized—needed assistance is forthcoming from the United States to build more and better schools.

We stopped by the white frame school as we trudged about in this native village on the bleak tundra that overlooks the wide horizons of the ice-caked Arctic. In midwinter it becomes a rippling mass of snow-drifts.

With nearly 1,000 inhabitants, Kotzebue is the second largest (after Point Barrow) Eskimo village in Alaska. Now a regular airline stop, it is becoming famed for its native activities, including the spring dog-team races and ice breakup and its Fourth of July celebration featuring native dancing, skin blanket tossing, kayak racing, and spear throwing.

Of the many Alaskan aborigines, the Eskimos here and in other parts of Alaska are the most numerous, totaling about 18,000 in the territory. Closely related to the Eskimos are the Aleuts (pronounced alley-oots) in the southwest. There are also Indians. Tlingit (pronounced klink-et), Tsimshian, and Haida of southeastern Alaska. A few have retained their tribal customs, but most of them have adopted western ideas and living conditions.

CHANGING ATTITUDES

The impact onrushing civilization is having on the Eskimos and their culture can best be found in the attitudes and lives of the young people. For this reason we were especially delighted when Jack Bartlett, superintend-

ent of schools, invited us to vist the various classes, beginning with the one taught by Mrs. Bartlett.

What would Eskimo children most like to see on a visit to the United States?" asked Mrs. Bartlett's dusky, bright-eyed students. "A horse, skyscrapers, the Lincoln Memorial, Grand Canyon," they chorused.

What would they like to eat while there? "Anything fresh—fresh cabbage, fresh turnips, fresh cucumbers."

What would they like to do? "Take a subway ride, go to the circus, visit cowboyland." How many had ridden in a dog sled—in an airplane? Merry laughter rippled forth.

Both types of transportation are vital in this

isolated area.

In their mimeographed publication, Reindeer Roundup, the children had told of what they liked about living in Kotzebue:

"Playing along the beach, watching the big boat come in in summertime with all the good things to eat, picking berries and gathering bluebells and fireweed on tundra, hearing the birds sing and watching the big cranes come by with their long necks sticking out, putting seal and whale meat in our ice cellars, helping herd the reindeer, exchanging letters with school children in the States who think we live in ice igloos, Which we don't, and who think we always eat raw meat and blubber and wear furs all the time, which we do only part of the time.'

PROBLEMS OF TEACHING

Mrs. Bartlett finds the Eskimos easier to teach than white children. From families Who exercise little discipline, they respond readily to supervision at school. None questions the teacher's authority.

Naturally very polite, they have resonant voices and a natural ear for tone. Their immediate abilities lie in singing, in folk dancing, and in drawing and carving. With limited vistas and influenced by the old Eskimo tradition that each day begins a new life, they are inclined to speak in the present tense, as "I see him yesterday."

The very literal manner in which the Eskimo children often take things was forcefully brought to Mrs. Bartlett's attention one day when she remarked to the class, "We must stand on our own two feet." Everyone

in the class promptly stood up.

We got further acquainted with these children later on the beach-the village main street-2 miles long. As we watched patient Eskimo hunters searching for seal in their power boats amid floating ice, the children swarmed around, with ruddy faces peering from their parkas.

They posed obligingly for pictures, standing by a rack of drying fish, hugging their husky dog friends, teeter-tottering, tossing about in their swings, or swinging their 'yo-yo's"-two small balls on strings that swing simultaneously in opposite directions. A prized picture is one of four children tramping through the snow eating ice-cream cones.

In the rustic frame homes Eskimo women prepared their evening meals. Stews with reindeer, caribou, or ptarmigan are popular. Native berries, seal meat, muktuk White whale meat), shea fish, and a tuberous plant known as the Eskimo potato are staple foods. But canned goods of the white man are increasingly being used, although the idea of salads has not yet caught on.

Women still make most of the family clothing—particularly parkas, gloves, and mukluks (skin boots), but they may reach for a pair of pliers instead of using their teeth in sewing, as they did in former days. Among the old customs that have disappeared here is the one of wife trading. Mystic religious beliefs are giving way as Eskimos are increasingly attending several Christian churches now provided.

Sod and grass huts have been generally replaced by wooden structures. Ice igloos,

used primarily now as in former years by hunters on their trips as a temporary protection from the weather, are not to be found here or in most other present-day Alaskan Eskimo villages.

We stopped to chat with Louis Rotman in white, wooden combination storehis big, hotel. His gracious Eskimo wife and his Eskimo customers have given him a deep appreciation of these friendly, artistically talented, uncannily perceptive, yet sometimes aloof and obviously complex people.

He says they size up strangers quickly and respond to fairness. They are not a people, however, that have become willing to be governed by the clock and are likely to exhaust whatever resources they have at hand without making provision for the morrow.

Between waiting on his customers Mr. Rotman spoke enthusiastically of the shortwave newscasts by the editor of the Christian Science Monitor, which he said he listened to regularly from station WRUL in Boston. "And don't forget," he said, "those broadcasts enter Siberia a few miles over there across the strait, and the Russians are bound to hear them.'

Farther down the beach we entered a store with tinkling bell on the door to make our way under hanging furs into a crowded room full of curios. Here we met the friendly Hugo Eckhardts. Little effort is made by this congenial couple to sell their wares, but few visitors can resist the handsome Eskimomade garments, ivory-carved necklaces from the Little Diomede Island in the Bering Strait, jade jewelry, and authentically dressed wooden Eskimo dolls.

One of the major concerns of Kotzebue and other Eskimo villages is the development of an economy that will absorb the native worker. Some research has been done by the Artic Circle Chamber of Commerce here on opportunities in the area.

Already there is a tannery and native craft work. Some villagers go during the summer to southeast Alaska to work in the canneries, and others dig for minerals and coal in the nearby mines, which are expected to increase in number and production. ties searched for oil near here last summer, and more are expected this year.

Another concern, and perhaps the most urgent one, was mentioned by Mr. Bartlett. For the past several years the Alaska Native Service has included in its year report a request for appropriations to construct a new school in Kotzebue. This request has never been granted. It has again asked for these funds to construct an eight-grade school during the summer of 1955, to which rooms can be added later for high-school

INADEQUATE SCHOOLS

With a burgeoning population in Kotzebue it was necessary in 1950 to convert a log structure, originally built for a school shop, into a schoolroom. Prior to that time school was held and is still maintained in two buildings, each of which is more than 30 years old. Since 1950 it has been necessary to partition larger rooms into smaller inadequate rooms and to use a Quonset but for the increased number of children attending school.

Cost of maintenance and fuel for these widely separated buildings is very high. More desks and more space are needed. Teachers' quarters are inadequate and uncomfortable, adding to the difficulties of getting and retaining competent personnel in this Arctic village

At present children for the first eight grades only are accommodated in Kotzebue, and rooms are crowded and dark.

As an integral part of forward-looking Alaska the Eskimo and other native inhabitants here and elsewhere are entering into roles of responsible citizenship as quickly as their education and opportunities will allow.

Strongly reluctant at first, but now more willing to be swept up in the white man's

ways, they expect and need sustaining support in repayment for their stouthearted efforts to adjust to the civilized wave of the future.

Col. Robert R. McCormick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES A. BOYLE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. BOYLE. Mr. Speaker, the news of the death of the great tycoon of the publishing field, Col. Robert R. McCormick, comes as a shock to many citizens of this country. The Chicago Tribune and Colonel McCormick are synonymous to most of us. Seldom has a publisher been so personally and colorfully identified with the publication he controls. The two have been known to all of us for their unyielding position on the issues which the colonel considered of paramount importance in this Nation.

As a Democrat I was more often in disagreement than in harmony with the great publisher, but I have respected his devotion to the principles in which be believed, and I wish to pay tribute to a great fighter who never backed away from a fight; never yielded ground to the opposition, and always upheld democratic principles as he saw them.

My personal admiration for the colonel's rugged individualism dates back to the period when I as a boy delivered the Tribune to Chicagoland homes. I have watched the functioning of his tremendous organization under his careful stewardship from that time to this.

In these days of political lethargy. where party lines frequently become blurred and differences are often mere shades of difference. I believe the colonel has made a real contribution by painting in bold, clear, decisive colors his policy and the policy of his paper.

I believe that this type of fighting opposition is typically American. Whether the opposition is of a liberal or conservative stripe, this is a contribution to our democratic heritage. A heritage that places among its highest values the right to disagree and the freedom of the press.

Colonel McCormick was a rebel within his own party who fought the New Deal and the new and more progressive elements within the Republican Party with equal fervor. The late Joseph Pulitzer was a different kind of a rebel. This great liberal publisher of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch was a rebel against the old guard and a proponent of the new and the liberal approach to America's problems

The fabric and texture of American democracy must always be sufficiently strong and malleable to accommodate every type of political opinion. The lives of these two great publishers are a tribute to our form of democracy. As a Member of this great legislative body, I should like to place on record today a personal tribute to both of them.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the fight against cancer is entitled to have the fullest support of Congress, State legislative bodies, and every agency, private or public, concerned with promoting the welfare of our people.

Already much has been done to care for cancer patients and to carry on studies and research programs to combat the In this our National Governdisease. ment, through appropriate legislation, has taken a leading part. There still remains much to be done.

The Courier Post newspaper published at Camden, N. J., has through the years given great help to the cause. date of April 1, 1955, it has published an editorial that gives further evidence of a desire to be helpful. The editorial calls upon all to assist the American Cancer Society. It details the fine work being done by the society and appropriately calls for additional support. The reasons for this help, as set forth in the editorial, are indisputable and justify to the fullest extent our individual and collective interest. The editorial which I include as part of my remarks reads as follows:

LET US ALL DO OUR PART IN THE FIGHT ON CANCER

Cancer kills 200,000 Americans every year-9,000 of them in New Jersey.

Unless it is fought by every means now known, including measures to assure early detection, it will strike 1 of every 2 American families and cause the death of 1 American out of every 5.

Those are two great salient facts to remember as the annual fund canvass of the American Cancer Society begins today in Camden County and throughout the State and Nation.

The American Cancer Society, supported wholly by contributions from the public, is the only voluntary health agency in this country devoted to the control of cancer through education, service, and research. With central offices in New York, it has 60 divisions that operate in every State. It cooperates closely with such organizations as the American Medical Association, American College of Surgeons, United States Public Health Service, and National Research Council. It serves as a coordinating agency for many privately supported activities in cancer research.

Because of the increasing average age of the American people, cancer is killing a higher proportion of them than it did 40 years ago, despite the many unquestionable advances made against it during that time,

The cancer society indeed predicts, because of continuing increase in the age of the population, that in the years immediately ahead there will be an increase in the incidence of cancer. "But," the society says, "it need not necessarily follow that there will be more cancer deaths. With the knowledge and skills we have at hand, thousands of deaths from cancer can be prevented."

The Cancer Society attacks the problem from a number of angles: Educating the public; keeping the doctor up to date; supporting facilities for detection, diagnosis,

Let Us Do Our Part in the Fight on Cancer and treatment; an integrated research program; and training the manpower needed for future research.

The long-range goal of finding the cause of cancer and better methods of prevention, diagnosis, and cure is being steadily pursued by the society, while it also makes available help for the half million persons in this country who already have the disease-help which is effective in rehabilitating many of them and returning them to usefulness in their communities.

"The ultimate cure for cancer," says the society, "still is hidden somewhere among the test tubes, microscope slides, and mouse cages in the laboratories of research scientists."

Yet, though the society uses one-fourth of all funds donated by the public for research, and in spite of increasing public interest and support, the expansion of research activities and training of research personnel is still seriously hampered for lack of money.

"This is an economy our country can ill afford," says the society, and the country likewise can ill afford to economize on funds for the other vital humanitarian activities the society carries on.

Let us all make whatever contribution is within our means to this year's cancer fund appeal, now beginning under the auspices of the Camden County Chapter of the society. Mayor Brunner has well summed up the reasons why we should:

"In order that the 1955 crusade may be a complete success, so that assistance may be guaranteed the victims of this dread disease while scientists seek the cause and perhaps a cure for cancer.

"Our community always has been in the forefront when it comes to appeals for a The cancer-control fight is worthy purpose. a vital one, for it means the saving of thousands of lives. It must succeed. It will, if we all do our part."

Seaway Sparks Billion-Dollar Trade Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the April 1955 issue of Nation's Business an article by Mr. Joseph M. Gambatese which presents a very timely and well-written survey of current plans and planning for the St. Lawrence seaway.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include this article in the RECORD with the recommendation that it be read by every Member of Congress:

SEAWAY SPARKS BILLION-DOLLAR TRADE RACE (By Joseph M. Gambatese)

The \$1 billion St. Lawrence seaway development, just begun, has sparked a race for port improvements and expansion among a score of cities ringing the five Great Lakes all the way from Oswego, N. Y., the country's first fresh-water port, to Chicago and Duluth, Minn.

Another \$1 billion in both private and public funds is likely to be spent in and around the lakes and connecting rivers before a ship from the Atlantic Ocean steams up the new St. Lawrence scaway and into the lakes with the first 10,000-ton cargo for some lake port. This will happen 4 years from now if present schedules are met.

The prize: More than 40 million tons of increased cargo which will pass through the seaway's canals and seven locks along the St. Lawrence River after the Midwest's gate to the Atlantic is enlarged.

With shipments over the St. waterway now limited by the 14-foot controlling depth of the present Canadian locks and canals in the 114-mile stretch between Montreal and Ogdensburg, N. Y., only 10,000,000 tons of cargo can get through to the lakes. The vessels must be restricted to loads of less than 2,500 tons, even though they may have larger capacity.

When the seaway development is com-pleted, two things will be achieved:

1. Cargo ships of 20,000 tons will be able to maneuver the St. Lawrence, thereby increasing the potential annual tonnage moving between Montreal and Lake Erie to more than 50,000,000 tons.

2. Northern New York State and part of eastern Ontario will share 1,880,000 kilowatts of electricity from a hydroelectric power project at Massena, N. Y., a potential capacity now exceeded only by the 1,974,000 kilowatts of Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River.

The United States has authorized \$105.-000,000 and Canada is spending \$261,000,000 for the joint navigation project, which will increase the controlling depth to 27 feet from the Atlantic to Toledo on the western end of Lake Erie. The New York Power Authority and the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission are building the \$600,-000,000 power project, consisting mainly of a powerhouse and 145-foot spillway dam at Massena and a control dam at Iroquois. Ontario. They will share both the cost and the electric power which will start flowing in 1958.

Beyond Toledo, however, waterborne commerce to Detroit and Into Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior is limited by a controlling depth in the connecting channels of 25 feet downbound and 21 feet upbound.

The plan to deepen these channels to 27 feet was left out of the present authorization which passed Congress last May, although it was included in earlier seaway development

bills which failed to pass.

Members from midwest States are pushing for approval of the connecting channels phase in this Congress. This will cost \$110,327,000; or \$115,818,000 if a cutoff channel is dug to eliminate a bend in the St. Clair River above Detroit, as recommended by the Army's Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors.

The connecting channels plan involves deepening of three links between Lakes Erie. Huron, Michigan, and Superior at Detroit, the Mackinac Straits and the approaches to the Soo Locks. The Welland Canal joining Lake Erie and Lake Ontario is in Canada and will need slight deepening, which Canada is doing as part of the approved navigation project

Opponents of the seaway warn, however, that even the 27-foot depth will be inadequate to make real ocean ports out of lake cities, and that Congress will soon have to provide for further deepening to 30 feet of more at a cost of many more millions.

Such skepticism has not deterred the cities from pushing ahead with big plans to get the jump on their rivals and be ready with the best and the most facilities when the larger ships come steaming in.

As one lake city was advised: "Traffic flows where transportation facilities are provided. Waiting until the traffic exists may not be wise.

These cities want to make sure they get their share—or more—of the increase waterborne tonnage and the anticipated economic benefits from the seaway. These benefits are expected to include attraction of industries which will find the seaway advantageous either for receiving bulk raw materials or for shipping products overseas, and increased business activity related to

foreign made.

Improved harbor and port facilities will benefit some ports even without much seaway traffic, through the handling of more of the present lake shipping and by attracting chemical and other industries which rely heavily on fresh water and shipping within the lake areas. This, of course, has been—and for many years will likely con-tinue to be—the major basis for improvement of Great Lakes harbors, ports, and rivers, which the Federal Government has been doing for more than 125 years.

A Nation's business survey of port activity stimulated for the most part by the coming of heavier seaway traffic into the largest manufacturing center in the world-now being called a new frontler in the heartland

of America-discloses that:

Work in the two major Canadian ports-Toronto and Hamilton, Ontario-has progressed further than in most United States

At least 8 United States cities have made, are making, studies costing more than \$300,000 to find out what economic impact the new seaway tonnage will have on their ports and what, if anything, they should be doing about it. From east to west, these cities are: Oswego and Buffalo, N. Y.; Erie, Pa.: Cleveland, Lorain, and Toledo, Ohio; Detroit, and Duluth.

Legislation is being pressed in State capitals to permit port authorities for Toledo, Erie, Buffalo, and Oswego harbors to facilitate their development, growth and opera-

Some \$8 million already has been spent in Green Bay and Milwaukee, Wis.; Muskegon, Mich.; Hamilton, and Toronto, for ware-houses, docks, buildings and other facilities.

Another \$9 million worth of similar port improvements has been started in Green Bay, Milwaukee, Hamilton, Ont., and Ashtabula, Ohio.

More than \$200 million in port development, exclusive of harbor dredging by the Federal Government, is being planned in Milwaukee, Chicago, Muskegon, Windsor, Ont.; Toledo, Cleveland, and Oswego.

President Eisenhower has asked Congress for more than \$11 million during the next fiscal year for dredging, widening and otherwise improving harbors and channels at Duluth, Sault Ste. Marie, Chicago, Indiana Harbor, Ind.; Cleveland, and Buffalo.

The Army's Corps of Engineers, which handles river and harbor improvements, is doing preliminary work on plans for a \$4,900,000 extension of the Ashtabula Harbor area and for shoal removal and construction of a detached breakwater at Oswego costing \$2,500,-000. Congress has also directed the engineers to determine the economic justification for further improving the harbors of Duluth, Milwaukee, Toledo, Lorain, Cleve-land, and Conneaut, Ohio. Studies have been proposed for Buffalo and other ports as well.

Major lake harbors will require dredging to 27 feet and new facilities to accommodate larger vessels. Only at Duluth, Chicago, Ashtabula, and Buffalo has Congress "authorized" depths of more than 25 feet, and only Duluth's harbor actually is more than that depth. Its lake approaches are 32 feet. Depths of 28 feet have been authorized at Chicago and Ashtabula and 27 feet at Buffalo.

Before getting into the details of what each Port city is doing, let's look at the total seaway development and its impact as a whole.

Basically, developing the St. Lawrence seaway consists of enlarging a series of bottlenecks which now limit the size of vessels Which can navigate between Lakes Superior and Michigan on the west and the Atlantic Ocean on the east-a total distance of 2,350 miles from Duluth to the ocean. This navigation phase involves the widening and dredging of narrow passages and bypassing

dams, unnavigable falls, and rapids with locks and canals so that the ships may rise and drop the 600-foot elevation between Lake Superior and the ocean.

At the same time, the descending water level permits the development of hydroelectric power. At Niagara Falls at present the United States power station has a capacity of 445,000 kilowatts and that on Canadian side has 848,000 kilowatts. the seaway, it is planned to increase the kilowatt capacities to 1,945,000 and 2,276,000,

respectively.
The New York-Ontario power project in the International Rapids section of the seaway at Massena will produce 1,880,000 kilowatts. Water backed up by the 145-foot-long Sault Spillway Dam to be built at this point will create a pleasure lake almost 30 miles long and 4 miles wide, inundating considerable land, mostly on the Canadian side, and forcing the relocation of railroads, highways, and even whole towns.

Below Massena, where the St. Lawrence runs completely within Canadian borders, that country has developed 1,408,000 horsepower (1.083.000 kilowatts) at the Beaharnois powerplant in the Soulanges area and hopes to raise it to 2 million horsepower. It also plans to develop 1,200,000 horsepower farther down at the Lachine locks, near Montreal. (Canadians measure electricpower capacity in terms of horsepower. It takes 1.34 horsepower to produce a kilowatt.)

Thus, there are three major phases of the seaway development: (1) The St. Lawrence navigation project, with Canada and the United States participating jointly; (2) the power project shared jointly by Ontario and New York; and (3) the deepening of the connecting channels, which it is expected the United States will do alone.

The United States section of the navigation project is being built by a Government agency created specifically and solely for that purpose: St. Lawrence Seaway Development It is headed by Administrator Lewis G. Castle, who, when appointed last was president of the Northern Minnesota National Bank in Duluth and of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Association, which led the postwar fight for the seaway.

The Seaway Corporation has designated the Corps of Engineers as its agent to supervise construction of the United States section, mainly two locks and a canal to bypass the power project at Massena. Congress fixed a spending limit of \$105 million, which the Treasury will advance as needed against 50year revenue bonds to be issued by the Corporation. Tolls fixed by an International Toll Commission will be charged on the seaway to liquidate the bonds. Congress, in passing its first seaway bill last May, also included construction of a lock at Point Rockway, across from Iroquois, to bypass on the United States side the Iroquis Control Dam, being built as part of the power project. But Canada insisted on building its own lock on its side of the dam, and in fact began construction. As a result, it was agreed a month ago that the United States will not build its lock at the control dam upriver and Canada will not build its locks on the Canadian side of the powerhouse and spillway dam, both Governments reserving the right to build the locks in the future, but not without consulting the other before-

The net result, then, is that the control dam upriver will be bypassed through a Canadian lock at Iroquis and the power project near Massena will be bypassed through two United States locks-leaving each country dependent on the other for through pass-

The United States will also dredge to 27 feet the Thousand Islands section of the St. Lawrence-68 miles from Ogdensburg, N. Y., upriver to Lake Ontario, at a cost of \$2 million.

Canada, in addition to the Iroquis Lock, is building four more locks and digging canals along the 68 miles within the Canadian border from the power project to Montreal, and will deepen the Welland Canal to 27 feet, the latter costing only \$2 million, because the 8 locks within the canal already meet the 27-foot measure.

Lake ports already handle 500,000 tons of overseas shipping a season, much of it United States and Canadian grain, but it is carried

in small vessels lightly loaded.

This tonnage, however, is an almost negligible one-fifth of 1 percent of the more than 250 million tons of total shipping on the lakes, about one-third of it iron ore moving down from Lake Superior.

With the new seaway, overseas shipping is expected eventually to exceed 5 million tons.

During the first year, Administrator Castle estimates that the seaway will carry 12,100,-000 tons of grain, 10,500,000 tons of iron ore, 6,400,000 tons of general cargo, 3,700,000 tons of coal, 2,300,000 tons of petroleum, 800,000 tons of nonferrous ores, and 700,000 tons of woodpulp. Grain and iron-ore shipments are expected to dominate seaway freight.

New and larger ore freighters now on the lakes were built to fit seaway specifications.

The more than 50 million eventual tonnage will exceed by about 25 percent the tonnage through the Panama Canal.

Hardly any luxury ocean-liner traffic is

exptected.

Specific lake harbor improvements planned by the Corps of Engineers during the coming fiscal year and the necessary funds requested of Congress include:

Cleveland: \$5,300,000 to widen bends and alter obstructing bridges in 23-foot Cuyahoga River on which most industrial piers are located. This is part of a \$20 million river program on which \$11 million already has been spent.

Chicago: \$4 million-the beginning of an \$80 million project—to start widening to 225 feet the Calumet-Sag Channel, important link between the Mississippi River and Lake Michigan on the southern edge of Chicago.

Buffalo: \$1,200,000 to complete deepening of the Buffalo River, part of the Buffalo Harbor, to 23 feet. This job was started this fiscal year with \$1,100,000.

Soo: \$338,000 to begin alterations at the Soo locks. This includes removal of an island in the St. Marys River to facilitate approach to the locks and alteration of a railroad bridge. It will take \$3 million more to complete.

Duluth: \$215,000 to complete a 25-foot channel in a part of the Duluth Harbor. Project was begun this fiscal year with \$330,000.

Indiana Harbor: \$45,000 to widen a portion of the harbor canal, which leads into the Calumet-Sag Channel.

Lake Cities Plan for Billion-Dollar Trade Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include another survey of current plans and planning for the St. Lawrence seaway which appeared in the April 1955 issue of Nation's Business.

This survey, by Mr. Joseph M. Gambatese, explains what lake cities are doing to ready themselves for this billiondollar trade race:

Here, in addition to the engineers' program, is what United States lake cities are doing to improve their ports:

DULUTH

Gov. O. L. Freeman has asked the Minnesota Legislature to study the seaway's impact on the State's economy and look toward development of the Duluth Harbor. The three-man port authority has been reactivated and legislation is being considered to create a more effective seven-man authority. The port authority has a \$100,000 budget for each of the next 2 years—\$53,500 to come from the State legislature, \$38,000 from the Iron Range Resources and Rehabilitation Commission, and \$8,500 from a local levy. Some \$76,000 is being spent for a survey of the harbor's economic potential, with four studies by the University of Minnesota's business research division already under way.

MILWAUKEE

A \$200,000 addition to municipal transit shed No. 1 is opening this spring. A \$2 million viaduct is being built to carry harbor truck traffic over two railroad lines. The following \$4,700,000 in projects have been projected for completion before the 1959 seaway opening:

New pier and general cargo ter-	\$4,000,000
Replacing obsolete cranes and equipment	350,000
Dredging outer harbor slips to	200,000
Highways to serve outer piers Expanding harbor railroad sys-	80,000
tem	70,000

Harbor deepening is being sought from Congress, with a study being made by the Corps of Engineers.

There were 188 sailings with 43,000 tons of overseas cargo from this port last year, according to Harry C. Brockel, Milwaukee port director, who is also a director of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Association.

GREEN BAY

A new city harbor and industrial commission is directing technical development of the port. A nonprofit industrial development corporation, set up within the Green Bay Association of Commerce, is selling 100 shares of \$100 to raise money for port promotion. Leicht Transfer & Storage Co. has built two \$250,000 warehouses, and is planning another. Efforts are being made to get funds for improving the harbor with a turnaround basin in the river mouth, a project approved by the Corps of Engineers some time ago. Sixty foreign ships used the port last year.

CHICAGO

As part of a 10-year \$125 million program, the regional port board is Issuing \$25 million in bonds to start construction of facilities around Lake Calumet. Present plans include 4 major transit sheds, two 6,500,000-bushel grain elevators, 1,000 feet of universal bulk dock and other docks, heavy lift cranes and other facilities. A large liquid tank farm, positioned to handle rail, barge, truck, lake, and ocean traffic, will also be built.

Because of vast and modern facilities and its unique link between the lakes and the Mississippi River, Chicago expects to handle 50 percent of the general cargo moving through the seaway and also to become, in the opinion of Maxim M. Cohen, general manager-secretary of the Chicago Regional Port District, the most strategic grain shipping port on the American Continent.

Chicago's port handled 178,000 tons of overseas shipping in 1953 and expects this

to increase four times, according to A. H. Schwietert, traffic director of the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry.

MUSKEGON

This port is planning two more docks to match the existing \$2 million dock and related facilities. With one of the lakes' best natural harbors, it stresses ship repair work but, like many other small lake ports, it is thinking in terms of handling more of the present ficet of 2,000-ton vessels serving Great Lakes and foreign ports.

Larger lake ports will find it uneconomical to handle some of these smaller ships.

John C. Beukema, president of the Great Lakes Harbors Association, says the association has counseled smaller lake ports to be cautious and make detailed studies before making appropriations and letting contracts for improvements which may prove unwise.

DETROIT

A \$50,000 economic survey of the port has forecast an increase in overseas trade from 150,000 tons to 300,000 tons within a year of the seaway's opening. If suitable facilities and services are developed, overseas trade will increase to between 750,000 and 1 million tons 5 years later. There were 320 foreign sailings in 1953, many of them carrying automobiles and trucks to foreign ports.

mobiles and trucks to foreign ports.

The harbor needs little development except deepening of the Detroit River. Gov. G. Mennen Williams asked the State legislature to approve a \$500 million bond issue for highways, to build in 3 to 5 years what would normally take 15 to 20 years. The road program includes a north-south highway from Saginaw Bay, down through Detroit and almost to Toledo, which will aid the port development.

TOLEDO

An \$8,000 study recommended construction of a \$20 million general cargo terminal on the Maumee River and a \$5,900,000 recreational area on the heav

reational area on the bay.

A hot scrap is raging over whether the port should be run by the city or the Toledo-Lucas County Port Commission with new powers of a port authority. Toledo is sponsoring a port authority bill which the Ohio legislature is expected to pass. The bill would let a county set up a port authority with power to issue bonds, levy taxes, build navigational facilities, rent the facilities, and amortize the bonds from revenues.

Toledo, a leading coal port with annual shipments of 20 million tons, also handles considerable overseas shipping of petroleum and grain. Ships of foreign registry in the Toledo port increased from one in 1946 to 80 last year.

CLEVELAND

A \$40,000 port development study is being made by New York consultants.

Cleveland is seeking Federal participation in a proposed \$15 million breakwall 6½ miles long running west from downtown. Inside of this a \$30 million highway would be built facilitating vehicular traffic to and from the harbor.

A \$500,000 service road connecting with a freeway on the east side is being started this spring. Director of Port Control William J. Rogers says the city is considering a \$5 million bond issue to build a cofferdam from 500 to 700 feet out in the lake to permit filling and extension of the waterfront land.

Cleveland leases its two piers to a stevedoring firm. The waterfront will be zoned and made available for development by private industry, which is expected to spend \$20 million for port facilities. Curtis Lee Smith, president of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, feels private industry is fully capable of taking care of whatever new business develops from the new seaway.

The Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co. has intensified its promotion of northeastern Ohio as the best location in the Nation for new industry. An international trade exposition in 1959 is being considered by Mayor Anthony J. Celebrezze. Mayor Celebrezze and private industry are cold to a port authority, because the harbor is within city limits and was developed by the city.

Cleveland is also the focal point of a fight over the proposed construction of a 103-mile, \$300 million belt conveyor between Cleveland and East Liverpool on the Ohio River. The enclosed conveyor would carry 20 million tons of fron ore down from Cleveland to East Liverpool, when he barges would take it to Pittsburgh steel mills. In the other direction, the conveyor would move 45 million tons of coal, particularly metallurgical coal from West Virginia needed by steel mills in Youngstown and Cleveland.

LORAIN

A \$10 million harbor improvement is sought to meet present needs. The Corps of Engineers is restudying the economic justification for improving the harbor, which handles 8 million tons of iron ore and 2,600,000 tons of coal. Dr. N. R. Daniellan, president of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Association, has been retained as a harbor and seaway expert for 2 years to help get Federal aid for present harbor-improvement needs and to survey the port's expansion possibilities. Dr. Daniellan does not visualize Lorain as a major seaport, pointing out that ports need an economic hinterland to feed on. Lorain is between Toledo and Cleveland.

ASHTABULA

Private industry is spending \$3,710,000 for construction of slips, docks, and handling facilities, including 2 bulk cargo docks 2,000 feet long and 500 feet wide.

Ports of Ashtabula and nearby Conneaut will be aided by a Conneaut-Cincinnati, 350-mile toll highway, costing \$500 million, which the State is planning to build. It will have a spur connecting the State capital Columbus with Toledo.

tal. Columbus, with Toledo.

This northeast-southwest diagonal expressway will connect with, and cross, the 241-mile \$325 million east-west toll road extending from the Pennsylvania Turnpike, near Pittsburgh, across Ohio to the Indiana border, near Toledo. This will be completed in October and will be useful to other Ohio ports as well.

ERIE

Additional dock and warehouse facilities will be built after completion of a survey costing \$15,000. Members of the Erie Engineering Societies Council donated \$30,000 in services in making a preliminary study of the port's potential. The State legislature has been asked to authorize an Erie Port Authority.

BUFFALO

A \$50,000 port study is being made. Findings and recommendations will not be completed until next month, but it is reported the port will need:

A 600-foot, \$2,950,000 pier; and \$800,000 package cargo warehouse; \$500,000 for handling facilities; \$350,000 for administration and engineering; \$500,000 for financing and interest the first 2 years; \$400,000 for contingencies; and \$35,000 for dike repair.

The port board has approved a \$5,535,000 port improvement program as the first phase of a master development plan and is seeking authority from the State legislature to create a Niagara Frontier Port Authority of wider scope.

Improvement of the harbor by the Corps of Engineers is only 36 percent complete, with \$11 million more needed to finish the job.

Buffalo's major gain from the seaway is expected to be ore shipments from the rich open-pit deposits of 600 million proven tons—with a potential of 1,500,000,000 tons—whose postwar discovery in the barren Quebec-Labrador region helped get the seaway through Congress. Buffalo will have an ad-

vantage because it is nearer the deposits than

other lake ore ports.

Six midwest steel and ore companies under the leadership of Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey, then head of M. A. Hanna Co., participated in the discovery and development of the deposits. Almost \$300 million is being spent on the Quebec-Labrador project.

A railroad was built to carry the ore 360 miles to freighters at Seven Islands on St.

Lawrence Bay.

This Quebec-Labrador ore will supplement the dwindling deposits of the Mesabi Range on Lake Superior which have fed more than 3 billion tons to hungry iron and steel mills since the Soo Locks were opened 100 years ago this spring. The centennial anniversary will be celebrated at the Soo on June 18.

First ore shipment from the new Canadian deposits left Seven Islands July 31, and more than 1.700,000 tons was moved before the shipping season-only 244 days-closed because of freezing. Most of the ore went to east coast and European ports on large ore freighters, but 170,000 tons moved up the St. Lawrence on 2,000-ton canalers to mills near the lakes. Almost 70,000 tons went to

A survey of more than 700 companies in western New York has been made by the Rochester Chamber of Commerce to determine what use they might make of seaway shipping. The potential tonnage indicated will serve as a guide in planning port development. Preliminary examination of the questionnaires returned indicates "quite a bit of interest," according to Fidelis J. Taylert, chairman of the chamber of commerce subcommitteee making the survey.

OSWEGO

Oswego is the lark port closest to the seaway and at the terminus of the northern branch of the New York State Barge Canal, whose 9-foot depth extends from Buffalo to Albany on the Hudson River-the shortest water link between the lakes and the Atlantic.

Here is its program:

1. A \$20,000 study indicates it will take \$10 million to improve and expand the harbor to attract seaway shipping. This covers only harbor deepening to 28 feet and construction of a \$2,500,000 detached breakwall approved by Congress, but funds for this have not been appropriated.

2. A budget of \$20,000 for the employment of Arthur W. Mengel of Cleveland as port director and for port promotion activity. Port Authority legislation is being sought.

3. Advertising Oswego as the "Port of Central New York" to attract foreign-trade shipments.

4. Stepping up "Operation Oswego," which last year induced three companies to locate in the area.

5. Obtaining the Federal funds necessary to improve the harbor, which handles more than 2 million tons a season. Lionel A. Mohnkern, executive manager of the Oswego Chamber of Commerce, says more than \$11 million in improvements has been planned and approved by the Corps of Engineers,

ELSEWHERE IN UNITED STATES

There is also considerable activity in many other cities on the lakes and along the seaway route.

In Michigan, the Monroe Port Commission is improving its port, hoping to attract waterfront industries and become a rail-truck-water terminal for lower Michigan and upper Indiana. Grand Haven plans to improve its channel; the city plan commission is working on waterfront industrial subdivision projects. Benton Harbor plans to move a ship canal and build a slip and a 500-foot dock and wharf.

Along the St. Lawrence, Ogdensburg, and Massena—46 miles apart at the ends of the

International Rapids where the power project and United States navigation construction is taking place-are planning largely for tourist business and new industries which the seaway and the power will attract. Many recreational facilities will also be developed around the huge lake and inlets which will be created between them.

Canadian lake port activity is concentrated at Toronto, Hamilton, and Windsor.

TORONTO

Planning and construction for the seaway began 3 years ago. A \$1 million freight terminal for handling ocean ships and a \$1,250,-000 new dock wall have already been built. A new dock within the new dock wall is being studied. Toronto expects soon to have port facilities for 20 larger ships which will come up the St. Lawrence. After the seaway is a fact, it hopes to accommodate twice that many.

HAMILTON

Hamilton has built a \$2,750,000 harbor administration building and has started an additional \$2 million dock expansion and improvement program. It is extending the Welland Street docks to take care of six more oceangoing vessels and installing modern equipment to handle any kind of cargo.

On the books for later: construction of more docks toward edge of city nearer to the big industrial area.

WINDSOR

Allocation of \$2,800,000 for new dock facilities is the first step in a recommended development which will total \$19 million. Construction of dock space and terminal warehouses would follow.

Paul V. McNutt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert the following remarks of Herman B. Wells, president of Indiana University, at the funeral service in Arlington National Cemetery on March 28 for an outstanding political figure from Indiana, Paul V. McNutt:

After I received the sad news which is the occasion of our gathering today, I stood and looked for a time from my window out on the old central quadrangle of the campus where Paul McNutt achieved distinction as student, professor, and dean. Through the ancient trees I could see Maxwell Hall where he began his teaching career and won the proud rank of professor which he dearly prized. Though separated from the campus by distance and decades, he never relinquished his position but remained professor of law at Indiana University, on leave of absence—on leave of absence for service to the State, the Nation. and the world.

Viewed against the background of his early years, the vast panorama of his career can be seen in all of its dramatic outline, replete with struggle, triumph, and unselfish devotion to public duty. He has not left his power without witness, "but has shown it by mighty proofs." Even the listing of his achievements is impossible in the time allotted to me. Instead, I shall mention two qualities which were dominant

in his personality and character.

The first is integrity. To this I can bear personal testimony. It was once my duty to present to him two possible courses of action in dealing with an important problem of Government regulation. One was in the broad public interest, the other unques-tionably served better his immediate personal and political fortunes. The proposed measure was technical, understood only by the specialists, but would establish a precedent of such importance that the opposition was willing to pay any price for its defeat. We met alone, only he and I to know the nature of his decision. As soon as he comprehended the significance of the issue, without a moment's hesitation he chose the course beneficial to the public. The measure was enacted in Indiana for the first time in any State. One by one other States followed, and now it has been adopted by the entire Nation. In Milton's phrase, he met the temptations of the day "Godlike erect, with native honour clad."

The second quality I would mention is courage. He spoke often of the importance of courage in meeting life's problems. In his inaugural as Governor of Indiana during the dark days of 1933 when our society was in danger of distintegration, he said. "It is possible to know the truth without fear, to meet a crisis with indomitable courage."

The poet sings:

"Courage-an independent spark from Heaven's bright throne.

By which the soul stands raised, triumphant, high, alone."

Throughout his life, clad in the armor of integrity, he was fearless in meeting his responsibilities.

Born with a generous endowment of intellectual and physical strength, he eagerly bore more than his share of the day's work. Years of heavy burdens did not wear away his stature, and so today his life looms large upon our horizon, its high peak of achievement a source of lasting inspiration.

Devoted husband and father, brilliant scholar, dedicated public servant, loyal friend, unforgettable leader of men, we hold him in grateful and affectionate memory.

Electoral Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article by the distinguished author and commentator, Raymond Moley, which appears in the April 4 issue of Newsweek:

TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION (By Raymond Moley)

A number of constitutional amendments have been proposed in the present Congress which are designed to reform the present inequitable and perverted system of electing the President and Vice President. The Senate Judiciary Committee is holding hearings on them and there is reason to believe that one of them will be submitted to the States for ratification.

Supporters of these substitutes are agreed upon the defects in the present system. They all contend that it is neither a truly popular choice nor is it in the republican

pattern intended by the founders of our Government.

One of the plans would provide for the direct election of the President and Vice President by the voters of the Nation en masse. This was introduced by Senator Hubert Humphrey on March 4. At a press conference the following week, the President indicated that he saw no reason to abolish the electoral college and that he feared that under a straight popular vote there might spring up such splinter parties as have been the curse of nations on the Continent of Europe with which he is familiar.

Another plan which would also abolish the electoral college is the so-called Lodge-Gossett plan which passed the Senate in the 81st Congress. This would give each candidate the proportion of the electoral vote of a State which would be determined by the exact proportion of the popular vote received. Thus, in a State with 10 electoral votes in which 1 candidate received 40 percent of the popular vote he would get 4 votes.

Now he would get none.

The Humphrey plan is based upon the assumption that the United States is a democracy and that, as somebody said in the old days of the Progressives, "the remedy for the evils of democracy is more democracy." Or, as a perennial reformer said at that time: "The trouble with democracy is that

it doesn't 'democ.' "

The nostrums of those days cured little, however. They merely weakened party responsibility. A direct popular election of the President would assume that this is a single, unitary National Government. That was not the intention of the makers of the Constitution, nor, I believe, is it the preference of thoughful people today. They believe with Madison that our Government "cannot be deemed a national one, since its jurisdiction extends to certain enumerated objects only and leaves to the several States a residuary and inviolable sovereignty over all other objects."

If we grant that this should be a democracy and to that end prefer a direct popular election of the President, let us be consistent. Let us then abolish the Senate, deny to the courts the right to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation, establish a nationwide initiative and referendum on legislation by Congress, and elect a national assembly by proportional representation. This, in effect, would abolish constitutional government. The national assembly would decide what would be law. In a few years such a national assembly would substantially wipe out the identity of the States. This, I assume, we want to avoid, for it would be tyranny either by a controlling clique in the assembly or by an overmastering executive backed by popular vote.

The peril in the Lodge-Gossett plan is that to grant its premise of proportional representation in the electoral vote would pave the way for proportional representation in Congress. The memory is still with us of the fragile republics, notable in Germany, which bridged the short space between the First World War and the dictators. They were based upon proportional representation. Witness also the short trial of Puerto Ricans in New York City when Communists sat in the council in numbers far beyond their numerical strength in votes.

The best of the plans before Congress is the Coudert-Mundt amendment. This would preserve the electoral college and measurably restore it to its proper place in a republican form of government. It would keep in the momentous choosing of a President the Federal principle of a voice for each of the basic units of the Nation—the districts and the States. It is simplicity itself. Its key sentence is this: "Each State shall choose a number of electors of the President and Vice President, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress,

in the same manner as its Senators and Representatives are nominated and elected."

Thus each congressional district would select an elector pledged to one of the candidates for President. Each State would elect 2 electors in addition likewise pledged to 1 of the candidates.

This would strengthen our system of representative government because it would underline the importance of the congressional district while preserving the interest that small States have in their relative strength in the Senate. It should be very popular in the South, for it would preserve the integrity of their States.

Its superiority to the present system can be most vividly shown by considering the case of New York. A handful of voters can throw those 45 electoral votes one way or the other. That is more than 17 percent of the minimum number which is necessary under the present system to elect a President.

Only three times in 70 years has a candidate been elected without the vote of New York. And New York has no real majority party. The present Governor owes his office to the splinter Liberal Party. That party is likely to decide 9 out of 10 statewide elections. Consider what might happen with branches of such a splinter party in a number of other large States. All two-party responsibility would be lost. The foundations of Republican government would be swept away by something miscalled democracy.

The Coudert-Mundt amendment would be safe insurance against such a peril.

Salary Increases for Employees of the Post Office Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, I have here Senate Resolution 28, by Senator Dempsey, of the Maryland State Legislature, requesting the Congress of the United States to pass legislation granting salary increases to the employees of the Post Office Department.

My feelings on this matter are summarized expertly in the resolution. I am convinced the postal employees deserve and need a 10-percent raise, and I believe the majority of my colleagues agree that the sooner we get this legislation through Congress the better. Many postal employees feel other pay bills have been given preference over theirs. For this reason, and in the best interest of the postal employees, I urge immediate action on this legislation.

The resolution follows:

Senate Resolution 28

Resolution requesting the Congress of the United States to pass legislation granting salary increases to the employees of the Post Office Department

Whereas the postal employees of th United States Government have had no increase in their wages since July 1951 and, as the result of the great increase in the cost of living, postal employees have found it necessary in many instances to seek other partime jobs in order to supplement their meager income and have been forced to have their wives seek employment and thereby take them from their domestic duties and care of children; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States is presently considering Senate bill 1 and House bill 1592, which, if enacted into law, would grant postal employees a 10-percent increase in their wages, with a minimum raise of \$400: Now, therefore, be it

raise of \$400: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of Maryland, That
the Congress of the United States be requested to enact Senate bill 1 and House
bill 1592 and thereby grant salary increases
to the deserving employees of the United
States Post Office Department; and be it

Resolved, That the secretary of the senate send copies of this resolution to the United States Senators from Maryland and to each Member of the House of Representatives from Maryland and to the chairman of both the Senate and House Post Office and Civil Defense Committees of the Congress of the United States.

By the senate March 8, 1955.

Louis L. Goldstein,
President of the Senate.
C. Andrew Shaab,
Secretary of the Senate.

A War Party?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, other than a few wicked, would-be profiteers, whose god is the dollar, and, in number, a comparatively small group of sincere individuals who mistakenly think war is necessary to establish and maintain world peace, no one wants war.

There is no war party. Nevertheless, yesterday, in the Senate, a former candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, referring to the President, said:

There are forces in his (Eisenhower's) administration so powerful and apparently so eager for a war with China that they are becoming almost impossible to resist. That the United States should be plunged into a war over Matsu and Quemoy ought to be unthinkable. Yet there are those in high places in the present administration itself who are plotting and planning to bring such a war about, whatever the risks involved.

The conclusion is inescapable that the present war party is attempting to create a situation and an atmosphere in which the President would have no choice but to follow

Perhaps the gentleman is laying the groundwork for another campaign for the presidential nomination and, knowing that no one in his right mind wants war, wishes to create the impression that he is the one who can and will, if elected President, keep us out of war—hence, charges the Republican administration with being a war party.

His statement cannot be excused on the ground of ignorance. He is a former Member of the House. He has served in the Senate 6 years. He knows that it was Wilson, a Democrat, who won election in 1916 with the slogan "He kept us out of war," but that in April of 1917 we became involved in World War I.

He knows that the policies of Democratic President Franklin Delano Roosevelt plunged us into World War II.

He knows that Truman, another Democratic President, at the request of United Nations, sent our men into the Korean war.

The gentleman knows, or at least he should know, from his experience and his knowledge of what has happened in Washington, that it was the unsound foreign policies of Acheson, Roosevelt, and Truman which involved us in World War II and in the war in Korea.

He also knows that it is the adherence of Secretary of State Dulles and the State Department to some of the policies of Acheson and the previous Democratic administrations which has us in a situation where we must now-to use a common expression, the meaning of which is clear to most—"either fish or cut bait"; back out or fight.

On several occasions, those speaking for this Nation have asserted that neither Quemoy nor Matsu, nor Formosa itself, is vital to the defense of the United States of America. Then, on other occasions, we have been led to believe by those high in authority that, if Red China attempted to take any one of the three, we would go to war to defend them.

Let me repeat—the present dangerous situation was inherited by the present Republican administration. If we go half way around the world to fight another war, in my opinion, it will not be because that war is necessary for our national defense, but because policies conceived and carried out by previous Democratic administrations have forced us into a situation where we must either acknowledge our mistakes, or establish a new line of defense which is necessary to our national security, and which we can successfully hold.

That we should send our conscripted men more than half way around the world to fight in a war, to hold islands the possession of which is not vital to the defense of America, and in which our allies have said they will not join us, is something which I cannot understand, and to which I will not subscribe.

Inasmuch as the present situation is but the harvest of the thinking and the action into which the gentleman's party has involved us, it ill becomes him to throw mud at the present administration. It may be that his purpose is to distract attention from the follies of his own party, and to promote his own campaign for a presidential nomination and election

Great Circle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to Place in the RECORD an editorial which

appeared in the Los Angeles Times of March 27, 1955.

The editorial follows:

GREAT CIRCLS

President Eisenhower has under consideration the request of Pan American Airways to operate over the great circle route by way of the Aleutians to the Orient. The matter has been referred to him for a final decision. Pan American flights to the Orient now fly the mid-Pacific route by way of Honolulu and Wake Island, covering a distance of 7,000 miles. The great circle route from Los Angeles to Tokyo would cut this by 1,100 miles.

At the present time 37 percent of all Orient travel originates in California. Increased travel could be anticipated with the addition of the great circle route to Pan American's operations with a corresponding increase in the importance of Los Angeles as an international airport and a jumping-off point for both Orient and round-the-world service.

The county board of supervisors has passed a resolution urging that Pan American be granted the right to fly the shorter route, and similar action has been taken by the chamber of commerce and city through the airport commission. A favorable decision will have a beneficial effect, not only for the airline but for the airport and the city.

Five Things That Should Be Known About the Yalta Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, some individuals would like to divert the attention of our people from the Yalta papers by attacking the way they were made public rather than discussing what happened at Yalta, why it happened, and who was responsible.

A careful analysis of the situation at Yalta has been made, and it appears that there are at least five salient points which are entitled to be emphasized, particularly at this time when a further conference is under consideration.

These salient points are as follows:

1. The decision to make the Yalta papers

public was right. The American people are entitled to know

the facts concerning the conduct of the Na-This is particularly so tion's foreign affairs. in this case where the papers reveal the details of a conference as a result of which thousands of American boys died on the

It is the policy of this administration to inform the people concerning the conduct of the people's business. We do not believe in making secret deals which sell out our allies and which are deliberately kept from the American people.

The position of those who oppose making the papers public is consistent. In one breath they say there is nothing new in these papers. In another breath they say they contained information so sensitive and secret that their release has been harmful to the national security and to the relations with

From the standpoint of the Nation and the free world, it was particularly wise to make the papers public at this time. Sug-

gestions are being made to hold another conference with the Communist leaders. As we consider whether such a conference should be held, the records of previous conferences should be made public so that they can be studied not only by the diplomats but by the people of the free nations.

Only in this way can we be adequately prepared to meet the ruthless tactics of the Communists at the conference table. We will also be reminded again that in the past a Communist's word has meant nothing once the papers were executed. Only by studying the record of previous conferences can we avoid making the same mistakes in the future.

The sensitivities of diplomats, either ours or those of our allies, cannot be the decisive factor in determining whether to make public the record of a conference held 10 years ago. No diplomat's face is worth the life of one American boy.

2. What happened at Yalta and the price we have paid and are paying for the mis-takes which were made?

Up to this time the most well-publicized result of the Yalta conference has been the sellout of Poland and the Eastern European nations. Poland, the Balkan nations, and all the rest have Communist governments tobecause of the deals made at Yalta.

What happened in Europe as a result of Yalta was bad enough but what happened in Asia was even worse as far as the interests of the United States are concerned. As a result of a secret deal made at Yalta, concessions were given to the Russians which paved the way for the Communists to take over China. The Korean war, the war in Indochina, and the crisis in Formosa resulted directly from the fact that China went Communist.

The Yalta deal contributed in two ways to the Communist victory in China, ing over to the Russians rights to the jugular-vein Manchurian Railway and the warm-water ports, together with the recognition of Outer Mongolia as a satellite state, were concessions which materially assisted the Communists in their stuggle with the Nationalists. In addition, the fact that this agreement was made without the Nationalist Chinese being consulted had a disastrous effect in destroying the face of Chiang Kaishek and the Nationalists once the deal was made public.
3. Who was responsible?

Generally speaking, as the President has pointed out, we should look to the future rather than to the past except where studying the past may help us to avoid mistakes in the future.

However, Senator Johnson, Senator LEH-MAN, and others have declared that the decisions made at Yalta were military rather than political, and they have even charged that General Eisenhower and General Mac-Arthur were responsible for those decisions.

Alger Hiss took this same line when he testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities on August 3, 1948. He said that the decisions at Yalta with regard to the Far East were military rather than political decisions.

General Marshall, however, testifying in 1948 before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said the Far East decisions at Yalta were political rather than military, and that he, as Chief of Staff, was unaware of them, although present at Yalta.

Both General MacArthur and President Eisenhower have denied that they were consuited with regard to the Yalta Conference. If any further proof is needed to establish that the Marshall, rather than the Hiss, view is the correct one we find it in Secretary Stettinius' book, Yalta and the Russians. He states categorically, on page 95, that Averell Harriman, then Ambassador to Russia, was the man who was solely responsible

for conducting the negotiations with the Russians with regard to concessions which should be made in Asia. And in Winston Churchill's Memoirs, volume VI, Triumph and Tragedy, page 389, we find the Stettinius conclusion confirmed again.

This may be why Senator LEHMAN is protesting so strongly that the decisions China were military rather than political. Governor Harriman was the man primarily responsible, and since they have raised the issue, it is important to put the responsibil-

ity where it belongs.

Finally, it is to be recalled that the Far East decisions were so secret that even our State Department didn't know about them until after President Roosevelt's death 3 months later (see Stettinius' book).

4. The role of Alger Hiss at Yalta.

It has been claimed that there is nothing in the Yalta papers to indicate that Alger Hiss advocated pro-Communist positions. It is interesting to note that at no time in his career did Hiss publicly take decidedly pro-Communist positions, despite the fact that we all know he was convicted of lying when he said he did not turn Government documents over to an esplonage agent. is also to be recalled that Whittaker Chambers testified that men like Hiss in the Soviet apparatus were strictly prohibited from publicly taking a pro-Communist line.

The important question concerning Hiss is not whether he took a pro-Communist position but what documents he had access to. On galley page 91 of the Yalta papers, it states: "All memoranda for the President on topics to be discussed at the meeting of the Big Three should be in the hands of Mr. Alger Hiss not later than Monday, Janu-

ary 15."

On other words, Hiss had access to the secret-briefing papers which were used by our side during the Conference. If he was an esplonage agent at that time, this information was made available to the Communists. At a conference table a negotiator can have no greater advantage than to know what moves his opponents are going to make.

5. The lessons of Yalta.

The decisions at Yalta paved the way for the communizing of Poland, for the Communist conquest of China, and for all of the tragic results which have flown from those events. Those who represented the United States at the top level-Roosevelt, Stettinius, Harriman, Hopkins—were not deliberately pro-Communist but they exhibited a fatal lack of understanding of Communist tactics and strategy and, consequently, they were completely taken in by Stalin.

This Conference was typical of the kind conducted with the Russians during the Roosevelt-Acheson-Truman regime. In every conference we got a piece of paper-the Communists got a piece of territory.

Their mistakes were of the head rather

than the heart. But regardless of why the mistakes were made, the Yalta Conference was catastrophic as far the United States and the free world were concerned.

That is why the records of our previous conferences with the Communists must be thoroughly examined and publicized so that we do not make the same mistakes in the future that we made in the past.

Suspicious of a Military Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, March 28, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, some think I am altogether too suspicious of the objectives and procedures of the armed services. Benjamin Franklin once said:

Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other. We may give advice, but we cannot give conduct.

Congress tries to prevent waste, inefficiency, but-read on.

It is not my contention that we are fools, but sometimes it seems we are foolish in not insisting upon reforms in Gov-

In 1947, following hearings over several years, it was my privilege, as chairman of a House committee, to assist in writing and reporting out the so-called unification bill. One of the purposes of that bill was to maintain the integrity of the Marine Corps; another was to minimize and, if possible, end waste in connection with duplicate purchasing, competitive bidding, by the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

As I stated at the time, the bill did not require the doing of anything which the Armed Services could not voluntarily do were they so inclined.

That our legislation was not effective, did not accomplish the purpose the committee and the Congress had in mind. you will learn if you read the article captioned "Ridiculous Waste in the Armed Services" in the April 1955 issue of the Reader's Digest-

Ignoring the repeated efforts of the Congress, the armed services have insisted upon following their own ways of doing business-many of them ridiculousmany of them wasteful-many of them inefficient. Congressional committees continue to hold hearings, make recommendations; have them disregarded.

From the Digest article, permit just three citations:

First. Fort Totten in New York harbor needed a carload of sugar. Almost within sight was a refinery turning out sugar for the Army, but instead of shipping the sugar across the harbor to the fort, it was shipped through Army channels, 150 miles away to an Army distributing depot, thence, back to New York—300 miles in all.

Second. The Army shipped 800,000 pounds of California canned tomatoes to the east coast, but the Navy also shipped 775,000 pounds of east-coast tomatoes to California.

Third. Just one more-and believe it or not, investigators for the Hoover Commission learned that 13 tons-13 tonsof cement were shipped by air to Bermuda.

This Reader's Digest article may give you an inkling of why, after years of experience here, I am just a little unwilling to accept at face value everything said and done by the armed services.

I cannot accept the armed services' conclusions that it is necessary in order to defend the United States of America to conscript every mentally and physically fit young American for a period of 8 years-96 months-to take orders from the armed services—when we have an unequalled Navy, the guided missiles, the A-bomb, and the hydrogen bomb.

Have we swallowed too much fear propaganda?

Is Alaska Defended?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, in the March 26 issue of the Christian Science Monitor, Louis R. Huber, special correspondent for that newspaper raises the question of whether the so-called heartline concept for the defense of Alaska and of the Nation has validity in this nuclear age. Mr. Huber's article is worthy of attention:

The age of nuclear plenty certainly has affected the defenses of Alaska.

Alaska not only has some "intentional" targets which an aggressor would want to destroy, but is on the route planes likely would fly in attacking the United States.

Said Capt. Samuel V. Cox of the Chemical Corps, United States Army, in speaking before the Fourth Alaska Science Conference in

Juneau recently:

"The enemy pilot who, for one reason or another, is unable to deliver an H-bomb in the States where it is intended, is not going to take it home with him. He may jettison it over Alaska." Captain Cox is civil defense liaison officer for Alaska.

These thoughts are sobering to Alaskans, as are thoughts of how defenses are arranged up

It was about 1949 when the Joint Chiefs of Staff visited the northland and worked out the defense pattern up here. There were two important considerations then: Congress was of no mind to spend much money. and the United States felt it had a monopoly on nuclear developments.

So the decision was not to fortify all Alaska, but to concentrate defenses in a 600-mile belt running from the Navy headquarters on Kodiak Island northward along the Alaska Railroad through Anchorage to Fairbanks.

About \$1 billion in military works have been poured into this belt of strengthwhich would be all right if the Soviets didn't have the H-bomb.

"If we hold this line, we shall hold all Alaska," was the theory-but is it practical any more? Isn't the belt of strength now just a convenient target for H-bombs. Alaskans ask these questions.

ALEUTIAN BASES ABANDONED

In the light of nuclear plenty there should be a complete revision of northern defense concepts, many Alaskans think. It will cost more-a lot more-but until it is done are defenses up north worth much?

Extreme dispersal of all facilities seems to be the only answer. Ironically, that was the concept developed during World War IIand abandoned as soon as the war ended-

In those days the Aleutian Islands in particular were well fortified and had at least two air bases from which intercontinental bombers could operate.

Today the Aleutian Islands are almost totally abandoned. Billions of dollars' worth of installations, installed from 1942 to 1945. are still being sold off as scrap. The Navy recently contracted with Japanese firms to remove some of it.

MUCH GOOD WEATHER

If widespread dispersal is called for, the Aleutian Islands are tops; furthermore, their location is attractive. They stretch well into the Eastern Hemisphere: Attu is on the same longitude as New Zealand, and within 400 miles of Asia.

Furthermore, Arctic cold will not hamper operations in the Aleutians—they are the "Florida" of Alaska. The central point of the island chain is only 250 miles north of Seattle's latitude.

Weather in the Aleutlans has been called "the worst in the world," but it isn't. Winds do blow at times, and the island configurations turn them into twisting, unpredictable "williwaws"-but there is much good weather

Northeast Airlines has been flying along the Aleutian Islands to and from the Orient for years, and its officials say the winter Weather there is better than on the Minneapolis-Chicago run.

"Should war come with Russia, it is almost certain that the Aleutian Islands would be at least as important as in World War II, and perhaps more so," says E. L. BARTLETT, Democrat, Alaska's Delegate to Congress. "Then we should be confronted with the huge task of building them up again under wartime conditions.'

MITCHELL VIEWS QUOTED

The residents of Nome and other far-flung communities of Alaska feel that way about lack of defenses in their areas and they ask about the radar network.

"It is hundreds of miles from the 'belt of Who is going to protect it?" they strength.'

Alaskans are fond of quoting the late Brig. Gen. William Mitchell, who served in the Army Signal Corps in Alaska in his youthful days.

It was General "Billy" Mitchell who raised such a rumpus in the 1920's by championing bombers over battleships. He was courtmartialed and disgraced for his unorthodox views, but posthumously he was honored for his brilliant prophecy of the importance of airpower.

Here is what he said in 1935: "Alaska is the most central place in the World for aircraft, and that is true either of Europe, Asia, or North America. I believe in the future he who holds Alaska will hold the world, and I think it is the most strategic place in the world."

Collingswood Endorses Deeper Channel for Delaware River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the municipalities of southern New Jersey are greatly interested in the deepening of the Delaware River channel. The Borough of Collingswood, one of the largest boroughs located in Camden County, N. J., has expressed its interest in a resolution adopted March 21, 1955, by the mayor and commissioners of the borough.

It reads as follows:

DEEPENING OF THE CHANNEL OF THE DELAWARE RIVER FROM TRENTON TO THE SEA

Whereas the Board of Commissioners of the Borough of Collingswood, Camden County. N. J., believe that the deepening of the channel of the Delaware River from Trenton to the sea to its authorized depth of 40 feet is vital and essential if the area of Camden County is to develop to its fullest potential; and

Whereas the Board of Commissioners of the Borough of Collingswood, N. J., strongly endorse the action of the Camden County Chamber of Commerce, who are presently waging a vigorous and intensive campaign to have the channel deepened to its authorized depth without any local participation or without exacting tolls from any maritime user of the said river; and

Whereas the Board of Commissioners of the Borough of Collingswood, N. J., is fully aware of and conscious of the fact that it has always been the responsibility of the Federal Government as one of its delegated powers to dredge navigable streams of this country at Federal expense without expecting any local participation from municipalities that may be located along the banks of navigable streams and also without any contribution from industries whose plants abut and are adjacent to the said navigable rivers; and

Whereas the development of the Delaware River to its fullest use by deepening the channel to its authorized depth will open new vistas of prosperity together with industrial and business growth throughout south Jersey which is unprecedented: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Board of Commissioners of the Borough of Collingswood, Camden County, N. J., in a regular meeting on this 21st day of March A. D. 1955, That the channel of the Delaware River from the sea to Trenton be immediately dredged to its congressional authorized depth of 40 feet and that the Congress of the United States immediately appropriate such sum or sums of money as may be necessary to effectuate and complete this project without any local participation and without financing the project by the exaction of marine tolls from the users of the said river; and further, that copies of this resolution be immediately sent to all congressional and New Jersey State legislative representatives from this area, and to the

ARTHUR E. ARMITAGE, M. F. VANISTENDAL, Jr., WALTER C. THOMAS, Board of Commissioners. Adopted March 21, 1955.

R. S. WIGFIELD. Borough Clerk.

A. Boyd Campbell, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, the great State of Mississippi has been honored by the election of one of its favorite sons to the presidency of the United States Chamber of Commerce. The new president of this great organization, Mr. A. Boyd Campbell, of Jackson, Miss., has long been active in Mississippi affairs, and has contributed greatly to the growth and expansion of Mississippi industry and agriculture.

We who know Mr. Campbell congratulate the United States chamber on its selection. We know that he is a proven leader, and that the chamber will never have cause to regret its choice of Mr. Campbell as its president for this year.

Since his election, many deserved tributes have been paid to Mr. Campbell in the press throughout the Nation. Practically every newspaper in Mississippi has taken notice of the great honor he has brought to our State, and the Mississippi Legislature has passed a concurrent resolution commemorating Mr. Campbell's election.

Mr. Speaker, it gives me particular pleasure to add my congratulations to Mr. Campbell, along with my personal appreciation for having brought such distinctive recognition to my congressional district. Therefore, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD. I include the following resolution of the Mississippi State Legislature, and editorials from several Mississippi newspapers, dealing with Mr. Campbell's election as president of the United States Chamber of Commerce:

Senate Concurrent Resolution 13

Senate concurrent resolution commemorating the election of A. Boyd Campbell, Jackson, Miss., to the most important office, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States

Whereas Mr. A. Boyd Campbell, a native of Attala County, Miss., who completed his col-legiate education at Millsaps College with honors, has made his home in Jackson, Miss., since the beginning of his business career;

Whereas Mr. Campbell has been the organizer and owner of several splendid businesses in the capital city of Jackson, Miss.; and

Whereas the city of Jackson has been fortunate to have the services and guidance of Mr. Campbell through civic, church, and economic fields of endeavor; and

Whereas Mr. Campbell has served in the city of Jackson, Miss., as president of the chamber of commerce and thence through numerous appointments in various fields of endeavor in the United States Chamber of Commerce: and

Whereas Mr. A. Boyd Campbell was recently elected to the most important position. president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Mississippi State Senate (the House of Representatives concurring therein). Through this resolution bespeak the innumerable fine qualities of our fellow Mississippian, A. Boyd Campbell, and wish for his tenure of office the fullest in accomplishment and the brightest in administration in the history of the chamber; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Mr. A. Boyd Campbell, to the United States Chamber of Commerce, to the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Jackson, Miss., and to the Senators and Representatives of the State of Mississippi in Washing-

[From the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News of March 23, 1955]

A big welcome will await Boyd Campbell, one of Jackson's best-beloved businessmen and industrial leader, when he makes his appearance at the regular meeting of the Rotary Club next Monday. Brother Rotarians are deeply appreciative of the honor paid Mr. Campbell in his election to the presidency of the United States Chamber of Commerce, highest honor within the gift of the business people of the Nation. Moreover, Boyd Campbell fully rates the honor. He has for several years shown a keen, intelligent, and constructive interest in the work of the organization and is fully acquainted with its wide ramifications and the work it is carrying on in all parts of the country. It is well that Rotarians should flood Boyd Campbell with honors, because he is a living exemplifica-tion of its motto, "Service above self." Always he has been alert to all opportunities to is so ardently devoted.

[From the Jackson (Miss.) Daily Clarion-Ledger of March 23, 1955]

With his sane observations on segregation and other issues, our Jacksonian who has become president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, A. Boyd Campbell, has already started his valuable and distinctive service in his new office. He is already at work on the job to which he has been so recently elected.

The national organization did well by itself and the leadership which it represents in choosing our own Mr. Campbell as its new president. This vital national organization, representing over 1,600,000 business leaders, who are chamber of commerce members, now has a president who will not only uphold but will also enhance the high stand-

ards of his great office.

The Nation admires his modesty in describing himself as "unquestionably the smallest man in commercial stature ever to hold this office." We also like his candid admission that he has no pat formula for solving the country's economic and social

Friends of free enterprise are heartened at Mr. Campbell's firm declaration as an adherent and supporter of the time-tested way of life which has made this the world's greatest power. This declaration, made in his simple statement that "I believe in free enterprise," will go far to reassure all who have viewed with distress an inexplicable tendency of some to drift toward the welfare state and centralized bureaucracy.

Having had valuable experience as an educator and school administrator, Mr. Campbell believes that education and business are inseparable partners. He considers education as a State and local responsibility. He does not believe there can be Federal aid to education without Federal control. His views in this respect coincide with those of many fellow Mississippians who are proud of this latest honor accorded to one of foremost leaders.

A firm advocate of education, Mr. Campbell believes that raising educational levels of our people also raises economic standards of white and colored alike. He says: "We cannot compete with enemies who seek to destroy our idealogies on a numerical basis. We must do it by raising our educational levels."

Such sound judgment and keen insight in local, State, and National problems will stand Mr. Campbell in good stead during his tenure of service as president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. His wisdom and vast knowledge has been of inestimable value in the past to his city and State. It will prove of even greater value when applied on a national level, for the benefit of the organization and economic system which he so ably represents.

We congratulate our own Boyd Campbell on his election to this high office. We also congratulate the United States Chamber of Commerce on their most fortunate selection of leadership. They will soon learn what folks in Jackson and Mississippi have known for years—that he is a sterling citizen and outstanding executive who measures up to every standard of responsibility. We could use more men like him locally and nationally.

[From the Jackson (Miss.) State-Times of March 19, 1955]

Selection of A. Boyd Campbell as president of the United States Chamber of Commerce comes as no surprise to those who know this business, civic and education leader. His activities have been so wide in scope, his influence so certain in the right direction and his enthusiasm for good causes so bound-

unselfishly serve the community to which he less that such honors almost inevitably come his way.

Mr. Campbell is not a native of Jackson, as most of us are likely to believe. However, he has been so long and so intimately associated with the growth and development of the city that Jackson has a prior claim on him. He has headed one of Jackson's major business establishments for more than 30 years; he is a director of several of its financial and commercial institutions; he has served his community in ways too numerous to mention, through its civic organizations, its churches and its schools.

Education has always been one of his primary interests, and as head of a United States Chamber committee, he did yeoman work in stimulating national interest in the public

schools and their needs.

Jackson and Mississippi are proud of him and his high attainment . It is a deserved tribute to him personally and reflects honor upon his State and community.

[From the Vicksburg (Miss.) Post-Herald of March 20, 1955]

It was indeed pleasing to receive the news of the election of A. Boyd Campbell, of Jackson, to the office of president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. A distinguished Mississippian and a personal friend of many years, Boyd Campbell now adds lustre to his own outstanding career of public service and he brings added glory to Mississippi, in heading the national chamber.

There is very little that can be added to any story of Boyd Campbell. In every avenue of public service, he has been in the fore-In his own community, in the State of Mississippi, he has distinguished himself through his unselfish service and his contructive work. He will bring to his new office a wealth of experience in all types of civic and community work, and he will have an eminently successful administration.

We extend hearty congratulations to Boyd Campbell on the signal honor which has come to him.

Mr. Speaker, Mississippi is proud of A. Boyd Campbell, but Mr. Campbell is also proud of Mississippi. He has exercised leadership in bringing progress to Mississippi, and his leadership of the United States Chamber of Commerce will give the Nation the benefit of his abilities. Mississippi offers its congratulations to the United States Chamber of Commerce. A better selection could not have been made. We know because we know Boyd Campbell.

Delaware River Improvement by Deepening Channel Should Be a Federal Project

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, already much has been said to justify the deepening of the Delaware River Channel between Philadelphia, Pa., and Trenton, N. J., but at no time has anything more logical or forceful been stated than that which is set forth in the editorial appearing in the Courier-Post newspaper, published in Camden, N. J.,

entitled "Deeper Channel Facts; Budget Bureau Arrogance." It reads as follows:

DEEPER CHANNEL FACTS; BUDGET BUREAU ARROGANCE

A resolution has been introduced in the Pennsylvania House calling upon the Federal Government to pay the full cost of deepening the upper Delaware River channel to 40 feet.

It will doubtless be approved when called up for a vote, thus following the lead of the New Jersey Assembly in urging Congress to carry out the program for the upper Delaware which it authorized last year and pay no heed to the Budget Bureau's demand that "local interests" contribute \$18 million toward the \$91 million project, a demand for which no precedent exists in the history of major American port-waterway development.

The Pennsylvania resolution points out that "the mighty Delaware River Valley continues to serve as the keystone of the eastern seaboard and is vital to the defense of the United States and its democratic institutions," and hence the 40-foot channel should be financed by the United States, not by any private interests.

This legislative declaration is only one of many being made throughout the whole Delaware Valley at this time by governmental, business, and civic organizations in support of the channel being financed at full Government expense. Two strong resolutions just adopted supporting that principle, one by the Pennsauken Township Committee and one by the Manufacturers' Association of Delaware County, Pa., are typical.

A statement by a well-known Camden industrial realtor on Monday should be suffcient to demolish, if it has not already been demolished, the myth that the deeper channel would benefit only U. S. Steel Corp., and that U. S. Steeel should therefore be compelled to pay part of its cost.

Since Congress authorized the deeper channel last year, said George B. Robeson, his office had received many queries from industries and business firms regarding sites on or adjacent to the waterfront from

Camden north.

Title to about 850 acres of waterfront north of Burlington has been "assembled by our firm in one ownership," Robeson said, to make it available for a new plant when the channel permits movements of large, deep-draft cargo ships."

An industry interested in a large riverfront plant site is waiting only for Congress to make initial appropriation for the deeper channel to move in, Robeson continued. Most of 2,500 undeveloped acres along the New Jersey riverfront between Camden and Burlington will certainly be occupied by in-dustries that will move in if the channel is deepened, he said, adding his own personal conviction that the deepening will result in prosperity, industrial expansion, more jobs. and added ratables that should materially reduce local tax rates."

Those conversant with the facts know that Robeson's predictions can be depended on to materialize when the channel is deepened. and the widespread benefits that the project will bring surely dispel the arguments of the Budget Bureau, which is responsible for the contention that U. S. Steel should pay part of its cost because it would be the only beneciary.

The Courier-Post hopes that Congress will take heed of the Robeson statement, not to mention the New Jersey and Pennsylvania legislative resolutions, and not allow itself to be bulldozed by the Budget Bureau on this issue.

The "local contribution" issue thoroughly debated and fought out last year in Congress. Congress specifically rejected the idea when it authorized the deeper chanhel, to be paid for wholly by the Federal Gov-

As Philadelphia Councilman Victor E. Moore, has just pointed out, the Budget Bureau has not only "distorted and misrepre-Sented" the facts about the channel project.

The Budget officials "seem to think they should have the power to veto an act of Congress. The Senate Public Works Committee heard all the arguments for a local contribution and rejected them. Both Houses of Congress agreed this was a job for which full responsibility rested on the Federal Govern-

Yet the Budget Bureau, in the channel matter, is setting itself up as a supergovernment, superior to Congress, determined to impose its own will—that of a nonelective bureaucracy-upon the will of the elected representatives of the American people.

This is not the first time the Budget Bureau has attempted—and sometimes succeeded-to exercise such arbitrary, domineering tactics with complete contempt for Congress and the recorded will of Congress.

The Budget Bureau's ideas are not the supreme law of the land, though it seems to think so and is trying to make them so.

The Budget Bureau has grown too big for its breeches and should be slapped down,

Congress should show whether it or the Bureau is the boss, and there can be no better issue on which to do so than the deeper channel.

The Yalta Conference-Right or Wrong

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuseday, March 22, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Public release of some papers and documents of the Yalta Conference has caused thinking people to reflect on the events of just a few short years ago. Ten years time is but a fleeting moment in the long history of mankind, but the events which the Yalta Conference caused or gave license to, represent the destruction of what man took centuries of great sacrifice to build. I speak of a civilization based upon morality and legal tenets predicated upon that morality. I speak of a civilization in which all nations, large and small, were regarded as having fundamental and natural rights.

All too frequently we hear the charge made that hindsight is cheap and a practice for those who are unwilling to actively participate in the shaping of future events. But studious hindsight can be of real benefit for those who honestly seek the right and just course for our national conduct. An excellent case in point is made by the Sunday Visitor in its editorial of March 27, 1955. In that editorial we can find some of the reasons which compel people who should know better to rise in fury against any action to open up the records of the past.

Among other things this editorial Points out that in February 1945 Walter Lippmann, columnist on international affairs, was wildly enthusiastic if not fanatically blinded by the results of the Yalta Conference. He sought to equate the Vatican, the legitimate Polish Government in exile, and Germany, because all three failed to cheer wildly for the results of the Yalta Conference. Lippmann also assured his unsuspecting readers that Russia's aims in Europe were good aims by our standards.

The editorial from the Sunday Visitor follows:

RIGHT OR WRONG

It has always been our contention that the daily press is so influenced by advertisers, by politics, by current fads in the world of ideas, that it gives either a distorted or only a partial picture of the truth.

During the thirties and the forties, the days of the popular front with the commies, the secular press (with certain honorable exceptions) trailed right along, boosting the party line, following the fashion of the hour. That is why so many publications rise in fury against anyone who would turn over past records. That is why investigation is denounced—generally by those with a bad conscience. Any rattling of skeletons could only embarrass them.

Generally speaking, we Catholics have no cause to blush. Guided by fixed principles of right and wrong, we saw communism as infamous back in 1846 as well as in 1918, 1933, 1943, and right now in 1955. It made no difference to us that diplomatic recognition was tendered the U.S.S.R., that Communists became influential in our political and cultural life, that Hitler forced them into military alliance with us, that anti-Communist opinion was officially frowned on as divisive.

We weren't fooled. Communism was still wicked.

We are grateful then to The Josephinum Review for providing a sort of snapshot of editorial opinon back in 1945. Someone on the Review went to the trouble of looking up the files of Time and Life. The editors are discussing the Yalta Agreement. We Catholics have always denounced it as calamitous. In that, it is said that we are benefitting by hindsight. But a comparison of Our Sunday Visitor (and it is typical of the Catholic press 10 years ago) with the rest will refute that opinion:

Here is Time, February 19, 1945, page 15: "By any standards, the Crimean Conference was a great achievement (see International). All doubts about the Big Three's ability to cooperate, in peace as well as war, seemed now to have been swept away. On the basis of the Big Three's communique, no citizen of the United States, the U. S. S. R., or Great Britain could complain that his country had been sold down the river.

"For Americans, there was a special recognition of certain precepts which Americans have always held dear, and which would reassure many a citizen that World War II was not being fought in vain.

"For one, the principle of 'free and unfettered elections' by universal suffrage and secret ballot was unequivocally stated. This was imbedded in the Crimean Charter specifically as to Poland, and generally for all liberated countries."

And on page 22, same issue, same magazine:

"If words meant anything, the Big Three did more for their nations and their world at Yalta than they did at Teheran. After their Persian meeting, they proclaimed agreement only in the broadest generalities. After their Crimean meeting, they not only proclaimed agreement on every point taken up in their announcement, but on the most difficult points broke down the agreement into hard specifics."

Life, in its editorial of February 26, 1945, page 24, wrote:

"Walter Lippmann said, "There has been no more impressive international conference in our time.' The chief exceptions to the general joy were the Vatican, the London Poles, and, of course, the Germans, who called it 'an unlimited triumph for Stalin.' * * * As conferences go, this one was a success. * * *

"For the present Russia's aims in Europe are good aims by our standards-the demilitarization of Germany, self-determination and democracy for the rest of Europe's peoples, we need not be too afraid of differing over the meaning of those words, for Americans will be there to measure any gaps be-tween the words and the practice * * *"

The New York Times, February 12, 1945: This Conference marks a milestone on the

road to victory and peace." Here is Our Sunday Visitor's comment,

February 25, 1945, page 2:

"It looks as though Mr. Roosevelt has once more been outsmarted by the unscrupulous statesmen of Europe. Trampling on the issue which opened the war-Polish independence-and ignoring the sympathies and aspirations of the millions of Polish-Americans who helped elect him last November, he has consented to the donation to Russia of one-third of Polish territory, including the city of Lwow, which, as second largest city, is the Chicago of Poland.

'This division of Poland on which Russia has been insisting is that worked out in 1939 between Molotov and Hitler's Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop. For Poland it means not only the loss of Lwow, but also the sacrifice of her rich Galician oilfields and the mass transfer of 9 million of her popu-

"This was the saddest day of the war. Our hearts are heavy. We have committed ourselves to a program which goes against principle and integrity.

"The whole war started, remember, because Poland refused to hand over territory to Hitler. England and France jumped to Poland's defense. Russia didn't. She was helping Hitler from behind. And after Hitler had conquered Poland he and Stalin split it between them. Mr. Roosevelt has just ratified this grab, except that the part formerly claimed by Hitler reverts to Poland.

"Russia has outplayed us. That's clear. Our bond money has helped to provide her with military equipment and funds for propagandizing in non-Communist areas. The Russian armies lay outside Warsaw and let the Nazis destroy the city.

"Don't feel reassured, either, about the promise of a free election in Poland. With Molotov holding a veto over the setup, all returns are bound to be favorable-to Russia."

This was written over 10 years ago. Hindsight?

Life magazine, in its issue of March 28. 1955, carried the following editorial entitled "The Source of Yalta's Tragedy":

THE SOURCE OF YALTA'S TRAGEDY

The full record of Yalta, which the State Department published last week contains many new sidelights but no real surprises for anyone who has read good histories of World War II, such as Churchill's (Life, November 9 and November 16, 1953) or Chester Wilmot's (Life, March 10, 1952). It does furnish the Republicans with more ammunition against the memory of Franklin Roosevelt. blushes, for example, to learn how kittenish were his attempts to make friends with Stalin by means of cheap digs at the British behind Churchill's back. In a way the Yalta record is one long argument for greater Anglo-American unity, making Roosevelt's alternative "Grand Design" of Big Three unity seem as unrealistic then as now.

But that is not the whole story. Yalta is still one of history's major tragedies, and its full meaning calls for the full contemporary setting of February 1945: The Red army sweeping into Prussia, the Western allies just recovering from the setback of the Bulge. General Marshall estimating a million American casualties to conquer Japan without Russia, etc., etc. There was every excuse for Roosevelt and Churchill to make concessions to Stalin. The question is why they made the concessions they did, and how the wrongness of those concessions can be recognized in future situations of similar tempta-

tion and pressure. The chief victims of Yalta were free Poland and free China, which went into Communist captivity as a direct or indirect result. Neither country was represented at Yalta. The atmosphere of Big Three arrogance in which their fate was decided is illustrated by a statement of Roosevelt's: "He did not attach any importance to the continuity or legality of any Polish Government, since he thought in some years there had been in reality no Polish government." Yet his own administration had all along backed the Polish Government in exile and had many signed agreements with it, including the Atlantic Charter. The same heady note was more bluntly struck by Stalin, who declared it "ridiculous to believe that Albania would have an equal voice with the three great powers who had won the war * * * ". could not live in such an atmosphere was not only the voice of small nations, but the voice of any general principles of law and conduct that are the only alternative, in international as in domestic affairs, to the rule of fear and force.

"In increasing disregard of the right of weaker nations"—that was the source of Yalta's tragedy, wrote Historian G. F. Hudson in Commentary nearly a year ago. "During the last 2 years of his life Roosevelt fell more and more under the spell of his vision of a world governed arbitrarily for its good by a conclave of three men. . . . But it was necessarily Russia, and not the Western Powers, that gained by Big Three dictatorship, for it implied principles of an authoritarian, and not of a democratic order. The democracies can never play the totalitarian game unless they themselves become totalitarian; their interest as democracies lies in a world of independent and freely associated nations large and small."

It will take years of a more principled foreign policy before the West can wholly live down Yalta and reestablish its own coherent system, in which order is a function of consent and power is "not the parent but the servant of the right to command." The lesson of Yalta for the powerful is to resist the temptation to appease communism with other people's freedom, be they Poles, Chinese, or the Albanians for whom Stalin expressed such scorn. Yalta's victims remain on the agenda of liberation, That is what we confront when we turn from recriminations over Yalta to the long task of explating it.

Mr. Speaker, that editorial is both blunt and inspiring. It warns that "it will take years of a more principled foreign policy before the West can wholly live down Yalta and reestablish its own coherent system." It rightfully concludes that the period of recrimination must end by rectifying the terrible mistakes of Yalta and that the enslaved nations make up our agenda for liberation. Life is to be congratulated for this hard hitting and stimulating editorial.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I have inserted these editorials, and commend them to the reading of all Members of Congress.

Ready for What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, before this Congress approves H. R. 4393, which would authorize the building of a fifth supercarrier for the United States Navy, my colleagues should read a recent comment from an authoritative source in Great Britain on the new British supercarrier, the Ark Royal. I would like to point out in passing that the new British supercarrier perpetuates the name of one of the proudest vessels of the age that gave Great Britain control of the seas. It was a stroke of propaganda genius to propose that the new United States supercarrier carry the name of the legislative body that is asked to authorize and appropriate funds for it.

Mr. Speaker, I have in my hands an editorial from the February 27, 1955, issue of the London Sunday Express, which is owned and published by the distinguished and influential Lord Beaverbrook. It is called, "Waste, Waste, Waste, Waste" and the waste it refers to is the carrier. The London Express states without qualification that the 25 million pounds-almost \$75 million-that has been spent on the Ark Royal, which was 12 years abuilding, is a "prodigious and totally unjustified waste of money." This carrier would be useless in any of the narrow seas, including the Mediterranean, in which British interests chiefly lie; an atom bomb dropped a mile away would wreck it beyond control, and a near miss would melt it away.

Great Britain has long been a Navy power, dependent upon the control of the seals not only for security but for the supplies necessary to her economy and to the welfare of her people. But a realistic appraisal of the lessons of World War II has convinced the British that airpower is decisive in modern war, and their great military leader. Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery, of Alamein, has spoken for the British people in emphatically and repeatedly declaring that.

The British have not evolved a program of supercarrier construction, however, and it is doubtful if the British would have started construction of the new Ark Royal today. It was begun 12 years ago, before the development of nuclear weapons and planes that fly supersonic speeds. Britain today depends realistically for her security on longrange, land-based bombers carrying nuclear weapons at speeds of 600 miles an hour, rather than on carriers all but static at 40 miles an hour in the open

The London Express sums it up bluntly:

Aircraft carriers are finished. In mid-20th century war strategy there is no place for them. They are futile. They are as obsolete as the London trams. They are no good at

These are startling words to hear at a time when the United States is just getting well started on its program of supercarriers. We must be ready, we are told. for sudden, devastating attack. We must be ready to launch an annihilating counterattack. But the readiness of the supercarrier can disappear as quickly as the Navy's fleet was knocked out at Pearl Harbor. We must be ready, yes, but ready for what intelligence tells us to expect, and with something adequate to answer the attack.

If the United States is directly attacked, it will be by intercontinental land-based heavy bombers, of which we know the Russians have an advanced model. If we are to use massive retaliation, it can only be with land-based bombers. If carrier-based aircraft are involved in another war their use will be peripheral. The danger is that under the American program we are building enormously expensive weapons of probable secondary importance while diverting funds from the construction of those weapons on which our security primarily depends.

Mr. Speaker, I ask leave of my colleagues to extend my remarks and insert in the Rscorp the following editorial from the London Sunday Express, as follows:

WASTE WASTE WASTE

The new aircraft-carrier Ark Royal joins the fleet. She slides massively out to sea on her first shakedown cruise.

For nearly 12 years men have tolled to build her. Now she is ready at last.

But here is the question.

Ready for what?

The Sunday Express believes in the Royal Navy. It is a service with a splendid tradi-tion. It is a magnificent fighting instru-ment. It is superbly manned.

But the Sunday Express has no belief whatever in the aircraft carrier. It considers that the £25 million spent on the ATE Royal has been a prodigious and totally unjustified waste of money.

What are the arguments for this carrier? Certainly her speed cannot be one of them-At full stretch she will go at something over 30 knots. That is only half as fast as the family saloon car.

But, of course, her champions say she will be able to hide in the oceans.

Which oceans?

She will not be able to sail the North Ses or the White Sea, the Baltic or the channel. Biscay, or the Mediterranean. Not a chance of concealing herself in any of those confined spaces. Enemy radar will seek and swiftly find her. And then the bombers, traveling at 20 times her speed, will come like lightning in pursuit.

Next, the Ark Royal's apologists say: "But look how marvelously equipped she is for emergencies. If necessary, her engines could

be operated by remote control."

What sort of fatuous nonsense is that? An atom bomb dropped a mile away would wreck the Ark Royal beyond control of any kind. And a near miss would melt her.

Then there is the argument that her own aircraft would be capable of defending her. But under what conditions? They could not do the job at night. They could not even do
it in bad weather against radar-directed bombers carrying nuclear weapons.

So that argument falls too.

And always the Ark Royal would be vulnerable to submarines unless a large pro-tective surface force were sent out to her around. How fantastic to spend on much effort and waste such resources on defending her when her function is intended to be offensive.

Aircraft carriers are finished. In mid-20th century war strategy there is no place for them. They are futile. They are as obsolete as the London trams. They are no good at all.

What offensive weapon should Britain concentrate on instead?

There is no doubt about the proper answer.

The land-based bomber.

The striking power of the lumbering carrier is utterly negligible by comparison.

Soon the land-based bomber will be able

to fly nonstop round the world.

That is where more money should be going. That is the weapon to which our military planners, scientists, and manufacturers should be devoting their skill and drive.

The mass production of long-range bombers must henceforward lie at the heart of

our whole strategy.

For the future of Britain's defense depends not on a 35-miles-an-hour service but on these devastating, nuclear-equipped aircraft, sweeping across the earth faster than sound, which alone would give us security from attack.

The Soul and The System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I have the privilege of being a member of the Riverside Christian Church of Jacksonville, Fla. The very able pastor of that church is Dr. Richard James. Recently I was deeply impressed by one of his sermons, and I asked him to send it to me. I regret that the space limitations of the Congressional Record will not allow me to include the entire sermon, but I hope that the following excerpts from it will present a challenge to all of us here in Congress in thinking of our responsibilities in these important years:

A man stood on the street corner and begged a pittance with which to buy a meal. He had been robbed. We will not stop to examine who robbed him; sufficient to say that he had been deserted for half dead. It could have been the neglect of an educational system that failed to make this man fit to match the world in which he lived. A System which used his energies to the fullest extent then cast him off with no feeling of responsibility for him when his services Were no longer needed, could have robbed him. It may be that he was the victim of a shobbish society which engendered a feeling of defeatism in his thinking, thus stripping him of his self-respect. Perhaps he was a warrior returned from the battlefields only to find his friends and society indifferent to his problems. We are not concerned here with this man's individual robbers; those who left him on this street begging for bread. I say he could have been the victim of many forces which operate constantly in our midst.

We are, however, concerned today with what happened to this man on the street corner. For on this particular day a minister drove by in his car on the way to perform a wedding in the nearby fashionable church. As he turned the corner, he caught sight of the man, but he had only a few

minutes in which to make his engagement where the couple and friends anxiously awaited the performance of his services. After all, matrimony was an important thing in people's lives, and those who hold the sanctity of this ceremony must not be given reasons to doubt either the sacredness of the obligations nor the ability of the ministry. So he stepped on the gas to make his appointment with a grand religious practice.

A few minutes later, a prominent lawyer passed down the street on his way to court. As he stepped on the sidewalk, a glance at his watch told him that he had only 5 minutes to make the courtroom and he must hurry. He pulled his hat down against the cold wind and tucked his briefcase tightly under his arm and proceeded. At this point he was interrupted by the beggar on the corner. "Mister, can you—" He got no further before the lawyer replied, "Sorry, chum, in a hurry. See you later, maybe." On dashed the lawyer to likewise attend the machinery of a noble legal system.

Now in the light of this man's experience, let us read again Jesus' parable as recorded by Luke:

"A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho; and he fell among robbers, who both stripped him and beat him, and departed leaving him half dead. And by chance a certain priest was going down that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And in like manner a Levite also, when he came to the place, and saw him, passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he was moved with compassion, and he came to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring on them oil and wine; and set him

on his own beast, and brought him to an

inn and took care of him." (Luke 10: 30-37.)

There was in the Museo delle Terme, in Rome, the Roman copy of the Discus Thrower. As the statuary is preserved there is no head nor discus. The fingers of the left hand are missing. The left leg has been broken off at the ankle, and the entire left arm is gone. How is it possible to say that this is a statue of a discus thrower? The answer is simple. We understand the postures of the human form and have seen discus throwers in action. We understand the system and hence know the individual within such a system. Individuals create systems for their own betterment and then the same persons operate within the boundaries of such organizations. The soul and the system must be balanced.

There are three ways of meeting a storm in a sailboat: by taking down the sails and putting out a sea anchor; by running free before the storm or by arranging sails so that the boat is hove to. In the latter operation, the boat faces the storm and rides it out with least danger and greatest maneuverability. Amid the conflict between souls and systems, there have been those who have taken down the sails and drifted along with the storm. Whichever way the winds of popular opinion dictated, they have gone reluctantly along. Many of them have been helplessly dashed against the rocks of an unfriendly coastline. Others, delighting in the storm, have set their sails to run before the wind, too often to find that disaster followed in its wake. Yet, others, knowing the power of the wind and the frailty of their craft, have dared to face the storm. Accordingly, they have set their sails in the position to ride the storm through to the They have met the waves of opinion end. which clamored for the system head on. The wind and waves have beat them back for the while, but the storm's passing found them captains of their craft and able once more to plot their individual courses.

In our time, part of the world is arrayed on the side of a system which would control

every detail of men's lives. The other part is fighting for the freedom of the individual. With our side victorious by its powerful military system, we must again be reminded that the system was created for the good of our citizens. Love which brings unity between liberty and law has the answer to our problem of balance. The love of men would have stopped the preacher on the corner that day to minister to the soul of the needy man. Then there would have been a union of the soul of a man to a religious system. The same love would have caused the lawyer to see an individual within the framework of the laws. He would then have understood how the laws were instruments for the betterment of men. "Love worketh no ill, therefore love is the fulfillment of the law." The principle of love keeps the balance between souls and systems.

The Soul and the System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, recently
Mr. Joseph William Hanley, a Doorkeeper of the Senate of the United States,
presented an article which was carried in
the Handclasp, the official organ of the

presented an article which was carried in the Handclasp, the official organ of the Vaughn class of Calvary Baptist Church here in Washington, on the subject The Influence of One Life. This is a most interesting and impressive article by Mr. Hanley. In these days when we are striving for solutions and trying to find the answer for the future, I believe this most helpful and worthy of consideration. Certainly, in my opinion, we need to think it over. In order that it might be available for the Members, under unanimous consent, I ask that it be included in the Appendix of the Recorn:

THE INFLUENCE OF ONE LIFE

Millions have perished in war and terror. We survive. Millions are homeless. We are sheltered. This night in all the world, for every man well nourished, three are hungry. We are fed.

The world's abundance should have blessed mankind with homes, health, and competence. Instead, it has been used to destroy all these—to breed pestilence, misery, and poverty.

The finger of the bitter past points to a bloody page * * * "and we shall meanly lose or nobly save the last best hope of earth."

Each life is tested by its answer to the question first asked in the world's beginning: "Am I my brother's keeper?"

One life was lived in answer. By all the formal measurements of greatness it should have failed. "Twas such a little span of years in such a far-off lonely little land.

He was born in a village stable. No birth could be lowlier, hence none need despair because of lowly birth. Possessed of profound wisdom, He had but meager education. None, therefore, need despair for lack of schooling. No wife, no child. Ha showed each lonely heart its deepest need.

For 30 years, near the village of His birth, He grew and learned His simple trade, shaping the native wood to serve the wants of home and craft.

Three years He wandered, teaching, shaping the native hearts to service of truth and love. He was never more than a few hundred miles from His birthplace. He held no earthly rank or office, wrote no book, no song; painted no picture, builded no mon-

His native land was ruled by conquerors and foreign legions. While still in the flush of youth, His own people turned against this Man who strangely taught that evil can only be overcome by good.

He was denied by His close friend, deserted

by most, betrayed for 30 pieces of silver by

one He had befriended.

One dark hour He knelt in the garden, His hour of decision. He gave Himself over to His enemies, was tried and condemned in mockery, spat upon and lashed, nailed to a cross between two thieves.

He died asking forgiveness for His persecutors while His executioners gambled for His only earthly possession-His robe. He

was laid in a borrowed tomb.

Nearly 2000 years have passed and none has reigned or wrought, or served, or dreamed who has so touched and moulded human He is the ideal—the example—who has inspired the noblest and the humblest lives—the great unalterable, wholesome, growing influence in a world of blood and tears.

He who was friendless would be friend of all. Homeless He dwells in countless homes. Books on His life fill libraries. His Gospels cover the earth. Song and music in His praise fill the heavens. Pictures, spires, and praise fill the heavens. Pictures, spires, and monuments proclaim His influence. Scholars, illiterates, rich men, beggars, rulers, and slaves . . all are measured by His life.

The names of Pharaohs, Caesars, emperors, and kings of all ages that have come and gone are but ghosts upon a printed page. All their combined legions and military might are dust upon the land; their proud sea-borne armadas rust upon an ocean floor.

But this one solitary life surpasses all in power. Its influence is the one remaining and sustaining hope of future years.

JOSEPH WILLIAM HANLEY.

Governor Meyner, of New Jersey, Submits Recommendations for State Expenditures for Mental Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, it is extremely gratifying to realize that there is a growing interest in the problems of mental health. In the past the interest has been too often displayed in merely providing custodial care. However, over a period of years there has been a realization that the problem requires consideration from the standpoint of cure as well as care. This has been evidenced by a Federal research program created by legislation resulting from hearings conducted in the House and Senate committees having jurisdiction in the matter. The results attained in such research programs and Federal participation with State agencies has been such as to encourage even more extensive programs.

One of the most encouraging signs of an increasing interest upon the part of individual States was the strong and sincere message addressed to the New Jersey State Legislature by Hon. Robert B. Meyner, Governor of New Jersey, in which the Governor set forth in plain and forceful language the obligation that exists to care for the mentally ill and to find ways and means by research and otherwise to improve their condition.

Because of the significance of this worthwhile message of Governor Meyner, the pertinent information it contains and the valuable recommendations the Governor has made, I include the message as part of my remarks. It reads as follows:

SECOND SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET MESSAGE OF ROBERT B. MEYNER, GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY, TRANSMITTING TO THE 179TH SES-SION OF THE LEGISLATURE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CAPITAL AND OTHER STATE EXPENDITURES FOR MENTAL HEALTH FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1956, TRENTON, N. J., MARCH 21, 1955

To the Members of the Senate and General Assembly:

In my supplementary budget message of March 14, I promised to present to you today my reasons for recommending the sum of \$3,500,000 to intensify our attack on the problem of mental illness. Of this sum \$2 million would be set aside for a fresh attack on mental disease along lines which I shall describe; the remaining \$1,500,000 would be used for the conversion of Bordentown Manual Training School into a research and training center for the mentally retarded.

SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

As I pointed out to you a week ago, mental disease has been termed by a task force of the Hoover Commission as the greatest single problem in the Nation's health picture. More persons suffer from some form of mental illness than from any other malady. More than half of the Nation's 1,500,-000 hospital beds are for mental patients, and a commission appointed by ex-President Truman estimated in 1952 that there was need for 330,000 more beds for this type of patient.

The pressures of modern life are causing 250,000 new admissions to mental hospitals in the United States each year. A total of 2,500,000 people were treated in hospitals, clinics, and in private psychiatric offices last year. At least 10 million people, or more than 6 percent of our entire population, are suffering from some sort of mental disorder. In 1934, the chance of being hospitalized for a severe mental illness was computed as 1 in 20; today, it is nearly 1 in 10.

FIGURES FOR NEW JERSEY

New Jersey, of course, follows the national trend. In 1945, the resident population at Greystone, Trenton, and Marlboro Hospitals was 11,315; by 1955, this figure had grown to 15,589-an increase of more than 37 percent. To use another set of figures, from 1930 to 1950, the number of New Jersey patients in State and county mental hospitals increased from 11,000 to 19,000-a rise of almost 75 percent in 20 years. At the same time, the general population of the State increased only 20 percent.

PRANKENSTEIN MONSTER

A costly new mental hospital has just been opened at Ancora and in a matter of months it will be filled to capacity. At the current rate of increase of mental illness-requiring 500 new beds a year-New Jersey will soon need a fifth mental hospital, and then a sixth and then a seventh, ad infinitum. In 1949 and in 1952 the people of New Jersey approved bond issues of \$50 million for the department of institutions and agencies. Must we go before the voters in the next few years with the proposal of another large sum merely to house the wards of the State, or

should we attack the Frankenstein monster before it devours us?

CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH

It is with this alarming set of facts in mind that I approach you with some suggestions for a constructive approach to mental illness so that many people now under lock and key may be restored to their homes and their families and their gainful occupations; and so that many people now threatened with mental difficulties may be given early treat-ment to forestall months and years of confinement. In the past year, I have given much study to this problem, and I have had the advice of some of the Nation's leading authorities. A year ago last February, I attended a governors' conference on the subject which produced valuable conclusions, some of which are adopted in this message.

FLOOD TIDE

I wish I could tell you that out of all this has come a sovereign solution; unfortunately, this problem is beset with so many difficulties, and so many unanswered questions, so many unexplored places of the human mind as to baffle professionals and laymen alike. But I am convinced that fuller use of modern scientific methods will produce excellent results, and that such methods will help to stem the flood tide of mental illness which is now upon us. Let it be emphasized that many of our mental patients are merely in custody, meaning that they are fed, clothed, and housed behind locked doors. They are not being treated at all. Indeed. for lack of personnel, even certain primary decencies of custody are being neglected. this point, I will address myself later.

A STEPCHILD

At the top of my list of requirements. I would place research. It is a lamentable fact that, in this age, when the frontiers of human knowledge are being extended in so many fields, the problem of mental illness has been treated like a stepchild. In 1951, over the Nation, only \$4.75 per mental patient was spent for research, as against \$44.90 per polio patient and \$25.60 per cancer patient. I daresay the disparity is far greater in 1955. Without disparaging the huge sums being raised for polio, cancer, heart disease, muscular dystrophy and other ailments. I am certain the great and growing preva-lence of mental illness demands far more study than it is getting.

PROMISING LEADS

Let me cite some examples. At a congressional hearing last year, Dr. George S. Stevenson, medical director of the National Association of Mental Health, testified it has been shown that in schizophrenia the adrenal glands do not function properly. "This is a lead of such tremendous human significance," said Dr. Stevenson, "that instead of a few laboratories in which bio-chemical research is being pursued, it would pay us to put 100 researchers in one place, sweeping through this problem and ferreting out every promising path of progress." Experience patients indicates that much of with senile their difficulty may arise out of social neglect. that there may be nutritional interference with brain functions, or that degeneration of arterics can be modified. "Where else in medicine," asked Dr. Stevenson, "would we find such promising leads passed by or given so little attention?'

NEW APPROACHES

In the field of psychiatry, at such places as the Menninger clinic in Kansas, new ideas are constantly being produced as to dealing with distortions of the human intellect-The uses of electric and insulin shock treatments lend themselves to further study Such therapy has been notably successful with involutional melancholia, once considered incurable. Today 90 percent of such patients receiving the successful to the successfu patients receiving shock therapy return to their homes within a relatively short timePsychosurgery has a place—if only a limited one—in the whole picture.

WONDER DRUGS

We have recently been learning of new so-called wonder drugs that are being used experimentally on mental patients, with a reported degree of success. I refer to such drugs as chlorpromazine and reserpine. A Cincinnati psychiatrist, Dr. Douglas Goldman, told his professional brethren a year ago that a revolution is at hand with the use of such drugs. With all prudent reservations as to premature announcements, New Jersey should be kept fully abreast of new discoveries. Pharmaceutical companies which produce the new drugs are already cooperating in their application.

RAYS OF HOPE

In these and other respects, there are new rays of hope for the treatment of mental disease—more hope than has existed for centuries. It was with that in mind that the department of institutions and agencies requested for research the sum of \$262,000 for the coming fiscal year, as against authorization of \$50,000 for the current fiscal year. Part of this money would be used to keep New Jersey informed of the work being done in other States, in the universities, in the laboratories, psychiatric clinics, and hospitals

It is my belief that the new commissioner of institutions and agencies—and a strength-ened staff of the division of mental health—will want to go deeply into the research aspect of mental health. I therefore recommend that funds for research be authorized to allow flexibility and professional discretion. Obviously, this is one of the optimistic areas in our fight against what otherwise may appear as an endless emphasis on more and more hospitals.

PROPER ATMOSPHERE

Now I come to a second suggestion, which I would like to preface by these general observations. On the whole, where there is a possibility for recovery by mental patients, much depends on whether the institution—in addition to providing full medical services—can create an atmosphere conducive to recovery and can provide ample opportunities for patient participation in wholesome social activities. Such a progress means occupational therapy, educational and recreational programs, personal attentions such as beauty shop treatments, and controlled contacts with the outer world.

A DETAILED SURVEY

I. therefore, recommend additional nurses, attendants, and psychiatric technicians. This recommendation is the outgrowth of a study begun last August by the Civil Service Department as to the adequacy of ward care of patients. The survey covered currently authorized positions at Greystone, Trenton, and Mariboro. There was a direct inspection of every ward, with the responsible employee in immediate charge and with the top officers of the institution. The staffing problem for each ward was carefully reviewed, and there were many conferences with nurses, technicians and charge attendants in each area.

MORE NURSES AND ATTENDANTS

The result of the survey was a finding that we lack sufficient personnel to create an atmosphere conducive to recovery. The carefully documented survey of the Civil Service Department justifies a request for some 600 additional nurses, attendants, and technicians—which would cost, at the minimum of present salary ranges, approximately \$1,400,000.

I strongly recommend serious consideration of this appropriation because it will be aupported with other related services. If we can develop a total program whose emphasis will be on active care and treatment, sup-

plemented by research and by the strengthening of our local community programs, we can be certain that investment in proper ward care will return huge dividends.

A HUMAN AND SPIRITUAL APPROACH

In this connection, a special effort should be made to recruit men and women who are willing to give devoted service to their less fortunate fellow human beings. This is not an assembly-line proposition-a job whose requirements are satisfied when all the mechanical parts are put into place and all the bolts are tightened. It is a job with rich human and spiritual overtones, whose accomplishment is accompanied by many deep inner satisfactions. Surely, in New Jersey there are many people who would welcome such an opportunity and who would respond to a properly-conducted recruitment pro-Such a program, of course, would stress New Jersey's fresh and total approach to the whole problem of mental illness.

THE NEED FOR MORE DOCTORS

I have spoken of research and of the need for more ward care. I now come to a third great need—that of strengthening our medical staff in the State hospitals. Though New Jersey has no medical school of its own, the State lies between two of the greatest centers of medical education in the world—New York and Philadelphia. In the Philadelphia area alone, 10 percent of all the Nation's medical graduates are produced. We should be far more alert in tapping these two sources of medical and psychiatric talent.

HOW TO ATTRACT THEM

Here, again, we must lure young doctors by convincing them that New Jersey has a new and progressive program, from which they can learn much. The Mayo Clinic in Minnesota has no difficulty in obtaining promising recruits because of its tremendous reputation for the use of thorough modern methods, any more than Notre Dame has in attracting the best high-school and prep-school football players. What young psychiatrist can be induced to come to a What young State content with ancient methods and the drudgery of custodial care, instead of one where new vistas of recovery are being opened up? What young physician wants to take a humdrum job where the workload of patients is so burdensome that personal attention is well nigh impossible?

TO MEET MINIMUM STANDARDS

In order to meet the minimum standards—let me underscore minimum—of the American Psychiatric Association, our State hospitals require 64 additional resident and senior resident physicians at a total cost of more than \$400,000. These physicians will not be immediately available, but I am requesting sufficient funds be made available to the Department so that hospitals can recruit professional men as they become available.

CLOSER TIES

Related to the need for more professional staff is the desirability of closer relationships between New York and Philadelphia medical schools with our State hospitals. To this end, I have had many meetings with psychiatrists throughout the country and with the heads of the psychiatric departments of several New York and Philadelphia schools. Together we have discussed ways by which New Jersey can benefit by intimate ties between these schools and our hospitals.

Beyond that it is my hope that we can develop a plan by which leaders in psychiatry in all parts of the Nation may be invited to spend some time each year for resident work and consultation in New Jersey hospitals. I believe that for great teachers, researchers, and practitioners to spend a few weeks annually in New Jersey would be immensely stimulating and inspirational to patients and resident staff alike.

IMPORTANCE OF EARLY TREATMENT

Of equal or even greater importance than the care and treatment of patients already in mental hospitals are measures designed to prevent mental disease at its inception. Early and intensive treatment is now regarded as the key to cure in many disorders. This was dramatically demonstrated during hostilities in Korea, when battlefront firstaid stations were established for mental casualties at the point of breakdown. As a result of such emergency psychiatric treatment, 70 percent of such casualties were returned to active duty in 2 weeks or less. 25 percent after a somewhat longer period, and only 4 percent ended up back at home in a hospital. Testifying before a congressional committee, an expert witness said: "These same curative skills can be applied in civilian life."

NEEDS OF MENTAL HYGIENE CLINICS

For many years, the State of New Jersey has supported mental hygiene clinics working out of the three State hospitals and giving diagnostic service in communities served by the various institutions. The purpose of these clinics was the all-important early detection of mental disorders. To fulfill this purpose, the clinics need more effective central supervision and, in my budget message of January 31, I recommended the creation of new positions for the division of mental hygiene.

There is also an obvious need for the expansion of the work of these clinics. Additional staff would provide services of diagnosis and treatment. Many clinics are now operated on a part-time basis only, and cannot hope to meet the burdens placed upon them. These clinics should be regarded as frontline trenches in our fight against mental illness.

TO NIP IT IN THE BUD

If we strengthen the clinics, we will encourage local and county government to add to the funds spent by the State. Study should be made of the experience of New York State, with its new community mental-health services act, by which the State will share to a greater extent in the cost of expanded facilities at the community level.

In short, let's nip mental illness in the bud whenever it is possible to do so.

FAMILY CARE FOR OLDER PATIENTS

One of the most pleasant aspects of the mental health problem is that selected older patients are able to leave the hospitals for approved boarding homes in the community and a more normal life, receiving hospital supervision as needed. This policy was adopted in 1951 by the passage of the Family Care Act. The State paid a reasonable per capita cost for board and lodging and, in effect, saved the cost of providing many additional hospital beds.

Heretofore, the hospitals have financed the modest beginning of this activity by balances in their accounts. This year, when more patients could receive such family care, there are no balances in the hospitals' funds. So, the social service staff has been faced with curtailment of the program—and with the return of a number of patients to the hospitals. This, it seems to me, is both unwise from the State's point of view and most unfortunate from the individual's.

TRAGIC FACT

I have directed that additional funds be made available to continue the program, and I recommend that the department be allowed to allocate additional funds in 1955-56 from this supplementary mental health appropriation to continue and expand family care. The department is also exploring the possibility of obtaining the benefits of public assistance programs for a greater number of patients. It is a tragic fact that many older

people find themselves in State hosiptals, not because of mental disorder, but because they are poor or neglected.

CONVERSION OF BORDENTOWN SCHOOL

After long study, the State Board of Education has recommended the closing of the Bordentown Manual Training School—a recommendation with which I am in agreement. In my annual message of January 11, I said: "We may be able at this site to develop a center which may substantially reduce our waiting lists for the mentally retarded, while at the same time developing a foremost training and research center. Such a center could help us to develop qualified staff for our training schools and, at the same time, help to find answers to some of the unknown quantities in this important field."

FIVE HUNDRED TO SIX HUNDRED BEDS

I suggest that the Bordentown plant be transferred to the department of institutions and agencies to accomplish the foregoing purposes. To provide for the necessary structural changes and renovation of the plant and to provide operating funds for a portion of the fiscal year 1955-56, I recommend the sum of \$1,500,000. This amount is based on engineering estimates. Prompt legislative action will make it possible to make the new facilities available during the coming fiscal year. This would produce 500 to 600 beds, and would relieve the pressure of the 4 other training schools for the mentally retarded—Woodbine, New Lisbon, Totowa, and Vineland.

A CRUSHING BURDEN

The waiting lists of urgent cases number more than 800. It is unnecessary for me to tell you that the presence of retarded children in otherwise normal families is a crushing burden on the parents and is a source of psychological damage to other children in the families.

In addition to reducing these lists, we feel it is in the best interest of the State to develop a program that will train and return many patients to their communities within a reasonable period. Moreover, we feel that the proposed new institution will be valuable for training teachers who will instruct mentally retarded children in their communities under the legislation adopted last year to expand special classes for them in the public schools.

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR LEADERSHIP

You and I can work together to give vitality to a fresh approach to the problem of mental health, as outlined in this message. We can look forward to the appointment in the near future of a new commissioner of institutions and agencies and to a stimulated division of mental hygiene. It is my hope that the \$2 million recommended in this message for mental health be made available to the new leadership with considerable latitude. If everything possible were to be done, more than \$2 million would be needed. But I look forward to a gradual launching of the program, leaving it to leadership to decide from its experience what phases should be given priority.

PAST ACCOMPLISHMENTS

New Jersey in the past has cut many new paths in government, including the field of mental health. We can be proud of the diagnostic center at Menlo Park; of the important work at the Arthur Brisbane Child Center at Allaire; of the advances being made at the Neuropsychiatric Institute at Skillman. With additional funds to forge a new attack on a massive problem; with

the support of the legislature and the executive; with the help of the thousands of men and women who are devotedly doing the work of the department of institutions and agencies; and with the support of an aroused public opinion, we can go far.

PROMISE OF THE NEXT DECADE

A century and a half ago the mentally ill were set free from their chains. A century ago the fight began to substitute the hospital for the prison to house these unfortunates. In the last half century, there has been a steady search for new answers. There is evidence that the next decade will produce more victories in the war against mental disease than have ever been made before. I know you and I are eager to see the banner of New Jersey in the front ranks.

Respectfully submitted.

ROBERT B. MEYNER, Governor,

Attest:

RODERT J. BURKHARDT, Secretary to the Governor. MARCH 21, 1955.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at \$1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 85 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of Which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 728, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

Appendix

Address by Hon. George Bell Timmerman, Jr., Governor of South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address delivered by the Governor of South Carolina, the Honorable George Bell Timmerman, to the Southern Regional Conference of Attorneys General, at Charleston, S. C., on April 1, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Address by Hon. George Bell Timmerman, Jr., Governor of South Carolina, to the Southern Regional Conference of Attorneys General, Charleston, S. C.

South Carolina is honored to be your host. I am happy to welcome you. I congratulate you on your conference.

I am pleased that so many of you have brought your ladles to our ancient and lovely city of Charleston. They complement the charm of a community whose roots extend deep into the history of our civilization—a community whose charm has been world renown far longer than the United States has been a Nation.

To them I would like to be able to say that we have made our flowers blossom for you and our birds to sing in your honor. Unfortunately, an unseasonable freeze has destroyed many of our flowers and caused our birds to seek warmer weather. But it has not cooled our warm welcome.

To the men, dedicated to the profession of law, I remind you that you meet in a city and in a State, which has contributed brilliant men to the practice and development of our profession from colonial times.

A few blocks from this banquet hall is historic Broad Street, the law range of Charleston.

As you move west on Broad Street from the great concentration of law offices, you come to the Corner of Four Laws. It is so named because at this intersection stand St. Michael's Protestant Episcopal Church, representing the law of God; the city hall, representing municipal law; the county courthouse, representing State law; and the United States building, representing Federal law.

Moving west again you come to a marker at a fine old residence which was the home of John Rutledge in the 18th century.

John Rutledge, the lawyer, played an important role in his time. When the Colony of South Carolina declared her own independence from England 3 months before signing of the Declaration of Independence, it was John Rutledge who was chosen president of our republic. When the business of affirming independence from the British crown became a full-time job, John Rutledge was given the absolute powers of a wartime head of state.

His biographer reports that before joining in the signing of the Constitution of the United States, John Rutledge had written that document practically single-handed.

John Rutledge accepted a challenge. More important, he conquered it.

A great challenge faces the lawyer of today. It is the challenge to help preserve constitutional authority. It is the challenge to help protect the fundamental safeguards of a free people.

The task is not an easy one. Two diametrically opposite views are being tried in the court of public opinion. The verdict may determine the future character of our Government.

One view adheres to the fundamental principle that the meaning of our basic law does not change like the color of the chameleon—that it remains the same until changed by the orderly method provided for its amendment.

The other view advocates that the basic law means whatever the Government thinks it ought to mean.

This view finds expression sometimes in the executive branch, sometimes in the legislative branch, and more currently in the judicial branch.

Too often the inherent power of Government is mistaken for constitutional authority. There is a difference between the two. Authority comprehends the things that a government has the right to do. Power may extend to the things that a government has no right to do.

The abuse of authority is the use of power that exceeds authority. The police officer has power. When a prisoner is abused, the police officer uses his power, but he exceeds his authority.

Whether you live in Vermont or Virginia, or in any other State, your constitutional freedom is reduced every time the inherent power of Government is used to exceed its constitutional authority. The degree of reduction is proportionate to the degree of abuse.

Since the establishment of our Government, power has been used in excess of authority. Some abuses have been limited in scope. Many have been temporary. A few may have become enduring. These things are inherently the evil in all government.

The real danger is our acquiescence in the gradual extension of power beyond the scope of authority. Usually people in other locales have little concern about the abuse of authority so long as it immediately affects only others. It is this normal indifference that supports the evil of gradualism. It is by gradualism that successful inroads are being made into the rights and prerogatives of the States and their peoples.

The Constitution is not peculiar to our country. Every nation has a basic organic law or principles of government embodied in written documents or found in established institutions and customs. What is peculiar to the United States is the simple but essential fact that our people are the authors of their Constitution.

The people are the authority for its origin. The people are the authority for its continuance. The people are the authority for its amendment. It is this exclusive authorship that distinguishes our Nation for its government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

The Government did not establish the Constitution. The Constitution established the Government.

It is fundamental that the Constitution is designed to define and to limit governmental authority for the protection of the people. It is fundamental that the authority of the Government is derived solely from the Constitution. It is fundamental that the Government possesses no authority from any other source.

Every proposed change in our Constitution is within itself a proposed change in our existing form of government. The merits or demerits of proposed changes can only be evaluated properly when considered in the light of that simple truth.

The authority to change the Constitution encompasses the authority to destroy it, and ultimately the form of government. The authority to destroy by change can be safely reposed only in the hands of all of the people.

These things are basic and being basic are often ignored for the sake of expediency.

When our Founding Fathers wrote and adopted the charter of our freedom, they recognized the need for providing some orderly and representative means for making desirable changes.

The Constitution specifies the manner in which it may be amended by the people. It authorizes no other method of change. Twenty-two times, since the Constitution was adopted, it has been changed by the amendment of the people.

amendment of the people.

One of the world's better known women recently said: "No law is static. All laws respond to the development of the world and the nation."

That may be true in a very generous sense, but the philosophy that the Constitution must remain static unless the Government usurps the authority to change it is untrue in any sense.

Our Constitution is intended to be mobile to the degree that it can be amended, but solely by the people. A constitution that can be changed by the Government is responsive only to the Government.

The surest way to make our Constitution a meaningless, dead document is for the people to yield to the effort of Government to change it. If Government can change it to accomplish a purpose that you approve, Government can change it to accomplish a purpose that you do not approve.

There are a few lawyers who fail to recog-

There are a few lawyers who fail to recognize or deplore a willful breach of a written contract that can be performed.

We ought to be greatly concerned when the most famous of all contracts is broken. We should be primarily concerned when the Government is the party breaking that contract

The segment of persons who disapprove of the constitutional method of changing our basic law perhaps have found a quicker method. Perhaps they know that by legal means they might fail altegether to attain their end.

The system that they advocate is apparently easier for them at the present time, but completely unconstitutional.

To this group the fundamental law is not like the eternal truths—the same yesterday, today, and tomorrow. What a word meant when it was used is of no concern to them. Neither is the prescribed method of changing that word.

Should this philosophy be carried to its logical conclusion, there would be no reason for a written Constitution.

One of the great dangers to constitutional authority will be found in the abuse of judicial power. This danger is not limited to the compulsory social mixing of large numbers of two biologically different races during the formative years of their lives and against parental wishes.

But that is the problem that outside intermeddlers are forcing upon South Carolina. It particularly affects the Clarendon County School District involved in the school segregation cases, where school facilities for Negroes are the equal of those for white children. It is a vital problem to us because in that district there are in round figures 2,800 Negro pupils to only 250 white pupils.

But as great as that local problem is to us, it is involved in the greater issue that encompasses the Nation. That issue is whether the judiciary shall usurp the authority reserved to the people to change their Consti-

tution.

When abuses of the executive branch become known, the people can change the executive. When abuses of the legislative branch become known, the people can elect new

representatives.

No one realizes, better than you, the effectiveness of the public will in removing an elective official from public office in either the executive or legislative branch. When abuses of the judicial branch become known, the will of the public cannot act as effectively.

There is great danger in vesting absolute authority in one final appellate court far removed from the locus of many of the cases coming before it. Realizing this, our Founding Fathers made positive provision for curbing the scope of the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Constitution in article III, section 2, authorizes the Congress to make such exceptions to the appellate jurisdiction as the Congress may deem wise.

The Congress could enact legislation curbing the appellate jurisdiction of the Court for the future protection of all citizens.

This the proponents of a judicial hiearchy oppose.

Already efforts are being made to amend the Constitution so as to strike from it this guaranty against judicial tyranny. The enemies of constitutional authority are resourceful people.

The Congress must share the responsibility for future judicial infringement on the prerogatives of the States and the people or it must accept the responsibility for maintaining constitutional government.

There is nothing sacred about the judiciary. It is composed of the same fallible men that compose our other branches of Govern-

When the Supreme Court of the United States was established, the total population of our Nation was about that of the present population of North Carolina. Today, our population exceeds 160 million.

Then, there were only 13 States, located along the Atlantic seaboard, all closely knit by a common heritage and mutual problems. Today, there are 48 States extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to Mexico. Two additional Territories actively seek statehood.

The local problems of the States are varied. Their people are basically different in their thinking, their traditions, their standards.

To expect 9 normally intelligent human being selected by 1 normally intelligent human being to exercise final judicial authority in a way that will render justice among so many people scattered over so large an area is almost, if not, wishful thinking.

To paraphrase a new and novel judicial expression, the clock cannot be turned back to 1776

The appellate jurisdiction has not kept pace with the development of our Nation.

It is inevitable under our present appellate system that the opinions of the Court will be varied and lacking in uniformity. is surprising that they are not more varied and more lacking in uniformity. It is reasonable to assume that they will become even more varied and more lacking in uniformity as the Court extends the doctrine that the Constitution means what the Court thinks it ought to mean.

To find a workable and politically acceptable appellate system that will be adequate to the increasing variety of interests and problems of a populous and sprawling Nation without destroying constitutional authority is one of the great problems of today. The present system dating as it does from the time of the oxcart and the wilderness is incapable of dispensing final organic justice because man is incapable of attaining all wisdom.

There is no lawyer in America who can advise a client with any degree of certainty in the field of constitutional law. That fact is an inescapable indictment of our present appellate judicial system.

Without asking for it, you were given a rich heritage of freedom. It came to you as easy money comes to some. Money that

comes easily, goes easily—and quickly.
Will that be the way of our heritage of freedom? Or will we recognize its priceless value, a value not to be regained once dissipated? If we recognize the value of our heritage, we shall work to preserve that heritage, so that we may give with pride to our posterity the guaranty of freedom that was given to us.

Excerpts From Address by Vice President Nixon Before American Association of School Administrators

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from the address of the Vice President of the United States before the American Association of School Administrators at Cleveland, Ohio, on April 3, 1955.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Aggressive international communism prethe only threat to world peace. There will be no major war unless the Communist nations begin one.

How can we best deal with this threat? The guiding principle of our policy is peace without surrender. History shows that in dealing with dictators, a policy of weakness and concessions may bring a temporary truce in the short run. But in the

long run such a policy leads to war. We believe this is the policy which has the best chance to bring peace without sur-

Militarily and economically: Keep the United States and the free world stronger than any potential aggressors.

Diplomatically: On the one hand, firmness in which our will and determination to use our strength against aggression when it

occurs is made clear to the world. On the other hand, fairness and friendship in which we emphasize:

Our readiness to join with other nations in converting the power of the atom to peaceful uses.

Our willingness to participate in big power conferences when conditions are such that there would be a chance to reduce world

Our desire to explore every means of reducing the level of armaments, a determination which was made dramatically clear by the unprecedented appointment of Harold Stassen to Cabinet rank as assistant to the President for disarmament.

Some who question the wisdom of this policy have suggested that the United States should announce to the world at this time that certain named areas would not be defended by us if attacked. Apparently they believe such action would avoid war.

But a study of history casts grave doubt on this contention.

In January 1950 Secretary Acheson announced that Korea was outside the defense zone of the United States. Some may have breathed a sigh of relief at that time in the belief that there would be no war in Korea. But in June the Communists attacked and we had to go in unprepared.

It was just 17 years ago that we heard the cry, "Why die for Danzig?" No one died for Danzig then-millions died later.

History shows that surrender of territory in itself never satisfies an aggressor; it only

increases his appetite.

The possibility that surrender of territory demanded by an aggressor might remove the chance for war over that territory-now. must be weighed against the effect action would have in increasing the chance for a bigger war-later. This is the difficult decision which confronts the President, a decision which he correctly insists can and should be made only when we see the nature of the attack.

Of this much we can be sure. Where s dictatorial aggressor is involved the only way to eliminate all chance for war is to surrender completely. We believe that, if we are not to do that, the least chance for war and the best chance for peace will be created through following a policy of strength and firmness with the door always open to negotiation but never to appeasement.

There should always be open discussion and criticism of our policies because the decisions we eventually make must represent the very best thinking of the Nation. But this we should get straight at the outsetthere is no war party in America.

I know of no one in the House or Senate. Democrat or Republican, no one in the administration, no one of our top military

leaders, who wants war.

Anyone who charges that there is a war party in the United States is unfortunately feeding the Communist propaganda mill which has been grinding out this big lie and trying to peddle it around the world for years.

Let us advocate vigorously the policies we think are best designed to avoid war and obtain peace. But let us do so without questioning the motives of those who disagree with us. We may disagree on the means but we all agree on the end.

I have sat in the councils of the administration over 2 years. No two men could be better qualified and more dedicated for the task of finding peaceful solutions to world conflicts than President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles.

They bring a wealth of diplomatic and military experience to their positions.

They have the judgment and temperament which comes from long participation in the making of great decisions.

The Nation can be sure that there will be no trigger-happy decisions as they lead the Nation during this period of world tension. Eightieth Birthday Anniversary of Former Senator Henry Fountain Ashurst, of Arizona

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was privileged to read a speech by a former Member of this august body, Henry Fountain Ashurst, which he delivered at a dinner tendered him by John Russell Rence, on the 80th anniversary of the Senator's birth.

I saw the Senator recently, and he was looking fit as a fiddle—his eye was keen, his step was firm, and his brain was working keenly and alertly. I remember so well when he was one with us in the Senate, how many a day was made brighter by his getting up just before the end of a session and giving us 5 or 10 minutes of beautiful English surrounding jeweled ideas.

I ask unanimous consent, therefore, that the text of Senator Ashurst's speech be printed in the Appendix of the Recogn

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY HENRY FOUNTAIN ASHURST AT A DINNER TENDERED TO HIM BY MR. JOHN RUSSELL RENCE ON THE 80TH ANNIVERSARY OF MR. ASHURST'S BIRTHDAY

When a man reaches the age of 80 years he should have learned many things; he should have learned to make peace with the Lord; with mankind, with himself and to make his will. When he reaches 80 years he has atoned, or tried to atone, for the wrongs he has committeed and has forgotten the wrongs, if any, against himself. As he grows old he probably grows better—not that he is so much inclined to forsake his sins but that his sins will forsake him. His ambitions are behind him; they are either achieved or are faded and diminished in importance.

He finds that life runs in a sort of cycle; he is born without teeth or hair and in old age he is usually bereft of teeth and hair. In early childhood days one's steps are short and uncertain—in old age one's strides will be short and uncertain. He has learned that as one grows old, one either develops the childish intolerance of hardened arteries or slides gracefully into a beautiful senility.

He has learned that fame and riches may take wings, but that cultural and spiritual resources abide with him. He has learned that happiness may not be captured as a general would capture a city or as a hunter would capture a wild beast; he has probably learned the lessons taught by the Prophets of ancient Palestine and the Sages of ancient Athens; that happiness always eludes those who seek it for themselves, alone, but wells up like a loving tide around those who seek to give happiness to others.

I would not have you to believe that I, myself, have learned all these beautiful things—I am far too young in spirit to have learned these lessons quite fully.

No words at my command can express my gratitude: gratitude to the Lord; to my country; to my brothers and my sister and to my friends. Few men through life have

so many loyal friends as I have. I have no children but my stepson; Mr. Renoe has for 50 years given me a love and a devotion seldom witnessed in this busy world. Many times when I could not see my way through, he has guided me.

I am grateful that my eye has not been dimmed; that I can still see the American flag; that I can still read great literature; that I can still see beautiful women; still see the brave red, royal-hearted rose; still see the violet—one of my favorite flowers—so becoming to me as it is the emblem of modesty and self-effacement; still see the golden wedges of a desert sunset and still see the splintered moonbeams glitter on the midnight snow-crust; grateful that I can still hear the multitudinous voices of the ocean; still hear the litany of the wind; still hear Beethoven, Mozart, Chopin's divine Polonaise and Good Night Irene.

I am of the opinion that all persons, whether rich or poor, have equal and equivalent measure of joy and sorrow, of pleasure and pain. It is well through life to cultivate the art of making flowers grow from the plowshare of sorrow. We do not expect those persons who sit in the shadow of a great sorrow to pour forth lyrical notes but they may cultivate the beautiful art of making grief a way of growth.

There is a lesson in the life of Edwin Booth, the great American actor. There suddenly one evening fell upon him without warn-ing, and without blame, the lightning-blast of disgrace, obloquy, abuse, contempt, poverty and blighted fame when his brother, John Wilkes Booth, assassinated the President. But Edwin Booth, with his manifold graces and virtues, with courage, with an agreeable disposition rose from his despised and repulsive condition and lived so good a lifea life so richly filled with the jewels of kindness and good deeds that he became one of the most beloved characters of his day. All the world admired the gallant way in which he struggled upward and onward and made pure, white lilies grow and float upon the dark, muddy stream of his brother's wasted life.

Youth should be prudent along with its boldness—for youth has much to lose; therefore, do not sow your wild oats in youth—you might live to reap the terrible harvest—sow your wild oats in your old age and you will not live till harvest time.

I do not need to be prudent—for me the voyage of life is nearly over and, although I have always been a landlubber. I shall act the part of a good seaman; steer my ship into a peaceful harbor, take down the tall masts, fold the wide and swelling canvas in preparation for the eternal anchorage and these things I do with a grateful and contented heart.

Plans of Bald Knob Christian Foundation Inc. for Erection of Giant Cross on Bald Knob Mountain, Ill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a statement relating to the plans of the Bald Knob Christian Foundation, Inc., for the erection of a cross in southern Illinois.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

As a result of the tireless efforts of the men and women of the Bald Knob Christian Foundation, Inc., there is to be erected in Union County, Ill., a mammoth 500-foot cross, the world's largest, and dedicated to a greater unity of religious thought and effort. The location is near the population heart of the United States and the great cross is to be built atop Bald Knob Mountain, to be known as Mount Calvary, in southern Illinois. Illuminated at night, the great cross will be visible over an area of 7.500 miles spreading its important lesson of the importance of religion to each and all.

This huge cross with its connected building will be a shrine for all denominations of all religious beliefs. This is a magnificent undertaking embracing the greatness of all the concepts of the American way of life.

This undertaking is due to the unselfish work of C. Lester Biggs and Wayman Presley of Union County, Ill., Joined by the General Federation of Women's Clubs headed by Mrs. Theodore Chapman, Jerseyville, Ill., and Mrs. R. I. C. Prout. The General Federation of Women's Clubs with 5 million members throughout the United States is conducting a fund drive for funds aimed at raising \$3 million for the construction of the cross.

In proper recognition of this splendid monument dedicated to embrace and signify our freedom for religious belief and as a further recognition of the efforts of the American people to make this great shrine a reality, it is fitting and proper that we reflect upon the significance of this worthy effort and that as individuals we do everything that is proper to further it.

The Mandate of the Hoover Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, during the past few months various reports have been submitted to the Congress by the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, popularly known as the Hoover Commission. Some criticism has developed because certain of the Commission's recommendations have concerned governmental policy, as well as economy and efficiency.

Under leave to extend my remarks, therefore, I am including certain editorial comments, which reveal that the Congress specifically intended that the Commission should make recommendations for substantive changes, as well as procedural and administrative improvements:

[From the New York Times of February 15, 1955]

IN THE NATION

(By Arthur Krock)

THE HOOVER GROUP MOVES TO BROADER GROUND

Washington, February 14.—The first report to Congress of the current Hoover Commission marks the fundamental difference between the function assigned to the original group and to this one. The Lodge-

Brown Act of 1947 directed a commission headed by former President Hoover to recommend better procedures and administrative practices in the Federal Government as it is. But the Brown-Ferguson Act of 1953 empowered a second such body, under the same chairmanship, to propose substantive changes. This it did today with its first set of proposals, among them one to separate politically appointed officials who make policy from a permanent career service for the administration of policy.

This difference in assignment was explained in a booklet prepared for the distributed by the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report. The authors-Ray Harvey, Louis W. Koenig, and Albert Somit of New York University—stated it in this way: "If, for example, the first Commission had established a task force to study the operations of Army bakeries, that task force would have reported on the efficiency [of] . . . the program and would (possibly) have made recommendations designed [for improvement]. * * * A similar task force established by the new Hoover Commission can now go beyond • • and raise the more basic issue of whether some, or even all, of the Army bakery activities conflict or are competitive with those carried on by private enterprise * * * and conceivably recommend the abolition or sharp curtailment of almost any program on substantive grounds."

This new authority is derived from clause 5 of the Brown-Ferguson Act instructing the Commission to look into "eliminating nonessential services, functions and activities which are competitive with private enterprise," regardless of the efficiency with which they are being conducted. Hence, while the first Commission dealt largely with the organization patterns of each department and agency of the Government, the second is examining functions that are general in the Federal establishment. The findings will be released in about 20 reports before May 31, the group's terminal date fixed by Congress.

A MORE CONTROVERSIAL FUTURE

These papers will survey and make recommendations concerning such general, cross-governmental activities as the following: lending, procurement, budgeting, water resources, research and international intelligence. Since many recommendations will be for changes in policy, several are sure to enter a field of controversy new to the Commission. It is one thing to propose better procedure in Army bakeries—as the first Hoover group did. It is quite another to recommend the end of "political clearance" requirements for rural letter-carriers—as the Commission now has done.

But, despite the broadening of the original writ both groups have concentrated on economy and efficiency. A saving estimated at \$3 billion annually was implicit in the recommendations of the first Commission that Congress adopted, but these were quickly wiped out by the Korean war and inflation. It is the hope of the current group, Congress willing, to show the way to even more substantial economies. In proposing today a senior Civil Service of career employees, enlarging as well as giving permanency to these, the Commission noted that this and other personnel suggestions could reduce the annual costs of Federal employee turnover by about \$50 million a year,

The original Commission did very well in Congress, considering the fact that one of its targets was wasteful political patronage. It made 273 recommendations of which 196 have been partly or wholly legislated. And some of the proposals of that group are still going to the Capitol, an example being the suggested change in postal rates to cover the deficit of the Post Office Department.

The quality of the Hoover Commission reports reflects not only the distinction of

the Commissioners but that of members of the task forces as well. Dr. Harold W. Dodds, president of Princeton University, headed the group that made the study on which today's recommendations to Congress were based. And, while the Commission exercises final judgment on the conclusions of its task forces, it sends them along to Congress, whether or not endorsing them. An instance was provided today by a Dodds committee finding that was ignored but passed on by the Commission. This was that a group of distinguished citizens should at once make an inquiry into the Government's personnel security system. (To this the President also has turned a cold shoulder.)

How many careers does the work in hand make it for Herbert Hoover? The number depends on the compiler of the fabulous catalog. But it could be computed as seven; World premier mining engineer; savior of European children in the path of the First World War; Government business counselor as Secretary of Commerce; President of the United States; historian of his times; autobiographer; and now chief architect of Federal reforms.

[From the Washington Star of March 22, 1955]

EXPLORING FAR-BY MANDATE

The Hoover Commission is being accused of going too far afield in its latest report to Congress, covering Federal lending and insurance activities. Dissenting Commissioner CHET HOLIFIELD (there were a total of five dissents) complained in his minority report that the Commission was willing to roam far and wide in the field of public policy. He expressed doubt that Congress intended it to do so. It is true that the Commission has explored very extensively the broad field of Government lending and insurance, returning recommendations that are plainly controversial. But the madate which Congress gave the Commission was a very broad The Commission could have been accused of shirking its responsibilities if it arbitrarily had limited its inquiries.

Representative Hollfield correctly said that Congress reestablished the Hoover group "to study the present organization and operations of the executive departments and agencies, with a view to better management and economy." He added, however, that he does not believe Congress wanted advice on public policies of every sort. But Congress granted the group far wider authority than that given the first Hoover Commission. Whereas the original Commission could recommend only reorganizations and consolidations within or among the agencies, the present Commission was empowered to recommend, also, "abolishing services, activities, and functions not necessary to the efficient conduct of government" and "eliminating nonessential services, functions, and activities which are competitive with private enterprise."

The majority of the Commission was acting under this specific authority, therefore, when it recommended that some Federal lending agencies be brought into the private-enterprise system, that other agencies be mutualized along lines of mutual savings and insurance institutions, that hidden subsidies be disclosed to the public, and that these agencies generally be made self-supporting. Since aid to farmers, veterans, and other substantial and politically potent groups would be affected by the proposed reforms, Congress has been handed a hot potato by the Commission. But the bipartisan Hoover Commission has shown no reluctance to tackle politically explosive subjects in the past. It has gained prestige and public respect for that very reason. It would be refreshing if Congress showed comparable objectivity in considering the recommendations of the Commission.

Roosevelt and Yalta Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Hatred of Roosevelt Is Key to Yalta Controversy," which was published in the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee, and which was also published in the Modesto Bee and the Fresno Bee of California, on March 22, of this year.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HATRED OF ROOSEVELT IS KEY TO YALTA CONTROVERSY

Like scavenging hordes of little foxes, the haters of Franklin D. Roosevelt are digging in the boneyard of Yalta.

The release of the incomplete, already challenged records of the Yalta Conference has been leaped upon with smug indignation or ill-concealed delight, to degrade, belittle and deface the man who did as much as any single person to see America through both its worst domestic crisis and its greatest hour of peril.

The defamers of the dead are almost drooling over every action and word of Roosevelt which in their own extensive hindsight can be presented as a mistake.

Sooner or later their vindictive second guessing is bound to boomerang. The American people are not that stupid, not that petty, and not that ungrateful.

Had it not been for Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, yes and Josef Stalin, there might not have been a Yalta Conference. It might have been a Berlin conference presided over by Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini to which America, Britain, and Russia might have gone as defeated supplicants.

The bold and ridiculed goal of 50,000 American fighting planes set by Roosevelt, the lend-lease deal which kept Britain in the war, the long struggle back from Pearl Harbor, the unbelievable acceleration of American industry, the high level of national morale and the brilliant battlefield strategy all were in part contributions of Roosevelt to his Nation's victory and salvation.

Yet never since Abraham Lincoln has any American encountered such hatred and deprecation as that heaped upon Roosevelt. It is an unrelenting hatred which he incurred by the methods he employed to save the Nation from economic disaster just before he was called upon to shoulder the burdens of a World War. It is a hatred which does not have the best interest of the American people at heart.

To these detractors Roosevelt in death is a threat. It is necessary from their view to destroy even his image and reputation. To accomplish this end they cry imprecations against a voice which is silent; with eyes which have seen all that has happened these last 10 years they dam those eyes which, being mortal, could not foresee the precise future. And to make this cowardly hypocrisy supreme many who now denounce Roosevelt's efforts in Yalta to keep Russia in the war are the very ones who cheered loudest when he succeeded in doing just that.

The man who attended the Yalta Conference did not have long to live. He did not see V-day. He had led the Nation out of the pit of fear in the depression and done

much to invest it with sufficient strength to save the free world.

Certainly he deserves from all freemen a resolute resistance to the present nibbling of the scavengers. Deep in the heart of the hatred of Roosevelt is hatred of the people themselves. The affection the people held for Roosevelt is what the defamers really seek to destroy. Only disgust and indignation should greet their efforts.

Byrd Is Commended for His Consistency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Byrd Is Commended for His Consistency," written by Frank R. Kent, which was published in the Washington Star of March 27, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BYRD IS COMMENDED FOR HIS CONSISTENCY— VIRGINIAN ALSO IS PRAISED FOR PERSONAL COURAGE

(By Frank R. Kent)

The more the record of S. nator HARRY F. BYRD, of Virginia, is studied the firmer becomes the conviction that in consistency and courage no one in public life is more outstanding and effective than he—exceedingly few his equal. He is a real national asset, a credit alike to his State and his country.

This may seem overpraise. Actually it is not. It has been true for many years, but what makes it appropriate to restate it now is the manner in which he has twice demonstrated these qualities in a single week. For example, few will dispute that had it not been for Senator Byan, President Eisenhower would have been defeated in his Senate fight to prevent the Democrats from enacting their \$20 handout tax bill. This would have maimed the administration's fiscal program, greatly accelerated inflation, and wrought considerable havoc with the national economy. Of course, four other Democrats, including Senator Robertson of Virginia, George, of Georgia, Holland, of Florida, and ELLENDER, of Louisiana, voted against their party's scheme, recognized as purely political. But few will dispute that it was Senator Byrn who struck the hardest blows and was most responsible for the Eisenhower Senate victory on March 16.

Of course, this greatly pleased the President and the Republicans generally. But if they reasoned it meant that Senator Byrn had become a thick-and-thin administration supporter, that he was a party bolter like the garrulous Senator Wayne Morse, of Oregon, then they were greatly mistaken. This was demonstrated when 2 days after he had voted on the tax issue Senator Byrn delivered a blistering indictment of the administration's vast road program.

At the end of the Senator's speech it was generally conceded he had crippled the administration's plan. His opposition was not because of hostility to the building of new and better roads to keep pace with changing times. Rather it is based on two things concerning which the Senator has very strong convictions, indeed. One is that the program would largely take away from the States control of the roads within their own

boundaries. The other is that its method of financing would involve a great waste of money and an inevitable increase in the national debt.

To these two things Senator Byen is unshakeably opposed. This was why he so strongly supported the President in his fight to prevent the Democrats from emasculating his tax proposals. For the same reasons he is opposing the President's road proposals. Now, the fact is that President Eisenhower and Senator Byrn are in accord on both these basic things. Equally they want to prevent the waste of Government money, they favor control by the States of their own internal affairs. In this matter the point is not as to which is right in his contention about the method of financing the roads. There is a plausible argument on both sides. The point here sought to be made is that Senator Byrn votes and talks the way he believes regardless of who is President or what the so-called "political angles."

In brief, he is a man of character and courage. There are, of course, others in Congress, but they are not many, and he is the outstanding one. His opposition to the Eisenhower road program after his essential support of the Eisenhower tax proposals recalls an incident in the 1930's when Mr. Roosevelt was President. One morning while the old AAA bill was pending in the Senate Senator Byrn got a call from the White House. "HARRY," a voice said, this is your old friend Franklin Roosevelt." "Yes, Mr. President," said Senator Bygg. "HARRY." said the President, "said Senator Bykn. Harry, said the President, "I want you to do me a great personal favor." "Anything I can I'll do, Mr. President," said Senator Bykn. "Well," said the President, "I hope you will vote for this agricultural bill which is com-ing up today." "Now. Mr. President," said Senator By.n. "I would be glad to do anything I could for you personally, but I just can't vote for that bill because I believe it is an unsound bill which violates the Constitution and would not benefit either the farmer or the country."

Without another word the President hung up. From that day to Mr. Roosevelt's death Senator Byrd was not invited to the White House in either his personal or official capacity. This rather amused Senator Byrd, but it was entirely typical of the small, vindictive spirit of Mr. Roosevelt toward those whom he was unable to charm or coerce into support. Perhaps it is worth mentioning that after this breach between the President and the Senator. Senator Byrd in 1940 was renominated in Virginia with no Democratic primary opposition and that the Republicans put up no candidate against him in the general election.

Report by Senator Smith, of Maine, on Trip to the Far East and Mediterranean Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, during the congressional lull in late February and early March, my distinguished and able colleague, the senior Senator from Maine [Mrs. Smith] went on a trip entirely at her own expense through the Far East, and Mediterranean areas.

Upon her return she wrote a report on her observations for the Trunk, which is an excellent little newspaper published by the Maine Council of Young Republicans.

Senator Smith visited some 13 countries on her trip. She conferred with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa; President Magsaysay in the Philipines; Prime Ministers U Nu in Burma, Nehru in India, Mohammed Ali in Pakistan, Nasser in Egypt, Menderes in Turkey, Scelba in Italy, and Chief of State Franco in Spain. But in her traditionally thorough way, Senator Smith did not merely talk with the leaders in the countries she visited; she also talked with average citizens in the villages and countryside.

In order that all Members of Congress may have an opportunity to read Senator SMITH'S interesting and enlightening summary report on her trip which appeared in the April 7, 1955, issue of the Trunk, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Trunk of April 7, 1955]
REPORT ON RECENT TRIP ABROAD
(By Senator Margaret Chase Smith)

Recently I returned from an extensive trip overseas for which Communist Russia attacked me calling me an Amazon warmonger hiding behind a rose. The length of it in miles was approximately 30,000 miles. The length of it in time was 4 weeks. It was not at taxpayers' expense as the Government did not pay for a penny of it but rather I paid for it out of my own personal funds. During a goodly portion of the time that I was gone the Senate was in an undeclared recess with the understanding that no important business would be taken up so that Republicans could speak at Lincoln dinners and Democrats could speak at Jefferson-Jackson dinners.

VISITS CHIANG, HORACE HILDRETH

It was a person-seeing trip and not a sightseeing trip since there wasn't enough time to do leisurely sightseeing. The places that I went to were Japan, Formosa, Philippines, Vietnam, Hong Kong, Thailand, Burma, India, Pakistan, Egypt, Turkey, Greece, Italy, and Spain. Some of the national leaders I had conferences with were Chief Justice Tanaka of Japan; Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa, where I also inspected the Chinese Nationalist troops; President Magsaysay in the Philippines, where I also addressed the Philippine Senate; Prime Minister Diem in Saigon, Indochina, where I also went to refugee camps out in the country and where I also conferred with Gen. Lawton Collins; the Acting British Governor General in Hong Kong; Foreign Minister Prince Wan in Thailand, where I also visited schools in the country; Prime Minister U Nu in Burma; Prime Minister Nehru and Vice President Radhakrishnan in India, where I also visited in small country communities with Indian natives; Prime Minister Mohammed Ali in Pakistan, where I visited Horace and Katherine Hildreth and where Horace is doing a magnificent job; Prime Minister Nasser in Egypt; Prime Minister Menderes in Turkey, where I also visited small Turkish country villages and schools; Prime Minister Scelba in Italy; and Chief of State Franco in Spain.

TRIP PARTIALLY TELEVISED

Because I felt that I could share some of the experiences of interviews on my trip with millions of Americans, I agreed to give permission to have some of the conferences recorded for later showing on television. While none of these were shown in Maine, I have been informed that the kinescopes have been made available free of charge to all Maine TV stations desiring them.

TALKED WITH LITTLE PEOPLE

But I didn't talk only to the leaders, went into the villages and talked with the little people as well. I talked with them to learn their feelings and their problems. I told them of the desire of America and Americans to be their friends-of how we wanted them to be free and remain free from Communist slavery. I told them how we lived. I told them about our wonderful State of It is a great source of satisfaction to me that all the embassies of the countries I visited have reported that I served the interest of our country well and that my visits produced desired results.

UNITED STATES PRESTIGE GOING UP

I am glad to report that the prestige of the United States abroad is not on the wane. It may have been a year or two ago but not now. To the contrary, the prestige of the United States abroad is going up very much. I think that this is largely because President Eisenhower in the last few months has begun to exercise real leadership.

SEES CHANGES

I saw a difference in reaction on this abroad between the time of my trip last October when repeatedly people said to me that they wished President Eisenhower would give the world more vigorous leadership and that they were almost hungry for him to do so and that they would quickly follow.

In my trip last month, I found that this attitude had changed. People in the various countries are inspired by the manner in which President Eisenhower has been asserting world leadership. It has done much to build up their courage against resisting the threat of communism.

COMMUNIST FALLACY SEEN

There is growing realization in Asian countries that communism is nothing less than Russian colonialism or Russian imperialism-something far different from the past colonialism they seek to throw off. For example, many of the people of northern Vietnam who took the side of the Communists now say with bitter disappointment and disillusionment, "The Communists promised to give us the land and they didbut it hasn't done us any good because they take everything we produce from the land away from us.'

ANTI-AMERICANISM IN JAPAN

There has been some talk and some reports about anti-Americanism in Japan and that it is growing. But let's be realistic about that. It is a natural feeling on the part of a nation that is in the transition stage between coming out of being occupied by a foreign conqueror to returning to national independence.

Our Army commander, General Hull, in that area, explained it to me this way. said that it was really a pro-Japanese feeling that sometimes evidenced itself in political criticism against our occupation troops and that it was not really anti-Americanism. He pointed out that the Japanese admire and respect us-because they found we could do things better-we defeated them and while they may resent the defeat they nevertheless respect us for our victory.

He further pointed out that Japan has a traditional hate for and fear of Russia-that history shows repeated warfare between Japan and Russia—and that as between the United States and Russia, we can depend upon Japan to fight very strongly on our

MEDITERRANEAN STRENGTH

At the present our position in the Mediterranean is very strong-particularly on the ends of the Mediterranean with Spain on the west and Turkey on the east being our most loyal allies. And it is getting better in the long last joined the Western European Pact. Of course, we have strength in our good ally Greece.

WEAK SPOTS

Our weak spots are Yugoslavia and north Yugoslavia has a strange form of communism supposedly independent from Russia. One weakness in north Africa stems from the continuing conflict between Israel and Egypt. Egypt has considerable distrust Another weakness in north Africa is the rebellion against French colonialism. It is similar to the problem in Indochina.

All in all I came back from the trip very encouraged. I was surprised by the warm feeling and friendship shown me by the little people as well as the leaders in every country that I visited. In spite of the gloomy reports I had read and heard, I found that America and Americans are far better liked and respected in these foreign countries than I think we realize.

WE ARE GAINING

There is no question but that we are gaining ground against communism. We may be gaining ground slowly but we must remember that Asia is going through a most critical period of readjustment as people shift from past colonialism to future independence and self-reliance. In going through such a transition, the nations of Asia are suffering from growing pains.

One of the overall impressions I gained from the trip is that we should act more from confidence in our country and less from fear of Russia. I believe we must start charting our course on the basis that we are not going to let Russia scare us any more—that we are plenty capable of taking care of ourselves-and that we must strive for positive construction instead of fear-minded, negative defensiveness.

TRIP BENEFICIAL

Perhaps the most beneficial result of the trip to me and the good people of Maine whom I represent is that it gave me first hand, personal information which wil make me better able to pass on important legislation involving foreign relations and na-tional security—to pass on the many billions of dollars of appropriations for military and economic aid programs in my capacity as a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee and the Senate Armed Services Committee.

The Late Harold R. Beckley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, among those who are close to the Senate, the passing of Harold R. Beckley, superintendent of the Press Gallery, meant the loss of a member of the family. He was a faithful and devoted friend and counsellor to Senators, correspondents, and Senate officials for nearly three decades.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution approved by the standing committee of correspondents and a tribute paid to Mr. Beckley by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the

There being no objection, the resolution and tribute were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

middle now that France and Italy have at RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE STANDING COM-MITTEE OF CORRESPONDENTS

Whereas in the untimely death of Harold R. Beckley, after 29 years of devoted service as Assistant and Superintendent of the Senate Press Gallery, the Washington correspondents have lost a warm companion and coworker; and

Whereas Harold R. Beckley, during his faithful and valuable service in the Senate Press Gallery, won the high respect of members of the press and public officials: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the standing committee of correspondents on behalf of the members of the press galleries express to the family of Harold R. Beckley their deep sorrow at the passing of a beloved and outstanding asso-

TRIBUTE TO HAROLD R. BECKLEY, SUPERINTEND-ENT OF THE SENATE PRESS GALLERY, FRIDAY, APRIL 1, 1955, AT FUNERAL SERVICE, BY DR. FREDERICK BROWN HARRIS, CHAPLAIN OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

We have come at this hour to bring our tender tribute to one now gone from our side and sight, who across fruitful years lived in his house by the side of the road and was a friend to man.

We remember gratefully those fragrant virtues of the spirit which made his life as the garden of the Lord. His gentleness made him great. We think of this comrade beloved as one who wore always the white flower of a blameless life. In all his rela-tionships with his fellow men he kept his honor bright and his integrity unsullied. His words, his deeds, his motives, and his dealings with a great company he constantly touched were as white as the dome under which his busy and useful years of national service were spent.

He regarded his relationship to those who are the channels of the day's happenings to the waiting millions as a sacred trust and task, to be administered with patience, diligence, fairness, painstaking care, and understanding. Now that his sun has gone down while it is yet day we bear witness to those high, personal qualities which made him utterly dependable. For him promises were made to be kept; appraisals based on facts, and never on personal prejudice. With the strictest standards of work and ethics, nevertheless kindness and thoughtfulness of others was the law of his behavior.

His little, nameless deeds of loving kindness bound him as with bands of steel to the souls of a great company who appreciated his worth and cherished his friendship.

And now that he has come so suddenly to the end of his earthly Journey, we think of him as one who could walk with kings nor lose the common touch; as one who, in the school of life, as a good workman had learned "to think without confusion clearly, to love his fellow man sincerely; to act from honest motives purely, and to trust in God and heaven securely."

Burley Tobacco Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EARLE C. CLEMENTS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, on March 31 the President signed into law H. R. 4951, to redetermine the 1955 burley tobacco marketing quotas and for other purposes, thus becoming Public Law 21 of the 84th Congress.

My colleagues will recall that during the debate of this measure on the Senate floor the day prior to its approval by the President it was brought out that increased yields over the past several years and the production of excess tobacco had brought the burley tobacco program to a point where drastic reductions would be required if the program were to survive. Through this legislation, which was advocated by the growers and the farm organizations in the tobacco areas, a referendum will be held on April 28, at which time the growers will have the opportunity to accept or decline an additional reduction in their quota for this year. Not only does the legislation authorize a reduction in the 1955 crop, it also revises several compliance features designed to strengthen the program, and includes an increase in the penalty on the marketing of excess tobacco from 50 to 75 percent.

By unanimous consent, I should like to place in the Appendix of the Record an editorial appearing in the Cynthiana Democrat on April 7, 1955, in which this legislation is discussed, for I believe it represents the thinking of those in the Commonwealth of Kentucky concerned with the future of the tobacco industry.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONTROL IS THE ONLY SOLUTION

The Secretary of Agriculture has been authorized to reduce marketing quotas on burley tobacco for 1955, with the cut limited to 15 percent in addition to the 10-percent slash ordered last fall by the Secretary.

Some persons already have formed an opinion that, if the new cut is not approved, the program will revert to the 10-percent cut. Under terms of the law, two-thirds of the growers must approve of the cuts in a referendum to be voted this month or there will be no burley support program at all for this year, and consequently no controls whatsoever.

This legislation was designed only to bring production more in line with demand. Its necessity was brought about by overproduction of the commodity which had resulted in a stockpile crisis forcing that such action be taken if this segment of the agricultural economy is to survive.

Those farmers who have lived through the bitter experience of offering their tobacco on an open market without controls and a Government support program know full well what to expect for their crop under such conditions. They have only to compare their average of last year with those of any year when the controls were not in effect to arrive at a reasonable conclusion.

The only way that farmers of the tobacco-producing sections have any measure of assurance of preventing overproduction is to accept the cuts which have been proposed when they are given the opportunity to vote on the referendum. We doubt that the farmers of Harrison County and the rest of those in the burley-growing business would strengthen their economy by doing otherwise. The question they should ask of them-

The question they should ask of themselves before going to the polls to vote on the forthcoming question is:

"How many of the things can I buy that I want if tobacco drops to 10 cents a pound?"

None likes to see his potential earning capacity reduced by 25 percent, but what assurance is given that if production continues in line with the past that the reduction will not be even greater?

Statistics show that a higher quality product, even in limited quantities, can always command a better price than those of inferior quality produced in volume.

The seriousness of the burley producer's problem is apparent to all persons having

any connection either directly or indirectly with the tobacco industry. The ultimate choice is up to the farmer. All are hopeful that he chooses well.

Representative Edith Green, of Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, Representative Edith Green, from Oregon's Third Congressional District, is perhaps one of the busiest Oregonians in our Nation's Capital.

Representative EDITH GREEN represents the finest tradition of women occupying high public office.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an informative article about Mrs. GREEN by Ann Sullivan, from the columns of the Oregonian for April 8, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPRESENTATIVE GREEN FINDS CAPITAL JOB GRILLING, ANTICIPATES SUMMER

(By Ann Sullivan)

One of the busiest Oregonians in Washington is Congressman EDITH GREEN, the brighteyed Portland Democrat who swept into office last November.

Home for the first time this week to participate in the Hells Canyon Senate hearings and to do a little congressional snooping for her own, she's easily 15 pounds lighter than when she left for Washington. Blame the rigors of 16-hour days, the opening of a new Congress and Edith's own conscientiousness.

She hasn't had time for any Washington sightseeing, though son Dick, 13, and his father. Arthur, have done a lot of it. She spends her traveling hours pretty much in the 10-minute subway walk between the old congressional office building and the House of Representatives.

The Greens live at the new 4200 Cathedral (named for its address) apartment house, where they have a good-sized living room, dining room, kitchen, and two bedrooms. They found that so far they do considerable eating out because of the social and work demands. A cleaning person comes in three times a week to help with housework.

DICK MISSES FRIENDS

Dick is in the seventh grade at Alice Deal Junior High School, a public school. He misses his Portland friends but is looking forward to being here for the 3 months of the summer vacation. He will return then with his father, who will tend to some business. Mrs. Green will join them when Congress adjourns, probably about August 1. They expect to stay with Mrs. Green's mother. Mrs. Julia Starrett, 5615 Southeast 80th Avenue.

Wistfully, Mrs. Green remembers that Oregon summers are so delightful and Washington is so hot. But, between then and now comes a lot of work to keep the browneyed, graying solon right busy. Thus goes a typical day:

She gets up at 6:30 a.m., and unless she had one of many breakfast meetings scheduled, will breakfast with her family before dressing. That's usually orange juice and several cups of black coffee coupled with a variation of eggs or meat. She skims two papers, the Washington Post and the New York Times.

BLUE, BLACK PAVORED

Usually she wears conservative suits to her office, most frequently blue or black. She takes the family car, a 1955 green De Soto sedan, from the apartment house garage, and drives it to the office, often getting to her office at 8 or 8:30 and at least by 9.

The driving takes 10 minutes, unless during rush hours, and she has no trouble parking, for there are spaces reserved for congressional Members.

Her office is room 312 on the third floor of the old congressional office building, looks over a courtyard. It has two high-ceilinged, spacious rooms, one of which is occupied by a staff of three and the other by Mrs. Green.

The inner office has a green carpet, black leather overstuffed furniture, including chairs and a davenport, a desk, bookcases, and other chairs.

OREGON ARIA RETAINED

Prominent on the walls are pictures of Oregon scenery, which she had sent out from Photo Art studios, about a dozen in all. Some of them hang on the walls of her apartment and some in the office. From her desk she can see one of Mount Hood, another of the city of Portland with Mount Hood in the background and a third of the St. Johns Bridge.

First order of business is looking over the mail, which sometimes runs to 100 letters or more a day. All are answered.

Soon after 9, people started dropping in, including frequent visitors from Oregon.

She dictates from 9 to 10 a.m., then marches off to a daily 10 a.m. committee meeting. She is on two, the Interior and Insular Committee and the Education and Labor Committee. The latter usually meets in her building, and other in the new congressional office building.

GAVEL FALLS AT NOON

At noon the House convenes, and it takes her 10 minutes to walk there through the subway. During Iull in activities she usually lunches either in the congressional Members' dining room a floor below or another Members' dining room where they can take guests.

There are also several snack bars and a cafeteria available.

From all these congressional Members can be called, 1 bell for teller vote, 2 for aye-andnay vote; 3 for a quorum call, and 4 for adtournment.

MORE STUDY FOLLOWS

After adjournment, Mrs. Green goes back to her office, studies, and reads bills and background material, sees people, and works on legislation.

What time she goes home depends on the amount of work. Sometimes her family will join her for dinner at the Congressional Hotel, and she will go back to the office afterward. Some of her work she'll take home.

"I don't think I've ever yet gone home without work to take with me."

Even on Sundays on the way home from Westmoreland Congregational Church, she usually stops at the office to look at her mail. Saturdays she's always there.

"I've never spent so many hours on a job in my life," she explains seriously.

SOCIAL DUTIES CONTINUE

Social obligations, particularly heavy the first few weeks, are still demanding, but she remembers most vividly the pleasant congressional reception and luncheon at the White House. She even recalls what they ate, which was pheasant, wild rice, broccoli, consomme, a tossed salad, and peach ice.

She's most proud of a real honor given her, election to the presidency of the Democratic 84th Club, which is composed of all the new Democratic Members of the House. They meet once a week for breakfast.

"I spend lots of time sitting in chairs, you see."

Results of Questionnaire Mailed to Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, THOMAS E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a tabulation of the votes I have received from the State of Iowa in response to my annual questionnaire.

On March 1, I mailed 42,561 questionnaires to the people of Iowa. I have distributed similar questionnaires in the First Congressional District of Iowa during the past 5 years but this is my first statewide distribution.

The only statement accompanying the questionnaire was a letter printed thereon as follows:

MARCH 1, 1955.

DEAR FRIEND: The following questions are based primarily on the budget report, economic report, President Elsenhower's message to the first session of the 84th Congress on the state of the Union, and his special messages to Congress. I am sending this questionnaire to every 20th householder of Iowa—both town and country. (I have used rural directories for each county, and all city directories. For towns without householder directories, I have used every telephone directory obtainable.)

In order to help us tabulate the returns, please check your answers but do not add any comments on this side. Use the back of this sheet for your comments if you wish. Your individual opinions will be kept strictly confidential.

I am also distributing yellow sample copies to other persons for their information regarding the poll we are taking. These yel-

garding the poll we are taking. These yellow copies will not be tabulated but replies to them will be highly valued by me.

This questionnaire gives Iowa householders the opportunity to join together without regard to party affiliation in stating their views on the Issues covered in the questionnaire. I plan to summarize and present to Congress the returns received during the next 4 weeks. Undoubtedly Congress will consider this summary as the prevailing view of Iowa on these issues. Later on I will send a copy of my report to each person to whom questionnaires and sample copies have been mailed. I hope my report will be of interest.

We have received a total of 6,599 replies which are included in the tabulation. This return of 15.5 percent is unusually high for this type of poll, and I am deeply grateful to the people of Iowa for their generous response.

The occupations listed by those replying were as follows:

mig were as ronows.	
Farmer	2,373
Labor	1,223
Business	745
Professional	691
White collar	885
Miscellaneous	682

Yellow sample copies were distributed freely and we received 6,119 sample-copy replies which are not included in our tabulation

Both yellow and white ballots brought us hundreds of good discussions on many

of the issues of special interest. These special discussions are of utmost value to us.

There being no objection, the tabulation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Questionnaire-Tabulation of total vote

	Total	Yes	350	Percentage		
	vote		No	Yes	No	
 Do you favor drafting men for 2-years' active military service, subject call in time of war or emergency for another 6 years? Do you favor military training for 6 months, subject to call in time of win or emergency for 9½ years thereafter in lieu of 2 years' active duty an 	6, 103	4, 046	2, 057	66, 30	33. 70	
6 years availability? 3. Do you approve President Eisenhower's foreign policy? 4. Do you favor a constitutional amendment making treaties of no for	5, 884	2, 272 4, 580	3, 612 1, 145	38. 61 90. 00	61. 39 20. 00	
and effect if they deny or abridge any right enumerated in the Unite States Constitution? 5. Do you favor ending foreign military sid? 6. Do you favor ending foreign economic aid?	5, 734 6, 180 6, 163	3, 622 2, 303 2, 448	2, 112 3, 877 3, 715	63. 17 37. 27 39. 72	36. 83 62. 73 60. 28	
 Do you approve exchange of atom secrets between the United States are our allies? Do you favor authorizing the development and use of atomic energy to the control of the contr	6, 246	2, 376	3, 870	38, 04	61. 96	
private enterprise within our own country? 9. Do you favor trading American butter for Russian manganese? 10. Do you favor removing price supports from some types of wheat not for milling in order to improve price-support situation on wheat suitab	6, 359 6, 239	5, 476 3, 739	883 2, 500	86. 11 59. 93	13. 89 40. 07	
for human consumption? 11. Do you approve stricter controls on what farmers can plant on lan	6, 156	5, 202	954	84, 50	15. 50	
diverted from major crops? 12. Do you favor support levels for agriculture at 90 percent of parity if sue support requires the imposition of stricter marketing allocations, acr	6, 270 h	2,097	4, 173	33. 44	66. 56	
age allotments, and price controls of agricultural products so supported. 13. Do you favor immediate balancing of Federal budget by increasing the support of the support	7. 6, 102	2, 564	3, 538	42, 02	57. 98	
Federal taxes? 14. Do you favor reduction of taxes before balancing the budget? 15. Do you favor immediate balancing of Federal budget by reduction	6, 258 6, 265	1, 233	5, 025 4, 675	19.70 25.38	80. 30 74. 62	
Federal spending? 16. Do you favor a constitutional amendment to prohibit, except in time war, any Congress from appropriating more than the Federal Gover	of 6, 191	4, 882	1, 309	78. 86	21. 14	
ment expects to collect from taxes? 17. Do you approve President Elsenhower's 10-year construction program modernize our primary roads (urban and farm-to-market), secondar roads (entirely farm-to-market), other roads and streets (both urba and farm-to-market), and interstate roads, requiring the expenditure.	6, 295	4, 686	1, 609	74. 44	25. 56	
 Do you approve Federal appropriations totaling \$31 billion over 10-yes period to help pay for the construction program described in que 	6, 153	3, 955	2, 198	64. 28	35. 72	
tion 17? 19. Do you favor Federal Government purchase of school-construction bom when school districts cannot sell the bonds at a reasonable price on ti	6, 086	3, 922	2, 164	64, 44	35. 50	
 private bond market? Do you approve matching Federal and State funds to launch statewie "building agencies" which would finance construction of schools and 	e 6, 265	3, 703	2, 562	59. 11	40. 89	
pay for them by renting them to the school districts? 21. Do you approve direct Federal grants to States to help build schools? 22. Do you approve an increase in the minimum wage from 75 to 90 cents a	6, 093	2, 418 3, 198	3, 675 2, 930	39. 68 52. 19	60. 35 47. 8	
hour? 3. Do you think management of money in welfare funds of labor union		3, 551	2, 680	56, 99	43. 0	
should be regulated by law as insurance funds are regulated? 24. [Atomic Energy Commission has first call on Tennessee Valley Authorit power. The present capacity of TVA will not meet total demand for power by 1937 in that area.] Do you favor purchase of private power by Atomic Energy Commission from private utilities operating in the are	y	5, 766	503	91. 98	8.00	
where the power is needed? Where the number of prospective private suppliers of power is limite do you approve the Atomic Energy Commission negotiating private	5, 925 i,	4, 699	1, 226	79. 31	20, 60	
the contracts for needed power? 26. Do you favor reduction of Federal Government's competition with property of the competition of the contracts of the contract of the contracts of the contract of the contrac	5,742	4, 028	1,714	70. 15	29. 8	
wately owned business and industry? 7. Where national security is not involved in our reciprocal trade program do you favor making the Tariff Commission's findings of injury to ar industry binding upon the President and to require him to grant tar.	6, 176 y	4,770	1, 406	77. 23	22. 7	
relief? 5. Do you approve extending social-security old-age insurance to all groung of workers not presently covered by social-security insurance or son	5, 475	2, 794	2, 681	51. 03	48. 9	
equivalent plan? 9. Do you favor the Federal Government reinsuring privately run volu	6, 295	4, 958	1, 337	78.76	21.2	
tary hospitalization and surgical insurance plans? Do you favor continuation of the Federal Government's low-rent publication.	5, 984	2, 102	3, 882	35. 13	64.8	
housing program? 1. Do you favor free Government treatment of a veteran for non-servic connected disability when there is doubt of his ability to pay for neede	d	4, 132	1, 982	67. 58	32. 4	
treatment? 32. Do you favor an increase in postal rates to meet Postal Department deficit?	6, 288 6, 337	3, 603 4, 358	1, 979	57. 30 68. 77	31. 2	
Generic Generic General Control of the voting age to 18 years? 31. Do you approve statehood for Hawali? 35. Do you approve statehood for Alaska? 36. Please check the 6 issues you think most important today:	6, 381	2, 902 5, 016 4, 985	3, 479 1, 126	45, 48 81, 67 81, 83	54. 5: 18. 3 18. 1	
(a) Government spending (b) Debt of Federal Government (c) Taxation (d) Farm price-support policy (e) United States foreign-trade policies.		(2) 4, 430 3, 179 2, 498				
(g) Labor policies.		(4) 3, 92 2, 16	8			
(h) Defense and war preparedness		(3) 4, 04	7			
(i) American foreign policy (j) Atomic-energy policies (k) Limitation of President's treaty-making power		2, 46 93	8			
(t) Corruption in government	***	(5) 3, 58	2			

The total tabulation of the white ballots appears on this page and the tabulapage.

Total vote of the questionnaire by occupations

	Farmer Labor		Business		Professional		White collar		Miscellaneous			
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Do you favor drafting men for 2 years' active military service, subject to call in time of war or emergency for another 6 years? Do you favor military training for 6 months, subject to call in time of war or	1, 290	892	854	310	479	224	416	225	602	223	405	183
emergency for 9½ years thereafter in lieu of 2 years' active duty and 6 years availability? 2. Do you approve President Eisenbower's foreign policy? 4. Do you favor a constitutional amendment making treaties of no force and effect	823 1,604	1,301 431	404 753	71.2 307	263 557	394 102	248 549	386 74	310 687	487 105	224 430	331 120
if they deny or abridge any right enumerated in the United States Constitu- tion? 5. Do you favor ending foreign military aid? 6. Do you favor ending foreign economic aid?	1, 215 898 839	800 1,314 1,368	671 436 509	427 733 665	427 237 281	220 464 413	414 202 215	209 446 431	527 255 325	252 584 507	368 275 279	20 33 33
 Do you approve exchange of atom secrets between the United States and our allies? 	777	1,483	411	771	271	433	355	308	350	487	212	38
 Do you favor authorizing the development and use of atomic energy by private enterprise within our own country? Do you favor trading American butter for Russian manganese? Do you favor removing price supports from some types of wheat not fit for milling in order to improve price-support situation on wheat suitable for human 	1,911	365 803	1,007 586	183 586	649 444	81 271	618 426	54 222	709 505	102 341	522 334	27
consumption? 1. Do you approve stricter controls on what farmers can plant on land diverted from	1,859	412	962	187	604	90	551	68	725	100	501	5
major crops? Do you favor support levels for agriculture at 90 percent of parity if such support requires the imposition of stricter marketing allocations, acreage allotments, and	900	1, 389	350	816	259	448	177	477	249	590	162	45
price controls of agricultural products so supported? Do you favor immediate balancing of Federal budget by increasing Federal	1, 196	1,077	461	659	247	436	181	454	100	544	205	30
4. Do you favor reduction of taxes before balancing the budget? 5. Fo you favor immediate balancing of Federal budget by reduction of Federal	464 567	1, 789	173 362	1,001	143 169	564 544	165	502 532	200	688 650	128	48
 Spending? Do you favor a constitutional amendment to prohibit, except in time of war, any Congress from appropriating more than the Federal Government expects to 	1, 781	448	897	260	565	138	498	153	661	179	480	13
collect from taxes?. 7. Do you approve President Eisenhower's 10-year construction program to modernize our primary roads (urban and farm-to-market), secondary roads (entirely farm-to-market), other roads and streets (both urban and farm-to-market), and interstate roads, requiring the expenditure of \$101 billion by all	1, 781	491	883	295	541	168	426	237	610	239	445	17
levels of government? 5. Do you approve Federal appropriations totaling \$31 billion over 10-year period	1.280	936	743	416	498	205	461	188	605	225	368	23
to help pay for the construction program described in question 177. 1. Do you favor Federal Government purchase of school-construction bonds when school districts cannot sell the bonds at a reasonable price on the private bond	1, 292	893	745	409	483	206	449	195	586	238	367	22
market? Do you approve matching Federal and State funds to launch statewide "building agencies" which would finance construction of schools and pay for them by renting them to school districts?	1, 308	965	806 514	373 647	378 273	431	364 275	293	355	334 465	338	33
. Do you approve direct Federal grants to States to help build schools? t. Do you approve an increase in the minimum wage from 75 to 90 cents an hour? by Do you think management of money in welfare funds of labor unions should be	1, 143 822	1, 048 1, 429	736 1, 014	432 162	293 341	412 365	294 405	354 248	423 630	411 221	229 309 339	27
regulated by law as insurance funds are regulated? [Atomic Energy Commission has first call on Tennessee Valley Authority power. The present capacity of TVA will not meet total demand for power by 1957 in that areal. Do you favor purchase of private power by Atomic Energy Commission from private utilities operating in the area where the	2, 046	177	1, 032	148	688	40	636	34	804	85	500	
power is needed? Where the number of prospective private suppliers of power is limited, do you approve the Atomic Knergy Commission negotiating privately the contracts	1, 647	462	864	266	572	117	B 21	118	665	146	430	1
for needed power? Do you favor reduction of Federal Government's competition with privately	1, 400	633	713	393	506	169	454	155	583	216	372	1-
owned business and industry? Where national security is not involved in our reciprocal trade program, do you favor making the Tariff Commission's findings of injury to any industry bind-	1, 577	663	858	296	613	93	550	109	727	123	445	12
ing upon the President and to require him to grant tariff relief? Do you approve extending social-security old-age insurance to all groups of workers not presently covered by social-security insurance or some equivalent	1,016	914	577	472	338	300	248	340	385	376	230	2
plan? Do you favor the Federal Government reinsuring privately run voluntary	1, 703	7 410	988	191	578	138	496 204	436	704	148	489	1:
hospitalization and surgical insurance plans? Do you favor continuation of the Federal Government's low-rent public-housing	730	1,419	482 822	995	215 397	311	204	229	250 541	201	399	34
program? Do you favor free Government treatment of a veteran for non-service-connected disability when there is doubt of his ability to pay for needed treatment?	1, 559	635 977	791	390	364	346	306	354	477	378	378	2
Do you favor an increase in postal rates to meet Postal Department deficit? Do you approve reducing the voting age to 18 years? Do you approve statchood for Hawaii?	1, 469 1, 045 1, 699 1, 709	815 1, 246 452 426	908 586 997 992	278 609 186 177	509 314 552 559	222 412 149 139	490 291 576 552	182 380 91 108	615 380 703 692	240 484 146 148	376 286 490 481	34
Do you approve statehood for Alaska". Please check the 6 issues you think most important today. (a) Government speuding. (b) Debt of Federal Government.	(1)	1,797 1,148	(1) 903 (1) 583 (6) 563 (6) 385		(1) 507 (5) 337		(1) 677 (6) 456		(1) 535 (6) 392			
(c) Taxation. (d) Farm price support policy. (e) United States foreign trade policies. (f) Control of communism in America.	(2)	1, 552 1, 636 930 1, 443	(2) 834 (2) 520 409 341 368 208 (4) 772 (4) 411		301 208 411	(4) 435 277 (6) 331 329		294 341 (5) 505		(2) 464 202 260 (3) 461		
(a) Labor policies. (b) Defense and war preparedness. (i) American foreign policy. (ii) Atomic energy policies.	Giggs.	623 1, 255 929 741	479 285 (3) 831 (3) 469 537 373 493 304		285 409 373 304	239 298 (3) 448 (3) 613 (2) 471 (4) 513 328 360		298 613 513 360	(4) 431 318 234			
(k) Limitation of President's treatymaking power. (l) Corruption in government	(5)	376 1, 388	(5)	174 713	(5)	98 391		90 259	6	83 408	(5)	117 423

MY DUTY AS A MEMBER OF CONGRESS

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, each year I have received several inquiries regarding the purpose and use made of my questionnaire. The source and substance of the questionnaire grew out of my analysis of the President's reports and messages to Congress, and I developed my method of distribution of it after consultation with Dr. George Gallup. The purpose of the questionnaire is best described in the words of

Edmund Burke, 18th-century British statesman, as follows:

Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinions high respect; their business unremitting attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasure, his satisfactions, to theirs—and above all, ever, and

in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own.

But a representative's unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure—no, nor from the law and the Constitution. They are a trust from providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.

The Offshore Entanglement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD what I regard as one of the most able analyses of the Asiatic problem which has been written since January 29, when we passed, in the form of Public Law 4, the extraordinary authorization requested by the President of the United States. The article to which I refer was written by Walter Lippmann, and was published in the Washington Post of April 12. The title of the article is "The Offshore Entanglement." In my opinion Mr. Lippmann has in this article set forth an unanswerable argument in opposition to the administration's present foreign policy in relation to Quemoy and the Matsus.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TODAY AND TOMORROW
(By Walter Lippmann)
THE OFFSHORE ENTANGLEMENT

In the 2 months that have passed since Congress voted the Formosa resolution, the President has been hearing an increasingly heavy burden of responsibility. It has been a strange development especially for him, so sincerely convinced a believer that personal government is undesirable and that Congress should participate with the Executive in the great decisions of war and peace.

The Formosa resolution has left it to him to decide whether to defend the offshore islands at the risk of a general war. This is an extreme delegation of authority. President Eisenhower must determine not only whether war is justified because a known and established vital interest of the United States has been violated. President has that power and that responsibility. He must determine whether or not, and in what degree, there is an American interest in these offshore islands. has left the decision entirely to him. There is no treaty obligation, there is no principle of law, which establishes an American interest in these islands. The President and Congress have not agreed upon any clear and definite juridical, strategic, or political standard to guide the Chief Executive in making the greatest decision that he can be called upon to make.

Ever since the vote in Congress, the President has been under pressure from all quarters to make a decision one way or the other. This he has thus far refused to do. Lacking a definite principle and a policy to guide him, it has seemed better to wait and see whether Peipiag does anything which, when it is already happening, the President then judges in the heat of the crisis to be vitally related to the defense of Formosa. Amidst all the uncertainties and pressures which converge upon the White House, it has seemed better not to make a decision and not to risk the displeasure of those who would not like the decision.

Yet this is an unsound position for the Chief Executive: that without public criteria known in advance, he must decide for peace or war after the confusion of war has begun. Can it truly be argued that it is good policy

to make the Chinese guess how President Eisenhower will guess if they attack the islands? And in any event, the policy of not choosing a policy until the adversary has precipitated a crisis is an invitation to Peiping to proceed in such ways as will cause the most division and confusion in this country, in Formosa, among our allies, and in the uncommitted Asian countries.

It is never safe to assume that your adversary is a fool. And therefore it is not safe to assume that the Red Chinese will take such obvious military actions that it will be easy for the President to make a decision that will unite the country and rally its allies. There are, as anyone who has been reading the papers knows, ways of attacking these offshore islands which would not be "recognizable," to use the words of the President's message, "as parts of, or definite preliminaries to, an attack against the main positions of Formosa and the Pescadores."

Our problem is how to extricate the President and the country from this predicament. When the President was persuaded in January, perhaps against his better judgment, to accept personal responsibility for the offshore islands, two things were hoped for. One was that an overwhelming vote by Congress would deter the Red Chinese from any serious military action in the Formosa Strait. The other hope was that a truce could be negotiated in which the offshore islands would be used as an important bargaining point.

As to the first hope, experience has shown, I believe, that even if the Red Chinese are deterred from an open full-scale assault, they have been given a strong incentive to proceed by the other means—just short of open conventional war—which are available to them. But it is on the second point, on the hope of negotiating a ceasefire, that our knowledge now is most definite. We know, I believe, that a ceasefire cannot be had by the negotiation of a public agreement signed by all the interested parties.

A cease-fire by negotiation cannot be had because neither the Chinese government in Peiping nor the Chinese Government in Formosa can sign such a document. For they would be agreeing to end the civil war by a partition of Chinese territory. Chiang would be renouncing his claim to be the head of the rightful government of China; Mao Tse-Tung would be renouncing his claim to be the head of the legitimate government of China. Peiping cannot be expected to sign such a renunciation. And we would have the greatest difficulty in persuading Chiang to sign it.

Since a truce in the Formosa Strait cannot be had by agreement between the two Chinese governments, the best chance of preventing a dangerous war is to cut the Gordian to establish the cease-fire by an ac-Knot: tion of our own. We have the power to do that. It is not often that one nation has power of that kind. But in the Formosa Strait we have it. For all practical purposes, and over a considerable period of time at least, a military cease-fire would exist if the Nationalist forces were brought back to Formosa, if their naval and air raids, which are mere pin-pricks, were discontinued, and our position in the Formosa area were made to conform to the law as laid down in our treaty with Nationalist China. This treaty provides for the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores. It was ratified with explicit assurance to our people that it calls for no American participation in the Chinese civil

This would be solid ground for the United States to stand upon. We would then be within our certain military capacities. Our stand would be in accord with our national interests. It would be acceptable, or better than that, to our allies. And last but by no means least, the ground on which we stood would be lawful ground.

The only known objection to such a forthright policy is that a decision to evacuate the offshore islands will shake the morale and perhaps the allegiance of the Chinese forces and Chinese officials in Formosa. Though there are countermeasures which can be taken to reduce this risk, we must assume that it is a genuine risk.

But let us ask ourselves whether there is any other policy which will eliminate this risk—the risk of internal subversion and of defection. Our present policy of keeping everyone guessing and in suspense is hardly likely to keep morale high anywhere, and least of all in Formosa. How must the Chinese from the mainland, threatened with attack on the islands where Chiang has committed so many of his troops, feel when they are told that after they are under attack, the President will decide whether to support them or to let them be overwhelmed? It is not a pleasant fix to leave them in.

But suppose, then, that the President comes down off the fence and declared that these islands will be defended. How long would morale be kept high in Formosa? The answer, I submit, is that it will be kept high a little longer, but only as long as it looks possible that in defending these islands the United States will become involved in a general war to overthrow the Red government in Peiping.

For the only reason these islands are so important to the morale of the Nationalists in Formosa is that they raise the hope that the United States will become involved in a general war—in a general war which will restore Chiang and his followers to power on the mainland. The islands are of no strategic importance to the defense of Formosa or to the personal security of the Chinese in Formosa. It is not their "defense" which makes these islands so important. It is that they are the last best chance of entangling the United States in the unfinished civil war. That is the bitter truth about what is called, quite unequivocally, the defense of the offshore islands.

It is the paramount interest of the United States that whenever we must fight a war we shall fight it for the legitimate and clearly defined interests of the United States—and not because we have become entangled and cannot muster the moral courage to disentangle ourselves.

Yalta Dud

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Yalta Dud," which was published in the Washington Evening Star of April 6, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YALTA DUD

There is a high probability that Senator GEORGE is right in saying that the bombshell which some Republicans are trying to manufacture from the Yalta papers will turn out to be a political dud.

Senator Goldwater, who heads the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, thinks highly of a document prepared by the GOP, presumably based on material in the Yalta papers. "This," Senator Golds

WATER says, "will show the American people that they shouldn't return a party to power which engaged in such a sellout."

Why? If the Republican version of Yalta is accepted at face value, it was Franklin Roosevelt, not the Democratic Party, who was guilty of the sellout. But Mr. Roosevelt has been dead for 10 years. Is the Democratic Party disqualified for office in 1956 because of something allegedly done by one man a decade or more ago? If this would be the case in 1956, when could the party redeem itself? Never?

These points serve to deflate the substance of Senator Goldwater's claim, and also to support the view that Senator George is on firm ground in saying the Yalta contrivance will prove to be a political dud. The American voter can be bamboozled. But it is not quite as easy as the Yalta-minded Repub-

licans seem to think.

Benjamin A. Tober

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the Record an editorial appearing in the March 24 edition of the Portsmouth Herald, together with an article appearing in the March 23 edition of the same paper, in Portsmouth, N. H., relative to the late Benjamin A. Tober, a distinguished citizen of my State and one of our civic leaders, who died recently.

There being no objection, the editorial and news article were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

BENJAMIN A. TOBER

At times, it is so hard to be understanding—so hard to continue our religious beliefs and the things taught us in childhood. The decisions of our Almighty God should be above question. Yet, many times we do question and wonder.

In the death of Benjamin A. Tober, the men and women not only of our community but also of the entire State of New Hampshire have lost an active, sincere, conscientious worker for all that is good for all.

Ben gave so much of himself in so many ways for civic, community, religious and business ideals. A man more active at his age will be hard to find.

In the prime of life, with so many years ahead for continued service to his community and mankind, Ben has been called—we try to believe for a greater service beyond

our comprehension. This must be God's will. It is the firm conviction of The Portsmouth Herald that our entire community has suffered a great loss. Mere words are inadequate as comfort to his family, his friends and the community in general.

We can only say, "We'll all miss you, Ben."

BENJAMIN A. TOBER, BUSINESSMAN, DIES

Benjamin A. Tober, 40, of 707 South Street, prominent in local and State Jewish community affairs and a former president of the New Hampshire Council of Retail Merchants, died today at Elliott Memorial Hospital, in Manchester.

He was taken ill Thursday while in Manchester on business and death was believed due to a heart attack. Born in Dorchester, Mass., on January 4, 1914, he was the son of Mr. and Mrs. Louis Tober, of 308 Broad Street. He attended local schools and was graduated from Portsmouth High School in 1932, and from Boston University's College of Business Administration in 1936.

A leader for several years in the Portsmouth Jewish community, Mr. Tober was serving on the board of directors of Temple Israel. He had served two terms as president of the Portsmouth Zionist District and in 1945 was elected president of the New Hampshire Zionist Federation.

In 1944, he was honored by the Jewish Advocate, a Jewish newspaper in Boston, as one of the outstanding figures in New England.

Among the positions he had held were vice chairman of the New England Zionist Emergency Council, as representative for New Hampshire, member of the executive committee of the New England Zionist region, member of the executive committee of the New England Jewish national fund, New England zone chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, member of the Portsmouth Zionist Youth Commission, secretary of the Portsmouth Jewish welfare board committee, secretary of the Portsmouth Hebrew School, member of the United Jewish Appeal Committee of Portsmouth, and the national committee for the United Palestine Appeal,

Also Mr. Tober served for several years as chairman of the Portsmouth Recreation Commission, resigning 2 years ago, when advised by doctors to give up outside activities.

A staunch proponent of the Portsmouth Air Force Base, Mr. Tober was instrumental in organizing the Air Base Defenders, which fought off attacks aimed at cancelling the installation here. He was among the group of Portsmouth area businessmen and civic leaders who went to Washington, D. C., to plead for the reactivation of plans for the base here when canceled unexpectedly earlier in 1953.

He was a member of the finance and program committee for the ground-breaking ceremony held at the air base last July 4.

A past chairman of the chamber of commerce's retail board and a member of the chamber's board of directors, Mr. Tober was elected head of the State's council of retail merchants in 1951.

merchants in 1951.

He was also a member of the Portsmouth Country Club and the Rotary Club.

Besides his parents he is survived by his wife, Mrs. Lee Tober; two sons, Stephen, 5, and Robert, 14; three brothers, David Tober, of Portsmouth; Irving Tober, of Manchester; and Dr. Edward Tober on the staff of Mount Sinai Hospital in New York City.

The Gottesman Collection of Dead Sea Scrolls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, on March 16, 1955, Mr. D. Samuel Gottesman, an eminent citizen of my State, was honored at a reception given him at the Embassy of Israel. On that occasion His Excellency Ambassador Abbaseban and the noted scholar, Prof. William Albright, paid tribute to Mr. Gottesman in connection with his donation to the people of Israel of four

highly treasured Biblical scrolls of great antiquity.

I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of Ambassador Eban and of Professor Albright and the response of Mr. Gottesman be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GOTTESMAN COLLECTION OF DEAD SEA SCROLLS

(Remarks of Ambassador Abba Eban, Prof. William Albright, and Mr. D. Samuel Gottesman at a reception in honor of Mr. Gottesman held at the Embassy of Israel, Washington, D. C., on March 16, 1955)

Ambassador Abba Eban. I cannot recall any occasion within the walls of this Embassy which evoked such a profound and unique emotion. There is an attribute of generosity which like all other attributes can be exercised with varying degrees of generosity and skill and imaginativeness and our guest of honor, Samuel Gottesman, has here performed an act of generosity within the highest dimensions of human history. We are assembled to express the appreciation of the Government and people of Israel for the part which he has played in restoring to our national possession the four priceless ancient scrolls inscribed with literature from the ancient period of revelation, the period in which the Hebrew mind developed its deepest insight into the nature of man and the

The origins of this act of generosity confure up a most dramatic and vivid story, a story which begins in 1947 when a Bedouin shepherd near the northern shores of the Dead Sea inadvertently stumbled upon the jars containing certain scrolls which when opened, appeared to be inscribed in Hebrew. Three of these scrolls were immediately acquired by Professor Sukenik, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who at much risk, went to Bethlehem at the height of the disturbances there in order to acquire them. Four, however, left the country in the custody and possession of the Syrian Archbishop Athanasius Samuel and were swallowed up in the vastness and expanse of this Republic. To our mind they had vanished from our possession forever. We assumed that they would be acquired by one of the universities or academies of this country, more lavishly endowed than any of our own institutions. Imagine, then, our surprise when General Yadin, the son of Professor Sukenik, read an advertisement, of all places in the Wall Street Journal, announcing these Biblical manuscripts for sale. This surely should be an exhortation to all of us to aspire to a catholic interest in our daily reading. As a result of this providential surprise, the generosity of Samuel Gottesman enabled us to acquire what our own resources would certainly not have brought within our reach, the possession as a national trust of the remaining scrolls which you see depicted here.

The first is the Book of Isaiah, the oldest known manuscript of that great work of poetry and prophecy, a scroll 20 feet long, in an excellent state of preservation and revealing the almost uncanny consistency of the textual tradition over a period of some 15 centuries. The second, a commentary on the book of Habbakuk; the third, a work called the Manual of Discipline which sets out the organization of the life of a religious sect, probably akin to the Essenes, on the northern shores of the Dead Sea; and the fourth, perhaps the most exciting of all, not yet opened, the Revelations of Lemach, a scroll of 2,000 years of antiquity. the opening of which raises many technical problems of opening it without destroying its text and its legibility.

These then are four of the newly discovered gems of ancient Hebrew literature which have now been brought back to Jerusalem the Government of Israel has decided to establish the Hakhal Hasefer, the Shrine of the Book, and around these scrolls will be built a museum and a library portraying Israel's connection with its ancient This great institution will serve literature. This great institution will serve to remind the people of Israel of the essential element in their destiny, the fact that we are not a new people writing its history upon a clean slate; we are in our own consciousness and in that of the world the living descendant of the ancient Jewish kingdoms which proclaimed to mankind the most authentic messages of its own indi-This is the vidual and collective salvation. central theme in Israel's restoration and it is here, despite the turbulence of other preoccupations, that the destiny of our people must lie, in this realm of spiritual and literary creativeness. I think Mr. Gottesman therefore will realize that he has expressed his generosity in almost immortal terms, in choosing this as the avenue in which to give his assistance. Accordingly, these scrolls will be named the Gottesman scrolls and we celebrate this act of generosity here today at the very moment when in Jerusalem the Hekhal Hasefer, the Shrine of the Book, is being opened by the President of the state of Israel upon the soil of the Holy Land.

I would like to invite two of our guests to address you. First, Professor Albright, of Johns Hopkins University of Baltimore, who has rendered such incomparable services to scholarship and archeology relating to the Holy Land. He, I am sure, will be able to tell you something of the excitement which this event has evoked in circles of Biblical and oriental scholarship everywhere. Professor Albright.

Professor Albright. Your excellency, Mr. Gottesman, ladies and gentlemen, needless to say it is a great relief not to hold this particular secret confidential any longer. Ever since the end of May, I have been keeping it as secret as possible, dodging questions and questioners on every possible occasion and trying my best to combine absolute truthfulness with total ignorance. One Christmas week I was reduced to the ignominious position of having to concentrate on a New York bank, since I had no idea in the world what bank may be involved, if any was involved. But there were many people who knew about the secret, in this country and in Israel, and there is also a certain Mr. Green who was intimately involved; not the rabbi of Washington, my old favorite student, but a certain Prof. Hy Olinsky of the Jewish Institute of Religion, New York City, who assumed the name of Green for the direct negotiations with the archbishop's representatives so that the archbishop had no clear idea to whom they were going and no one else knew anything about it.

Anyway, it is finished now and this we owe to the generosity and magnanimity of Mr. Gottesman. I think it is an extremely happy idea of the Ambassador of Israel and his staff to arrange this reception for Mr. Gottesman because it is very rarely that we find a gentleman of such breadth of horizon, such interest in the history and the future of his people, as to go so far as to spend all the money necessary to buy this collection. Of course, since then, I understand, his beatitude has been riding around in Cadillacs and so forth, but anyway the scrolls are now in Israel. In the middle of August I met Yadin again at the Israel Embassy in London and the first thing he said was, "The scrolls are now in Israel." Well, they are certainly in Israel and, as the Ambassador has already said, this is an absolutely unique collection of extremely important documents. A scroll of the Prophet Isaiah which is undoubtedly 2,000 years old and may even be as much as 2,000 years and a century old. I remember the early days—1949, 1950, 1951—when there

were loud objections to the antiquity and authenticity of the scrolls which were described as hoaxes and so forth. Since then the cave itself has been excavated. Yassin settlement in Khirbet Qumran, south of Jericho, has been excavated, and other caves, Qumran IV. have been excavated and here were found all kinds of corroboratory material. They found, for instance, coins from about 100 B. C. down to the year 68 or 69 C. E. which represents the end of the settlement and the latest possible date for any of these scrolls. Here is the great scroll of Isaiah from somewhere between 150 and 50 B. C.; and the scroll of discipline, which describes in considerable detail the beliefs and practice of this famous Essene sect, the third of the great sects of Israel in the last day of the second temple. And that is a little later, possibly of the first half of the last century before Christ. And over here is that priceless scroll of Lemach, which is the only book in Jewish Aramaic from between the time of Danielwhich is at the latest, the Aramaic part I mean, about the early third century before Christ-and the scroll of fasting, the Megilat Taanit, from the early second century Common Era. That means that a period of 400 years was represented not by a single work in Jewish Aramaic, the language of the Jewish people for everyday purposes. have it and I understand that Professor Avigad, of the Hebrew University, is now at work unrolling that priceless scroll.

And the other scrolls are important not only because of their unique historical significance but also because now the scholars of the Hebrew University and other scholars in Israel can get new infrared and ultraviolet photographs and they can clear up various obscurities which still remain. It is a wonderful collection and I must congratulate Mr. Gottesman for having had the breadth of vision to acquire them for the land of Israel.

Ambassador Esan. Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Gottesman.

Mr. D. Samuel Gottesman. I am overwhelmed by the profound and gracious remarks of Ambassador Eban and Professor Albright and I want to express my sincerest thanks to them for their warm and generous words.

Speaking for myself, as well as members of my family—of whom I see quite a few in the audience—I want to express our deepest appreciation for the great honor that has been conferred upon us this evening.

When I visited Israel a little over a year ago, I was thrilled by the signs of progress being made in all directions. However, the outstanding feeling that I brought home with me was that the greatest contribution Israel would make to civilization and the world at large would be in the fields of spiritual and cultural development.

Shortly before my visit to Israel, I had expressed the thought that the administration of human affairs had fallen behind our technological advances with the result that the physical and moral self-destruction of the human race was in the air. I said, further, that it was not to science that we must turn for guidance, but to the humanities-the several fields of learning having to do with the social and moral fiber of our people; that we must develop the ethical, cultural, and philosophical values; and in that way only could we build up the liberalism and understanding so necessary to win the race against the weapons of man's own creation.

It is, therefore, a source of deep pride to me and my family to be associated with this spiritual and historic project whereby our ancient Biblical manuscripts will now reside in the center of the land of the Bible—Jerusalem.

May I may with great humility that in conferring the Gottesman name on these precious scrolls, you are honoring America rather

than myself for I am only the instrument through which it has been made possible for the parchments which bear these inspired words to be restored to the land and people which first gave voice to them. These ancient scrolls—manuscript recordings of our prophets whose teaching has enriched not only Jewish life, learning, and history, but has made its impact upon world civilization—are a massive contribution to Biblical scholarship and, in the future, they will be available to scholars and research workers of all nations. I would like to regard this not as a gift of the Gottesman Foundation but as America's gift to Israel.

I am particularly gratified by the decision of the Israel Government to establish in Jerusalem a special "Shrine of the Book," in which the Gottesman scrolls will be displayed and which will in time acquire additional ancient Biblical manuscripts and thus become the primary center of Biblical research and scholarship in the world. It is our sincere hope that such projects will help to heighten the great spiritual values which we all cherish, and which we hope will forever hallow the atmosphere in which the State of Israel can grow, flourish, and prosper.

I thank you all once again for your kindness and your tributes and extend my best wishes to the state, the people, and the Government of Israel.

Report by May Craig on Her Observations in Europe, the Middle East, and Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, May Craig, Washington correspondent for the Guy Gannett Publishing Co., of Maine, has just returned from a trip to Europe, the Middle East, and Russia. A report on her observations was filed upon her arrival back in this country at Boston. In this report May sounds a warning that everyone in this Nation should heed. She says:

The Communists will attack the free nations when they are ready if they have not been able to destroy all other forms of government by subversion or cold war first.

May is not a defeatist, however, and she believes the struggle can be won through strength. She reports:

I feel more deeply than ever that communism can only be beaten by strength, military and moral. And that the free nations must stick together.

In order that all Members of Congress may have an opportunity to read May's summary report on her trip which appeared in the Portland (Maine) Sunday Telegram on April 10, 1955, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOUR FAILS TO CHANGE VIEW

(By May Craig)

Boston, April 9.—The Communists will attack the free nations when they are ready

if they have not been able to destroy all other forms of government by subversion or cold war first.

That has been my fixed belief and nothing I saw in my tour of Iron Curtain countries in the past 7 weeks has changed it in any way.

Returning to Washington after 7 weeks and 28,000 miles in 14 countries, with plane touch downs in several others, I feel more deeply than ever that communism can only be beaten by strength, military and moral. And that the free nations must stick together. Also that we must accept neutralism for what it is worth—that if neutral nations are not positively on our side, that at least they are subtracted from the Red side.

Winston Churchill and President Eisenhower have both said in 3 to 4 years Russia will have enough nuclear power to strike. Whether or not they do strike depends on whether they can get their way without war. That was my belief when I went into Russia.

Czechoslovakia and Poland are so completely under Red surveillance and terror that they have no voice in the decision. I believe that there is an anti-Communist feeling which might come to the aid of the free nations if the Red grip on them can be broken. But they can do nothing now. Countries visited were Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Cyprus, Egypt, Greece, Italy, France, England, Sweden, and Denmark.

CAREFULLY SUPERVISED

In Russia the editors' group was carefully supervised. We did not see one single official in Czechoslovakia, Poland, or Russia, though we asked in writing in advance. Excuses were given-that there was no time; that officials had been away, and were busy and tired on return; that we were "in transit. Replies to our requests to see officials, to see this or that, were delayed until a few minutes before our departure, or were never given at all. This is the Communist method-"Don't say no, but don't let them do it." I was even denied a visit to the docks of Leningrad on the ground that the harbor was frozen. I said I represented a paper in the port city of Portland, where people would be interested in Russian docks. The guide said the gates were locked during the frozen months. I asked to ride by the docks. Reply was that request would be considered. Nothing happened, and I did not see the docks.

In Czechoslovakia and Poland the satellite fear was heavy as a fog. We had the feeling of being watched all the time. In Russia, there was utmost politeness, but our time was wasted tramping through handsome museums and cathedrals turned into libraries and museums. One rare permission was to go over the plant where official Communist newspaper Pravda is printed, with several other smaller papers and many Communist Party magazines.

CYNICAL EXHIBIT

This was a propaganda privilege, as was the Stalin auto works in Moscow, first auto works in the U. S. S. R., founded 31 years ago. Nothing I saw showed anything that could match the industrial potential of the United States, but that may have been policy. Maybe they think what they have is good; maybe they were concealing their best, to deceive us as to their industrial achievement.

Baldest illustration of their attitude toward the United States was the exhibition of comparative religions, cynically set up in the ancient Cathedral of Notre Dame in Leningrad. This will cover all religions, the guide said. At present it includes only a sketchy Greek exhibit; a Judaic exhibit as background for the extensive Christian exhibit. This exhibit portrays Christianity in its blackest history of the Spanish Inquisition, un-Christian economic exploitation and slave driving in colonies, with special attack on the Pope and the Vatican, and authentic photographs of lynchings in the United

States. The United States is linked with the Roman Catholic Church in this portrayal, and there are bronze statues of young Soviet youth kicking over a block of bronze labelled "USA," in their march toward peace and freedom.

PEACE BANNERS FLAUNTED

Everywhere, even in a gay circus we attended, there were banners bearing the word "peace" in a dozen languages. The United States is everywhere attacked as a warmonger. The atheistic attack on all religion is part of the Red plan to destroy all religious allegiance, and put the state on the altar. In Moscow, the ordinary people in the subways were curious and friendly, but they had their orders. The permission to take pictures was subject to illogical bans—as the doorman at our hotel. Everything we saw was calculated to present communism in a favorable light.

The neutralism we found in Yugoslavia, Austria, Sweden, Finland, is evidence of the effort of communism to set up a buffer belt, and it may succeed, through terror, though Sweden and Austria, certainly want to be on our side.

Great gain for us is approval of German rearmament; the Turkey-Iraq-Pakistan pact; the Turkey-Greece-Yugoslavia pact. The Kremlin fears this growing unity and strength on our side and if we hold, or increase it, it may deter them from hot war and checkmate them in cold war plots.

Medical Social Work Offers Expanding Career for Men and Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, every American concerned with the Nation's health and rehabilitation needs knows that a growing population requires more hospitals, clinics, and rehabilitation services. We have the habit of thinking first of buildings, beds, and laboratory equipment to meet these needs. Of equal or greater importance, however, is the tremendous shortage of highly trained persons we must have to man the hospitals, clinics, and other health services.

In a very real sense it is the present and future generations of college and high-school students who hold the key to what kind of health and welfare services we will be able to have in this country. We of the older generations can help to provide the buildings, the beds, and the budgets but these will be of limited value without more and more young men and women stepping into the ranks of the health and welfare professions and allied occupations.

Not everyone who is interested in a health career can or should be a doctor or a nurse. Most of us know little or nothing about the other health professions which play an important part in caring for sick persons. Parents, as well as students, should inform themselves about the educational requirements and career opportunities of these professions also.

Medical social work is one of the health professions which offers expanding career opportunities for young men and women with a sound liberal arts college educational background and specialized university training. Like all worthy professions, the standards of preparation are high. A parent can feel proud to have a son or daughter choose this unique profession which combines knowledge of medical and health problems with the skills of social work.

I am especially pleased to have a letter from Miss Josephine Taylor, director of social service at Cook County Hospital, calling attention to the unusual opportunities for medical social work professional education in the city of Chicago. Miss Taylor is one of the distinguished members of her profession as well as an outstanding leader in health and welfare activities in Illinois.

I ask unanimous consent that Miss Taylor's letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARCH 4, 1955.

Senato PAUL DOUGLAS,

Senate Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

My Dear Senator Douglas: Knowing your great interest in the rehabilitation of citizens who have had severe injuries or disabling illnesses, I am venturing to write you about the opportunities for young people in medical social work—one of the professional groups working in the fields of medical care and rehabilitation.

Medical social work is an especially appealing profession for those who are interested in the medical setting and who want to help sick people return to health or gain the maximal recovery from disability. Medical social workers have since 1905 been valued members of the medical team working in clinics, hospitals, and medical-care programs. It is our job to help patients and their families solve some of the social and emotional problems which interfere with their recovery or their adjustment to disability. Through 2 years of specialized graduate work in a school of social work (after graduation from college), medical social workers are trained to work with doctors, nurses, and other medical specialists.

Persons with this training are in great demand for important positions in the ex panding programs of medical care and public health. The sad fact is that there are not nearly enough trained medical social workers to fill all of the positions in which they are badly needed. During World War II, it was found that there were only half enough trained medical social workers to fill the jobs then existing, and since then the needs of the armed services, the Veterans' Administration hospitals, the increase in civilian hospitals establishing social-service departments, and, most recently, the expansion of rehabilitation programs, have made the shortage more severe. It is estimated that 3,500 newly trained medical social workers must be recruited by 1957.

We in Illinois are fortunate in having a long-established and excellent teaching center for medical social workers in the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration, with the University of Illinois School of Social Work ready to start such a curriculum by the fall of 1955 if prospective students present themselves. University of Chicago is able to train a far larger number of students in the next few years, and I hope that we may have your help in bringing to the attention of young people seeking careers the opportunities in this growing profession which so badly needs more recruits to keep pace with the impor-tant health needs of the country. Young people who wish to have their training in our great State of Illinois should write to Miss Marietta Stevenson, dean, School of Social Work, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., or Miss Helen R. Wright, dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Ill. The American Association of Medical Social Workers, 1700 I Street NW., Washington 6, D. C., will also give information to any interested college students or their parents.

As director of social service in this large public hospital in our State, I know at firsthand the needs and opportunities for trained staff in this field. As a medical social worker with many years of experience in the field, I also know the rewards of satisfaction and interest which medical social work through service to ill and handicapped persons offers to those who enter the profession.

Yours very truly, JOSEPHINE G. TAYLOR, Director.

Challenge Seen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Challenge Seen." which was published in the Greenville (S. C.) News of April 2, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

CHALLENGE SEEN

Speaking before the southern attorneys general, Governor Timmerman has called again for a congressional curb on the power of the Federal Supreme Court. He made his first proposal that Congress limit the appellate jurisdiction of the Court in his inaugural

address in January.

While the Court's school segregation decision has brought the matter to a head, Governor Timmerman feels that a great national issue is involved. "That issue is whether the judiciary shall usurp the authority reserved to the people to change their Constitution."

It is Mr. Timmerman's belief that constitutional authority is threatened by the view finding favor currently in the judicial branch that "the basic law means whatever the Government thinks it ought to mean."

We think the South Carolina Governor was right when he told his audience:

"Whether you live in Vermont, or Virginia, or in any other State, your constitutional freedom is reduced every time the inherent power of government is used to exceed its constitutional authority."

He added that the great threat to our libertles lies in our acquiesence in the gradual extension of governmental power areas in which the framers of the Constitution did not intend it to go. And actions by the judiciary are especially dangerous, because the public cannot act as directly in its own defense against judicial abuses as it can when elected officials are involved in error.

Certainly when the Court interprets broad and sometimes undefined terms it may be determining questions of public policy, supposedly left to Congress and the executive branch. Personal attitudes and opinions of the Justices can easily play an important role in the decisions reached. It was Charles Evans Hughes, then not a member of the Court, who said many years ago, "We are

under a Constitution, but the Constitution is what the judges say it is."

There are many people throughout the country who agree with Governor Timmerman that Mr. Hughes' description is still apt, and who would like to see Congress take the necessary steps to restore the traditional separation of powers.

Judicial review has been a subject of controversy for 150 years. We have a feeling that if Chief Justice John Marshall, who upheld it in Marbury v. Madison, could examine the practice today his views might remarkably resemble those which Governor Timmerman has so cogently expressed.

Tribute to Civilian Conservation Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, a tribute written by Mr. Clarence Case and others, honoring the Civilian Conservation Corps, is submitted for printing in the RECORD on the occasion of the 22d anniversary of its founding. This properly should have been submitted on April 7. but the Senate was in recess at that time. I therefore ask for its inclusion at this time, this being the first day of our return following Easter.

There being no objection, the tribute was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

Where once were fire-scarred tree trunks and cut-over timber are now magnificent, green, growing tree plantations.

Where once were eroded, useless lands, are

new fertile, productive farms.

Where once were deserts are now irrigated grazing lands, fertile areas, lush with trees and fruit and flowers.

Where once were lakes and rivers, at the end of the lumbering era, full of logs and debris, were unnavigable and dangerous, are now free-flowing waters, full of fish, enjoyed by millions of people.

Where once were impenetrable forests and swamps, inaccessible treasures of beauty, are new fire trails and highways. Have you been on Virginia's Skyline Drive view—its breathtaking beauty? Just remember, it would not be there except for CCC boys.

Bridges, dams, fish hatcheries, swimming beaches, National, State, and local parks, recreation areas, rejuvenated national cemeteries, and monuments, restored shrines, public buildings, and all the rest.

CCC boys transformed a Nation's face. What they gave to all America, the United States, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, has permanent worth. Each year it becomes esthetically more beautiful, economically more valuable, used and enjoyed by millions of people.

They came to the CCC camps out of school, unemployed, very often homeless, malnourished, frustrated, restless. There were the friendly and the friendless. There were the hopeful and the hopeless. Ours was a rugged life in our wilderness home.

When Pearl Harbor came and World War II (December 1941), in a Nation sick with fear, CCC boys by the hundreds of thousands, voluntarily, walked into the recruiting offices of the armed services, took off one uniform, put on another.

Well fed, bronzed, muscled, trained and skilled in many ways, familiar with Army policies and procedures, accustomed to living and working together in the out of doors, CCC boys were the best prepared fighting men this country has ever produced.

All around the world in World War II and since, CCC boys have a wonderful fighting record. Many of them lie with the honored dead in military and civilian cemeteries at home and abroad. And today, war veterans, in their thirties and forties, married, with children, living in every community, in all walks of life, unknown, you never hear a peep out of them. True heroes.

The alumni of the CCC camps, about 3 million, plus their families, humanity uprooted, 20 years ago, are today among our finest citizens. The CCC gave them purpose for life itself, purpose for good citizenship. In the process of being helped to help themselves, they learned to help each other, to help everybody. Today, in every commu-nity, in all walks of life, they are a wonder-ful base upon which to build community and national programs to conserve our human and natural resources.

I ask the Members of Congress, I ask the whole American people, to pause and consider the contributions of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Each year they are esthetically more beautiful, economically more valuable, historically more significant. It should make us all very thoughtful indeed to recall that, as humanity uprooted, the alumni of the CCC camps once were called hoboes and hoodlums. Yet they have given so much that is the Nation's wealth, that is the Nation's pride. It is time for research into the official CCC records, related records, into the lives of the alumni of the CCC camps, in order that the American people may really grasp the colossal contribution made by the CCC, of permanent worth, which will last, be beautiful, valuable, useful, long after they have gone, long after you and I have gone, wealth for posterity.
I suggest that the Nation consider what

would be appropriate recognition for the alumni of the Civilian Conservation Corps. These were our youth—our youth in distress. They lived in a world they had not created. that others had created for them. What a mess it was. But when they go to their graves they will have the supreme satisfaction, known only to a few men, they helped to make this world more beautiful, valuable, useful.

What the Civilian Conservation Corps gave to all America, all the world, in peace and in war, is unprecedented, unequalled, unapproached in American history, in the history of mankind.

What the CCC camps gave to all America, to the world, is the most socially significant program of art in the history of mankind.

Dramatic Victory Over Polio Scourge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, it seems that the outstanding news of the day is the sensational discovery of a vaccine that will combat the dreaded disease which we have known for so long as infantile paralysis and which is now commonly referred to as polio. Our newspaper, radio, and television reports are filled with descriptions of the discovery of this vaccine and each surmises as to its possibilities and meaning to manDuring my return trip by train last night, I obtained a copy of the Philadelphia Inquirer. The editorial concerned itself with this new discovery and is so well written that I desire to bring it to the notice of the House, feeling that each of us can join in the sentiments there expressed. Entitled "Dramatic Victory Over Polio Scourge," the editorial is as follows:

DRAMATIC VICTORY OVER POLIO SCOURCE

Announcement that the Salk vaccine is successful in preventing polio is a tremendously heartening climax to one of the greatest medical advances of the 20th century.

It means that thousands upon thousands of children who might have been crippled or killed by poliomyelitis will live out their lives untouched by this fearful disease.

It means that large-scale outbreaks of polio, which in the past spread terror over whole communities, may soon be controlled, and quite probably stopped altogether.

It marks one more stunning triumph for man in his struggle to conquer deadly or crippling diseases, a triumph shared by medical men, researchers in many fields, and millions of Americans who contributed the money to pay the cost of this campaign.

Because the vaccine used in tests whose results were announced yesterday bears his name, Dr. Jonas E. Salk, of Pittsburgh, will receive great credit for his contribution to the defeat of polio, and properly so. His development of a vaccine which would produce the antibodies to fight off the polio virus was indispensable to success.

Dr. Salk, however, would be among the first to emphasize the fact that the onslaught against polio was a team enterprise, beginning years ago when the existence of the polio virus was first confirmed, and leading to the mass tests last summer which were the basis for yesterday's announcement.

There are few Americans who cannot take some small share of credit for those tests. They were financed by the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, an organization which has supported research against polio for the past 17 years. And the foundation, in turn, got its money from contributions to its March of Dimes, casual contributions most of us never dreamed would produce such dramatic results.

It is significant of the new teamwork and the broad scale of the attack made on these diseases, that 1,829,996 children in 44 States took part in the tests. Some received no inoculations at all; some were given dummy shots, and the rest received injections of the Salk vaccine.

The world now knows the results. The Salk vaccine is 80 to 90 percent effective in preventing paralytic polio. It is not a cure for polio once it is contracted, but it is a highly successful means of preventing the disease we once knew as infantile paralysis from getting a start.

In a few weeks the new vaccine will be sent out to do battle on a thousand fronts against polio, and the situation will call for caution and calmness. Since polio strikes children far more frequently than adults, it is self-evident that the rule of "children first," invoked by the National Foundation in its plans to inoculate children in the first and second grades, should generally apply. Careful parents will consult their physicians, and will recognize the dangers of dropping all other precautions simply because the vaccine has been found successful.

The problems of making the vaccine available—eventually to adults as well as children—do not in the least detract from the magnitude of these new achievements.

A disease whose very name has chilled the hearts of countless parents appears to be facing final defeat. We have a right to hope that before very long polio will join diphtheria, smallpox, typhoid, and other oncelethal diseases on the list of those man has conquered.

There is hope, too, for those now fearing cancer, heart disease, or other killers whose toll has been much higher than that of polio. The causes, cures, and prevention of these diseases may be different, but the same concerted and coordinated attack which brought victory over polio may one day produce equally spectacular results in other fields—and every day, in dozens of places, research toward that end is now going on.

toward that end is now going on.

These hopes are for the future. Today, the whole world may join America in hailing all who shared in the triumph of science, perseverance and faith over one of man's cruelest invisible enemics.

Mr. Speaker, prior to coming to the floor this noon I received a telegram, which is self-explanatory, from a constituent at Fairfield, Conn. In connection with this discovery which has been attributed to Dr. Jonas Salk and his associates, I was pleasantly reminded of the contribution that can be claimed also by Dr. John Franklin Enders, another constituent from West Hartford, Conn. The wire, under permission granted, is also included:

ANTONI N. SADLAK,

United States Representative at Large, House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.:
Surely the first person to deserve a medal of honor for polio and other vaccines is the modest initiator, namely, John Franklin Enders, doctor of philosophy and doctor of science, a native of West Hartford, who is a member of the class of 1919 Yale College and won Nobel prize in December 1954. Polio and subsequent vaccines should be known as Enders and Salk vaccines, etc.

ROBERT P. SHELTON. FAIRFIELD, CONN.

The New Joseph Pulitzer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch has always been a newspaper noted for its excellence. Certain of its departments have been especially distinguished, and if merit derives from literary quality, clean-cut presentation of issues, and a consistent and fearless moral idealism the editorial page of the Post-Dispatch is perhaps the best in our country.

When Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., succeeded his father last week as publisher of this newspaper he issued a statement reaffirming his faith in the famous Post-Dispatch platform first enunciated by his grandfather. This statement adds stature to the Pulitzer reputation and gives strong evidence that the old strain has carried forward into the newest generation. I am printing this statement in our Record today. It should be read by journalists everywhere, and by thoughtful men who prize a free press and its highest traditions:

THE TIDES OF TIME

A flame of integrity was extinguished at the death of my father, Joseph Pulitzer, but

its light will always radiate to newspapermen of conscience everywhere.

Joseph Pulitzer was devoted to the journalistic commandments written in 1907 by my grandfather, the first Joseph Pulitzer, and carried daily as the platform of the Post-Dispatch. These words are a monument of granite which the tides of time will never efface.

Guided by the platform, my father exerted all the skill, conviction, imagination, force and courage with which he was unusually endowed to make the Post-Dispatch responsive to the needs of mankind. He never made a mean decision; on the contrary, his generosity of mind and heart made him a shining guardian of my grandfather's ideals.

Inspiration alone cannot move stones; so my father achieved his distinction by inspiration conveyed to loyal men and women. The Post-Dispatch is fortunate to be brought out day after day by people who are devoted to the ideals which gave this newspaper its character, acclaimed in recent days from near and far.

Today the platform continues to proclaim its proud, timeless message. We of the Post-Dispatch shall abide by the standards we have inherited.

With all the moral strength, the intellectual strength, the professional strength at our command, we will continue to labor as public servants. Not only will we report the day's news but we will illuminate dark places, and, with a deep sense of responsibility, interpret these troubled times.

Opinion will be strong for what we believe to be right, and equally strong against what we construe to be wrong. We also know that laughter is a joy and we hope we will entertain.

For public service our reward will be what each of the men and women of this newspaper and the broadcasting stations will carry within himself. Each will know his voice has merged in a mighty chorus which will resound as heretofore in our city, our State, our Nation and the world.

That chorus, I am confident, will be recognized and I hope it will be found to have added more splendor to the noble profession of journalism.

JOSEPH PULITZER, Jr.

Our Defense Setup on the Pacific Coast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I take this means of emphasizing to the Members of Congress and particularly to those Members who are on the Committee on Armed Services that we have an Achilles' heel in our defense setup on the Pacific coast.

One look at a map and it becomes apparent that some combat units of the Pacific Fleet should be based, for operational purposes, in the Pacific Northwest. Since existing naval facilities already are established in Puget Sound, no major change or expense is involved. Many so-called hard-core naval officers for years have admitted privately that the concentration of our fleet in southern waters and at Pearl Harbor should be augmented by the location of at least one killer unit in the Pacific Northwest; and I am hopeful, in the light of the Soviet's growing naval strength, that Puget

Sound will be designated as an operational base for certain of our Pacific Fleet combat ships.

Under permission to extend my remarks and include extraneous matter, I offer an excerpt from a talk I made to the Lions Club in Bremerton, Wash., on April 6, 1955, which gives some explanation and background to this defense vacuum in northern Pacific Ocean waters:

When the Navy Department was first established in 1798 there were six shipyards on the east coast which were given contracts for building vessels. These six yards were Portsmouth (New Hampshire). Charlestown (Boston), Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Baltimore,

and Gosport (Norfolk).

You will recall from your American history the purpose of providing these so-called men-of-war was to protect American shipping from the Barbary Coast pirates. The Mediterranean had just been opened to us by treaty with Spain. Other nations were paying tribute and our Congress considered a substantial appropriation for this purpose, which brought the cry of millions for defense but not a cent for tribute.

Since those early days of our Republic, in spite of much political pressure, no doubt, on our east coast the location of naval bases has been developed and maintained on a well-dispersed and logical basis in order to protect the entire Atlantic coastline and our

established supply lines.

At approximately a midway point between Maine and Florida the Navy Department has its largest operating base to which all types of combat vessels are attached. This is Norfolk, Va. However, strategically dispersed to the north and south of Norfolk are other naval establishments where various types of vessels are based: Portsmouth has submarines; Boston has cruisers and destroyers; Newport, R. I., has destroyers; Quonset Point, R. I., has carriers; the New London, Conn., naval station has submarines; Charleston, S. C., is a mine craft center, and at Key West, Fla., are submarines and destroyer-type vessels.

Now, let us turn to the west coast. The Navy's first base in the Pacific was established in 1854. This was Mare Island.

Incidentally, I read once that a report on a possible location for a naval base on Puget Sound was filed in Congress in 1850. This was before the first settlers founded Seattle. The proposal was that by cutting a canal Lake Union would provide a fine deep-water anchorage secure from enemy attack. If the suggestion had been adopted I doubt if Lake Union would be a carrier yard today.

In any event, our Puget Sound Yard was next to be established in 1890, while San Diego came much later. The term "base" to the Navy is a facility which overnight can support a fleet of nominal size and is capable of provisioning, fueling and manning ships. The distinction we of Bremetton are so

The distinction we of Bremerton are so conscious of is that of being a home base to ships of the fleet, which brings us to San Diego which began as a radio station in 1912. In 1917 it became a Naval Air Station and in 1919 a hospital and training station. Then in 1920 it became a destroyer base which was the beginning of its development as an operation type of base, or similar in point of importance to Norfolk on the Atlantic.

As you know, since then there has been a standing joke in the Pacific Northwest to the effect that the basing of combat units of the Pacific Fleet was arrived at, as to location, through careful analysis of morale factors including the availability of smooth waters, more sunshine and strategic dispersal of naval families near golf facilities. Certainly prior to World War II Pacific Fleet operations limited possible discomfort to the naval personnel manning our warships as far as northern waters were concerned to a

summer cruise and colorful but brief visits to ports in Puget Sound during Navy Week. In July or August this provided a pleasant change and relief from the seasonal heat further south. Also the admirals were said to have found this arrangement with its change of golf courses stimulating.

Whether it was preference and wishful thinking on the part of the Navy or whether politics entered into the situation, the fact remains that no units of the fleet are based north of San Francisco. Meanwhile, unlike the period prior to World War II, the theater of Navy responsibility includes the vast coast of Alaska—for in an air age Alaska has a very strategic importance for both offense and defense.

From a defense standpoint, not because it would help Bremerton, some units of the Pacific Fleet should be based in Puget Sound.

Rose as National Flower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Rose as National Flower," published in the Mobile (Ala.) Register of March 23, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROSE AS NATIONAL FLOWER

In the movement for selection of a national flower of the United States, the Realty Board of Portland, Oreg., has adopted a resolution recommending the rose.

That resolution, we believe, reflects majority public sentiment of the Nation.

If the question of an American national flower were submitted to a nationwide referendum the rose, in our opinion, would win easily.

Some localities, as in the case of Mobile, the azalea capital of the universe, have gained distinction far and wide for achievements with other flowers.

Mobile is an outstanding national example of this, as a matter of fact. Its azaleas grow in a magnificent variety and abundance that has brought it international acclaim and fame.

Yet we in Mobile must be broad enough in our views to concede that this is really no argument for choosing the azalea as the American national flower. A national flower, if chosen, should be more common to the country as a whole than can be claimed for the azalea or any other popular flower except the rose.

"Unquestionably," says the Encyclopedia Americana, "the roses are the most important flowers cultivated. They are prized by everyone who cares for flowers at all, and throughout the civilized world are probably grown in more gardens than any other flowers."

If we are going to have a national flower of the United States, it should be the rose. For this purpose, the rose has no rival—not even in the azalea which has done so much to emblazon the name of Mobile wherever gorgeous flowers in profusion are appreciated.

In spite of all the present-day tribulations, the world still possesses the essential character which inspired the poet Frank L. Stanton to write of it years ago: "This world that we're a-livin' in Is mighty hard to beat; You get a thorn with every rose, But ain't the roses sweet!"

The flower that best qualifies as the national flower of the world's greatest Nation is the rose.

The Role of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most dynamic and leading national organizations in the fight against Russian Communist imperialism is the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Under the able leadership of its president, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, who is also professor of economics at Georgetown University, this nationally representative group of 11/2 million Americans of Ukrainian ancestry, has, through its manifold efforts, contributed heavily to public knowledge and understanding of the plight of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union and of the true nature of the Communist aggressor. In this respect, its educational and informational service is unsurpassed not only within the boundaries of this country but throughout the free world. Its many expert representations before numerous congressional committees and in a number of executive departments are common knowledge among those concerned with foreign policy and the relations of the United States with the Soviet Union

One of the most outstanding qualities of this American organization is its unique unity, which embraces fraternal, civic, religious, youth, cultural, athletic, and similar types of organization with branches in over 36 States. Delegates from these States and local groups participate every 3 years in the national convention of UCCA, and next month, from May 27 to 30, the 6th triennial Congress of Americans of Ukrainian ancestry will be held at the Commodore Hotel in New York City. This event will fortify further the role of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in the affairs of our country.

This role is best expressed in an address delivered by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky to the New Jersey State conference of UCCA affiliates in Newark, N. J. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the main excerpts of this address on UCCA's Role in America:

UCCA'S ROLE IN AMERICA

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America is thoroughly and completely an American Institution. There are not, nor can be, any marks of hyphenation, split loyalties, or divided allegiances among its wide membership. As you and I know, in its representation of 1½ million Americans and with branches in over three-quarters of the States, our uniquely united organization is made up of native-born Americans, nat-

uralized citizens who arrived at these shores long prior to World War I, and the most recent immigrants from Ukraine. Happily, the last of these are rapidly adapting themselves to their new environment, and see in its great traditions, free enterprise, and preeminent institutions what they always hoped and prayed for in long-enslaved Ukraine. In our composition natural stresses are inevitable, but never of such a nature as to justify any unhealable breaches. The congress committee is unquestionably unique in its splendidly attained unity; and this organizational unity is a valuable asset, a tremendous source of power and resource, that must at all costs be safeguarded and treasured from the reckless designs of any irresponsible individual or group.

Richly endowed with resources of knowledge and experience as concerns Russian communism in practice and also events and developments throughout the entire Russian Communist empire, UCCA is solely and ex-clusively a working organ of elected individuals whose only purpose and function is to translate into political action the ideas, sentiments, and feelings of the great majority of the people, groups, and communities that are represented by their delegates at our triennial Congress or convention. Contrary to certain ill-formed impressions and illusions of some people, UCCA is in no sense of the term any Ukrainian Parliament, composed of displaced politicians or aspiring Ukrainian diplomats and the like. Nor is it. nor can it ever be, an American medium to be exploited by any political party or group with a mentality, behavior, and direction of allegiance that are not essentially and characteristically American. UCCA is completely and necessarily independent of any political party or group situated and operating in any foreign land. It functions wholly in terms of American categories of political thought, through our American channels of political action, and toward the fulfillment of basic American objectives of maximum national security, national preservation and peace, with expanded freedom. Those who would arbitrarily impute to the nature and character of UCCA ends and objectives that are not primarily American, either do not understand our organization or are maliciously intent upon undermining its work and national significance.

Within this framework, then, the role of UCCA in America becomes unmistakably clear and concretely definable. Its role is fundamentally educational in that it continually seeks to inform the American public about Ukraine and the other non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union in their historic struggle for freedom and independence. Today no thinking American can afford not to know as much as he can about other parts of the world, especially those closest to the mortal enemy of America itself, namely, Mos-As the largest non-Russian nation behind the European Iron Curtain, Ukraine deserves the greatest amount of study and attention not only on the part of our military and political strategists but also on the part of every school boy and girl. nately, this interest is growing rapidly, and I can tell you that in scores of our colleges and universities young men and women have assumed as their task the thorough study of Ukraine, its people, its history, its tremendous strategic importance to our country in the current struggle, UCCA has in innumerable ways inspired, implemented, and served this wholesome development and, for the full success of this educational role, must continue to do so in all circumstances of our national life.

Our educational endeavors, however, do not exhaust our role in America. To act on one's knowledge is just as important—if, in a sense, not more so—as to acquire and possess it. Our role, therefore, is cast in the flexible mold of political activity, focused primarily on the sound formulation of

American foreign policy toward the Soviet Union and the numerous nations imprisoned there. Whether it be in the present phase of the cold war, in the midst of a hot one. or beyond military victory over Russian Communist imperialism, we and our innumerable friends are convinced that a free and independent Ukraine, the freedom and independence of all the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R., are in the vital interest of our own Nation, in the vital interest of enduring world peace. Our political work is com-pletely dominated by this orientation. There can be none other. The Russian Commu-nist onslaught upon freedom, upon free institutions everywhere, significantly identifies the fundamental interests of America with those of Ukraine. To work and strive for Ukrainian freedom and independenceindeed, the freedom and independence of all Communist-dominated lands-means to work in the noblest and selfless fashion for the continued freedom and independence of our own Nation. This is the essence of our role: this is the guiding spirit of our manifold work. And it is this kind of work, marked by tangible performance and results that, I am convinced, our people want. This is the type of work, to their benefit and to the benefit of all Americans, that our people have been getting these past few years.

But, as many of you can well appreciate, this kind of work cannot be undertaken and developed without ample spiritual and material resources. Actually, it is only when you're in the throes of such political activity, glving day-to-day attention to problems, events, and people, that you begin to fully realize how expensive the tasks we set for ourselves are. It breeds heavy pressure, and becomes almost burdensome when any marked expansion of activity is attempted.

To succeed wholly in the attainment of our goals, we need only persevere, persist and constantly keep punching. We are greatly empowered with truth and fact; and with your moral and material support, we cannot lose. Our endeavors are planned and set into stages of operation adjusted to the particular trends and conditions of the moment. Oftentimes it requires patience, sober analysis, and prudent timing before an advance is made. But our principles are fixed and ultimately determinative. The total picture of our work is a continually changing and expanding one, as we concentrate on the strengthening and refinement of its many parts. It is always necessary to keep this total picture in mind, if you're to understand and appreciate each operation contributing to the success of our total endeavor. And one such outstanding operation is your concerted effort to federate our branches in this State into an organized setup that can deal more efficiently and effectively with the common problems that arise in any of our States.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the power and capacity of UCCA in its national undertakings depend ultimately on the strength and organized activity of its State and local units. The medium of a State federation enhances such strength and activity largely because it facilitates neces-sary relations with other State federated groups and enables you to act in closer rela-tionship with State representatives and officials on the many problems that emerge in your State and in Washington. Our people in the State of Connecticut have such a federation and when, in 1950, it was necessary for me to impress upon Senator Brian McMahon the importance of considering testimony from us on the Genocide Convention, the assistance of the Connecticut federation was decisive. The existence of a State federation represents a consolidation of strength of all the units so federated; it serves as a direct agency to your Senators and State officials; it is an indispensable medium of coordination and cooperation for the efficient accomplishment of our program. It is crucial to our work in Washington and on the national scale. It is urgent that you combine your efforts to make this federation a reality and also a functioning model for our groups in every other State; that they, too, will soon follow suit and give prime evidence of their faith in the ever-expanding work of UCCA.

Your federation will undoubtedly enjoy a broader sphere of influence upon national and state affairs. Through your Senators and all of your Congressmen in Washington you will make known for the public record our stand on the dangerous myth of peaceful coexistence, on the insularities of the present containment policy, on the necessity for a sound and winning policy of liberation, on the inadmission of Red China to the United Nations, and on the superlative work of the Select House Committee on Communist Aggression which, under the able chairmanship of Congressman Charles J. Kersten, Wisconsin, investigated such aggression against the Ukraine and the other non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. Federation signifies a combination of forces in a new unity. It creates new sources of power and strength that are so urgently needed in our national organization.

We have the people; we have loyal minds and hearts that are unswayed from the course of basic principle; we have the organization which you here, today, seek to strengthen through federation. With all this, nothing can cause us to desist in our good fight. Unity is our achievement in UCCA. The time now is for unity in the States through federation. With such unity, success cannot possibly elude us.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 31, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted, there is printed herewith a letter written by our former colleague, Kit F. Clardy, to the Wall Street Journal, which is certainly pertinent to an issue which will continue to be before our people until correctly solved:

LANSING, MICH., March 24, 1955.

Wall Street Journal,

Chicago, III.

DEAR SIR: In your March 22d Issue you published a letter and an editorial dealing with the Bricker amendment. Your editorial correctly states the law, but I think the letter is vulnerable on some counts you did not cover.

In the last sentence of his letter, Mr. Backus pleads for support of the Constitution "as it now stands," yet every other sentence in that letter is in plain contradiction of that plea. What he really seeks is an unwritten modification or amendment of the Constitution by executive interpretation and misuse.

He is impatient with the idea that there should be some observance of the constitutional limitations on a President's power to commit the Nation to any course he chooses. He wants the President to have unlimited and untrammeled power to do by executive agreement that which the Constitution commands to be done by treaty or treaties.

He says that "in these troubled times" we should not "limit the power of the President as Commander in Chief to cooperate with an ally in the tactical disposition of troops on United States soil." The first four words in that sentence betray the "crisis" thinking that would excuse any departure from the Constitution or laws whenever a manufactured "emergency" is created. That's the thinking and reasoning of those who for more than two decades have sought to excuse every unconstitutional move with the cry of "emergency." It's based on the theory that ours is a "fair weather" Constitution that can safely be abandoned at the will of a "ruler," on the claim that "troubled times" demand.

But the balance of the sentence discloses an absolute lack of understanding of the wording and intent of the amendment. The "power" of the "Commander in Chief" is not touched by the Bricker amendment. Your editorial points up the real meaning. It seeks to prevent the continued substitution of a rule of man for a rule of law. The conduct of foreign relations is not involved in his argument for a President's "power" as the Commander in Chief is not the source of his authority to conduct foregin relations.

Nor is he apparently aware of the fact that there is no constitutional authority for executive agreements. That is something that just grew. And such were initially supposed to deal only with temporary problems—not matters involving a permanent treaty. He seems unaware of the increasing tendency on the part of the executive to bypass the Senate and to ignore the plain contitutional requirement that treaties be used in making arrangements with other nations. The Yalta incident should alert him to the danger of this grave departure from constitutional processes.

You have correctly noted the important legal point that disturbs practically every lawyer in the Nation—the decisions which, in effect, would enable the President to substitute his own judgment and action for the entire legislative processes. It is obviously of the greatest importance to the Nation's welfare for us to restore the Constitution and its meaning to the position it formerly occupied on this point. The pernicious idea that one man working with representatives of other nations can overturn the laws governing our domestic problems without the people or their representatives having any voice in the matter, certainly demands immediate and effective attention.

But equally important is the necessity of getting back to an observance of the constitutional provision about treaties. We must do away with the idea that this section can be ignored at will and executive agreements substituted whenever the executive departments fear to give the Nation the facts. One Yalta is enough.

The chief lesson we should learn from that historical blot is that the substitution of secret executive agreements for treaties requiring Senate ratification is certain to endanger the welfare of the Nation. It destroys the heart of our system—checks and balances. Clearly the Executive deliberately flouts the Constitution in entering into agreements of a kind that should be submitted to the Senate in the form of a treaty or treaties. This point seems to have escaped nearly everyone who has commented on Yalta. The Bricker amendment in part is designed to make a repetition impossible.

If the Constitution is properly interpreted, the power of the President to bind this Nation is subject to his submitting the treaties he has negotiated to the people's elected representatives for their approval or rejection. Mr. Backus is pleading for the right of a President to ignore that section of the Constitution whenever he wishes. He raises the untenable argument that requiring a President to observe all the provisions of the Constitution constitutes an unwarranted interference with the President's power to conduct negotiations with other nations when in fact it does nothing of the sort.

What he really means is that the constitutional provision requiring Senate participation is not to his liking—and should therefore be treated as dead.

With the advent of the U. N., the abuse of the executive formula, has been accelerated at an alarming rate. The rabid internationalists unquestionably view this as a sure-fire method of undermining national sovereignty and bringing us into a world government. It is too bad that some intelligent folks do not really and wholeheartedly subscribe to the idea that spurred our Founding Fathers into formulating our Constitution—the idea that we must have checks and balances to prevent the rise of a dictatorship.

Very truly yours,

KIT F. CLARDY.

Easter, the Atom, and Automation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, prior to the Easter weekend, it was my privilege to deliver an address over station WGN, Chicago, regarding the message of Easter in our time.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

EASTER, THE ATOM, AND AUTOMATION

Eight days from now, we will celebrate Easter Sunday.

I would like to talk to you on this occasion, my friends, on a pre-Easter theme.

I would like to talk to you about faith in the future, as against fear of the future. The Easter season is, of course, a season of

The Easter season is, of course, a season of birth and rebirth.

The great spiritual message of this spring-

The great spiritual message of this springtime is the conquest by life over death; we realize through every budding flower and every bird singing in the trees, the significance of immortality. We relearn the triumph of the things of the spirit over the things of the flesh, the triumph of beauty and good over evil.

And so, during these next 15 minutes, I would like to see how you and I can approach the problems of our country with the same spirit of faith.

Let's put to practical use the inspiring message of the Way-Shower, which you and I will be hearing from the pulpits of our churches during this Easter season.

I am going to answer now a series of questions on this subject of the fears of our time, and faith for our time.

Question. Senator Wiley, what would you regard as some of the principal fears which are expressed widely today?

Answer. Well, there are a great many fears. I am just going to list a few, because I don't believe that we should dwell too long on them, as such. I don't believe in giving power to fear or evil.

But first, of course, we all know there is the fear of war.

Then there is the fear of depression and unemployment.

There is the fear of inflation.

There is the fear of Communist conquest of the world. There is the fear of trouble at home—of a long series of strikes in our country, resulting in harm to labor, to management, and to the public.

Question. Do you think that there is substance to any of these fears?

Answer. No. I don't believe so. None of these feared conditions need actually come about. If we use our God-given intelligence and judgment, we are not going to have war.

We are going to enjoy continued peace. If we use our God-inspired wisdom we are going to enter into a golden new age of prosperity and expansion.

You know, by 1975, there are going to benot 165 millions of us, but 220 million Americans in this country. They are going to enjoy comforts and conveniences such as we have not enjoyed today.

have not enjoyed today.

If we use our heads, our God-directed intelligence, then the miracle of atomic energy and the miracle of automatic factories—of the new science, called automation—are going to producer a higher standard of living for our people than we have ever before enjoyed.

And, too, we can have industrial peace in our country, with higher pay envelopes for labor, and more real purchasing power.

We can assure higher income to American farmers, and can halt the serious drift away from our farms. All of these things are possible, provided we use our God-given intelligence and initiative.

VIGILANCE AGAINST RED MENACE

Question. Then, in your judgment, Senator, there is no real reason to give way to the fears which we mentioned earlier in the broadcast.

Answer. Very definitely not.

That doesn't mean that we should ignore serious problems which do definitely exist.

The fact of the matter is that world conditions are very troubled. International communism is constantly on the march, constantly agitating new trouble for us—in the western Pacific Ocean, in Europe, in South America, in Africa. We have got to be vigilant against the Communist menace everywhere.

DANGER IN PACIFIC

Question. What about that Pacific problem, Senator, the problem of Matsu and Quemoy? Is there going to be war over it?

Answer. I hope not. I pray not. And I don't believe there will be war. America wants peace—peace with honor. What I do want to emphasize is that we've got to keep our faith in the President of the United States. He is the Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces. He has available the latest, most confidential, top secret information as regards Red China's ambitions and capabilities. The President is the spearhead of United States foreign policy. He doesn't want war, but neither does he want appeasement.

Let's not usurp his functions. It is not for the Congress to try to act as Secretary of State or as members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I say there is much too much of a tendency these days for people to forget the constitutional division of powers between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches.

Question. How do you mean that?

Answer. Well, I want the Congress very definitely to do its job, but I don't want the Congress to try to take over the Chief Executive's job also. And remember, no one is going to force the President of the United States to do anything that the President doesn't want to do and doesn't feel should be done, if the President, as Commander in Chief, determines it is not in the best interest of our country. On the other hand, whatever the President does decide, Congress and the American people will definitely back up. There may be honest dif-ferences of opinion. But we are Americans first and can support our American President. Partisan politics come last. America comes first. Unity behind our President is essential. So, I say, give him your faith. His burdens are many and they are heavy. He merits our respect and admiration. He is going to see the crises through successfully.

Question. Now, what about another problem—right here at home? What about this much-talked-about problem of automatic factories, Senator WILEY? Are they going to take the place of manpower completely? Are we going to have mass unemployment?

Answer. I believe the answers to those questions are clear, and they are encourag-

ing, not discouraging.

We are definitely going to see more and more automatic operations in private in-We are going to witness what has been called a second industrial revolutionso-called push-button factories. We are going to see fabulous new electronic control machines. They can store up a bewildering variety of complex information and can actually supervise and run entire assembly These control machines are going to completely alter the pattern in more and more of our industries.

MANY EFFECTS

Question. What will be some of the effects of this automatic technology?

Answer. Well, the effects will be many. I

can list them as follows:

1. First, there is going to be a great demand for skilled workers, for more and more brain, and less and less brawn. That means, we need better-educated Americans. in turn means more schools, and better-paid teachers. It means we need many times more engineers, physicists, chemists, executives. Adequate education is no longer a luxury, it is an absolute job and national necessity.

2. Second, there will be more opportunities for women to perform tasks which might formerly have only been handled by men, who required some degree of physical

strength.

Women already number more than 28 percent of our labor force, and by 1975, 1 out of every 3 American workers will be women.

3. We can and will have more elderly Americans working. Here, too, as is the case of women, the skills of years of experience will be more important than merely the physical strength of male youth, as such.

4. More mechanization will mean lower prices and expanding markets. That means for you, my listeners, more refrigerators, washing machines, air conditioners, automo-

biles, radios, and television sets.

Question. What other effects will occur? Answer. Well, here is a fifth effect. There is going to be a tremendously increased outlay for new capital goods. Vast new equipment must be built. In 1953, production of capital goods and services amounted to \$54 billion, or around one-seventh of our gross national product. It provided 8 million jobs. But this will be small compared to the increased capital-goods jobs in the future. And, too, we are going to have to replace machinery faster because it will become obsolete faster, and that will mean more jobs.

6. Sixth, most important of all we are going to have more leisure for the American people, more opportunity for personal growth and development and enjoyment of the good

things of life.

AVOIDING UNEMPLOYMENT

Question. But now, Senator Willey, what about the big fear that automatic factories are going to mean mass unemployment, throwing vast numbers of workers out of jobs?

Answer. I think the answer to that question is this: What automation is going to mean is indeed a readjustment in many

American industries and jobs.

There is going to be some job dislocation. But for that matter, every time a new industry has burst on the American scene, there has been some dislocation.

The automobile industry literally revolutionized the Amercian scene. It eliminated

the horse-and-buggy business and a great many other obsolete, affiliated businesses.

But now, with sound cooperation between labor, management, and the public, there is no reason whatsoever why dislocation should not be relatively mild and temporary.

Now, I want to make it perfectly clear that unemployment-becaues of automation or any other reason-is no light matter. When a breadwinner is out of work, whether it is for a day or a week or a month, that can be serious, serious for himself and for his loved ones, serious for his morale, serious in terms of the community.

Fortunately, unemployment in recent times, has been comparatively mild. But that does not mean that we should not use every ounce of our energy so as to keep it to

an irreducible minimum.

Many communities of my own State and of Illinois and its neighbors have often been hard hit by unemployment. We are determined to have no unemployment, but full employment and full purchasing power for our people.

But to achieve it, you cannot resist change. You cannot hold back the wheels of progress, you cannot try to freeze the status quo. have got to accept change and to work with

change.

CONCLUSION

Question. Well, Senator Willey, you have discussed quite a few phases of current problems. You have discussed the problem of applying faith in our time. You have mentioned the necessity for truly applying the You have Easter message in our daily lives. mentioned the need for faith in the President of the United States and for vigilance against the Communist menace. You have stressed that there is no real ground for fear of the future, fear about misuse of atomic energy, or fear about any harmul effects o the new science of automation.

Answer. Yes; that about sums it up.

I want to say to my listeners that it has been a real pleasure to speak to you through the kind courtesy of station WGN, especially in this beautiful pre-Easter season. I look forward to the pleasure of talking with you again in the future.

I hope that in the intervening period you and I will know the full beauty, the full joy of Eastertide. I hope we will always have that faith which, as Paul said, is "the substance of things hoped for, the evidenec of things unseen.

Thank you very much.

What Is Our Mission in the World Today?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the REC-ORD the following speech of my good friend James A. Farley, which he delivered before the Economic Club of Detroit on March 14, 1955, to a distinguished assembly of members and guests following a luncheon meeting:

WHAT IS OUR MISSION IN THE WORLD TODAY? (By Hon. James A. Farley, chairman of the board, the Coca-Cola Export Corp.)

I am one of a number of American political leaders who believe the United States has a world mission. She did not seek it. Frequently she has done her best to avoid pick-

ing up the huge check implied in having a mission; but history has handed it to her. When history makes a date for a country the country must keep it with strength and honor and dignity, or find itself in serious trouble. You will remember the prophet Jonah in the Bible. The Lord told him to go to Nineveh and preach there. Jonah did not want to go and started for somewhere else, whereupon the combination of the storm and the wave took him to Nineveh anyhow, against his will.

Our country wished to mind its own business and develop its own affairs. It was so successful in this that it found itself one of the 2 or 3 strongest nations in the world. looked to by many peoples as a mighty force which must try to bring peace and law to a torn and unhappy world. This, I think, the United States has tried to do to the best of its ability.

Now, the mission is in a dangerous phase. Three or four years ago, the Soviet Union talked boldly of seizing all Europe-but the United States was there, and the Soviet Union settled for the less violent policy of coexistence. Today the young Chinese Communist revolution talks belligerently and rattles a borrowed Russian sword. The United States has no earthly interest in possessing or governing Formosa, still less in trying to run China. It has every earthly interest in not letting a new imperialism run riot over the whole Pacific Ocean and is endeavoring to make that clear. There will be other anxious moments as time goes on. My point now is that the American mission is primarily moral rather than military. may have to defend ourselves by force, but our ultimate victory, of which I am certain, will come by conversion rather than conquest.

America which was cradled in the principles of freedom and human dignity cannot retire within its own orbits and do nothing. Such a position represents spiritual sterility and mental cowardice. I do not know how long it will take us to overcome the dark forces of totalitarianism, but since we are obliged in the name of decency and good conscience to accept the challenge we shall not fail-just as we have never failed when called on to defend a righteous cause. I say defend because we are a people who are opposed to attacking others and interferring with the internal affairs of other nations. But we will defend to the last man our right to maintain our way of life in our

The answer to this lies in the history of our country and in the traditions of our people, who acknowledge freedom to differ without impairing national loyalty.

The United States, a Republic dedicated to freedom, came into existence in 1776. It had no great military power and little foreign influence. Nevertheless the example of America was followed throughout most of the world so that a century later much of the earth's surface was ruled by democratic governments. Clearly, America had a mission then and performed it. The mission was to show the world that free government was workable. Our pre-Civil War forefathers were convinced that the American experiment in freedom was divinely inspired, and was practical, and that America was to be a beacon light of liberty, pointing the way for others to follow. Amazingly, they did follow.

To the midtwentieth century politician the speeches and writings of our forefathers seem a little self-centered. In the light of today they seem to lack appreciation of the fact that other peoples too have contributed to the art and practice of free government and made their own contribution to democratic living. In those days, America was nationalistic, and talked that way. Then, of course, the United States could afford that luxury of thought. Sailing ships were slow, North America was empty, and the rest of the world was far away.

This attitude does not altogether fit a modern world in which you can have breakfast in Paris and dinner the same night in New York, or in which an attack on an Asiatic peninsula like Korea could set strategists calculating whether Alaska, Seattle or San Francisco may not be threatened. And yet there is a good deal of nationalist sentiment still active in the United States.

It can be useful. It can help us to understand new and young nations just coming into independence and to appreciate the intense nationalist sentiments of those countries. Some of them have come into existence as a revolt against imperialism, just as we did. Thoughtful Americans will appreciate that nationalism of these new countries springs from the same cause that made us nationalists a hundred years ago.

Our duty toward the world, I think, is still to demonstrate that free government is workable and is more desirable than any other. To fulfill it, however, we must stand by certain principles.

First and foremost, we must continue to make democracy work at home. That is the cornerstone of any American sense of mission today. This means that we have to bring our practices and our ideals into line. Freedom to take part in the processes of government and economics is not an occupation for the few or for isolated groups. It is part of the life of everyone. The American system has given a larger share of power and participation in public life and in private affairs to all of its people than any great country in history. We have trusted our people, and the trust has been repaid.

This needs some explaining abroad. Some Europeans particularly quarrel with American tastes. Some even think and say we are vulgar. These are the ones who forget that tens of millions of Americans from humble backgrounds take part in American cultural, as well as American political life. Never on such a scale as here have literature and music and art and journalism and business and politics been open to a whole population. Of course we get a result different from the results where learning and the arts and government have been kept in a relatively small circle. The power and the strength and the glory of the American way is witnessed by a single fact. No group of peoples who have ever lived in America for any length of time have ever desired to leave America and go back from whence they came. South American politician once said, "Other people talk about freedom; you practice it; and it has proved the most assimilative system in the world."

We must maintain that freedom at home. Any attempt to limit or mistrust it endangers our primary mission. Free government is workable, and we have proved it.

What we are learning today is a corollary proposition. We cannot and should not attempt to export our particular form of government unless it is voluntarily sought. American democracy cannot be foisted on others. Woodrow Wilson talked about the self-determination of peoples-and he meant it. This goes for us as well as for others. There are parts of the world in which American institutions and the American economic system are not wanted, and perhaps would not work. Democracy means different things to different people, depending on their traditions, and their habits, their religion, and their way of thinking. Our tradition calls for tolerance and respect for difference. Indeed respect for difference is one of the great forces binding us to our friends. If elsewhere peoples choose to adopt in whole or in part some of our ways they will do it be-cause having looked at the example they want that result. Any salesman knows that you cannot force a product where it is not wanted; if it is adopted it is adopted on its own merits. The American mission thus is not the same as the mission of the Roman Empire, nor do we now talk of the white man's burden as they did at the end of the last century.

If the problem could be stated in those terms we could stop here or at least be smug.

However, we cannot accomplish the American mission alone. In fact, we cannot live alone now, even if we wished to do so. Wright brothers settled that one day when they flew a contraption through the air at Kitty Hawk, if it had not already been settled when man learned to send communications from anywhere to anywhere in a split second. Safety and well-being today depend on an international system which observes some rules of morality and of law, producing international relations established more or less on the rules of fair play. We have fought two wars on that theory. It is true that from 1919 to 1939 most of the country seemed to feel that the rule of law in International affairs could be maintained if the United States lived alone in unprepared isolation and urged pious resolutions outlawing war. World War II, I think, taught us by bitter experience that international cooperation is necessary if any rule of right and law is to be maintained. At the close of that war the atomic bomb launched from long-range aircraft blew up forever the idea that Americans are entirely masters of their own desti-That is why I supported, as I hope you did, the formation of the United Nations, and while it has a long way to go I am free from doubt that the principle will eventually succeed. If this United Nations fails another will have to be built to take its place. As we fought to withstand aggression in Korea and to prevent new Koreas and to provide the aggressor of our time-the Communist faction-with clear-cut evidence that the lawless expansion could not be permitted, so we are bound to work with others in building a worldwide community of nations.

Now this will be a long and difficult task, as anyone who travels abroad as I do knows very well. The world of nations outside our own has its realities, and its hard facts. We have to work with that world as it is and not as we think it ought to be. We will have to work with peoples who do not think as we wish they did, and often govern themselves as we wish they did not. At the moment, we work with the other nations of the free world chiefly to assure military safety and to protect ourselves and them against lawless aggression. But while we are doing this we can help to extend and strengthen the moral foundation of the community of nations.

Even a politician reads occasionally and profits from it. A book by Arnold Toynbee makes the point that whenever the culture of one nation enters another a wide contact is established which continues to unforeseeable limits. A country which first becomes familiar with American manufactures and manufacturing methods eventually may come to learn the dominant principles of American life, just as close relations with Europe have made us somewhat acquainted with their ways. The salesman and the politician, the Army officer and the journalist. the engineer and the student who work abroad are carrying out the American mission for good or evil, whether they know it or not. The policy now famous as point 4, offering technological assistance to other countries, was perhaps one of the most imaginative ways by which America could perform its mission. Other, better, ways will continue to be developed as the days go on, as we realize more and more their importance.

A new duty is placed on the United States by this modern conception of America's mission. This is the duty to be strong nationally. Even Abraham Lincoln, struggling for peace, was willing to go to war to assure that the Union should be preserved-else there was danger, as he put it, that Government of the people, by the people, and for the people might perish from the earth. We shall not achieve a community of nations at peace merely through strength; but it is perfectly clear that we shall never achieve it without strength. We are quite clear that our mission does not require us or even permit us to try to rule the world. But we are equally clear that our mission includes being a bulwark of the free world and joining in its defense. But this means the most careful attention to foreign policy. Someone observed that the British Empire was acquired in a fit of absentmindedness. America could have the same experience if we do not draw a careful line between democratic leadership of a free world and practices which might slowly lead to an American imperialism.

The men (there are a very few noisy ones) who talk loosely about going it alone and who want to pull out of cooperative arrangements like the Inter-American Organization of States, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and who want to torpedo the United Nations, have not learned an important lesson. Fortunately, few in this

country agree with them.

It is barely possible, of course, that the United States could make itself into an empire and organize an American century. But if we did we would slowly and steadily find our cherished freedom disappearing. There would no longer be freedom of speech. and freedom of assembly, and free inquiry, and fair trial, and the right of every American to look all these ideas in the face. Even as we are fighting the Communist menace at home and abroad, we must be sure that we do not betray our own traditions. Under free institutions America grew. By free institutions America forged her position. Under free institutions she defended herself against totalitarian enemies, and by virtue of free institutions she has become the senior free Nation of the world. We do not want a police state, or thought control, or rule by the hysteria of fear in our system.
The success of the United States is largely

due to one fact. We have discovered the art of throwing thousands of free minds against a problem. We do this in politics, we do it in business, we do it in education, we do it As a result, we have come up in science. As a result, we have come up with the right answers more often than those who depend on a small group of party offi-cials, politburos, or police chiefs. This is often confusing to foreigners. They hear the noise of our debates and discussions and do not realize that out of these discussions come firm decisions. The result has given America the most stable government and the most stable economy of our time. It is respected by our enemies, hence their sound of fury. The fact is that most of the countries under Communist domination would like to achieve what America has achieved and will try to do so as soon as they are free to make attempt. Because of this, I do not think a third world war will be attempted; and if it is attempted I have no doubt of the result.

For the first time in our history, we are called on to maintain continuously a measure of armed might. I venture to think that the arms are as strong, and no stronger, as the free institutions which bring them into being. Armed strength so supported can be trusted by America, and by the neighbors of America. Armed strength not derived from free institutions would be a danger to us and to the entire world.

As I see it then, America's mission is still to demonstrate that free government is workable, not only for the United States but for the world. Nationally we must cherish and foster and maintain our institutions, and use them to give our own citizens progress toward wider life and fit them to be the heirs of a great civilization. Internationally, we

must, in strength and not in weakness, work toward a community of nations steadily developing a wider common base in morals and It will be said that this is ideal in law. rather than practical. I can only say that, as a politician accustomed to deal with an infinite number of practical matters, I know that a chief source of power can be an ideal, since the ideal alone gives consistency to the efforts of the day.

The Need for Moral Principles in the Conduct of Foreign Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, April 11, I had the pleasure to attend the fifth annual all-Jesuit alumni dinner, which was held in the ballroom of the Hotel Statler here in Washington. Attending this dinner were the presidents of over 20 great American colleges and universities, graduates of those institutions and their friends. I was privileged to be one of the Members of Congress present.

The speaker of the evening was Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles. His refreshing address was titled "Principle in Foreign Policy." He wisely cautioned against the crafty scheming of the Kremlin to create a world demand for peace at any price—a plan calculated to put all the nations and people of the world into Russian slave chains. Our attention was directed to the new closeness of all things in this world because man had harnessed air for both communication and transportation—the complexity of factors which of necessity enter into the taking of decisions bearing on our security and the conflict which often arises between spiritual and material considerations, especially when efforts are made to exclude morality from the arena of judgment. Secretary Dulles made it clear that our enlightened selfinterest requires us to follow a consistent and dependable national course guided by those moral principles which are rooted in the basic faith of the American people. This comes as a pleasant and sound rebuttal to the un-American beliefs which hold that there can be no morality or legality in the conduct of affairs between nations. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this address:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE JOHN FOSTER DULLES, SECRETARY OF STATE, AT THE FIFTH ANNUAL ALL-JESUIT ALUMNI DINNER, HOTEL STATLER, WASHINGTON, D. C., MONDAY, APRIL 11, 1955

PRINCIPLES IN FOREIGN POLICY

I

This is a gathering of learned persons. It is an occasion when it may be permissible to talk in terms of general principles. That, I can assure you, is not a purely academic exercise. National action should always reflect principles. Therefore, those who have responsibility for action have also a responsibility to assure that what they do represents something more than immediate political expediency

However, the guides to conduct are not always clear and simple. Often, indeed, they seem to conflict. Perhaps it will be of interest if I indicate some of the problems which confront those who try to find, in morality and in reason, a compass to direct their course.

Let me mention, as a first problem, that of peace versus liberty.

Peace is a goal which men have always sought. It is a goal which we particularly think of at this Easter season when we commemorate the resurrection of the Prince of Peace.

It is difficult to exaggerate the horrors of war or the longing of humanity for peace. Wars used to be limited in their scope and they were regulated so as to spare civilians from most of its dire consequences. I, myself, can think back to the days when private property was immune from seizure in time war; when interruption of trade was limited to particular ports which were closely blockaded, or to contraband of war, by which was meant the actual tools of war.

As a youth, I attended the Second Hague Peace Conference of 1907 which drew up protocols designed to prevent the use in war of the new scientific developments of that time. It was, for example, sought to forbid the dropping of explosives from balloons."

The First and Second World Wars showed that modern war is "total" war, and that it is whole peoples, rather than the military, who suffer its cruel effects.

Furthermore, we know that war more than ever involves compulsory enmity, outrages against the human personality, cruelty, vengefulness and wanton distortions of the

Today, throughout the world there is a rising demand for protection against the misery, the agony of body and of spirit, the massive destruction of life and or property, which modern war wreaks upon man.

There is, however, another aspect of the matter. Peace can be a cover whereby evil men can perpetrate diabolical wrongs.

During recent years the Communist rulers, through their propaganda, have sought to capitalize on love of peace and horror of war as a means of extending their rule over all the human race. Through such propaganda efforts as the Stockholm "peace" appeal, they have tried to divert the peoples of the free world from necessary measures of defense and create throughout the free world a popular demand for peace at any price.

Craft scheming underlies that The Communist leaders know that if pacifism becomes a prevalent mood among the free peoples, the Communists can easily conquer the world. Then they can confront the free peoples with successive choices between peace and surrender; and if peace is the absolute goal, then surrenders become inevitable.

In this connection, we should remember that while modern developments have made war more terrible, they have also made the consequences of retreat and surrender more terrible. Modern war could now destroy much of the life on this planet. But also it Modern war could now destroy may be possible that craven purchase of peace at the expense of principle can result in destroying much of the human spirit on this planet. Peace, under certain conditions, could lead to a degradation of the human race and to subjecting human beings to a form of mental decay which obliterates the capacity for moral and intellectual judg-

We know, in individual cases, the effects of brainwashing. It leads men to repudiate their cherished beliefs and to accept as fact what, if they were sane, they would know to Not infrequently those who have been brainwashed come sincerely to believe that they committed acts elsewhere than where they physically were at the time.

There are now techniques which make it possible to alter profoundly the human spirit. Furthermore, this can be done on a mass scale. Certain falsehoods are incessantly pounded, without respite, into the consciousness of those whose minds are terrorized, whose spirits are disheartened, and whose bodies are weakened from malnutrition. In the end the peoples become abnormal.

One cannot but shrink from buying peace at the price of extending over human beings the rule of those who believe that men are in fact nothing more than animated bits of matter, and that, to insure harmony and conformity, they should be deprived of the capacity for moral and intellectual judgment. Man, we read in the Holy Scriptures, was made a little lower than the angels. Should man now be made little, if any, higher than domesticated animals which serve the purposes of their human masters?

So men face the great dilemma of when and whether to use force to resist aggression which imposes conditions which violate the moral law and the concept that man has his

origin and his destiny in God.

Another dilemma which we face is that which I might call the dilemma of maps versus people.

Maps have an extraordinary fascination and a profound influence. They provide a temptation to seize, as solutions, what are not real solutions.

Up until a few years ago the American people were educated in terms of maps of Mercator's projection. They showed the North American Continent isolated from the rest of the world by the expanse of great oceans. George Washington, in his Farewell Address, spoke of "our detached and distant situation." That concept, originally valid, has dominated the greater part of our na-

Now we face a world in which air is the means of communication. But air cannot be portrayed by maps alone. It is an invisible envelope that enfolds the earth without a break. So maps now need the supplement of an intelligent imagination. Some help can be got from polar maps. They help to teach that under modern conditions of communication areas which used to seem remote are in fact near.

Under present circumstances, divisions of land and water, of desert and mountain range, of river, and of plain, have lost much of their significance. More than ever before, the human family has become one.

Nevertheless, it is still necessary to draw lines. There are national lines, which have a meaning. But even national lines do not have an unchanging meaning. That is well illustrated by Europe. A map of Europe today looks as it did a few weeks ago. But, in fact, in Western Europe, an immense change is in process. It means that while nationalities will still exist, there will be cooperation so that the boundary lines will have lost much of their former forbidding significance. A new Western Europe is being born and maps cannot reflect the ending of age-old rivalries.

In Korea, the 38th parallel became famous as a line between the free and Communistdominated parts of Korea. But the line did not demarcate the hopes and aspirations of the people. I recall being in Korea in June 1950 and addressing at Seoul a religious gathering of thousands of refugees. They had fled from the north, and crossed the parallel to the south, in the hope of finding the freedom of religion which they cherished.

In Vietnam, a line was drawn at the 17th parallel. But hundreds of thousands of refugees have crossed it, fleeing to the south. Again the driving force was a longing for religious freedom.

And there is this to be remembered: For each person who succeeds in becoming a

refugee from communism, there are many more who do not want to be contained by the lines which statesmen have drawn in the hope that that would solve their problems.

In the world today, with air the means of communication, with time and space almost annihilated, geography still remains a fact. But geographical solutions rarely coincide with human solutions. That is why we do not accept the finality of a divided world.

11

Another dilemma that we face might be described as that of the part versus the entire

story.

It is almost always easy to find a solution it is not part of a problem is known. It is my experience that those who are most positive about political problems are able to be positive only because they do not know all the relevant facts. Those who are most harsh in their judgments are able to be harsh for that same reason. When the whole of a problem is known, solutions become excessively difficult and judgments are not easily made. Tolerance has become a vital need.

There is hardly any international problem which lends itself to easy or sure solution. Those who principally know Europe readily judge that the problems of Asia are unimportant and that almost any solution will serve so long as it does not trouble Europe. Those who are principally concerned with Asia are sometimes annoyed if it is suggested that Asian problems cannot be solved without regard for Europe.

The fact is that today any problem in any part of the world ramifies into almost every part of the world. There are no longer any simple problems, nor any easy solutions. A course of action for Indochina may have to be judged in the light of its repercussions in Europe, the Middle East, or Moscow; and vice versa.

I have the impression that in the days before the world became so unified, it was easier to take decisions. The issues were, or seemed to be, simple. Also, they could readily be explained. Today, almost every problem has many complications, so that it is difficult adequately to explain the reasons for a decision and the multiple factors which go to make up that decision.

There is a habit of mind which is sometimes called "localitis." Those who are close to a problem, or those who only see part of a problem, quickly find a solution that seems obvious. Those who know more may find that the "obvious" solution is no solution at all. Balancing scales may, from one angle, seem clearly weighted on one side. But when seen in proper perspective, they may seem to be equally balanced, or weighted on the other side.

This need for balancing many factors has some undesirable consequences. I have already alluded to the fact that it makes adequate explanation difficult. Also, it often tends to deprive decisions of the dynamic quality which is needed to make them effective. Often the mainspring of action is a sense of certainty. Unhapplly, those who are best informed are often deprived of that satisfaction.

The great deeds of history were wrought primarily by men with deep conviction and dynamic faith. They were sure that they were right.

It seems today that sureness can be dependably found only in the spiritual realm but that, when moral principles are sought to be practically applied, confidence tends to vanish. Certainty is not readily found in the mundane realm, at least where there is full knowledge of the facts. The yearning for more certainty and precision than is compatible with the complexity of affairs encourages only doctrinaire or fanatical attitudes and ultimate disillusionment. Perhaps it is good if fanaticism, in worldly terms, is on the way out.

I

Then we have the dilemna which might be called that of the spiritual versus the material.

There are some who believe that moral considerations ought not to influence the foreign policy of a nation; that moral considerations are all right for the individual but not for the collective unity. Corporate bodies, it is argued, should be directed only by material considerations.

It is, I suppose, always true that those who act in a representative and trustee capacity do not have the same freedom as is had by individuals in dealing with their own lives and the property they own. Thus, directors of a corporation are, in general, not free to use corporate assets for charitable purposes unconnected with the welfare of the corporation. To a degree, I suppose, the same principles apply to those who are trustees for a nation.

It is, indeed, generally the case that those who represent a government operate only for the immediate and direct self-interest of the nation they represent. That is why suspicion generally attaches to governmental grants. It is assumed that governments do not give away their taxpayers' money unless they see some specific quid pro quo.

The Government of the United States has, I like to believe, a rather unique tradition in this respect. Our Nation was founded as an experiment in human liberty. Our institutions reflect the belief of our founders that all men were endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights and had duties prescribed by moral law. They believed that human institutions ought primarily to help men develop their God-given possibilities, and that our Nation, by its conduct and example, could help men everywhere to find the way to a better and more abundant life.

Our Nation realized that vision. There developed here an area of spiritual and economic vigor the like of which the world had never seen. It was no exclusive preserve; indeed, world mission was a central theme Millions were welcomed from other lands. to share equally the opportunities of the founders and their heirs. We put our ex-periment on public exhibition so that all might see and follow if they would. Through the establishment of schools and hospitals, often under religious auspices, American ideals were carried throughout the world. We gave aid and comfort to those elsewhere who sought to follow in our way and to develop for themselves societies of greater human freedom.

These conditions prevailed for 100 years and more. Then, as our material power waxed, our spiritual power seemed to wane. We appeared to be less concerned with conducting a great experiment for the benefit of mankind and to be more concerned with pilling up for ourselves material advantages. Our vision seemed to contract, and our sense of mission to lessen.

We had to meet the severest test that can come to a people, the test of prosperity.

It was said by Jesus that material things will be added unto those who seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. But when that happens, then comes the great trial. For, as Jesus warned, those material things can readily become the rust that corrodes men's souls.

Thus there is a familiar pattern. Men who feel a sense of duty to some higher being strive here to do His will. Because of their faith, they have power and virtue and simple wisdom. They build not only for the day, but for the morrow; not merely for themselves, but for mankind. A society so founded will, when nature favors, produce wealth and luxury for many. When those byproducts come, they seem so good that they become promoted to be the all-sufficient end.

So there came a time when our people were drawn away from long-range creative effort and when they struggled to get and to hold material things. Practices, originally designed to reflect a faith, may not have been adequately vitalized by continuing faith. I believe, however, that it can fairly be said that, since the end of World War II, our Nation has recaptured the faith in which it was founded and has resumed works such as those which in the past were called the great American experiment.

With 60 other nations we have actively participated in the United Nations in its quest for peace. We have lent our moral, military, and material support to many free people. With more than 40 nations we have special mutual-security arrangements. These measures are our contribution to the creation of a world which is safer and more secure for human freedom. This basic interest is the common bond between us and the other free nations.

We exert in every part of the world an influence—an influence which we try, as far as is humanly possible, to make an influence for justice and not an influence for self-aggrandizement.

No doubt we have made mistakes. But broadly speaking, our Nation has played a role which I believe history will judge to have been honorable. It is a role which we could not have played unless those who exercised the power of government had believed that they were justified in putting moral considerations above material considerations.

. 7

I have outlined some of the problems and perplexities which confront those who have political responsibility. I have deliberately tried to avoid being dogmatic. Rather I have sought to stimulate your own thinking. I will, however, close with this general observation:

It seems to me that a nation situated as is ours needs to follow a consistent and predictable course. We represent great power in the world—morally, intellectually, and materially. Other peoples and nations who are free and want to stay free usually want to coordinate their policies with our own. I do not speak now of coordination in detail. As to details, there are almost always differences. That is inevitable, because differences are the attribute of freedom. It is only despotism that produces conformity. I do, however, speak of such basic harmony as freely emerges from those who feel a sense of common destiny, and who want to help, and be helped by, each other.

A measure of harmony exists today throughout much of the free world. It binds together, in a spirit of partnership, many of different races, creeds, and nationalities in many parts of the world. But the harmony for which many thus grope will never be perfected and preserved unless the United States pursues a dependable, consistent course.

There are many who, in particular cases, would like it if the United States would deviate from our basic principles to help them meet their particular problems. We rarely do so. That accounts for much of the superficial criticism we encounter abroad. But underlying these surface dissatisfactions lies, I feel, a deep, worldwide sense of respect for the United States because even though we sometimes fall short, we do in general stand like a rock for certain principles and follow a course which, in its broad nature, is consistent and predictable. Without that, there can never be harmony. and a sense of security, as among the free peoples.

Obviously, a consistent and dependable national course must have a base broader than the particular beliefs of those who from time to time hold office. Our policies must, on the one hand, be dependably embraced by our own people, and, on the other hand, reflect a decent respect for the opinions of mankind. It would seem that only principles which conform to moral law meet

that specification. So not only the basic faith of our people, who are essentially religious, but also enlightened self-interest, combine to urge that moral principle be a guide, not merely to individual conduct, but also to the conduct of the nations.

Spread the Word-The Recession Has Faded Away

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following article by Roscoe Drummond from the April 12, 1955, issue of the Detroit Free Fress, pertaining to the fact that the recession has faded away:

SPREAD THE WORD-THE RECESSION HAS FADED AWAY-SIX-MONTH GAINS POINT TO GROWTH, STABILITY

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.-Nobody is yet leaking the biggest story in the United States today. It isn't classified and it's staring us right in the face. The pessimists may hesitate to admit it and the optimists may fear they will not be believed. But there is full evidence to support it and there is no use delaying the news:

The 1954 recession is over.

Every significant business indicator is on the rise and has been on the rise for months.

At several points the economy is beginning to set records. The upturn has now been so sustained and so steady that it is accurate to say that the recession which began in July 1953, reached its depth in March 1954, and began to saucer out in October 1954, is well in the past.

A new period of growth and stability is at hand.

Here are the most meaningful business in-

dices which justify this report:

Industrial production has risen from a low of 123 on the Federal Reserve index in the March-August period last year to an estimated 135 in March this year.

The gross national product has grown from a low annual rate of \$355 billion to about \$369 billion during the last year.

Personal income, made up largely of wages and salaries, has risen from a 1954 low rate of \$283.4 billions to an all-time high of \$292

The average work week has moved up from 39.3 hours to 40.7.

New plant and equipment spending has begun to increase, reversing a 2-year downtrend.

Industrial employment has risen steadily for 7 months and industrial unemployment has gone down consistently for 6 months and now is leveling off.

Total unemployment was down 548,000 this March from a year ago and total employment was up 400,000.

Some precisionists among the economists Will want to throw in a layer of "ifs" and "buts." Throw them in and you still come up with the conclusion that, while there may be another recession sometime, this one is over. It has been a remarkable experience-remarkable for three reasons:

Because it was one of the most shortlived and least severe slumps in American economic history.

Because it showed that, although there will continue to be "wrinkles" in the Nation's economy, man-made measures-both private and governmental-are capable of controlling the extremes of the business cycle.

Because it proves anew, and increases confidence in, the resiliency of the American enterprise economy.

It is impossible to measure which factor or which set of factors did most to shorten, to cushion and to reverse the 1953-54 recession. But there are discernible measures which contributed to that end. They are:

1. The brilliantly timed and perceptive shift of the Federal Reserve system, in advance of the recession, from a "hard money" policy to an "easy money" policy which re-lieved many pressures toward forced liquidation.

2. The deliberate and, for its standpoint, substantially unorthodox decision of the Eisenhower administration to carry through the scheduled lowering of income and excess profits taxes despite an unbalanced budget.

3. The fact that business stuck by its

long-range investment and did not run to shelter at the first sign of trouble.

4. The visible impact of the built-in shock absorbers which government has added in the past 20 years to the functioning of the economy-unemployment insurance, social security (both expanded in the last 2 years) plus the general leveling up of incomes.

The Federal Government resisted the pressures and the political temptation to inaugurate a "crash" spending and "reflation" program at the onset of the recession. It was called blind and heedless by some. In retrospect its diagnosis proved accurate and its actions equal to the need.

Easter Sunday in Arizona

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD an editorial written by Mr. William M. Ryan, publisher of the Glendale News, Glendale, Ariz., which appeared in the Glendale News April 7, 1955:

EASTER SUNDAY IN ARIZONA

Easter Sunday in Arizona is no different from Easter Sunday any place else in the Christian world. People go to church who seldom pass the portals of a house of worship. Easter finery is displayed, with emphasis on milady's hats. Feasting begins where lenten fasting stops.

This year a disturbed citizenry is insecure. Peace asociated with the reawakening of religious fervor can be a lasting thing, or it can end with a tremendous blast if Godless communism has its say, and the devil today is lashing his tail like a stalking beast.

What these people seek to gain is beyond the understanding of minds that honestly believe the philosophy of "live and let live.

The hunting instinct in a small boy is strong but his desire to kill birds and animals wanes as his mind matures and he sees the utter senselessness of killing. He soon learns that fishing and hunting is a wonderful sport only when game is used for food or

We can understand the thinking of indoctrinated multitudes when selfish leaders promise a better way of life. Until they are

enlightened to the false promises there will always be wars. How to enlighten humans behind an Iron Curtain, especially when many of them do not want to listen, is impossible.

If they could only see that a war will mean destruction of a large segment of the human race they would not be so eager to start a

holocaust.

Even in our country you often hear the words: "Why not drop an atomic bomb on them and end the struggle for supremacy." Why not, indeed?

Regardless of which side starts the fighting this time a chain reaction will make other world wars look like a cops-and-rob-

bers game.

The American people do not want war. We want to see and want our children and grandchildren to observe many Easter Sundays.

Only by recognizing a higher authority than man can we survive.

If we place enough faith in that higher power the world will still live in comparative quiet.

Faith is the one gift which lightly taken turns to evil.

We will need all the faith we can muster from now on.

National Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRED MARSHALL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of the House to the following editorial from the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune of April 10, 1955. It reminds us that our natural resources are a national heritage and conservation is a national responsibility in cooperation with State and local governments.

NATIONAL CONSERVATION

It is too early to comment fully on proposals to turn the Federal soil conservation program over to the States. Details of the plan have not been made public.

But it is not too early to note that, in one important respect, turning the Soil Conservation Service's responsibilities over to the States might hurt the national interest.

Members of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations are now being polled as to a plan recommended by the Commission The staff proposal would place the work of the SCS on a basis similar to that of the Extension Service, with State officials having primary responsibility. The staff bethis would be more consistent with lleves the National-State relationships prevailing in other agricultural technical assistance programs.

Senator HUMPHREY, a member of the Commission, has offered a substitute proposal which recommends that the present program of soil conservation technical assistance to farmers be continued on a National-Statelocal governmental partnership.

The Humphrey proposal does not run directly counter to the idea that State and local groups should take a greater part in the soil conservation program. On the contrary, it asks legislation that would provide for more State and local responsibility.

The plan advocated by Senator HUMPHREY, however, recognizes the importance of the fact that conservation work must not be restricted by the political boundaries of States. Rain and snow are no respecters of such

boundaries; watersheds sometimes involve whole blocks of States; creeks and rivers flow without regard to political lines.

For this reason the most effective conservation work can be done when there is broad, overall planning on the basis of topography rather than political divisions. Any proposal that ignores or minimizes this salient fact comes short of being the best way to conserve this Nation's greatest natural resource.

Freedom of Worship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROSS BASS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following communications:

GALLAHER STORES,

Lawrenceburg, Tenn., April 6, 1955. The Honorable Ross Bass

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR Ross: The enclosed copies of my letters dated March 4 and April 4, to the Secretary of State, speak for themselves. incidents related are in my considered judg-

ment basic and thought-provoking.
Since it is the right of any American to worship in his own way in this land of refuge, it shocks him to see police force used against Americans in a country where his tax dollar was used to help stabilize its economy.

Some would seek to minimize the repression of small Protestant sects as marginal cases, but are they not indeed indicative of the measure of liberty enjoyed, and in truth, suggestive of nondemocratic systems?

Freedom must be total and for all or else

it is not freedom.

Wishing you the best, I am,

Sincerely.

MARCUS A. GALLAGHER.

LAWRENCEBURG, TENN., March 4, 1955. The Honorable JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Secretary: According to an Associated Press dispatch with Rome dateline the Church of Christ won a legal decision permitting it to operate and to place signs at its places of worship. Rome's police defy court, it further stated, and for the third time in 2 years, "the chisel and hammer squad," descended upon church premises in Rome, Thursday, to chisel the name of Christ from its portal and to arrest an American preacher.

The police action against the Church of Christ even after the first "provocation" was beginning to draw the attention of and protests from independent Italian newspapers. La Stampa of Turin, one of Italy's great dailies, published an article after the first interference deploring the "arbitrary ac-tions of police" that, it said, violated one of the fundamental freedoms recognized by the Italian constitution.

The decision of Rome's tribunal sharply criticized police for twice tearing down signs from the church's temple there. It also stated the Protestant group was protected by provisions of the Italian constitution guaranteeing religious liberty to all cults.

As the American Embassy pointed out on a previous occasion, the United States-Italian Treaty of Friendship specifically guartees the right of American citizens to hold

religious services in Italy unless public morals and safety are endangered.

Mr. Secretary, the unfolding picture of the continuing harassment of American missionaries with the police interfering with activities of the Church of Christ at every turn are repetitive acts of "force in the guise of the state." and such incidents are acts fraught with hostility toward religious freedom which stand out in arrogant contrast to freedom not only to worship but also publicly to promote one's religious beliefs as upheld and practiced in the United States.

In a recent formal agreement detailing the religious rights of Americans stationed in Spain, it appears that church law there is civil law, and that when you are in that country you operate under the laws of that country. However, it would appear in Italy, that the Italian Catholic State and the Roman Catholic Church are not harmonious entities, yet, according to the courts these Americans were conforming to Italian law.

When one considers the World War I aid, lend-lease, and the numerous grants and loans to Italy which have exceeded \$5 billion in addition to our sacrifices there in World War II, such repetitious violations of religious freedom are shocking indeed, whatever the ecclesiastical identity or nationality of the parties immediately concerned.

While your Department is to be commended in making all reasonable efforts toward saving this country from Soviet domination, a country with whom we have a treaty of friendship, yet, a country presenting many anomalies, may I strongly urge your continued vigilance in upholding that concept of freedom granting to minorities the right to publicly worship God as they are convinced that He should be worshipped, which is a salient feature of the American tradition.

Tolerance is the epitome of religious freedom It is the same spirit of tolerance that achieved religious freedom that alone can preserve religious freedom, our most precious heritage. Bigotry must disappear in the free

The American Government takes no restrictive measures against the present influx of Italian missionaries into the United States while relatively few American missionaries are in Italy. Certainly tolerance is not a one-way street, and may I commend to your favorable consideration such firmness and appropriate action that may be consistent with the traditional American emphasis on religious liberty.

Respectfully yours,

MARCUS A. GALLAHER.

LAWRENCEBURG, TENN., April 4, 1955. The Honorable JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: On March 4, I wrote to you protesting the denial of full freedom of worship and the apparent delight of some in Italy in heaping abuse upon those of the Protestant faith, which at least a knowledge of, if not the consent of the Italian Government with whom we have ties of friendship and for whom the American taxpayer has sacrificed both in war and peace.

The police have interfered with activities of the Church of Christ in Italy at almost every turn, but it has continued its evangelistic activities and maintaining an orphanage under an uneasy truce negotiated by the United States Embassy in 1952. However, the Church of Christ won a legal decision early last month permitting it to operate and to post signs at its places of worship.

Even as purported superior religious and political reasons have made it necessary to restrict freedom at home. Premier Scelba, who also as head of the Ministry of the Interior, heads the entire police force in Italy, receives the hand of welcome and friendship

from an ever-generous American Government.

Just as in the words of the elder Pitt, the poorest man could in his cottage bid defiance to all the force of the crown, since our birth as a Nation the humblest citizen has enjoyed among other basic rights, that of petition.

Perhaps more compelling or expedient matters occupying the attention of some in your Department have precluded even a routine acknowledgment to my March 4 communication, but certainly to my knowledge nothing has happened since that time to allay my concern over this serious matter. I trust that if a definitive policy has not al-ready evolved that an honest and forthright approach within the American concept will be undertaken expeditiously.

Yours very respectfully.

MARCUS A. GALLAHER.

Seasoned to Taste

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I have just received two publications relating to race relationships. One is a Wilson Library bulletin entitled "Seasoned to Taste" by the director of libraries, University of Washington, Harry C. Bauer. This article takes six from a list of Negro librarians with distinguished records and cites their work as a significant example of professional attainment in spite of the struggle a Negro must make to gain recognition.

The other bulletin received is the 1954 annual report of the Seattle Urban League which seeks to help Negroes overcome discrimination through vocational guidance and opening the door wider for them in employment opportunity. Obviously these two publications are related in that one is a study of successful careers of Negroes in a professional field while the other is a report of community activity to make such careers possible.

It is of more than passing interest therefore to briefly describe the activities of the Seattle Urban League during 1954.

(a) The Urban League continued to remind Seattle that a policy of discrimination in employment against Negroes and other nonwhites is unsound economically as well as morally.

(b) In its program of vocational guidance, the league sought to enlighten young people as to work opportunities and how to prepare for them.

(c) The league helped establish during the year three commercial club type of organizations for district community service and mutual cooperation.

(d) The league worked with childplacing agencies toward getting more foster parents and adoptive families for nonwhite families.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, the Seattle Urban League report shows clearly its many activities, all related to each other, have a central objective: "To help the Negroes of Scattle live better, fuller. happier lives, and so to serve the Negroes

and the whole community." I am proud of the Urban League's record in my district and shall certainly try and do what I can on the Federal level to supplement their efforts and objectives.

Easter at the Canyon—A Symbol of Divine Majesty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorials which appeared in the Arizona Republic and the Phoenix Gazette on Saturday, April 9, 1955. Both of these editorials point out the incomparable beauty of Arizona's Grand Canyon and call attention to the building of the great Shrine of the Ages to be constructed on the rim of the Grand Canyon:

EASTER AT THE CANYON

The story is told of a traveler from a distant land who stood at the reservation desk of a hotel on the rim of the Grand Canyon.

"May I have a room from which I can see the canyon?" asked the awed visitor.

"I'll give you a room from which you can spit into the canyon," answered the jaded room clerk.

"Sir," said the visitor, "I would not spit in the face of God."

Perhaps apocryphal, this story nevertheless reflects the attitude of thousands upon thousands of visitors who see the Grand

Canyon for the first time.

Tomorrow morning, as he has each Easter Sunday for the past 20 years, Howard Pyle will describe the glory of a sunrise seen from the rim of the canyon. Across the Nation unnumbered listeners will hear his sermonette carried over an NBC radio network. Later it will go to the Armed Forces overseas,

A year from now, if all goes well, the shrine of the ages will stand near where Mr. Pyle makes his annual broadcast. A campaign has been started to raise \$1 million for an interdenominational place of worship, to be erected on the canyon's rim, Local, State, and national leaders are on the shrine's advisory board, and the project has been given Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish approval. The National Park Service has okayed the plans for the building drawn up by one of the country's best known church architects.

The shrine of the ages is intended to provide a place where more than half a million visitors a year, each in his own way, can pay homage to the Creator while viewing His handlwork. It will lend a new reality to the eternal truths of the canyon.

A SYMBOL OF DIVINE MAJESTY

For those of the Christian faith there is no happier or more deeply significant occasion than that of Easter. It is an anniversary of hope for a better world, a time of remembrance that the powers of good ultimately prevail.

Such hopes transcend individual religious beliefs and are common to all those who worship and have faith in God. And it is to that larger congregation, in whom all faiths and denominations join, that Arizona's own annual observance of this time of year holds great appeal. For the Easter sunrise services at Grand Canyon offer spiritual rejuvenation to all who hear them.

The description of the symbolic dawning of a new day over earth's greatest natural example of God's majesty has thrilled multitudes through the years. Howard Pyle, who has let neither high office nor distance interfere with his now-famous broadcast, has returned to Arizona for the occasion. This year it has the new meaning of an effort to establish a permanent place of worship at this scene of awe-inspiring grandeur.

The Shrine of the Ages is a fitting name for the prospective church on the rim of the Grand Canyon—a chapel intended for the use of all religious groups. Nearly a million people are visiting the canyon each year. None can see its beauty without consciousness of the Supreme Being. Yet no place of worship in the whole area is in any sense adequate to the need.

That need can and undoubtedly will be met through generous participation in the fund campaign now going on in Arizona and soon to include the Nation. Located on the same beautiful site from which tomorrow's services will originate, the Shrine of the Ages chapel could be a monument to human understanding of the works of God.

The Question That Wasn't a Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 4, 1955

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include the following editorial from the Green Bay (Wis.) Press-Gazette of April 8, 1955:

THE QUESTION THAT WASN'T A QUESTION

We quote, with considerable interest two paragraphs from a news story that appeared recently in the Democratic newspaper at Madison regarding a television interview with Representative Reuss, of Milwaukee:

"REUSS was asked if he agreed with the view that 'we should back Chiang Kai-shek in an all-out atomic invasion of the Chinese mainland,' which various high Republican leaders have advocated.

"He answered: 'I certainly do not. It is time we took our foreign policy out of the hands of Chiang Kai-shek and put it in the hands of the President of the United States, Dwight Eisenhower, where it belongs."

Although the interview took place in Milwaukee, the story carried a Washington date line without any press service insignia, from which we deduce that it was really a publicity release from REUSS' office which was printed uncritically by the Madison newspaper.

This is what is known as the hidden propaganda type of publicity release, except that in this case the propaganda isn't hidden very well. Even the busiest editor of a Wisconsin country weekly would have spotted the casual way in which the words "which various high Republican leaders have advocated" are tacked on to the alleged "allout atomic invasion of the Chinese mainland."

Just what "high Republican leader" has advocated such a course? Even Senator Knowland, the most vociferous of the war hawks at Washington, has not ot our knowledge made any such proposal. Whenever we find ourselves in a tense international situation, and have an ally who we are helping and who is helping us, there are charges that

the ally is running our foreign policy. And, of course, the allied leader is being accused at home of knuckling under to Uncle Sam.

Our policy with regard to the situation in the Formosa Straits is a very serious matter indeed, and a proper subject for debate among all our people including Congressmen. But snide, untrue allegations made by Congressmen and printed in propaganda sheets masquerading as newspapers, do not contribute much to that debate.

Public Lands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLIFTON (CLIFF) YOUNG

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, one of our valued rights as American citizens is the privilege to petition our Government for redress of grievances. Unfortunately, as our Government has increased in size and complexity, the influence of the individual in presenting his problems has diminished in proportion. And when you add to the growth in the magnitude and scope of Federal activities the fact that some of our States, such as the one I have the honor to represent, are located several thousand miles from the seat of government, it makes even more difficult the task of an individual citizen who seeks a sympathetic and thorough consideration of his problems, important though they may be.

With nearly 87 percent of the State of Nevada under Federal ownership, it is to be expected there should develop occasional objections to the manner in which this area is administered. However, when objections are more than occasional it is time for Congress to seek ways of improving the rules of administration.

In my State, concern over the present public land system is particularly acute. Recently with an unprecedented influx of population in the State, and an unforeseen increase in public land activity the land disposal program of the Department of Interior has been unable to keep pace with the demand for service.

In an effort to improve this service, there was recently organized in the southern part of Nevada a group which in many respects recalls to mind the attempts of early settlers of Nevada and California to work out solutions to their public-land problems—efforts which eventually resulted in congressional action of the kind that is needed today.

When gold and silver were first discovered in California and Nevada there were no Federal laws to govern the recovery of these minerals from the public domain. Local districts were formed by these hardy pioneers. These districts established rules and regulations to govern day-to-day operations and activities of those who had discovered and developed valuable claims. When Congress later enacted legislation, it adopted to a large extent the rules that had been worked out by these locally formed mining districts.

The pioneering organization to which I am referring is the Southern Nevada Home-Siters, Inc., a grassroots organization composed largely of those who have made application for sites on the public domain under the Small Tract Act of 1938.

The backlog of cases jamming the office of the Bureau of Land Management and the lack of clear information on the disposal program gave birth to this group. Widespread confusion was present in that area as result of inadequate efforts made by the Federal Government to handle the many problems involved. The actions of this organization concurred with the best principles of democracy and admirably carried on the vigorous spirit of self-help and initiative which were rooted in the mining districts organized over 100 years

In a short period of time the Southern Nevada Home-Siters organization has accomplished the following:

It has organized applicants who are interested in securing small tracts so they would have a more effective voice in, first, improving the administration of existing laws; and, second, changing regulations and laws where it seemed advisable. It has served as a vehicle for better government for many people who perhaps as individuals would not have been heard or heeded. In short, it has breathed new life into their petition for redress against bureaucratic delay and legislative neglect.

It has served to secure and disseminate accurate information in an area where confusion was rampant. The Government was not discharging its obligation to furnish adequate service and self-appointed non-Government experts were profiteering as result of speculation, misinformation, and lack of knowledge.

It has been the source of constructive force to improve the services of the Bureau of Land Management office in the State of Nevada.

It has been in the forefront of moves to work out plans with the FHA, other Government organizations, and the communities of southern Nevada to develop the land resources in an orderly, intelligent way with an eye toward the future.

It has come to my attention that the 2,000th member recently joined this organization. This itself is a fine tribute to the excellent work they are doing at a local level. I wish to take this opportunity of pointing out the organization's splendid efforts and commending the officers and members on their fine contribution to better government, as well as the excellent example they are setting of grassroots democracy in action. No small measure of the credit for improvements already noted is due their untiring efforts. If future achievements are made in modernizing our public land laws and the administration thereof, these Nevada citizens will have contributed substantially to such progress.

American history is replete with examples of the general public being ahead of its elected servants in recognizing needs and working for solutions. I am sure we have another such occasion in

the present public land law tangle and that this body could well profit by following the lead of Nevada's modern-day pioneers.

Greece: The Symbol of Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial written by Mr. Harry H. Schlacht, which appeared in the East Side News on March 26, 1955, upon the occasion of the 134th anniversary of Greek independence:

GREECE: THE SYMBOL OF FREEDOM (By Harry H. Schlacht)

This week marked the 134th anniversary of Greek independence. For it was on March 25 when the Greek flag of liberation was unfurled.

What liberty-loving heart does not throb, does not swell, at the thought of Greek independence? We hail her unconquerable soul which has ever been the proud possession of the Greek people. We salute with joy "not the glory that was Greece" but the glory that is Greece. For the history of Hellas is the history of the world.

No tyrant has ever been able to crush her, and no tyrant ever will. The torch of democracy was first lighted in Athens. The Greek people have demonstrated in the most terrible of all wars that they still possess the flame which made their ancestors transcendent examples of what the human spirit can achieve.

They have emerged triumphant through every test of fire and sword. They showed the world that as they had taught other peoples how to live—so would they demonstrate their willingness to die while defending their liberty. No prophet is needed to predict that the people of Greece will continue to exemplify the noblest attributes of man.

Greece stands resolute as the pillar of civilization. Her past is unrivalled in intellectual richness. Her past is studded with every form of human achievement. Her past is kindled with the eternal love of liberty.

Liberty is an Hellenic quality. The historical annals reveal that the spirit of democracy found its full fruition and development in ancient Greece. Its grandeur in every domain of human endeavor has never been excelled. Its poised brow, like that of her Olympian god, was ranked high above the contending forces that surged below. Its spirit of freedom, its love of music and arts, all of the finer impulses of the heart and mind, flourished and blossomed with such rich fertility during the golden age of Pericles that they have never been surpassed in history.

Greece has been a brilliant light throughout the centuries, casting its illuminating rays upon the nations of the world. Her gallant leaders, true to the traditions of Thermophylae, Marathon, and Salamis, chose the path of honor in the last world conflict. Despots have attempted to subdue and crush her valiant spirit with hunger, exposure, and death. But her unshakable will to live as a free nation has remained ever constant and steadfast through all her tribulations.

Nor have the Greeks ever surrendered or compromised their lifelong convictions and ideals. For they have manifested, in blood and suffering, the invincible spirit of their martyred heroes who fought and died for liberty. From the lamps of Acropolis, the tragedies of Euripides, the songs of Menander, the poems of Palamis, the thought of Aristotle, the science of Archimedes, the light of liberty will never be extinguished.

Spring has come to the golden land of Hellas, spring with all its national freshness and exuberance. The warm breezes play gently over her pastoral Arcadia. The red poppies of Attica bloom beneath gray-green olive trees. The branches in the Thessalonian orchards are now heavy with buds. The season brings the joy of Greek music, songs, and folk dances.

On her face is the smile of liberation. It is radiant with freedom. It is softened by sorrow. It is sweetened by sacrifice.

Greece will rise again to greater heights of splendor. She will live again in the fullness of her ancient glory and valor. For the luster of her historic fame can never be dimmed.

O, Greece, for you; your long and glorious line of statesmen, philosophers, scholars, poets, and artists must be singing a heavenly chorus of halleluiahs.

Here's to the land of Hellas: One nation, one language, one history, one greatness, may your country ever be worthy champions of justice and liberty. Long live Greece.

National Sunday School Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, may I call attention to the fact that the week of April 11 through 17 is one that is to be observed as National Sunday School Week—a special week dedicated to the youth of America, no matter what their creed. For the past 11 years this worthy cause has been promoted throughout the United States under the auspices of the Layman's National Committee, Inc., an organization made up of men and women from business and industry who have pledged themselves to the common cause of furthering religion in our everyday life. However much they may differ on other matters, they unite in supporting religion that reduces itself in action to the principle of the Golden Rule, which is the foundation of the best in our American life. And so very strongly does this committee feel about the continuance of our American way of life that its members are constantly devoting untiring efforts to the proper dissemination of information regarding the fundamental principles on which our Nation was first established. They must be understood and preserved and strengthened if our country is to be preserved and strengthened.

This year the Laymen's National Committee has chosen as its theme for Sunday School Week "Sunday Schools Are the Root-Strength of Our Nation's Youth."

The Yalta Conference in Historical Perspective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, historians tell us that in examining the record of the past perspective is the sine qua non. Columnist Walter Lippmann has just completed a series of articles in which he has attempted to put the Yalta Conference into its proper historical perspective.

Perhaps it is too early for any person to wholly succeed in this task, but Mr. Lippmann's comments and observations, shunning as they do any partisan political considerations, should prove helpful to serious students of the World War II period in our history. Reprinted herewith is the second of these interesting pieces:

THE YALTA PAPERS: II

Had the State Department handled the Yalta papers with more discrimination, it would, so I argued in the preceding article, have recognized the difference between the genuine record of agreements and of official papers, on the one hand, and, on the other, the unverified individual jottings which belong to the domain of personal memoirs. Without falsifying the legitimate record, this critical distinction would have decontaminated this collection of Yalta papers of their worst mischief.

Yet, with or without the gossip and the chitchat, and in the hindsight of 10 years, the student of these papers will find that while it is easy enough to say what he wishes had happened differently in Eastern Europe and in the Far East, it is far from clear and certain even now how a different result could

have been brought about.

When we sit in judgment now, we must bear in mind the overriding condition which was decisive for President Roosevelt and his American advisers. This, as many have already noted, was the military situation at the time of Yalta. The Red army was across the Oder River and within 40 miles of Berlin. Eisenhower was not yet across the Rhine. Japan was in occupation of Manchurla, Korea, the whole coast of China, all of Southeast Asia, and of Indonesia. The combined, that is to say, the British and American, Chiefs of Staff had reported to Roosevelt and Churchill that they must plan for 18 months of war against Japan. If Secretary Forrestal's diary is correct, General MacArthur was calling for the intervention of 60 Red army divisions in Manchuria.

There were dissenters in the Navy and the Air Force who believed Japan could be defeated by sea and air power. But the mili-tary consensus was tha: Russian interven-tion was necessary if the enormous casualtics of a landing in Japan were to be avoided. The paramount idea in the minds of most Americans was how to end the war quickly, cheaply, and victoriously, and not how to the best position for a good political settlement after the war was over. As I recall the mood of Congress and of public opinion at the time, the sacrifice of American lives for the sake of a postwar settlement would have been regarded as verging on betrayal of the vital interest of the American people in saving the lives of their sons. Churchill and Stalin came to Yalta with their eyes fixed on the postwar settlement, and each was prepared to take military risks and to pay a military price. Not so the

Americans, beginning with Roosevelt and including all the rest of us.

We know now that the military leaders had overestimated Japan's resistance. The Japanese war could have been won, and in fact was won, without the assistance of the Red army. It is, therefore, true to say that Roosevelt was overanxious to buy Stallin's intervention in the Far East. He could, we now see, have gambled on a victory without Soviet participation. This, however, leaves open the question of what the United States would have done had Stalin intervened anyway, seizing what he wanted. It is not easy to answer that very "iffy" question.

In February 1945, in the European theater, there was no margin for gambling as theoretically, at least, might have been done in the Far East. Had the Red army sat down or, worse still, made a de facto truce with elements of the German Army, the danger to Eisenhower would have been enormous.

The overriding fact was that the Western democracies had become grossly dependent for their security upon the power of the Red Army. In February 1945, they had not vet become able to make themselves secure without, much less against, the Red Army. This is the key to Yalta. It is true that the Western allies had become less dependent than they were from 1941 to 1944, and that American power, if its development had been sustained for another year or two, might have made the West independent and superior. But at Yalta, the West paid the political price for having failed to deter Hitler in the 1930's, for having failed to unite and to rearm against him. The dom-ination of the Yalta conference by Stalin was founded upon the weakness of the Democratic West in the years before Yalta. From the day Hitler attacked Russia in June. 1941-6 months before Pearl Harbor-until the middle of 1944, the defense of what remained of Western Europe, and the prospect of mounting an invasion to liberate Western Europe and Scandinavia, depended upon the fact that Russia was absorbing the force of Hitler's blows.

No one is a good historian or a fair judge of the mistakes made at Yalta if he allows himself to forget the military weakness of the West during the first years of the war. For the errors, apart from the verbal indiscretions, of the Westerners at Yalta reflected the experience, the wishful thinking, and the rationalization of men who during long agonizing years had had to depend so much—too much—upon the fighting power of the Red Army.

In this perspective, then, the mistakes are still mistakes, and the unhappy chitchat is still too bad. But those of us who point the finger today have no ground for self-right-eousness. How many are there in public and private life—apart from Churchill and his few supporters—who really worked to keep the West from being too weak to take care if itself? Who demanded massive rearmament in the 1930s? Who worked for an alliance to deter aggression, to defend the West? A mere handful.

Yelt if Stalin's commanding position at Yalta is to be understood, we must remember what had happened in London, Paris, and Washington during the years while Hitler was rearming Germany and while Japan was conquering China. We must not forget that we were not ready to set foot upon the European Continent until 2½ years after Hitler declared war against us. In those years the stage was set for Yalta. In those years the Red army fought its way back from Stalingrad and the gates of Moscow. The Red army overran Poland and had reached the gates of Berlin. When Roosevelt and Churchill went to Yalta, Stalin already held in the grip of the Red army virtually all the lands that lie now behind the Iron Curtain. They went to Yalta compelled to deal with what was an accomplished military fact.

The Corsi Affair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include 2 editorials from the New York Times, 1 of April 9, 1955, entitled "The Corsi Affair," and 1 of April 13, 1955, entitled "Corsi Surrender":

[From the New York Times of April 9, 1955] THE CORSI AFFAIR

If President Eisenhower has ever wondered why it is sometimes difficult to get firstclass citizens to serve in important jobs in his administration, let him look at the treatment meted out to Edward Corsi, former industrial commissioner of New York.

Mr. Corsi has been a distinguished public servant for more than two decades. His first public office of note was Federal Commissioner of Immigration here, a post to which he was appointed by Herbert Hoover in 1931. A liberal Republican, he has been his party's nominee for United States Senate and also for mayor of this city. Because of his expert knowledge of and sympathetic interest in immigration problems, Secretary Dulles named him last December as special assistant for refugee and migration problems, presumably on the theory that if anybody could make sense out of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 Mr. Corsi could. In appointing his old friend, as he called him, Mr. Dulles noted that for this job Mr. Corsi was the best qualified man in the United States.

But when Mr. Corsi came to Washington he had two strikes against him. He had been a vigorous and effective opponent of the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952. Furthermore, he was serious about trying to make the 1953 law work—and he actually started to do something about it. There are people in Washington who do not want the Refugee Relief Act to work. And Representative Walter, a Pennsylvania Democrat, has apparently not forgiven Mr. Corsi for what he said about the McCarran-Walter Act.

Mr. Walter suddenly accused Mr. Corsi of having had Communist associations. Mr. Corsi denied the charges. Preliminary security investigations give Mr. Corsi a clean bill of health, as expected. Yet Mr. Walter persisted, and Mr. Walter is an important figure in Congress. We are left to conclude that rather than fight Mr. Walter and stand up for his personal appointee Secretary of State Dulles capitulated. It is not the first time.

Even in capitulating the State Department says that security is not the issue. Of course it isn't. The issue is a refusal to defend an appointee who was especially called to Washington to do a certain job but who has the administration rug jerked from under him the minute he becomes the target of political attack. Mr. Corsi has been offered some kind of alternate job as a consolation prize. Whether he accepts or refuses it we hope the administration will learn that this is not the way to win the respect of the American people.

[From the New York Times of April 13, 1955] Corsi Surrender

The Office of Secretary of State is, next to the Presidency, the most important single executive post within the Federal Government. The man who fills that post is the representative of the United States to all the world, and therefore it is particularly important that he have the confidence respect of the American people. The position of Secretary Dulles and the State Department in the Corsi affair has not, we regret to say, enhanced that respect.

The failure of Secretary Dulles to continue Mr. Corsi in his job as special assistant on refugee and migration problems became public on the heels of Representative WALTER'S repeated denunciations of Mr. Corsi for alleged pro-Communist associations. That these allegations had no validity was underlined by Mr. Dulles himself, who specifically stated that Mr. Corsi was not a security risk. Why, then, was he fired?

The State Department claims that Mr. Corsi's original task was completed and that he had "indicated his disinclination," in the Department's phrase, to perform the "painstaking work and administrative detail" that would follow. It is difficult to accept this labored explanation. Much more logical is the suggestion that he was dropped in order to avoid a fight with Representative WALTER and other defenders of a restrictionist immigration policy. Unfortunately, there is the truth in Mr. Corsi's charge to Secring of retary Dulles that the refugee program "will not work until you and the administration are willing to rescue it from the grip of an intolerant minority both in Congress and within the Department itself."

It is perfectly true that Secretary Dulles can do nothing about the wording of the law, which has been described by a former Solicitor General of the United States as "in many respects the most discriminatory, the most restrictive and generally the worst piece of legislation on the subject ever enacted in the history of this Nation." It is true that Mr. Dulles cannot change the remarkable stipulation that administrator of the law be identical with the head of the State Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, who happened then and happens now to be Scott McLeod. But it is also true that unless there are people like Mr. Corsi around who really want to make the act work if it is humanly possible to do so the act won't work and its administration will be narrow, illiberal, and timorous. Furthermore, as Mr. Dulles has said, "craven purchase of peace at the expense of principle can result in destroying much of the human spirit on this planet." This thought can apply to peace with Congressmen as well as to peace with the world.

Rice as a Weapon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, March 29, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Speaker, I hope the report contained in the following editorial from the New York Times is accurate. We have a major surplus of rice in the United States, and it would be foolhardy not to make effective use of this weapon in our effort to check the advance of communism in Asia.

The use of our rice as a weapon would be very little in the way of additional expense by comparison with the vast military expenditures deemed essential to our position in Asia. If we can use this commodity now stored in surplus to check the effort at economic expansion Red China is now making into Japan, India, and southeast Asia, we may save the cost of new fleet patrols in Asiatic waters, to say nothing of lessening the danger of major conflict in that region.

I hope the potential value of our rice surplus will be fully considered in the proposals for economic and military aid to Asia which will be submitted soon by the President. It will be the height of folly not to take advantage of this great opportunity to use an effective weapon.

RICE AS A WEAPON

Rice may become an important weapon in this country's fight against the spread of communism in the Far East. Administration officials are reported to be seeking methods of using our surplus rice to counter Red China's determined effort to win the major Indian and Japanese rice markets away from Burma and Thalland-nations friendly to the United States. Communist China, despite hunger in her own land, is exporting rice and attempting to undersell Burma and Thailand in order to advance her foreign policy in India and Japan. United States farm experts believe that by increasing our own exports to the rice-hungry peoples of Asia we can block China's plan to undermine the market positions of Burma and Thailand-exporters of two-thirds of the world's rice trade. Moreover, we can give valuable assistance in strengthening the marketing and distributing systems of those 2 nations so that they will be better able to stave off the Communist threat to their present economic status.

It has often been pointed out that our military policy in the Far East must be supplemented by effective trade measures in order to win the people of Asia. Thus Washington is on sound ground in searching for ways to make our rice surplus curb China's economic ambitions in India and Japan. Rice can help us win the cold war in the Far East while the 7th Fleet prevents a hot

A Petition To Remove Compulsion From Social-Security Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am enclosing a copy of a letter and petition which I received from one of my constituents, Mr. Ralph Bly, who has forwarded to me his own signed petition plus 101 others signed by members of Individuals for Freedom, and requested it be placed in the Congressional RECORD:

BLY AUTO SUPPLY, Shelby, Ohio, April 4, 1955. Hon. J. HARRY McGREGOR,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR HARRY: Under separate cover I am mailing you 101 signed petitions for the Individuals for Freedom. I will make this request that they be entered in the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, as opposition to the compulsory clause in the social-security legislation. I might add that in obtaining the signatures to the petitions that when the hard cold facts of the swindling features of the socialsecurity law is bared to the people they want no part of it.

Yours truly.

RALPH BLY.

-The petitions have been signed in triplicate; each Senator will also receive the same names.

A PETITION TO REMOVE COMPULSION FROM SOCIAL SECURITY LEGISLATION BY INDIVIDUALS FOR FREEDOM, MARY D. CAIN, SUMMIT, MISS. CHAIRMAN

To the Congress of the United States:

I, as a member of Individuals for Freedom, acting under amendment 1 to the Constitution of the United States, "to petition the Government for a redress of grievances" forth the following grievances against the so-called social security legislation and respectfully request permission to be omitted from the program, both as contributor and potential recipient of its benefits:

1. For 150 years of matchless American history, the general welfare clause in the preface to the Constitution was interpreted as our Founding Fathers explained it in the Madison papers, where James Madison explained that our government was not an indefinite one but a limited one, "tied down to the specific powers, which explain and define general terms." There is no grant of power to the Government to engage in forcing citizens to buy insurance against their wills.

2. In my opinion, social security legislation violates two of the Ten Commandments, upon which we believe our Christian Nation was conceived: 1. "Thou shalt not covet":

"Thou shalt not steal." and 2.

(a) I feel that this generation is being taught by the Federal Government to covet property that belongs to their neighbors. I cannot be a party to this breakdown of morality. Covetousness is one of the diseases common to communism.

(b) The social-security program is not actuarially sound. While it can now pay its way, it is freely admitted that payments to future beneficiaries depend entirely on how much tax the next generation can afford to pay. I feel that this generation is stealing from posterity, a move in which I wish no part as I want a clear conscience.

(a) and (b) jointly constitute a violation of amendment 1 which states plainly that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." It is against my religious beliefs to engage in breaking any of the Ten Commandments, all of which are

important.

3. In my opinion, social security is one of the main spokes in the wheel of communism which is destroying individual freedom in America today: It is, as a part of the communistic income tax structure, "a heavy progressive income tax"; which is the exact wording of plank No. 2 of the Communist manifesto. As a loyal American citizen, I can embrace no part of communism and I ask to be released from this edict which violates both the American and the Christian concept of individual freedom of choice.

(a) According to pamphlets issued by the Social Security Bureau, the present tax on employees will go, by 1969, to 31/4 percent and for their employers a like percentage; and for self-employed persons it is scheduled to rise to 4% percent. This certainly makes

it both heavy and progressive.

4. Social-security legislation violates amendment 5 of the Constitution, which plainly states: "Nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation." Any possible compensation for people depends entirely on the whim of Congress and the willingness of people to continue being so outrageously taxed. The money is taken for public use because its

benefits presently go to people who have, in many cases, contributed practically nothto the program but who are availing themselves of the fruits of the toil of others-with Government holding the big

5. This social-security legislation violates amendment 8 which states that no excessive fines shall be imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. I am informed that failure to conform to this social-security legislation subjects the offender to a fine of \$10,000 and/or imprisonment. To Americans who prize freedom of choice and who wish to care for their own old age, without Federal dole, this is a violation of everything sacred.
6. Social-security legislation violates both

the 9th and 10th amendments because nowhere in the Constitution or Bill of Rights is the Federal Government empowered to engage in the business of either public wel-

fare or insurance in any form.

7. The Federal debt at this time stands at \$275 billions plus the temporary upping of \$6 billions. Interest alone on this national indebtedness now costs us annually \$61/2 billions. This is a staggering debt to leave Senator HARRY BYRD recently posterity. stated that, in addition to this fantastic sum, there must be added \$200 billion in contingent liabilities, and the impossible-toestimate cost of the social-security program which he described as "no longer actuarially sound."

8. Freedom to engage in the work of one's choice is no longer possible unless one conforms. "Pay social security or cease to work." is the edict, applying to the once-free press as well as every business. This is a flagrant violation of all that is American. Are we free-born citizens, or are we creatures existing at the whim of the Federal Government?

I therefore now respectfully request that I be released from any responsibility or re-ward in the matter of social security and to that end ask that all compulsion be removed, letting only those employers or employees who wish to participate in the program to do so, at their own risk and out of their individual pockets, which is the true American way.

Further, I here and now urge that any person desiring reimbursement of sums paid into social security, be paid that exact sum, plus interest, if he wishes it. As for me, personally, I wish neither principal nor in-terest returned. It is my wish to help get rid of the national debt and this is my small contribution to that end.

RALPH BLY.

SHELBY, OHIO.

Facts Forum Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD the results of a Facts Forum poll. Facts Forum is a well-known institution in this country and from time to time it conducts polls which are very representative. I think the results of this poll will be interesting to the Members of Congress and to the public generally in this country.

There being no objection, the news release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

January 1955 Facts Forum poll results Ves

(percent) Does the United States need the atoms for peace plan?_. Are we showing signs of increased appeasement to communism? Is Mendes-France really our friend?___ Should school and college students debate United States recognition of Red China? Should John Paton Davies has been fired? Can we win the fight against communism using only defensive measures?____ Should the Federal Government spend \$50 billion on our highways?___. Will a rearmed Germany be an able ally?_ Should the United States break off relations with Russia?_ Is drastic reduction of Government the best way to curb corruption?__ Do most Americans prefer freedom to security? Should the question "Who promoted Peress?" be answered in full? Should the secret Yalta agreements be made public?___ Are public Xmas decorations planned to undermine Christian tradition?_____

The Education of Mr. Corsi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the Washington Post of April 9. 1955, entitled "The Education of Mr. Corsi," and an editorial from the Newark Evening News of April 12, 1955, entitled "The Corsi Blunder":

[From the Washington Post of April 9, 1955] THE EDUCATION OF MR. CORST

Secretary Dulles put a somewhat different face on the Edward J. Cosi case by offering a new job to the ousted deputy administrator of the Refugee act, and Mr. Corsi took some heat off the State Department by agreeing to consider the offer. This turn of events does not, however, alter the fact that a serious blunder was made. Despite the current efforts to make amends, the Department placed itself in the position of pulling the rug out from under Mr. Corsi as it had done in the cases of John Paton Davies, Reed Harris, Theodore Kaghan and others.

Whether or not Mr. Corsi may, at some time in the past, have joined an organization now frowned upon by that self-established arbiter of polltical acceptability, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, he was for a number of years a highly respected and responsible official of the State of New There is no reasonable doubt as to Mr. Corsi's loyalty to the United States, and the State Department insists that he was not fired for security reasons. Moreover, his governmental experience in New York made him peculiarly fitted for the task which the Secretary of State asked him to undertake in Washington.

But Mr. Corst has long been a firm supporter of the rights of minority groups and vigorous critic of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. He was, in addition, committed to the idea that the emergency refugee law ought to be made to work in such a way as to admit more than a trickle of

refugees to this country. These ideas incurred for Mr. Corsi the bitter enmity of Representative Francis Walter-a man who has come to regard any criticism of the immigration law as a Soviet-inspired form of subversion. Mr. Walter hurled wild, unsubstantiated charges at Mr. Corsi who promptly denied them. The State Department denied them, too; but it appears that the Secretary of State has no stomach for a spat with Mr. WALTER, and so Mr. Corsi's job suddenly became nonexistent, and he was belatedly offered another assignment.

"I never came down here asking for any job," said Mr. Corsi rather pathetically. "Mr. Dulles, in a personal telegram, requested me to take on the work. I came down solely relying on the integrity and honesty of Mr. Dulles." As some of his predecessors could have told him, however, the State Department is a place where employees frequently fail to find protection against a political

onslaught.

91

91

[From the Newark Evening News of April 12, 19551

THE CORSI BLUNDER

Edward J. Corsi has refused a consolation post in the State Department and, in view of the treatment he has received, who can blame him?

A respected man in his State and community, Mr. Corsi went to the Department last January to accelerate administration of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953. He was welcomed by Secretary Dulles as "the best qualified man in the United States" for the work.

Today "the best qualified man in the United States" is out of his job and out of

the Department.

It made no difference that Mr. Corsi's experience traced back to President Hoover. under whom he served as Immigration Commissioner; or that he had served New York State as industrial commissioner as a longtime member of the Dewey team.

Representative Walter, a Pennsylvania Democrat and coauthor of the McCarran-Walter Act, has attacked him, alleging association with Communist-front organizations in the 1930's. Mr. Corsi entered a categorical denial and the Department itself said no question of security was involved. But before the WALTER attack the State Department folded.

Now it is said that departmental frictions were responsible. This unofficial and belated explanation comes after other and contrary impressions have been imbedded in the public mind.

It wasn't expedient, it seems, to antagonize a Member of Congress or to resist internal political pressures. Mr. Corsi was expendable and, considerations of justice having come to rest in the office wastebasket, expended he was.

There is no use arguing the Corsi blunder was a minor miscalculation in a department dealing daily with war or peace; or to say that it was all the fault of that Democratic liability, Representative WALTER, and a couple of other fellows.

A principle has been breeched and responsibility rests with Secretary Dulles. That is where it belongs.

Are the Islands the Issue?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, is the issue aggression, or is it Quemoy and One used to read—and not too long ago—about the penalties of aggression, as well as the rewards of negotiation.

Have we changed?

Split Personality in the Democrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the following article by David Lawrence, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on Tuesday, April 13, 1955, is, I believe, worthy of special attention:

STEVENSON SEEN AS ROCKING THE BOAT AT A CRITICAL TIME

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, April 12.—If Adiai Stevenson had contrived purposely to encourage the Communist Chinese to believe that America is disunited and that her allies are seriously at odds with her on a Far Eastern policy, he could not have delivered a more convincing speech to that end than he did on Monday night.

For, while to many Americans the former presidential candidate would seem to have been motivated merely by domestic political considerations and by his own ambitions—which can be realized only by undermining the political popularity of President Eisenhower—the Red Chinese could well imagine that the speech represents the beginning of a retreat by the Democratic majority now in control of Congress.

Only a few weeks ago they voted solidly to support the resolution authorizing the President to use our military force to defend Formosa and related positions and territories of that area. Is "bipartisanship" to be spelled differently now, with divisive speeches by partisans at a time of grave crisis in international affairs?

There are, of course, differences of opinion here and abroad over the extent to
which the related areas, namely, the offshore islands, shall be defended. But the
issue was thoroughly debated in Congress,
and it would seem that Mr. Stevenson now
is merely accentuating a difference that has
already been resolved. For the Congress
was informed that there was no intention
on the part of the President to defend
the offshore islands as such, but to defend
them only in situations which are recognizable as parts of, or definite preliminaries to,
an attack on Formosa.

GOING IT ALONE?

This has been made clear to Members of Congress on the Democratic side, and especially to Senator Walter George, Democratic chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. But now it would appear that Mr. Stevenson has publicly repudiated the leadership of the Georgia Senator and prefers to go it alone in proclaiming what he believes should be the foreign policy of the Democratic party.

Mr. Stevenson, moreover, calls for a declaration by the Allied nations condemning the use of force in and around Formosa. This is predicated on the assumption that the Red Chinese will likewise refrain from using force. Senator George favors the renunciation of the use of force in and around Formosa, and so does President Eisenhower, who has called for a cease-fire to be arranged by the U. N. It is not Mr. Eisenhower or our allies who can regulate whether force shall be used. Only the

Red Chinese can decide whether there is to be war in the Far East. Any pronouncements about United States policy should be left to the President of the United States to make.

The speech by the former presidential candidate is full of contradictions so characteristic of many of his addresses. for example, he condemns the Eisenhower administration for not doing what it says, and for not meaning what it announces in its threat of "massive retaliation," Mr. Stevenson unfortunately chooses as his illustration the allied retreat in Indochina. For this he blames America when he ought to know that the United States backed down from the use of force there because neither the French nor the British-our allies-would go along with us. Here was a case in which Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles did precisely what Mr. Stevenson now pleads should be done-namely, adopted an attitude deferential to the wishes of our allies. But having followed our allies, America is now blamed by Mr. Stevenson for the loss of Indochina. He certainly cannot have it both ways.

Mr. Stevenson's speech exhibits a greater concern for the feelings of the allies than it does for the feelings of the American people. This is probably due to a desire to make it appear that in foreign policy the administration is inept and incompetent.

ROCKING THE BOAT

While professing high motives himself, Mr. Stevenson accuses the administration of yielding to "considerations of domestic political expediency" in making its Far Eastern policies. There are critics inside the Republican Party, but fortunately they have not been in favor of appeasing the Communists, and are trying instead to keep the administration from yielding to those "peace at any price" elements in the Republican Party which, like Mr. Stevenson, advocate withdrawal from the offshore islands.

Mr. Stevenson would, of course, wash his hands of any responsibility if the policy he advocates were really adopted. If, for example, after the United States withdrew moral support from the Nationalist government and a disintegration of morale developed on Formosa among the troops of Chiang Kai-shek-which Mr. Stevenson now significantly derides as "overage"—the titular leader of the Democratic Party probably would not concede that, by his speech and proposals, he had helped to break down the morale of the Nationalist troops on Formosa, just as the Truman-Acheson administration did in pulling the rug from beneath Chiang Kai-shek's forces on the mainland of China in 1949.

Mr. Stevenson is rocking the boat at a critical time, and if his words are heeded by the Democratic majority in Congress, then America is headed for the era of chaos and divided government predicted by many observers last autumn. The American people during the campalgn were promised cooperation by the Democrats in upholding the hands of the President, especially in foreign policy. But Mr. Stevenson evidently does not feel obligated now to see that this pledge is fulfilled.

Brooklyn: Frontier of Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON, EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the

RECORD, I include the following article by Andrew S. Roscoe, president of the South Brooklyn Savings & Loan Association, which appeared in the March issue of Flatbush, published by the Flatbush Chamber of Commerce, Inc.:

BROOKLYN: FRONTIER OF FREEDOM

(By Andrew S. Roscoe, president of South Brooklyn Savings & Loan Association)

Such organizations as the Flatbush Chamber of Commerce must be vitally concerned with the social and material progress of our community.

community.

Indeed, it is only duty to make an inventory from time to time of our accomplishments, our growth, and our needs. Brooklyn has never been static. No city in America has the history of service that our borough may claim.

Ever so often some of us become alarmed because we hear of an industry moving to the South or West, where taxes are certainly lower and labor apparently more eager to meet halfway with the problems of management. We read occasionally that it is becoming more and more difficult for our industry to meet the competition of those entrepeneurs who, more fortunately, are located in areas where industry is given generous subsidies. We hear, too, of the exodus of our wealthier Brooklyn families and the arrival of new citizens of a lower-income group.

All these alarms would seem to justify immediate abandonment of this great borough and would seem to suggest a furious rush away from it all. But let me assert that Brooklyn is not doomed, that Brooklyn does not despair.

Our community is probably the most resourceful, the most American in the Nation and no community with its ideals, its location, its leadership, political, educational, and religious, will ever cease to grow. We are, of course, too modest. When the history of our great Nation is completely written you may be sure that some great historian will discover what Brooklyn has done. Primarily by virtue of our location, with harbor facilities unequaled in the world and crowded with newcomers from all nations we meet citizens of the world daily. Brooklyn probably absorbs more newcomers to America than does any community in the Nation, and we teach new Americans to live together without prejudice, to follow the pattern of American ideals, and to find peace, comfort, and security in our group. Brooklyn not only knows no religious, race, or color bias; it has shown all other communities the simple truth that all peoples can live together as Americans.

I am willing to venture that our residents of Brooklyn because of their training as Brooklynites have gone out into new communities as leaders in all that is America. My historian of the future undoubtedly will tell us that.

Our economy, too, is strong. While the rate of acceleration in industrial growth here may falter somewhat percentagewise in the future, this may well be because of our maturity, not because of hardening of the arteries. Our social welfare is the best; our organized community activities and charities have faced a series of complex situations unlike social conditions in any other community. It has faced problems sometimes described as insolvable and has invariably come up with a pattern of good neighborliness.

Of these evidences of active social service, perhaps the most significant and the greatest is the American Red Cross. Voluntary hospitals, health and welfare institutions, supported by private gifts, add to the pattern of good neighborliness. Today we enjoy the benefits of privately supported schools, colleges, and universities, in which ideals of faith and goodness as well as of intellect, give to the community men imbued with the

great command of service to their neighbors. Yes, indeed, long before the phrase "welfare state" was known we had developed a truly free welfare society.

When I read of vast sums of money given by the Federal and State Governments to create new communities in the wayward West or the softer South, I think that some day a brave group of Brooklynites will introduce a bill in Congress which will be a bill for services rendered.

It will read something like this: "For services rendered in meeting newcomers to our shores, in training as sound Americans, in developing social, religious, and educational institutions unsurpassed; in creating sound industry and in providing comfort and security for millions and finally for establishing a pattern for all Americans to follow in creating new communities, we ask the sum of"—you may name that sum; in my judgment it will be enormous.

Such bills, however, cannot be paid in money. Their payment comes in pride. Let us be proud of Brooklyn.

Antitrust Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, the recommendations of the Attorney General's committee in regard to the antitrust laws are provoking a great deal of comment from many sources. This is as it should be under our democratic legislative process, because only through public discussion can we clearly view and understand both sides of the coin.

In that connection, I wish to make a part of the RECORD the letter I received from Mr. Clyde G. de la Houssaye, attorney and secretary of the New Orleans Retail Grocers' Association, dated April 1, 1955. The letter follows:

New Orleans Retail.
GROCERS' Association,
New Orleans, La., April 1, 1955.
The Honorable Ebwin E. Willis,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR ED: According to the very latest reports from Washington, it seems that the Attorney General's national committee to study the antitrust laws, which will be made public in the near future, or may already have been made public by the time that you get this letter, will be hostile to strengthening the Robinson-Patman Act and make recommendations to oppose the equality of opportunity bills, namely Senate bill No. 11 and House bill No. 11.

I believe that monopolists in this country are presently, and have been in the past, endeavoring to ruin the chances of the small-business man and there is no doubt in my mind that if the committee's report is such as I have stated in this letter, they should be condemned for taking such a position.

This country of ours is composed of small-business man and when those men are ushered out of the business world, the backbone of our country will crumble and the control of prices and commodities will fall into the hands of a very chosen few. As an example, at the present time there is a movement afoot in certain sections of this country endeavoring to see to it that a few of the large corporations control the food

business and run the small man out of business. When that happens, all consumers, as well as the farmers and producers of food in the United States, will have to pay prices set by a group of monopolists who will dictate the future of the food business. This, we hope, will not occur, but unless something is done to stop this movement, the cause will have been lost.

So, therefore, it is incumbent upon me to plead on behalf of those men who own small businesses in the food field that you and all of the Members of Congress endeavor to stimulate enough interest to overthrow the recommendations of the Attorney General's national committee regarding the antitrust laws, and let there be a movement forward strengthening those antitrust laws, and especially the passing of the equality of opportunity bill, which will benefit the Nation's business as a whole.

The time has now come when the Members of Congress must decided whether or not this country will be ruled by a group of monopolists who will control the future and destiny of this Nation.

I would appreciate it very much if you could see fit to read this document before the House and let it be made a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Yours very truly,

CLYDE G. DE LA HOUSSAYE.

Mr. Speaker, for my part, especially as a member of the House Committee on the Judiciary having jurisdiction over antitrust legislation, I am going to take a long, hard, and searching look at the report before acting on or accepting the recommendations of the Attorney General's committee.

Retired Federal Employees Should Be Given Adequate Pension Boost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, after Congress acts to give salary increases to postal workers and other Federal employees, I trust that prompt action will be taken to improve pension benefits for retired Federal employees.

There will, of course, be those who will oppose an increase on the grounds that the Nation cannot afford it. It seems to me that it is the other way around. If we are interested in a strong and healthy economy we should give some thought to the tremendous surpluses that are piling up in the Nation's store-

And there are big surpluses, not only of food and farm products, but of all kinds of electrical gadgets, automobiles, and other consumer goods while at the same time there is a desire and in some cases dire need for these goods and services we have in abundance.

The Nation's loss in real wealth that results from idle men and machines is so great that it is difficult to estimate. The loss in national income is another example of false economy and curtailment and hard-money policies which are

designed to make adjustments downward and backward.

If we forget human needs, if we are indifferent about permitting elderly folks to have a modest share of the abundance which is ours, we should not forget the importance of keeping our industrial machine going and our economy and our Nation strong.

Mr. Speaker, with my remarks I wish to include the following material on this subject from the Washington Post and the Washington Star:

[From the Washington Post of March 30, 1955]

RETIRED GOVERNMENT WORKERS

(By Frank J. Wilson, president, National Association of Retired Civil Employees)

The current actions and discussions in the Congress on pay raises for various groups of Federal servants to enable them to meet the increases in the cost of living eloquently call attention to the plight of the forgotten men and women of the Federal Civil Service—the retired employee and the survivors of deceased retirees and deceased employees. A brief reference to what Congress is doing for the active groups may stimulate thinking about those living on pensions.

The pay of Senators and Representatives has just been increased by 50 percent; from \$15,000 to \$22,500 a year, and the new rate is more in keeping with their expenses and responsibilities in relation to the cost of living.

The changes in the Social Security Act at the last session raised the minimum benefit from \$25 to \$30 a month, about 20 percent, and changed the maximum from \$85 to \$98 for those already retired and to \$108 for those retiring thereafter, increases of 15 to 27 percent, respectively.

Congress is presently considering a pay raise and classification for postal employees. The average raise in the House bill is 7.6 percent, and the Senate bill provides an average of 10 percent for both postal and classified employees. It is assumed that the House will also provide a 7.6 percent raise for classified employees. The President has indicated he does not favor increases above 7.6 percent average. It is reasonable to assume that increases will eventuate either at 7.6 or 10 percent or somewhere between the two.

The Congress is also considering—the House has acted on—a bill to increase pay of members of the Armed Forces and commissioned services ranging from 6 to 25 percent and it is fairly certain that increases along these lines will eventuate. In this connection it should be remembered that the retired personnel of these services will automatically receive increases in their retired pay when the active pay is increased—an advantage not enjoyed by retired civil-service personnel.

Congress has just provided a contributory life-insurance plan for active Federal workers and will undoubtedly provide also a contributory health and hospitalization insurance plan. Civil-service workers retired before these plans are instituted are ineligible to participate, though their need for features of these plans are greatest when retirement is reached.

One need only look at the current statistics and realize the unfortunate status of most annuitants. The average annuity paid to retired civil-service employees in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1952, was approximately \$1,400 as a result of his and the Government's contributions. Those in the group retired for disability averaged less than \$1,200 a year and the widows and dependent children averaged less than \$600 a year.

Since the inflationary spiral which commenced about 15 years ago, the value of

the dollar has been cut approximately in half. Annuities have not been geared to the cost of living. It would take approximately \$2,400 of today's dollars to have the equivalent purchasing power of the \$1,200 annuity at the beginning of the inflationary cycle. Annuities have been increased twiceonce in 1948 by \$300, or 25 percent, whichever was lesser; and again by \$324, or 21 percent. This latter increase did not apply to anyone whose annuity was in excess of \$2,160. Annuities lag behind living costs even where they are based upon higher pay adjustments during the inflationary cycle.
What is necessary is a practical, perma-

annuity payments to nent plan to gear living costs so that the annuitant gets speedy and adequate adjustment. Pending this the Congress should, at this session, grant relief, to stop-gap makeshift though it might be, the hardships and worries of retired Federal civil servants. Rising prices erode fixed incomes, whether under or over \$2,160, and this discriminatory bar should be removed and all annuitants permitted to receive relief in the appropriate proportion—the higher the annuity the lesser the percent of relief.

During 1954 the Civil Service Commission

reports 10,157 civil service retirees died, or nearly 28 every day in that year. Survivors of retirees died at the rate of approximately three each day in 1954.

Congress is on the threshold of taking significant steps to improve the program of treatment of the active employees of the Government. They should not fail at the same time to take prompt and adequate action for the relief of those who have served so well in the years past.

FRANK J. WILSON, President, National Asosciation of Retired Civil Employees.

[From the Washington Star of March 18, 1955]

RETIRED EMPLOYEES READY TO ASK PENSION BOOST AFTER PAY ACTION

(By Joseph Young)

As soon as the Federal pay raise legislation is enacted into law, the retired employee organizations will ask Congress for an immediate pension increase this year for retired Government annuitants.

The retired employee groups, who have been holding their fire until the Federal pay raise legislation is approved, feel the time is right to get an annuity increase. They will also seek annuity benefits for widows of Federal retirees who died before 1948.

Leading the fight are the National Association of Retired Civil Employees and the United States Retirement Benefits Associa-

These groups point out that Congress, this year, has raised the salaries of its own members and is about to raise the pay for Government classified and postal workers as well as military personnel. They declare that re-tired Federal workers need an increase in their pensions just as urgently. They point out that the average Federal annuity is \$1,200 a year. Increases also will be sought for those employees who retired on disability. Their average income is less than \$1,000 a year.

Retired employee leaders realize they face an uphill fight. There has not been too much enthusiasm in Congress for any retirement legislation this year. The feeling seems to be to wait until next year to reexamine the entire Federal retirement system, in light of the Kaplan Committee report, and decide what action should be taken.

However, retired workers are hoping that Congress will see the justice of their cause and grant them some relief this year from the rising living costs which have plagued them since their retirement. Such groups as the National Association of Retired Sivil Service Employees have not been inactive during the last few months. Its officials say that most of the organization's 75,000 members throughout the country have written individual appeals to their Representatives and Senators urging action on increased annuities this year.

[From the Washington Star of March 20, 1955]

IN FAIRNESS TO RETIRED EMPLOYEES

While considering pay legislation for Federal employees, Congress should not forget the plight of retired Government workers. The average pension of these veterans of the civil service is \$1,200 a year. Those who retired for disability receive less than \$1,000 a year on an average. Increased living costs hit retired employees just as hard as those on the active payrolls of the Government. President Eisenhower not long ago told Congress of the need for liberalizing benefits under the Federal retirement system. So did the Kaplan committee, which made a thorough study and recommended merger of the Federal pension and social security sys-

The Kaplan report, bearing the general indorsement of the President, is before congressional committees, but early action on a general overhaul of the retirement program is not likely. In the meantime, Congress would be justified in granting some increase in present pensions, as a matter of fairness to thousands of former public servants.

The Cathedral of the Pines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter I have received from Mr. Douglas Sloane, founder of the Cathedral of the Pines, at Rindge, N. H., in which an invitation is extended to all Members of Congress to attend services at the Cathedral of the Pines.

I sincerely hope that any Member who is in a position to do so will visit Cathedral of the Pines.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CATHEDRAL OF THE PINES, Rindge, N. H., April 5, 1955. The Honorable Styles Bridges, Senior Senator from New Hampshire, Senate Office Building,

Washington, D. C. DEAR SENATOR BRIDGES: I enclose a schedule of services to be held in the Cathedral of the Pines during this our 10th anniversary sea-You will note the occasion scheduled for 3 p. m., May 30. At that time and before the Altar of the Nation, a memorial for all the American war dead, the debt we owe for the sacrifices of so many will be acknowledged.

Please note especially the participation by the women. This is good. Most of the memorials to the war dead recall the sacrifice of men. Whether in uniform as a part of the Armed Forces or as members of the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the K. of C., whether killed on the battlefield, the battleship or in the air; whether killed in war service while at work in the laboratories, the shops or the factories; whether killed while gathering news to boost the morale of those

at the front or in the families at home or whether bosting morale by bringing laughter to the fighting forces, all those women and men whose lives—one as precious os an-other—were sacrificed in common cause against the foe in perpetuating Americaall are remembered here.

The altar of the Nation is built of rough rock wrested from New Hampshire soil by the pioneers. In the face of this shrine are stones as tributes from each of the 48 States and similar stone tributes from President Eisenhower, from Fleet Admirals Leahy, Nimitz, and Halsey; from Generals of the Army Marshall, MacArthur, and Bradley and from Generals Ridgway and Doolittle. Here these rocks are bound together to symbolize the strength and unity of a grateful Nation in this memorial to all her war dead.

We are grateful to have your stone here and also those from Senators Estes Kefauver and EDWARD MARTIN.

Will you please extend an invitation to all the Members of the United States Senate to visit the Cathedral of the Pines, cated to Almighty God as a place where all people may worship." There never are parking charges, admission fees, nor are collections ever taken at any service, sacred concert or at the daily organ meditations.

For your further information, according State troopers and local police on traffic duty, more than 1,500,000 persons have visited here these past short 9 years. have come from all the countries of the world. Thirty-four different faiths-Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish, each in its own way, have conducted services of worship here. As this cathedral is unique, because of the stones and other treasured gifts, because of the sweeping, awesome view from the cathedral, many of the 64 million peo-ple of America who have "no connection with any church of any sort in any way' come here looking for answers. No visitor has left here without some sense of appreciation of or obligation to the Creator. Even those who have said "There is no God" come here out of curiosity whom it would be difficult to get back into a familiar place of worship. These people have not left the cathedral with this philosophy.

Forwarding the word of the Cathedral of the Pines is true service to God and country, our State and men everywhere. be grateful for your further help.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

DOUGLAS SLOANE, Founder.

Alaska Statehood and Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the statehood bill, H. R. 2535, which has been reported by the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and which is now before the Rules Committee, I call the attention of the House to an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on April 7:

ALASKA AS A FORTRESS

President Eisenhower deserves credit for stating frankly, if not altogether explicity. his reservations about statehood for Alaska. In a letter to Senator Jackson the President wrote of his concern lest statehood legislation impair freedom of movement and of action by our (military) forces in large areas of this critical region. Mr. Eisenhower expressed doubt whether any legislation could wholly remove his apprehensions, but prom-

ised earnest consideration. Offhand, it is difficult to see how freedom of action for the military forces would be hampered by an enlightened statehood law. The President always retains paramount powers for national defense. Moreover, the present statehood bill provides for a large Federal reservation in the northern part of Alaska for defense purposes. Statehood advocates have offered many times to meet every reasonable request; the difficulty has been that they have not known spe-cifically what was required. The President's letter is encouraging in tone but sheds little more light in terms of specifics. It seems to us that the President and the National Security Council still have an obligation to say precisely what the legislative requirements are so as to give Alaskans a fair chance to meet them.

Agricultural Pilot Rating Urged for Aerial Crop Spraying and Dusting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, OTTO KRUEGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert the following resolution passed by North Dakota's 34th Legislative Assembly, pointing up the need for the creation of an agricultural pilot rating for pilots engaged in the aerial application of agricultural chemicals. Such a rating would increase the number of available pilots qualifying for this type of work necessary more than ever now in many of our midwestern farm States.

Senate Concurrent Resolution X follows:

Senate Concurrent Resolution X

Concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to enact legislation which would create an agricultural rating for pilots engaged in the aerial application of agricultural chemicals

Whereas the need for pilots and airplanes for aerial application of agricultural chemicals in the State of North Dakota and many other midwest farm States is increasing more rapidly than the available commer-

more rapidly than the available commercially licensed pilots; and
Whereas in North Dakota during the year of 1954, over 200 airplanes and pilots were licensed by the State aeronautics commission to engage in aerial crop spraying and dusting, and as newer chemicals are developed for the control of insects and plant diseases, the needs of the farmers of this State may require as many as three or four hundred agricultural planes and pilots; and

Whereas in the State of North Dakota and other agricultural States there is a large reserve of privately licensed pilots and flying farmers, some of whom could qualify for a Pederal agricultural rating, if the rating were based on flying ability, flight hours, and knowledge of agricultural chemicals, which would greatly relieve the present and future shortage of pilots qualified to engage in agricultural flying: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of North Dakota (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That the Congress of the United States is hereby memorialized and respectfully petitioned to enact such legislation as may be necessary to create an agricultural pilot rating for aerial crop spraying and dusting activities in the United States: be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution, properly authenticated, be sent by the secretary of state to the Civil Aeronautics Administration, Washington, D. C.; to the chairmen of the House and Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committees of the Congress of the United States; and to each member of the North Dakota congressional delegation.

C. P. Dahl,

President of the Senate.
EDWARD LENO.
Secretary of the Senate.
K. A. FITCH,
Speaker of the House.
KENNETH L. MORGAN,
Chief Clerk of the House.

What Is a Boy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Record a brief article from the current issue of the Freeman:

WHAT IS A BOY? (By Charles F. Hamilton)

What is a boy? With each passing day he is something that becomes more and more difficult to define.

Basically, he is, as he always was, an absentee. He is more easily described by the marks he leaves behind. So, nostalgically, we sometimes say a boy is a jelly smudge on the pantry door; a broken window across the street; a pocketful of assorted junk from agates to zombie potions. A boy, we say, is a fellow who starts for school and ends up at the swimming hole, or who on his way to the store is sidetracked by a ball game. A boy is an ever-present and evertibsent Kilroy who leaves his mark on heart, home and community. Boys are boys the world over; but when we get sentimental enough to try to describe them, we call to mind our American boys.

But do you really think of them? If we do, how does this sound to you? What is an American boy? Basically he is as he always was, an absentee. Only today he is more of an absentee than ever before. Here, a boy is a fellow who starts out to think about his high school studies and ends up thinking about war; a lad who, in need of a job, decides to have a little fun before he is drafted. Then, he is a letter from training camp or from one of many far-off countries—democracy's outposts. He is a photograph on his mother's dresser.

What else is an American boy? An American boy is a lad whose Government has contributed him to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and who ends up a prisoner in solitary confinement—judged and found gullty by laws of another country. He is doomed to serve his sentence in a foreign jail because as the Constitution now reads, treaty agreements supersede the law of our land. An American boy is an American who, without his own consent is sent abroad to fight for the preservation of our inalienable constitutional rights but ends up having his own rights arbitrarily taken from him. An

American boy is a lad who volunteers or submits to military draft as an American soldier and ends up being a United Nations soldier in a Communist prison. He knows who sent him because he swore allegiance to his country on induction, but he doesn't know who will bring him back. He is a boy who wonders, "Is allegiance reciprocal—or is it transferable without consultation?"

An American boy is a bewildered chap, dearly loved by his parents back home who hopefully await his return and meanwhile wonder—wonder how the promise of a man has become driftwood on a sea of political blunders.

Ten Christopher Proposals for Citizen Participation in Our Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith a 10-point proposal to enable American citizens to fulfill their responsibility in shaping our foreign policy, presented by the Christophers, 18 East 48th Street, New York, N. Y. The proposals merit the attention of thoughtful citizens everywhere:

TEN WAYS TO STRENGTHEN YOUR GOVERNMENT

Here are 10 Christopher proposals that may help you to fulfill your responsibility in shaping American foreign policy. We merely submit them to you. You must decide for yourself how, when, and where to apply them.

- 1. Be alert. We live in an atomic age. The slightest delay or mistake may be disastrous. Take nothing for granted. Think and act quickly as well as honestly and courageously. Merely complaining or theorizing accomplishes little. Translate your good ideas into practice. Put your ideals to work.
- 2. Develop sound principles. Remember your judgments will never be any better than your values. See that they are rooted in the changeless truths of Almighty God. Too many people are fooled by half-truths and sugar-coated remedies, and forget, for instance, that our Nation is founded on the sacred truth that each individual derives his rights from his Creator—that government is his servant, not his master, and that its chief purpose is to secure for him these God-given rights.
- 3. Keep informed on world developments. This is difficult, even for the experts. But the average person with sound values who conscientiously tries to keep intelligently informed is endowed to God with a "sixth sense." If he speaks out of conviction based on facts, not opinions nor rumors, he can often nip in the bud dangerous risks.
- 4. Pray for those who represent you. Every person in the State Department, from top to bottom, is a public servant and is entrusted with the enormous responsibility of protecting your best interests and those of every other American citizen. The better equipped he is and the higher his sense of purpose, the better for you and everybody else. But despite the best of intentions, he is human and can make mistakes. He needs your prayers.
- 5. Encourage others to vote. Expressing one's opinion at the polls is one of the greatest safeguards of free government. Remind others that their vote counts. Only 6 out of 10 of those privileged to vote went to the

polls at the last Presidential election; less than 5 out of 10 last November; and an average of only 1 out of 10 at most primary elections throughout the country. This is a dangerous trend. Self-government gradually disappears when too many individuals take the attitude: "my vote doesn't count." Remember that bad politicians are elected by good citizens who don't take the trouble to vote.

6. Make your voice heard. Don't overlook the fact for one moment that the Senators and Representatives from your State represent you. If you think they are doing a good job, tell them so. They have a right to know what your convictions are. Write what you think in your own words. Keep in touch with them at reagular intervals. Speaking up only in times of crisis is not enough. And merely complaining about what's wrong is too negative. Make positive, constructive suggestions that show sympathy and understanding of problems. Write also to the State Department, Washington, D. C., and to the United States Delegation, United Nations, 2 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

7. Let editors and broadcasters know where you stand. Encourage newspapers, magazines, as well as radio and television stations to present more articles and programs that uphold the Constitution and fundamental American principles that are based on love of God and country. whenever you believe there has been a be-trayal of these principles. Be specific in your letters. Mention the article or program you object to (if more than one, indicate by listing them) and give your reasons. Disagree without being disagreeable. A friendly approach is a sign that you wish to

be more than a faultfinder.

8. Work through your organizations. There are 3 million organizations, small and large, in the United States of America. vast majority belonging to them do little more than pay dues. Any group that merits your financial support needs your intelligent participation even more. Attend meetings not as a passive onlooker, but take an active part in the deliberations and in the shaping of policy. Rather than harp on the defects of your political party, start working from within to refresh and regenerate it. Stimulate it to take a courageous stand on important issues rather than to compromise or take the easy way out. Encourage others to take a similar interest in union meetings. veterans' organizations, women's clubs, fraternal gatherings, foreign affairs associations, and similar groups. You personally and individually can do much to develop a keener appreciation of the part all can play in applying to our changing times the changeless truths upon which our Nation is founded.

9. Encourage more with talent and high ideals to take up career work in our State Department. For the past several decades this particular branch of our Government has affected the destiny of every one of us. Its contributions should not be underestimated, nor its mistakes ignored. For the critical years ahead, each one of us can do something to increase the good and lessen the margin for error. One of the best ways to do this is to see that it is adequately staffed with well-equipped individuals who are dedicated to the highest and noblest interests of our country.

10. Be willing to undergo hardship. Expect to pay a price for making your voice heard. You are bound to be challenged by apathy, cynicism, misunderstanding, hostility, as well as countless other obstacles and temptations to discouragement. Christ himself warned of the price all must pay who would champion the truth: "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow Me." (Luke 9: 23.)

Bank Mergers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, ROY W. WIER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, there are indications that our antitrust laws are either inadequate or not properly policed. The press is continually announcing new mergers. These mergers are common to all segments of business and quite pronounced in banking circles. Whoever thought that the First National Bank of New York would lose its identity. Why did the Chase National Bank and the Bank of Manhattan merge? Both were colossal banking institutions. One merger brings about other mergers-a race between Chase National Bank and the National City Bank to be the biggest in New York and second in size in the world. As the great banks of the country grow fewer in number, competition presumably would lessen and competition is a necessary spur to good service. Those that would monopolize usually give good service in perfecting its plans for a monopoly but once the monopoly is formed, it is the dead hand on progress. Monopoly is a stab in the back to a capitalistic system, as capitalism is not truly capitalistic unless competitive. Eric Johnston, former President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, said that European businessmen must bear the lion's share of the blame for socialism's sweep over Europe: capitalism did not fail, businessmen failed capitalism.

H. R. 2674, among other things, would check the merger expansion through the holding company device. It would be a block to a nationwide system of multiple banking. It is a part answer to the merger epidemic. The passage of this bill would help preserve in a definite way the future of the small banks of this country, permit them to continue as community enterprises. This bill would put bank holding companies under the same rules and regulations as those pertaining to banks. While a bank holding company is not a bank, it is "Mr. Banker". These holding companies own practically all the stock of their subsidiary banks and as an owner, of course, run them by distant control. The holding companies attempt to fool the public into believing that their subsidiary is a community bank by having a local board of directors front for them but the board serves at the will of the corporation without a complete and full ownership of stock in the local bank. The holding company is a device that has been used for the purpose of evasion. Evasion should not be countenanced.

There should be a continuous place in our economy for the community bank-the local institution, the institution that is the heart of the business of our villages and small cities. These local bankers naturally know their communities well. Responsive to the needs of the people of the community, these small banks provide a personal service that is hard to match. The banker is helpful in numerous ways and beyond the natural scope of banking. Small business has a hard row ahead; it needs the help of another small businessthe local bank. The two tie together and their interests are common. It is hard to believe that a branch of a gigantic corporation, with its headquarters many miles away, will have the sympathetic understanding of the needs of a community as does the local bank which is so definitely a part of the community life.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the passage of H. R. 2674. It is legislation that is urgently needed and it is legislation that, in my opinion, is of great importance. We cannot afford to have a few large financial organizations dominate the credit machinery of this country. I believe in community-owned banks; I deplore the trend toward system banking regardless of the form it takes because multiple banking, that is, a bank with many offices, is a concentration of economic power greatly to be feared.

Urgent Need for Lifting Canadian Emon Rust-Resisting Wheat

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OTTO KRUEGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include a resolution passed by the 34th Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota urging that import restrictions upon Selkirk wheat be eased, so that a portion of a highly rust-resistant wheat developed in Canada will be made available to our farmers for this year's planting.

House Concurrent Resolution Z-1 follows:

House Concurrent Resolution Z-1 Concurrent resolution urging that import restrictions upon Selkirk wheat be eased

Whereas the farmers of the State of North Dakota suffered heavy damage during the 1954 crop season resulting from a heavy infestation of 15B rust upon hard spring wheat; and

Whereas a hard spring wheat named Selkirk has been developed in Canada which is highly rust-resistant; and

Whereas such Selkirk wheat is available for sale in Canada, but cannot be exported to the United States because of an embargo by the Canadian Government; and

Whereas if a sufficient supply of rustresistant varieties of hard spring wheat is not obtained by the farmers of the State of North Dakota extreme hardship may result during the 1955 crop season: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of North Dakota (the Senats concurring therein), That this legislative assembly hereby urges and requests that all responsible officials of the United States Government take all possible action to obtain the termination of the embargo imposed by the Canadian Government on the export of Selkirk wheat so that a reasonable amount of Selkirk wheat of a purity test not less than 95 percent can be made available to the farmers of the State of North Dakota for planting in the spring of 1955; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Secretary of State of the United States, the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, and to all members of the North Dakota congressional delegation;

be it further

Resolved, That the control and purchase of such Selkirk wheat as may be obtained be handled by the North Dakota Experiment Station at the Agricultural College at Fargo and distributed throughout the State by the county extension agents on a fair and equitable basis.

K. A. FITCH,
Speaker of the House.
KENNETH L. MORGAN,
Chief Clerk of the House.
C. P. DAHL,
President of the Senate.
EDWARD LENO,
Secretary of the Senate.

Ira Hayes, of Iwo Jima: Our Accuser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, Ira Hayes, the little Pima Indian who brought glory to his country and fame to himself at Iwo Jima, died 2 months ago in his native Arizona stretched out in a field like soldiers die. He lay in state in the capitol of my State, and later was given a military funeral here and buried at Arlington. I have heard recently that there is a movement afoot to bury him and his flag-raising comrades near the bronze statue which commemorates their feat at the end of the Mall near the Potomac.

Very little was said at the time about the cause of his death. The hard truth was that Ira was an alcoholic, and it was easier to avoid mentioning this fact. Although he and his people reside in my district, when I was asked for a statement at the time of his death, like others, I hardly knew what to say. However, Ira's addiction to drink tells only a small part of the story of Ira Hayes and his untimely passing.

A few weeks ago an editorial letter appeared in the Christian Century magazine written by one who attended his funeral at the Arizona Indian village of Sacaton and later talked with his relatives and friends. I am indebted to the National Congress of American Indians for calling this editorial to my attention, for it says some of the things that should have been said last January.

This editorial should be read by all Americans. It is not pleasant reading for it contains a truth that sears and cuts deep. It is too late to try again, as many good people did, to save or help Ira. Unfortunately, most of us never

tried at all, and probably would not have known what to do had the opportunity presented itself.

However, we can still profit from Ira's death and thereby do him new honor posthumously where we failed him in life. We can solemnly consider the old wrongs that bothered Ira, and weigh our shortcomings as individuals and as a society. These are the things commented on in this editorial I now present:

[From the Christian Century of February 9, 1955]

IRA HAYES: OUR ACCUSER

Today thousands of whites and a few Indians filed through the Arizona State capitol past the flag-draped casket of Ira Hayes, hero of Iwo Jima. Yesterday, thousands of Indians and a few whites, of whom I was one, attended his funeral in the Presbyterian church at Sacaton, 50 miles to the southeast. On February 2 this Pima Indian will be given a military funeral in Washington, and will be buried in Arlington National Cemetery, near the huge bronze statue celebrating the raising of the flag on Iwo Jima, in which he shared. Veterans' organizations here have collected money so that Hayes' parents and three brothers will be able to make the long journey to the National Capital. There they will see where Ira was once received by President Truman and decorated with the Medal of Honor. They may see the sights he once saw in a tour personally conducted by an Arizona Member of Congress. They may recall how he was honored there when a film commemorating Iwo Jima, with him as one of its principal actors, had its premier showing. They will stand where he stood less than 3 months ago when the Iwo Jima statue was unveiled.

The statue was completed in the nick of time, so far as Ira Hayes was concerned. Before he was able to make the trip to Washington for its dedication, he was given a course of treatment to relieve him sufficiently of his addiction to liquor so that he could carry out the role to which he was assigned in the unveiling. He was an alcoholic, and far gone. A year ago-November 12, 1953-the Arizona Republic of Phoenix reported that Hayes had spent the previous night in jail on a drunk and disorderly charge. The story said this was the 42d time he had been arrested since 1941. With one exception-escaping from a prisoners' work gang-all these arrests were on the same charge. The library of the Phoenix paper has clippings on eight arrests subsequent to November 12, 1953, for drunkenness.

Once Ira Hayes was picked up on skid row in Chicago, dirty and shoeless, and sent to jail. The Chicago Sun-Times discovered who he was, got him out of jail, raised a fund for his rehabilitation, secured him a job in Los Angeles. Many organizations, including church groups, tried to help. thanked everybody and said, "I know I'm cured of drinking." But in less than a week he was arrested by Los Angeles police on the old charge. When he returned to Phoenix he received no hero's welcome. He told a reporter: "I guess I'm just no good. I've had a lot of chances but just when things start looking good I get that craving for whisky and foul up. I'm going back home for a while first. Maybe after I'm around my family I'll be able to figure things out. talked of joining Alcoholics Anonymous, and was later placed in their custody by a court, but to no avail. A few days ago drink overtook him for the last time and stretched him all night on the ground in the cold. By morning he was dead.

I

Yesterday in the big bare Sacaton church, crowded to the doors with Indians of the Pima tribe and a few whites, surrounded by hundreds who were unable to obtain entrance, more than one worshipper felt that the tables had turned and Ira Hayes was the accuser, not the defendant. He accused the liquor industry-the distillers, the advertisers, the sellers, and more than anybody else the "friends" who were always offering to buy the drinks for a picturesque public figure. In death he accused everybody whose standard of hospitality requires liquor to create the simulation of fellowship when its reality is lacking. His still form, lying in a flag-draped casket before the pulpit of the church, rebuked the lying advertising which tries to make the drinker seem a man of distinction, but which will never present the picture of Ira Hayes in that role, or carry as a testimonial the epitaph of this national hero: "I've had a lot of chances but just when things start looking good I get that craving for whisky and foul up."

Judgment began at the house of God yesterday, and before it ended it cut a wide swath through our whole social order. The words of Esau Joseph, pastor of the Sacaton church, and of Roe B. Lewis, pastor of the Phoenix Indian Presbyterian Church-both members of the Pima tribe-were gentle, but the truth implicit in the situation was terrible to bear. An American Legionnaire with whom I talked outside the church put it bluntly: "That boy was killed by our Government and our people." After the war, he said, Ira Hayes was constantly sent here and there for bond drives, Red Cross drives, patriotic celebrations. He hated public displays and was irritated at being made over as a hero. Drinks were pushed toward him on every occasion, and he took them. Everybody was pulling at him-patriotic groups, welfare groups, service groups, the church, even his own tribe—seeking to "honor" him, forgetting all the time that underneath the veneer of Ira Hayes the symbol was the reality of Ira Hayes the man. That he was a desperate and dying man nobody except a few seemed to know or care. What they cared about was the symbol, the hero who helped raise the flag, and the gain they or their cause stood to make by exploiting their nearness to him. Toward the end he returned to his family in the little Pima village of Bapchula, near Sacaton, hoping to "be able to figure things out." Instinctively sought here the saving love he could find nowhere else, and struggled to find in their presence the answers which eluded him.

11

What bothered him? Ira Haves knew he owed his fame to the fact that Joe Rosenthal, an Associated Press photographer, snapped the dramatic picture of the flag-raising on Iwo Jima which caught the imagination of the country. The photographer did not secure the names of the six marines-an oversight understandable in the circumstances of battle. The Marine Corps supplied the names later. Up until the end of 1946 Hayes insisted that one of the six was his buddy, Corp. Harlan Block, of Weslaco, Tex. Block, who was killed in that battle, was not named as one of the fiag-raisers. Hayes tried again and again to right what he believed to be an error and an injustice, but without success. He lapsed into silence after the Marine Corps "rechecked" and stuck to its story. But it is not impossible that one of the things that disturbed him was his experience of conflict between official truth and his own knowledge.

Another factor that came to the surface more than once was his sense of grievance over the poverty and neglect of his own people, the Pima Indians. In 1950, according to press report, he took to the Bureau of Indian Affairs "his plea for freedom for the Pima Indians. * * * They want to manage their own affairs and cease being wards of the Federal Government." Behind such words lay a deeper resentment, which flashed to the

surface in 1953 when he was asked to speak on Phoenix' KOY broadcast for Flag Day. He was then in Chicago. "I was out in Arizona for 8 years and nobody paid any attention to me," he said. "They might ask me what I think of the way they treat Indians out there, compared to how we are treated in Chicago. "I'd tell them the truth and Arizona would not like it."

Ira Hayes did not speak for KOY, but Phoenix did not hold it against him. Some weeks later the Gazette editorialized: "Hayes feels bitter about his failure to find a job in Arizona when he returned as a hero from World We don't know who was to blame War II. and it isn't particularly important. * * Certainly there should be a place for such a man in Arizona." There was. Just before he died, Ira Hayes was earning \$3 a hundred pounds picking cotton. What would he have said about an attitude which hastily tries to cover with charity the plight of a typical Indian family when the death of its hero-son brings its poverty into embarrassing public view, but will not lift a finger to remove the obstacles of racial prejudice and economic discrimination which make charity necessary in an emergency, not only for a family but for a race?

m

When one thinks of it, it is astonishing how many elements in American life might have helped Ira Hayes but did not. The Government of the United States, as represented by the Marine Corps and then by the bond-selling Treasury, had its chance and failed. When he was a boy the little Presbyterian Church in Bapchule could not reach him, although his parents are mem-Neither could the Roman Catholic Church, although he associated with young people of that church. The schools did not bring him the kind of teaching which produces stability of character, although they did prepare him to risk his life in battle for country. The voluntary organizations which were so eager for his services after he became famous used him and left him hungry. The motion-picture industry got what it wanted from him but left him unchanged, Television caught him in its bright light, then passed on. The patriotic societies only speeded his downfall. So it went. Ira Hayes passed up and down in our society, knocked on the doors of all our institutionsfound nobody who could save him from himself.

Even the Indian family of which he was a part, and the tribe to which it belonged, had lost their old capacity to heal their own. And America, whose manifold pressures are grinding and shattering the economic and spiritual substance of Indian tribal and family life, finds itself less than half willing to share its own social and economic heritage, and only half certain that its inner resources are adequate for living together as equals in multiracial nationhood.

The accusing memory of Ira Hayes is stronger because he was never bitter and never blamed anybody except himself. On the day before he reached his 32d birthday on January 12 he wrote a man who had offered to help him find work: "Just a short letter this early morning before we go out to the cotton fields to pick cotton. You asked me once if I was ever in need of a job to come to see you. Well, it seems I'm in that position, that is very soon, as the cotton season will be finished in a week or two. I feel I will make it this time. My folks are all in back of me."

He did not make it, and a great many Arizona people are sincerely sorry. One of them, Senator William A. Sullivan, has introduced a bill proposing immediate creation of a State commission to treat alcoholic victims before it is too late. He estimates that there are 12,000 alcoholics in Maricopa County alone. It is to be called the Ira H. Hayes bill.

F. D. R.'s Name Untarnished

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, no American was more beloved in his day than former President Franklin D. Roosevelt. His deeds, as well as words, won for him the affection, not only of the American people but the freedom-loving folks in all lands.

Just as every great champion of human rights and social reform became the target of personal attacks, slander, and abuse, Franklin D. Roosevelt, too, was a victim of vicious personal attacks.

Today, 10 years after his death, these unjust assaults upon his good name continue. Efforts are made to discredit the very name of Roosevelt. But in the hearts and minds of the American people Franklin D. Roosevelt is remembered for the wisdom and courage he has shown, and for the great deeds that were accomplished by his administrations which lifted a Nation and its people from the hopelessness and despair which were so prevalent in the dark days of the early 1930's.

It is no secret that the campaign to belittle him and to discredit the Roosevelt family name is led by those who are embittered because of the social reforms that have been made and because of the social gains that the people have won as a result of New Deal policies.

The attack on the name of Roosevelt reflects their hatred of humanitarian legislation and social reform as well as a desire to turn back the clock of human progress. It is less difficult to attack the name than to attack the legislative program which has become so popular with the people.

Mr. Speaker, together with my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the current issue of the Railroad Trainman in honor of former President Franklin D. Roosevelt:

F. D. R.'S NAME UNTARNISHED

Ten years ago the man who did more than any other to defeat nazism and fascism abroad and to forestall the growth of communism in this country died.

That man was Franklin D. Roosevelt.

It is customary for labor in eulogizing Mr. Roosevelt's life to tell what a great friend he was of the working men and women of America. Of course, that he was, but his consideration for labor was only incidental to his devotion to the dignity of the individual generally and to the principles of human decency that are inseparable from the democratic system.

Early in the game F. D. R. recognized the threat to America's security, well-being, and freedom in the ruthless march of conquest of Hitter and Mussolini. He saw the evil, the cruelty and the arrogance of the dictators' sweep across Europe and he made it clear to our people what they had to do if the lamp of liberty was not also to be snuffed out in our country.

By rallying the moral, economic, and later the military support of the United States to the cause of the beleaguered Allies, Roosevelt played the key role in insuring their ultimate victory over the dictators.

To make its mighty contribution toward that victory, America had to be strong economically and spiritually. F. D. R. also played a key role in achieving this.

When Roosevelt became President, the country's industrial system was stagnating, many millions were without work and without hope; relief rolls bulged and hunger and despair stalked the land. A national administration, the Hoover administration, adhering to outdated ideas of rugged individualism, had refused to make democracy serve the people.

Under these somber conditions foreign and repugnant ideas, both Communist and Fascist, had begun to grow among the people, many of whom were ready to turn to any system that promised bread for their children.

F. D. R.'s first dramatic moves headed off those trends and every public act of his thereafter was calculated to strengthen our democracy by making it serve all Americans instead of a favored few. Employment was provided in the intial WPA and similar emergency measures. Then came the breathtaking laws, too numerous to list all here, which brought broad social reform and stability, and confidence to the Nation. These included social security, public housing. bank deposit insurance, natural resources conservation, TVA, railroad retirement and unemployment compensation, and many, many others. By reactionary standards these accomplishments represented a revolution. It was bloodless, however, and our freedoms were and are intact. And we believe this was due to F. D. R.'s astute leadership qualities which made it possible for him to take the country resolutely in the direction of expanding democracy.

Some politicians are today trying to make F. D. R. appear as a traitor. Perhaps he made some mistakes, but those errors, if they were errors, must be judged against the tempo of the times in which they occurred, and not in the light of today's hysteria.

Some conscienceless Republicans are trying somehow to blame today's Communist aggression and ruthless excesses on Roosevelt instead of the Iron-fisted leaders of the Kremlin. Not many Americans will fall for this political slime. F. D. R. is remembered as a foe of injustice and an enemy of all forms of totalitarianism. If he were alive he would undoubtedly be leading the anti-Communist crusade, probably with considerably more intelligence, effectiveness, and perception than we can observe today at either end of Pennsylvania Avenue.

Roosevelt was a great American, and a devoted soldier in freedom's service. His contributions to civilization cannot be tarnished by the opportunistic gyrations of certain Members of Congress, whose chief claim to fame is remarkable hindsight. Many of them wept as we did when F. D. R. died. And as history has developed without him, it appears those tears came with good reason.

"Lame Duck" Corsi: He Hates to Lose That Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer, of April 9, 1955:

"LAME DUCK" CORSI: HE HATES TO LOSE THAT JOB

The temporary nature of the immigration job in the State Department, from which he has been dismissed, must have been known to Edward J. Corsi when he was named to it in January. Secretary of States Dulles at his news conference last Tuesday made it clear that the appointment had been for 90

Yet we now find the New Yorker, who held a State job under former Governor Dewey for 11 years, expressing bewilderment and indignation and stating that he would never have accepted the post if he had known it

was for a limited period.

And he has the effrontery to hit back at Mr. Dulles as though a grave injustice had been done him. "I never came down here asking for any job," he asserted. "I came down solely relying upon the integrity and honesty of Mr. Dulles."

Corsi had been State Industrial Commissioner in New York and at one time United States Commissioner of Immigration. He was named to the new Federal job in the belief that as a supposed expert in the field of immigration he could help speed up the refugee immigration program. The law authorizes special admission for 214,000 immigrants by the end of 1956, but only about 22,000 have been given visas to enter the United States since the program became effective 17 months ago.

A visit to Western European countries was made recently by Corsi to determine what could be done to step up the flow of refugees to this country. Meanwhile he had come under congressional fire, directed particularly by Representative Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania, the coauthor of the Mc-Carran-Walter Immigration Act.

Walter attacked Corsi for alleged association in the past with Communist-front organizations, a charge which Corsi denied. WALTER then announced that he had "documentary evidence" of the charges made, and he accused Corsi also of pledging himself to "junk" certain immigration laws and of "calling legislators-in effect-Nazis and candidates for the insane asylum" for supporting such laws.

Corsi managed also to tangle with Scott McLeod, the State Department's chief security officer, who administers the Refugee Relief Act. It was reported that Corsi had devised a plan to reorganize the administra-tion to take it out of McLeod's hands.

All in all, the "lame duck" from the Dewey staff made himself pretty troublesome during his brief stay in the Department, and the termination of his 3-month appointment must have been hailed with relief. His uncalled-for jabs at Mr. Dulles merely make his exit more graceless than it otherwise would have been.

North Dakota Hard Spring Wheat Farmers Hurt by Unfair Acreage Allotments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, to indicate to this country what a great hardship has been visited on farmers of North Dakota in the reduction of the acreage of spring wheat, I submit herewith a Senate concurrent resolution of the Legislature of North Dakota.

The legislature ought to know firsthand what this drastic reduction in acres means to the farmers raising hard spring wheat. This is significant since there never has been any overproduction of this kind of wheat. The resolution follows:

Senate Concurrent Resolution V

Concurrent resolution memorializing Congress, the President, and the Secretary of Agriculture to take appropriate steps to correct unwarranted and unfair discrimination in respect to acreage allotments for hard spring wheat farmers in North Dakota

Whereas there has never been and there is not now a surplus or oversupply of hard spring wheat; and

Whereas the allotment of hard spring spring wheat acreage throughout the State of North Dakota is so low in many instances that many farmers can not operate their farms successfully and produce sufficient agricultural products and livestock to provide a livelihood for themselves and their

Whereas there is unquestionably an unfair discrimination against the small hard spring wheat farmers in North Dakota as compared with soft wheat farmers in other States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of North Dakota (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That Congress, the President of the United States, and the Secretary of Agriculture are hereby urged and requested to take all necessary and appropriate steps to provide a premium on milling grades of hard spring wheat and to allocate as a minimum to any operator who has raised 100 acres or more of hard wheat during the past 5 years, an acreage equal to the maximum acreage of such operator, but in no event should such allocation if under 100 acres ever be reduced; Be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state is hereby directed to forward properly authenticated copies of this resolution to the President of the United States; to the presiding officers of the United States Senate and House of Representatives; to the Secretary of Agriculture; and to each of the Senators and Representatives of the State of North Dakota in Congress.

C. P. DAHL, President of the Senate. EDWARD LEIN, Secretary of the Senate. K. A. HATCH, Speaker of the House. KENNETH L. MORGAN, Chief Clerk of the House.

Man of Achievement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, the Bucknell Alumnus has, in its March issue, honored one of Alaska's leading citizens, Dr. Charles E. Bunnell, a graduate of Bucknell University in 1900, who went on to become a teacher, a lawyer, a Federal judge, the first president of the University of Alaska and now its first president emeritus. Under leave to extend my remarks, I offer here the article referred to which sets forth but a portion of the contributions Dr. Bunnell has made to Alaska:

Dr. Charles E. Bunnell 1900, H 1925, occupies a prominent place in the January 25, 1955, issue of the Fairbanks, Alaska, Daily News-Miner. This issue is devoted entirely to the University of Alaska, which was established in 1921 with Dr. Bunnell as its head. He had for years dreamed of a university in Alaska and gave the next 28 years of his life to building up this institution, which now is one of the recognized landgrant colleges of the country.

The University of Alaska, situated at Fairbanks, 200 miles south of the Arctic Circle, is in a strategic position as far as the defense of North America is concerned. The Geophysical Institute, established there upon the recommendation of the National Research Council and housed in a milliondollar building, is making significant con-tributions to the study of the upper atmosphere, which presents serious problems in this part of the world. Mining and agricultural interests of Alaska, as well as the preparation of teachers for the Territory, have been important concerns of the university leaders.

In the early days the Alaska Agricultural College and School of Mines, as it was then called, had only a handful of students. day the regular college population numbers 450. Two community colleges-at Anchorage and Ketchikan-along with a rapidly growing summer school and more than 1,000 students in extension courses bring the at-tendance to approximately 2,500. To meet tendance to approximately 2,500. the growing enrollment the board of regents is asking the territorial legislature for an appropriation of \$6 million for the current biennium.

Charles E. Bunnell, one of Bucknell's most eminent alumni, and by many considered the number one Alaska pioneer, entered on his career as a university president with a solid background of achievement. An outstanding Bucknell athlete and top student in his graduating class, he went to Alaska in 1900 as a teacher in a mission school. From there he moved to Valdez as principal. After 5 years he entered law and at the age of 37 was appointed by President Wilson judge of the Fourth Judicial District of Alaska. After 7 years as judge, he became the university's first president, which posi-tion he held until his retirement in 1949.

This story may sound like a very tranquil step-by-step movement from one position to a higher one. Don't be deceived. He was a leader in practically every move for the educational, economic, and moral improvement of Alaska, and no fighter like Charles Bunnell would have a tranquil life. Right now he is writing a history of the university.

Bucknell salutes this man of achievement.

First Report of Un-American Activities Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Dres Recalls First Report," written by David Lawrence and pub-

lished in the Washington Evening Star of April 11, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

DIES RECALLS FIRST REPORT-FORMER CHAIR-MAN OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE DECLARES ROOSEVELT AND ADVISERS BLUN-DERED AT YALTA

(By David Lawrence)

Representative MARTIN DIES, of Texas, Democrat and former chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, says President Roosevelt blundered at Yalta and that to acknowledge the mistakes "is not a condemnation of the Democratic Party." Dies has written to this correspondent a letter which is presented here in full text:

"Of all that is being written and spoken concerning the tragic mistakes at Yalta, certain basic facts are being ignored or overlooked. In order to understand Yalta, it is essential to know the attitude of the Roosevelt administration toward Russia and communism when the President and his advisers met with Churchill and Stalin to decide the

future of the world.

"No judge or juror can render a fair decision if he has preconceived opinions or if he heard the case with his mind made up in advance of trial. I know it to be a fact from my conversations with Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Ickes, Mr. Hopkins, and other members of the Roosevelt team that Mr. Roosevelt and his advisers went to Yalta with tragically erroneous ideas about Russia and communism. As I have reported many times since 1939, Mr. Roosevelt and his key aides told me quite frankly and definitely that they did not believe the findings and conclusions of the Dies committee with reference to the criminal and aggressive plans, tactics and methods of Communists at home and abroad, and that they believed that the future of America depended upon close collaboration with Russia and a tolerant, if not protective, attitude toward Communists in the United States. They ridiculed the finding of the Dies committee contained in our first report dated January 3, 1939, which reads as follows:

"'We have shown that communism is a world-wide revolutionary movement aiming ultimately at the setting up of a world union of Soviet Socialist republics. This is a proposition which is beyond dispute. It

is substantiated by voluminous literature of the Communists themselves.

"'In this plan for world revolution, the Communists have omitted no country or people as too small or insignificant to command their attention. They have, on the other hand taken the logical position of concentrating their attention upon the richest and most populous countries of the Among these the Communists recognize the United States of America as the foremost. The Communists' conquest of the earth will be far less than complete until it has conquered America and destroyed our free institutions.

"It follows logically from the Communist International's plan of world conquest that every possible tactic, device, maneuver, and intrigue would be employed to gain such an end as the communization of America. These tactics, devices, maneuvers, and intrigues are both boldly open and patently subtle, both violent and insidious. The tactics and maneuvers for revoluntary ends are the meat and drink of a Com-munist. They are the very air he breathes."

"Mr. Roosevelt treated this and many other warnings issued by me and the committee concerning the tactics and aims of the Communists as a huge joke. On one occasion Mr. Roosevelt laughingly told me that he thought I 'saw a Red under my bed at night.' Mr. Ickes called me a 'zany' and ridiculed me publicly. Mrs. Perkins made the false statement publicly that I had accused Shirley Temple of being a Communist

"It is this sort of attitude and thinking which Mr. Roosevelt carried with him to Yalta. Is it any wonder, therefore, that America lost at Yalta the fruits of hard-won victory and that Stalin came out of the conference with concessions that changed the map and future of the world?

"I do not mean to imply that Mr. Roosevelt was actuated by ulterior motives. I do not believe there has ever been a President of our country who intentionally did some-thing contrary to the best interest of our country. Neither do I seek to detract from Mr. Roosevelt's great leadership during the dark days of the depression. But it is important to our children that we face up to the ugly truth of Yalta in the hope that future generations will profit by our mistakes and avoid another Yalta.

"Blind and misguided partisanship which defends the indefensible does not serve the best interest of our country. It is not a condemnation of the Democratic Party today to acknowledge one of the worst blunders in the history of our country. The Republican Party has been guilty of tragic blunders, such as the reconstruction era after the war between the States which did so much to retard the political, economic, and spiritual growth of our country.

"The 'party hacks' who condone and defend the mistakes of their party, are neither statesmen who serve the interest and welfare of their country, nor politicians who serve the ultimate interest of their party.

"Despite all the denials and countercharges, Yalta was a terrible blunder which has already cost our country precious lives and billions of dollars and which may yet plunge us into a devastating war. if we recognize it as a blunder and acknowledge its cause can we profit in the future and save our civilization from destruction.

"There are none so blind as those who will not see; there are none so deaf as those who will not hear. In the world in which we live we cannot survive if we are blind and deaf to our mistakes."

The Postal Pay Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker. under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a most thoughtful and interesting letter which I received recently from Mr. M. C. Nave, president of the National Association of Postal Super-

In this letter, you will note, the National Association of Postal Supervisors and other groups, representing 125,000 postal employees, support H. R. 4644 as 'a reasonable and proper compromise." Unless early agreement can be reached on some such compromise, I agree with Mr. Nave that the postal employees again this year may not receive an overdue and much needed increase in pay. To avoid such an unhappy result, it does seem highly desirable that prompt action be taken by the Congress on some suitable compromise legislation.

The letter from Mr. Nave follows:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF POSTAL SUPERVISORS, Washington D. C., April 4, 1955.

Hon. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, Jr., Member of Congress,

My DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The confused situation which has arisen concerning the pending postal pay legislation has become a matter of serious concern to the 21,000 postal supervisors in post offices throughout the Nation, and the purpose of this letter is to briefly analyze and clarify conflicting views on a just and equitable solution. This association sincerely believes that H. R. 4644. presently on the House Calendar, would treat all employees fairly and justly.

Morristown, N. J.

In his message to Congress on January 11, 1955, the President recommended legislation to provide a 5-percent general pay raise, with reclassification to adjust long-standing inequities. On January 25, Chairman MURRAY, of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, introduced H. R. 2987 based on those principles, the estimated cost of which was \$129 million. Following extensive hearings, the committee made more than 50 liberalizations and changes in the salary and reclassification provisions of the bill to meet desires expressed by all employee groups and it was reintroduced as H. R. 4644, with an increased cost of \$32 million, all of which would go to employees in the five lower salary levels, predominantly to the clerks and carriers in level 5.

As now before the Housie, H. R. 4644 is definitely a compromise between the original administration proposal and the expressed desires of all employee groups. The reclassification provisions of the bill have been generally agreed to by all employee groups, but those groups who would be in level 5 are still urging a further increase above the 7.6percent average now in the bill to 8.3 percent, which would further raise the cost by more than \$15 million, all of which would go to only 2 of the 9 major groups of em-

Reliable administration sources have assured that any further increase in cost above the 7.6 percent now provided in H. R. 4614 would invite a certain veto, and rather than action which could result in no pay raise this year, we earnestly urge your support of H. R. 4644 as a reasonable and proper compromise.

This association has consistently supported this measure since its presentation to Congress last January and joins with the National Rural Letter Carriers Association, the National Association of Postmasters, the National League of Postmasters, and the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers, with a combined total membership of 125,000 of the 500,000 postal employees in mutual support of H. R. 4644. Sincerely yours,

M. C. NAVE, President, National Association of Postal Supervisors.

Public Interest Demands Retention of Long- and Short-Haul Clause in Interstate Commerce Act

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, OTTO KRUEGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I present this resolution adopted by the 34th Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota, opposing repeal of the long- and short-haul clause of section 4 of the Interstate Commerce Act:

House Concurrent Resolution O

Concurrent resolution opposing repeal of long and short haul clause of section four of the Interstate Commerce Act

Whereas there will be proposed and introduced in the Congress of the United States legislation providing for repeal of the long and short haul clause of the fourth section of the Interstate Commerce Act; and

Whereas the repeal of the long and short haul clause would permit railroad companies to assess lower rates and charges for long hauls than for shorter hauls over the same route in the same direction: and

Whereas the charging of a higher rate for a short haul than for a longer haul, the shorter being included within the longer, is now forbidden on North Dakota intrastate traffic in section 49-0409 of the North Dakota Revised Code of 1943; and

Whereas the passage of such legislation will result in increased freight rates and charges on articles moving in interstate commerce to and from North Dakota, particularly on grain, lignite, and other commodities, to the detriment of producers, shippers and consumers of the State of North Dakota; that it would encourage discriminations in rates against small shippers in favor of large shippers that would be against the public interest; and would, we believe, be in the end detrimental to the best interests of the railroads themselves: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of North Dakoa (the Senate concurring therein). That the Congress of the United States is hereby respectfully memorialized and urged to deny the passage of any legislation providing for the repeal or amendment of the long and short haul clause of the fourth section of the Interstate Commerce Act, when, as, and if presented for its consideration; be it further

Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives of the State of North Dakota in the Congress of the United States be requested to put forth every honorable effort to defeat the aforesaid type of legislation upon presentation to the Congress of the United States, and that copies of this memorial be forwarded forthwith to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, and to the Senators and Representatives of the State of North Dakota.

K. A. FITCH,

Speaker of the House.

KENNETH L. MORGAN,
Chief Clerk of the House.
C. P. DAHL,
President of the Senate.

EDWARD LENO,
Secretary of the Senate.

United States Information Agency Libraries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, recently the New York Times magazine published an article on the

library at the United States Information Service Center in Rangoon, Burma, Some of you may have seen the article. It describes the library as "a striking instance of how democracy can win friends and influence people."

Today this seems to be the consensus of opinion on the United States Information Service libraries. Recently, Vice President Nixon remarked that he had visited United States Information Service libraries in 22 countries and he had come to the conclusion that the library program is one of our most effective overseas information operations.

The writer of the New York Times magazine article, Mrs. Peggy Durdin, was writing from Rangoon. She had inspected the library layout, browsed through the book shelves, noted the variety of library visitors, checked on its influence. She gave a most striking example of that influence. The father of a Communist university student—the Communists in Rangoon, as in many other countries, make a special effort to win university students—had borrowed a standard United States economic textbook. He read it and passed it on to his son. They studied it together. Returning the book to the library, the father said simply:

This book gave my son the true facts. He is no longer a Communist.

Mrs. Durdin wrote of the help the Rangoon library had given officials of the Burmese Government. But, she added, the library's influence extended beyond officials. It reached private citizens such as the former young Communist and his father. It had books for children. The shelves were open. Men, women, children of all ages poured over the racks, took notes, looked at pictures, read, or took books home.

She continued:

The library's books travel by river boat, by plane, and on the backs of human porters * * * across thousands of miles of jungle and mountains. Burmese read them eagerly in an umbrella cooperative in Bassein, a school in Mandalay, a prisoner's reading room in Myitkyina, an army officers' club in Akyab, a youth league in Moulmein. A doctor who has to perform a complicated new operation, a merchant who wants to make sparklers, and a landowner who plans to set up a model village on his property turn for help to the American library.

There are 157 of these United States Information Service libraries today in 67 countries. The story told by Mrs. Durdin could be repeated, with slight adaptations to suit the particular country, for each one of them. They are all over the world, ranging in size from the 2,200-book library in Curacao, Dutch West Indies, to Vienna, which boasts a collection of 175,323 books.

These libraries have special shelves devoted to particular subjects. The agency's support of President Eisenhower's atoms-for-peace proposal, for example, inspired the setting up in most of our libraries of special shelves on that subject. All libraries have made a special feature of books dealing with the economy of the United States. They stress technical subjects heavily, although fiction is not ignored.

All books have been chosen to present to the peoples of other lands a balanced

picture of American life, culture, and thinking. In my opinion, they are making a vitally important contribution in today's fight to keep free the minds of men.

The influence of these libraries, as Mrs. Durdin wrote, is extended into remote areas. Most of them support bookmobiles that tour the smaller cities, villages, and rural areas. People write in for them. There are "book trunks" that go to towns where libraries are unknown.

In light of the attacks once leveled at the United States Information Service libraries, it gives me great pleasure to pay them this tribute. I agreed with Vice President Nixon when he said recently:

The library service, unfortunately, received criticism which it did not deserve a couple of years ago.

In all new projects, mistakes are apt to be made. If the United States Information Service libraries slipped on a few occasions in the past, I think today they have profited by experience. The New York Times writer felt the American taxpayers could be proud of the Rangoon library. Let me enlarge that and say that all of us can be proud of the United States Information Service libraries, wherever they may be.

Twenty Years of Low-Rent Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Twenty Years of Low-Rent Housing," which was published in the Birmingham (Ala.) News of April 2, 1955. The editorial deals with the report of the Birmingham Housing Authority and gives some of the facts and figures relating to 20 years of this operation.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWENTY YEARS OF LOW-RENT HOUSING

This year the Housing Authority of the Birmingham district will have been in existence 20 years, having been chartered as a public corporation under the laws of Alabama in 1935. Since then it has built and presently operates 6 public low-rent housing projects totaling 3,762 family dwelling units, and has initiated and is responsible for 2 slum-clearing projects, the medical-center extension, and the North Avondale redevelopment programs, all within the city limits of Birmingham.

The recently distributed annual report of HABD for the year ending June 30, 1954, provides some measure of the value and service of this agency to the community. Some 12,344 people were living in the 6 projects it operates; 5,910 of these were children 18 years of age or under, and 1,150 were persons 65 or over. Widows were heads of some 37 percent of the families, and 20 percent of

the families were of 5 or more persons. Almost 39 percent of the families received some form of aid—old-age benefits, aid to dependent children, Government pensions, or the like.

Average annual income of families in the projects was \$1.625.72; average monthly rent was \$21.65 for Negro families and \$26.65 for

white families.

The city of Birmingham received from HABD payments in lieu of taxes last year of \$87,150.96, almost \$7,000 more than the previous year. Total payments in lieu of taxes to the city of Birmingham for the 6 projects from January 1, 1938, to June 30, 1954, were \$794,228.68. Ad valorem taxes for the properties on which the 6 projects are located for the last year before each property was acquired for low-rent public housing, came to only \$13,788.58.

A letter from Frank E. Spain, Birmingham attorney and civic leader who was chairman of HABD from 1938 through 1943, recalls some of the conditions which the agency has helped to correct. The Dowling Survey of 1933-35 canvassed 22 blighted areas constituting 10 percent of the municipal area but containing 22 percent of its population.

Writes Mr. Spain:

"We found that 60 percent of the families living there had no private tollets and 80 percent of all the community tollets within the city were in these areas. Ninety percent of the houses had no running water. One water spigot in the yard or court served many families. These tragic conditions were magnified by the concentration of people living there. Out of 711 cases of delinquency within the city nearly 300 occurred in this 10 percent of its area. Half of all the petty crimes were committed by persons in it and 40 percent of the major crimes. We found there 40 percent of the city's mortality rate and 50 percent of its lilegitimacy."

The Housing Authority with its low-rent housing projects has contributed greatly in helping to remove this blight from the landscape and character of the community.

Expert Paints Grim Picture of Red Horror

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I wish to insert the following article from the March 30, 1955, issue of the Patriot, Harrisburg, Pa., and containing the statements of the Honorable Charles J. Kersten regarding communism:

EXPERT PAINTS GRIM PICTURE OF RED HORROR

An expert on life behind the Iron Curtain in Russia and the countries it has made captive last night told members of the Harrisburg public forum that "if we don't find a way to checkmate the Communist conspiracy in this generation, our children will spit upon our graves."

Former United States Congressman Charles J. Kersten, of Wisconsin, head of the House Committee on Communist Aggression which spent nearly 2 years studying Soviet techniques of conquest, drew a horrifying picture of how the youth of Russia is being trained by Communist leaders.

"Never in the history of the world has any government so assaulted the spiritual nature of its people," he asserted. "The young people are systematically bereft of all moral principles, of all belief in a Creator. Their young doctors and commissars are being taught how to inflict the most unspeakable tortures, their young psychiatrists shown ways to drive people insane."

INHUMAN DEVILS

"The nightmare of destruction by atomic warfare is a terrible one. But even worse, to me, is the thought of our American boys being opposed and made prisoner by millions of such inhuman devils—say 5 or 10 years from now."

Congressman Kersten reviewed the work of his committee in examining 335 witnesses and more than 1,500 documents, all concerned with the methods used by the Soviets in taking over other nations, keeping them subservient, and maintaining their own power within Russia.

He pointed out that the people of no nation, including Russia, ever willingly accepted communistic rule. In the 37 years of their existence, the Kremlin lords have imposed their will upon peoples by force, and kept control by slaughter, deportation, and the slave labor camp.

LISTS PREPARED

The speaker described how Soviet agents prepared detailed lists of entire populations of countries they intended to take over, with every citizen placed in a category, so that no time was lost after the occupation in eliminating any elements they knew would prove dangerous.

Such lists of Americans already are in their possession and they are kept up to date. Remember that the symbol of Russian occupation is a cadaver with a bullet through the skull and hands tied behind the back.

Congressman Kersten said his committee had drawn various conclusions from their exhaustive studies of Red tenets and techniques, and had made certain recommendations to Congress,

VILE CONSPIRACY

Chief among them was to withdraw diplomatic recognition of "this thing" which is not a government at all but a vile conspiracy against the world. The recommendation also would include Red regimes in captive countries.

"At the same time," he declared, "the United States must reaffirm our friendship for these enslaved peoples, including those in Russia. They are not our enemies—their

kidnappers are.

"We should encourage the defection of military personnel from Communist armies wherever they are. Such men ought to be urged to join the defense of Western Europe, but allowed to keep their own national identities. Also, we should stop trading with Red governments, increase our information program, and never enter into any agreement around the conference table with Soviet

"Our country's policy must be founded consistently on the principles of liberty and belief in God—the direct antithesis of those in the Kremlin."

Testimonial in Honor of Milton E. Goldman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. T. JAMES TUMULTY

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. TUMULTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-

ord, I include therein the following article written by Mr. M. Martin Turpanjian, of the Hudson Gazette, a wellknown weekly circulating in Bergen
County, N. J. On Saturday, March 26,
1955, some 400 men and women from all
parts of New Jersey attended the testimonial banquet in honor of Mr. Milton
E. Goldman, editor and publisher of the
Shield, the civil-service newspaper of
Union City, N. J. Mr. Goldman has a
long and distinguished record in behalf
of civil-service employees.

The article follows:

SHIELD PUBLISHER MILTON E. GOLDMAN LION-IZED BY STATE AND NATIONAL LEADERS AT TESTIMONIAL BANQUET FOR ESPOUSING CAUSE OF CIVIL SERVICE

(By M. Martin Turpanjian)

Last Saturday night some 400 men and women from all parts of New Jersey paid a signal honor and extraordinary tribute to Milton E. Goldman, editor and publisher of the Shield, the civil-service newspaper, of Union City, at a testimonial banquet in the grand ballroom of the Robert Treat Hotel, Newark. Mr. Goldman has been its general manager and publisher for the past 20 years. Irving Brody was the founder and original publisher of the Shield. He passed away several years ago.

Congressman Frank Osmers, who owns a chain of newspapers in Bergen County, delivered the keynote speech. He told of the struggle encountered by Brody at the beginning of the new venture and how the honor guest, Milton E. Goldman, worked strenuously and most effectively to help bring about its position as a power for good in all communities of the Garden State.

Irving Brody and M. Martin Turpanjian, editor of this newspaper and president of New Jersey League of Weekly Newspapers, with which the Shield is connected as a member, attended Emerson High School together in Union City and both began to work on the Hudson Dispatch as reporters back in 1918. Brody became legislative correspondent at State House, Trenton, and Turpanjian was serving as a State auditor from 1929 to 1935 in the State House, Trenton.

Secretary of State Edward J. Patten, originally referred to by this newspaper as the "ambassador of good will of New Jersey" was introduced as such to the great gathering. He made things quite interesting with his sharp wit and wisdom in a splendid oration.

R. Earle Leonard was the toastmaster for the occasion. President Willam F. Kelly, Jr., of State civil service department; James E. Rossell, director (retired) second United States Civil Service region; James P. Googe, director second United States Civil Service region; Frank Walker, past president of New Jersey Civil Service Association; Henry Campbell, staff writer for the Shield; Leo Steiner, managing editor of the Shield; and Raylond F. Male, executive assistant to the Governor, were also among the speakers. John J. Goff, State president of New Jersey Civil Service Association, which sponsored the testimonial banquet in honor of Shield editor and publisher Milton E. Goldman, made a happy little speach complimenting the unusual services by the honor guest for the benefit of the civil-service workers throughout New Jersey. His remarks were listened to with rapt attention. The Reverend Perry Van Dyke, Protestant chaplain, Newark Police Department, offered the invocation after the singing of Star-Spangled Banner. Many gifts were presented to the guest of honor who was accorded a rousing ovation when he was introduced to speak. Milton E. Gold-man is an authority on civil-service administration and proved to be one of New Jersey's leading orators. He has a heart of gold and

is widely known as a doer of things. The Reverend Thomas J. Conlon, pastor of Church of Sacred Heart, Newark, offered the benediction. Rabbi Benjamin B. Tumin, of Temple Emanuel, of Englewood, lionized the honor guest as a patriotic citizen and believer in Golden Rule principles. Dr. William S. Carpenter, former president of civil service department, and Banking and Insurance Commissioner Charles R. Howel were also present.

Thirty-Seventh Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a resolution adopted at the 37th anniversary of Lithuanian independence by the Lithuanian Council of New Jersey:

Lithuanian Americans of New Jersey, gathered under the auspices of their state-wide council, to celebrate the 37th anniversary of Lithuanian independence, on February 27, 1955, in the city of Newark, unanimously resolved the following:

"To thank the honorable Governor of their State, Robert B. Meyner, for his proclamation of February 16 as Republic of Lithuania Day in New Jersey, in tribute to a freedomloving and valiant people who are suffering under Soviet oppression.

"To also thank the members of the delegation to the Governor, who represented the largest Lithuanian-American organizations in the State, namely, Rev. Michael Kemezis, Anthony Malakas, Edward Thompson, Christine Korbet, Al Jankauskas, and Andrew Salvest; and

"Whereas in 1920 Soviet Russia recognized for eternal times' the independence of Lithuania, and her sister Baltic Republics of Latvia and Estonia; and

"Whereas just 20 years later, the Baltic States were peremptorily occupied by the armed might of the Soviet Union, constitutional governments were deposed by the Communists and replaced by puppet officials, sham elections were staged by imported Russians, and the Baltic States became the first victims of Soviet aggression by their forced incorporation into the Soviet Union; and

"Whereas there followed a succession of tragic experiences for the Baltic peoples in 1940-41 under the imposed Soviet regime with the arbitrary deportations, imprisonments, and executions, with its suppression of all civil liberties, of religion and worship, which have left deep scars upon the national consciousness of these peoples and have deepened their devotion to liberty and independence; and

"Whereas the Soviets are continuing today acts of genocide against the populations of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, threatening their very survival; be it further resolved:

"To thank the members of the congressional committee and all the Members of the House of Congress for investigating the seizure and forced incorporation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union and the genocide perpetrated on the Baltic peoples, thereby raising the hopes of the suffering peoples for eventual liberation.

"To again thank the Government of the United States which has never recognized

the absorption of these countries by the U.S.S.R. for the promise and hope of eventual release of these unfortunate countries from Soviet captivity.

"To thank in particular their Representatives in the United States Senate and the House of Congress who are heeding their pleas in behalf of Lithuania.

"We pray that the Soviet Union abandons its aggressive and totally unjustified claims to the territories and peoples of the Baltic States voluntarily and by peaceful means."

Lithuanian-American Council of New Jersey: Jack J. Stukas, President; Albin S. Treciokas, Secretary; Walter J. Dilis, Treasurer; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Ignatius Kelmelis, Honorary President; Charles F. Paulis, Legal Adviser; Eva Treciokas and Stasys Jakstas, Vice Presidents.

What Does Future Hold for Us?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON, COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Park Region Echo, Alexandria, Minn., of April 7, 1955:

WHAT DOES FUTURE HOLD FOR US?

"What does the future hold for us?" is a question we all undoubtedly are pondering at this time. We spent the weekend in central North Dakota and while there huge dust storms covered most of the State Saturday and Sunday. Monday we again were reminded of this when the sun literally was hidden from sight by dust in the Alexandria area. Reading our daily newspaper or listening to the radio we again received more bad news when we were informed that the worst dust storms since the Dust Bowl days were raging in Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. Yes, "What does the future hold in store for us?" certainly should concern all of us.

We aren't attempting to frighten anyone but conditions at this time appear alarming and it is entirely possible that we will have other things to worry about than the prospect of war in some far-distant country.

If we aren't concerned about the economy of the country, we maybe can get some satisfaction out of figures which show that we have in storage an abundance of food so we shouldn't starve in the immediate future. But how long will this so-called abundance last? We recently read a report which showed that we had a farm inventory surplus of a little more than \$1 billion while at the same time we had a military surplus inventory valued at \$129 billion. Seems to us we're much better prepared for war than we are to keep our people healthy and well fed.

In spite of these so-called surpluses, readers will find a news story in this issue of the Echo calling for more production of durum wheat. If such a situation could develop in a hurry as far as durum wheat is concerned doesn't it sound reasonable that the same thing could happen to almost anything else we grow on our farms?

Maybe it can't happen here but it is entirely possible that we'll be thankful that nature has rewarded us so bountifully in recent years. Maybe then those who have been cursing our abundance will change their way of reasoning.

Dr. Janis Alfra Kaktins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, during these days when we hear so much about the operation of the displaced persons program, it seems to me well to determine, if we can, what has become of some of the displaced persons who entered this country under the program which was begun in the fall of 1948.

Although I do not know what has become of most of them, this morning I wish to call attention to what happened to one of them, Dr. Janis Alfra Kaktins, a native of Latvia.

Dr. Kaktins was educated at the University of Riga, and was one of four Latvians to receive a Rockefeller fellowship in recognition of outstanding scholarship. He became a professor at the University of Riga, and later became very well known in medical circles around the world.

As a result of the war he became a displaced person, and went from one place to another, until finally, under the displaced-persons program passed by Congress in 1948, he was admitted to this country. In the spring of 1949 he settled in the small city of Barre, Vt. He became a part of the life of that community. He served the Barre City Hospital and the State hospital at Waterbury as a pathologist.

He died last month, and the Rotary Club, of which he had become a member, attended the funeral in a body.

The esteem in which this displaced person was held by the people of his newfound home is well expressed in an editorial which is published in the Barre Daily Times of March 25, 1955. I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

QUIETLY IN OUR MIDST

For the past 5 years, Prof. (Dr.) Janls Alfra Kaktins quietly lived among the people of Barre. We saw him walk to the book store for his daily paper. We saw him go to his office and laboratory in the hospital. His fellow Rotarians saw him every Wednesday at their weekly meeting. A close group of friends grew to appreciate his vast array of knowledge—almost encyclopedic knowledge. They appreciated his keen—and sometimes sharp remarks—in conversation. They liked him as a man—human being like themselves.

Patients in the Barre City Hospital rarely saw his short figure or serious face. But, he knew the case history of almost every patient who entered its doors. He studied the slides made after operations. He had charge of the research work. In many cases, he determined what would be the best medication for a particular infection. He named the germs and described their process. Dr. Kaktins was a professor—a teacher of medical doctors. He was what is sometimes called a pure scientist. He did not practice medicine—he taught medicine to those who practiced.

As happens so many times, few people in Barre realized that this quiet man was known throughout the world. True, he did not his prominence in Barre. We only profited by what he had learned elsewhere in his extensive studies and laboratory work. The people of his native Latvia remember him as one of the outstanding scholars in the history of their country. He was one of only four Latvians ever to win the coveted Rockefeller fellowships for advanced study. His fellowship was spent at the great Pasteur Institute in Paris. Later, out of pure scientific interest, he studied bacteriological warfare and has been noted as among the world's authorities on that subject. His mail carrier testifies that his mail-even in the quiet of a little Vermont city—came from scientists almost around the world.

Yet quietly in our midst he lived. When we met him on the street, we might have thought that he was preoccupied; probably he was. Great problems—larger than most of us will ever know—went through his mind. When we saw him in the hospital, we might have thought he was a serious man; he was. Being thrown out of your native land and forced to start life all over again in a foreign land is a serious business. It takes something that most of us never possess to do so gracefully and with success.

Quietly in our midst a great man has lived. The people of his Latvia, the scientific world, and the patients at the Barre City Hospital rejoice in his achievements. The rest of us are proud that we could have the opportunity to know him as a man and a friend and help him and his family—strangers from a far land—feel at home in our midst.

F. L. L.

Death Pensions Urged by North Dakota for Widows and Orphans of World War II and Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the North Dakota Legislature by concurrent resolution has asked Congress to pass legislation in regard to granting death pensions to surviving widows and orphans of the deceased World War II and the Korean conflict veterans in the same manner protecting surviving World War I widows and orphans.

The resolution follows:

Senate Concurrent Resolution Q

Concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to enact legislation granting death pensions to surviving widows and orphans of deceased World War II and Korean conflict veterans, the same as death pensions granted to surviving World War I widows and orphans

Whereas the Congress of the United States has passed legislation granting death pensions to surviving widows and orphans of deceased veterans of World War I who had 90 days or more of active military service in the Armed Forces of the United States or who were discharged for disability incurred in active military service in less than 90 days, we believe the same legislation should be passed giving the surviving widows and orphans of deceased World War II and Korean conflict veterans the same death pensions as are granted to surviving widows and orphans of World War II due to the fact that the surviving widows of World War II and the Ko-

rean conflict deceased veterans have young children and are very much in need of assistance in caring for their families: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of North Dakota (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That the Congress of the United States be memorialized to enact necessary legislation granting to the surviving widows and orphans of deceased World War II and Korean conflict veterans the same death pensions as are granted to the surviving widows and orphans of World War I deceased veterans; be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state be, and he is hereby, instructed to send copies of this resolution properly authenticated to the presiding officer of each House of the National Congress of the United States, and to each of the United States Senators and Representatives from the State of North Dakota.

C. P. Dahl,
President of the Senate.
Edward Leno,
Secretary of the Senate.
K. A. Lihk,
Speaker of the House.
Kenneth L. Morgan,

Chief Clerk of the House.

Recovery of European Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Europe Back on Feet," written by Constantine Brown and published in the Washington Evening Star of April 11, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EUROPE BACK ON FEET—FREE NATIONS' ECON-OMY BETTER THAN EVER; UNITED STATES INDUSTRY FEELING COMPETITION

(By Constantine Brown)

Recent official reports from Western Europea paint a very rosy picture of the European economy as of this year. The per capita consumption in the 17-member nations of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation is placed at 12 percent higher than before World War II. Exports were 70 percent over those of 1938, the year before the outbreak of the war. Imports were only 12 percent higher, a healthy figure indeed. Over all, the economic health of the free nations of Europe appears to be better than it has ever been and the general standard of living is significantly improved.

These cheerful figures are all the more astounding when it is considered that in 1945 most of Western Europe was prostrate. Production, diverted to military needs for every 5 years, had shuddered to a halt under the hammer blows of war and bombings. Production machinery of all kinds was worn out if it had not been destroyed. Even agriculture, badly disorganized and struggling without manpower and machinery, was crippled to the point that starvation was real and hopeless. Transportation was battered and disrupted over huge areas of the entire continent, rolling stock wrecked and worn out, roads, bridges, and railroad tracks destroyed, organizations broken up and bankrupt.

Yet today, we find that same war-torn continent in better shape than it was in the so-called prosperous days before the march of Hitler's Nazi legions in the fall of 1939.

Of course, the tremendous and always amazing ability of mankind to revive, rebuild, and reorganize is here the dominant factor in this almost incredible rebirth of Europe from the ashes. But even the most determined people in the world need tools to work with, capital to launch productive enterprise, supplies, and equipment to rebuild dams and bridges, railroads, and power stations and all the other manifold necessities of a modern society. All of things and much more, were provided by the taxpayers of the United States in a series of plans for grants-in-aid and other economic assistance, most of which will never be directly repaid.

The philosophy behind these unprece-

The philosophy behind these unprecedented gifts to Europe—and they went to both friend and foe alike—was to the effect that a sick Europe would be easy prey to the hungry march of communism.

History is replete with examples of the ease with which half-starved, beaten, and discouraged people will dumbly surrender their last vestiges of freedom and self-respect for any panacea and political or economic system appearing to hold forth hope for food and shelter and some sort of economic security. That this security is akin to that of the concentration camp appears to make little difference to the sufferers.

So the United States, thrown by the fortunes of war into the unenviable position of the world's leader and spared most of the destruction and dislocation visited on Europe, untied the purse strings and helped unstintingly to set Europe back on its feet.

The Marshall plan, the several economic assistance organizations stemming from it, the present-day FOA administering the point 4 program all over the world, the NATO military buying in European member nations—all these and many more organized and costly efforts have gone into the reviving of Europe's devastated economy.

Some justification for this vast expenditure of American funds extracted from the production and pockets of every American can be readily found in the check so obviously administered to the designs of the master plotters in the Kremlin.

But the time has very definitely come for a halt to the largesse, while responsible American policymakers take time out to assess the situation as of today against the need for continued expenditures. American industry is already beginning to feel the pinch of sharp competition from underpriced European production. It would seem the most bitter of ironies to continue to tax American industry and American labor for the purpose of strengthening the very competition that now bids fair to severely lower the American income.

Indeed, the proper time for such a reappraisal is long since past. The unhappy suspicion grows that the business of American giveaways to the rest of the world has become such a colossus of bureaucracy that it cannot be controlled.

Anniversary of Bataan Day, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, 13 years ago Americans and Filipinos fought side by side with a heroic determination to prevent the fall of the Philippines, Outnumbered—with their supplies dwindling—ravaged by sickness and fatigue, and finally surrounded on the Bataan Peninsula, the defenders fought on to the bitter end. The Battle of Bataan stands today as a symbol of the will of freemen to remain free.

History has erased the defeat at Bataan. From that defeat the Philippine people, through the same tenacity and determination which they demonstrated at Bataan, have risen to create a republic which today is a beacon of freedom in Asia.

At Bataan we shared with the Philippine people both defeat and the will to avenge that defeat. We shared the victory which followed. In a spirit of mutual understanding we subsequently shared in the many complex responsibilities of the transition to complete Philippine independence. We have watched with unstinted pride as the Republic of the Philippines in its own right has assumed its place among the democracies of the world. On this anniversary of Bataan Day, we continue to share with the people of the Philippines that devotion to freedom which could not be quenched by a military defeat on the Bataan Peninsula.

Little Missouri River Compact

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OTTO KRUEGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to submit the following resolution adopted by the 34th Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota, urging authorization for the States of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Wyoming to negotiate an agreement providing for an equitable apportionment among the States for the water supply of the Little Missouri River:

House Concurrent Resolution J-1

Concurrent resolution requesting Congress to authorize North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Wyoming to enter into a compact for an equitable division among the States of the water supply of the Little Missouri River

Whereas there is an urgent need for a compact among North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Wyoming for equitable apportionment of the waters of the Little Missouri River and its tributaries among those States to assure owners of lands lying near or adjacent to this river or its tributaries their equitable share of the waters thereof for stock watering, irrigation, and domestic use: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of North Dakota (the Senate concurring therein). That the Congress of the United States be, and is hereby, requested to authorize the States of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Wyoming to negotiate a compact or agreement, upon such terms and conditions as Congress may deem fit, and require, not later than January 1, 1959, for a division and equitable apportion-

ment among the States for the water supply of the Little Missouri River and streams tributary thereto; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state of the State of North Dakota be, and is hereby, directed to mail copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the Senators and Representatives from North Dakota in Congress, and to the Governors of the States of South Dakota, Montana, and Wyoming.

K. A. FITCH,

Speaker of the House.
Kenneth L. Morgan,
Chief Clerk of the House.
C. P. Dahl.,
President of the Senate.
EDWARD LENO,
Secretary of the Senate.

Confusion Among Columnists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I have noticed lately that many of our columnists are expressing opinions that in all probability are being construed by our allies as facts. Any individual has a right to his opinion and we should not criticize him, even though his ideas may differ from ours. I cannot, however, condone any man for being wrong in his facts. Many American columnists are ever so quick to criticize Members of Congress. It is not my intention as a Member of Congress to criticize the 2 columnists I am about to make reference to.

Last evening on my return to Washington I picked up a copy of the Cleveland News, and on turning to the editorial page I read a column by the distinguished editor, Mr. David Lawrence, entitled "Eden will work well with the United States." The following paragraphs were two of several in his column:

What most Americans are anxious to know is whether the ascension of Sir Anthony Eden to the post of prime minister will affect British relations with the United States. Rumors have it that he does not get along so well with Dulles, but the truth is that they get along personally very well and that the only differences are those which arise when understandings reached at one conference later have to be modified or abrogated.

Broadly speaking, Sir Anthony Eden will maintain the policy of close cooperation with the United States because it is logical for the Conservative Party in Britain to do so. The British Socialist-Labor Party plays it the opposite way, and there is frequent needing of the Conservatives with respect to American policies. Basically it arises out of a desire to embarrass the Conservatives rather than because of any inherent anti-Americanism.

After reading Mr. Lawrence's column, I turned from page 16 to page 17, and there was a column by Mr. Drew Pearson captioned "Dulles and Eden Don'ts Get Along." A paragraph included in Mr. Pearson's column read as follows:

Inside fact is that Eden and John Foster Dulles just don't get along. Eden considers Dulles a novice and a bumbler. Dulles, in turn, has referred to Eden in private as an appeaser,

Our strongest allies are the British. If I were a Britisher I would be asking this question: "How confused can the American columnists become?" Not being a literary expert and believing in freedom of the press, I cannot criticize the columnists for their style of writing or the opinions they offer. I can only suggest and prayerfully ask, "Please, gentlemen, won't you be more certain of your facts in the future? You both can't be right."

For the benefit of those of you who may have read my remarks, the two columns are printed below:

EDEN WILL WORK WELL WITH UNITED STATES
(By David Lawrence)

Washington.—"There is so much to do in the world and so little time in which to do it."

These words, from the pen of Winston Churchill on his 25th birthday, are contained in an unpublished letter written from imprisonment to a relative in the United States when as a British war correspondent the future Prime Minister had been captured during the Boer War.

Just a year ago, when this correspondent was alone with Sir Winston before lunching with him at 10 Downing Street in London, there was an opportunity to ask him why he had written that comment.

Mr. Churchill replied that as a young man he didn't think he was going to live past middle age because he was frail, and he reminded me that his father had died in his forties.

In the 55 years that have elapsed since that 25th birthday, Winston Churchill has spanned the longest period of history of any man in public life today. They were turbulent years, but his courage was always manifest in any emergency. Perhaps the reason for the success of the famous British statesman is that he never felt panicky in a crisis. He sailed through stormy seas without flinching in the slightest.

Sir Winston's influence in the world can-

Sir Winston's influence in the world cannot be measured by written records of state papers or his memoirs. His personal power has been extraordinary. He never forgets that he is half-American. He has never falled to pay tribute to America. He has differed with American policies at times, but he has always known the motivation of such policies and has understood their true meaning.

A story was being told a year ago at the Geneva conference, where Anthony Eden, then British foreign secretary, headed the British delegation and at times found himself at variance with American policy. On one occasion, after a crisis that seemed to fill the headlines, word is said to have come from Churchill to Eden which may be paraphrased as follows: "Listen carefully to what the Americans say. Express your own viewpoint as forthrightly as you can. Then perhaps you better do what the Americans want you to do."

This may be too broad a generalization but in certain circumstances when American cooperation was desired, and it was not deemed desirable to let a rift in relations develop, the Churchill concept would seem to have been logical. But, conversely, there have been some occasions when President Eisenhower, an intimate friend of Sir Winston, has sent word to Secretary Dulles that it might be best to defer to the British view.

What most Americans are anxious to know is whether the ascension of Sir Anthony Eden to the post of Prime Minister will affect British relations with the United States. Rumors have it that he does not get along so well with Dulles, but the truth is that they get along personally very well and that the only differences are those which arise when understandings reached at one conference later have to be modified or abrogated.

Broadly speaking, Sir Anthony Eden will maintain the policy of close cooperation with the United States because it is logical for the Conservative Party in Britain to do so. The British Socialist-Labor Party plays it the opposite way, and there is frequent needling of the Conservatives with respect to American policies. Basically it arises out of a desire to embarrass the Conservatives rather than because of any inherent anti-Americanism.

DULLES AND EDEN DON'T GET ALONG (By Drew Pearson)

Washington.-You can write it down as certain that American-British cooperation on foreign policy isn't going to get any big lift from the ascension of Sir Anthony Eden as Prime Minister-unless Eden deals exclusively with President Eisenhower.

Inside fact is that Eden and John Foster Dulles just don't get along. Eden considers Dulles a novice and a bumbler. Dulles, in turn, has referred to Eden in private as an

appeaser.

Once, during the Indochina crisis, he felt that Eden was trying to win a Nobel peace prize for himself at the expense of a firm

stand against communism.

Immediately after taking office, the new Prime Minister showed his complete lack of confidence in the Dulles foreign policy by sending a cable to the British Ambassador in Moscow asking the Kremlin's help in trying to prevent war in the Far East.

Eden instructed the British Ambassador to call on Foreign Minister Molotov and urge that Russia lay a restraining hand on the Red Chinese and keep them from participating war. Eden added that he was sure the Russians didn't want war. In turn, he promised that he would use his influence to calm Washington.
On at least three occasions Dulles and

Eden have clashed on foreign policy.

One was prior to the Geneva Conference last year when Vice President RICHARD NIXON talked about sending the United States Army into Indochina, and when Adm. Arthur Radford tried to persuade Sir Winston Churchill to cooperate with us in sending airplane carriers to help beleaguered Dien Bien Phu. Dulles thought he had an agreement with Eden on a joint, get-tough policy, only to find Eden supported neutralist Premier Nehru, of India, instead.

Other differences took place at the Geneva Conference where Eden, not Dulles, played the major role in bringing about a compro-

mise Indochinese peace.

Eden and Dulles also differed regarding French cooperation in the European Defense Community. In the end Eden's views prevailed.

It's more than likely, therefore, that Prime Minister Eden will insist on dealing with President Eisenhower and let Mr. Dulles walk on the opposite side of the street.

When Will It Stop?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Frazee Times, of Frazee, Minn.: WHEN WILL IT STOP?

Purchasing power of the Minnesota farmer continues to drop month after month.

At the present time State farm products' purchasing power is at its lowest level since 1939.

This was the report made Tuesday by Harlan G. Lampe, University of Minnesota agricultural economist.

The decline in farm prices which started in 1951 continues with only slight upward trends now and then with the overall trenddownward.

During this same period farmer costs have

remained fairly steady.

When income goes down and costs remain on an even keel, the end result is loss of purchasing power.

A comparison of farm prices in February 1955 and 1954 follows:

Wheat down 9 cents, corn down 6 cents,

oats down 4 cents, barley down 5 cents, rye up 9 cents, flax down 48 cents, hay up \$1, soybeans down 36 cents, cattle up \$1, calves down \$2.20, sheep and lambs up 4 cents, chickens down 4 cents, milk down 35 cents.

Is it any wonder that the farmer is clamoring for a return to parity and that many Republican Members of Congress who voted against parity are shaking in their boots?

Discrimination Has No Moral Justification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 13, 1955 Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I am to-

day introducing a bill to promote further respect for, and observance of, civil rights in the United States.

We have made considerable progress in recent years in the direction of eliminating discrimination and racialism in this country, but we still have a long road to travel before we can attain true understanding, equality of opportunity, and human brotherhood. Among the most important basic principles that have been handed down to us by the founders of our great Republic is the heritage of freedom, the concept of equality of opportunity, the belief that the individual should be judged strictly on the basis of ability and achievement. The flames of intolerance would have consumed this Nation long ago if these principles had not been made the core of the American

One of the greatest struggles within the conscience of the American people today is to justify our practices of racial and religious discrimination in the light of our moral and democratic principles. The fact remains that there is no moral justification for racial or religious discrimination. It undermines the foundations of our way of life and it destroys the economic opportunities for all. Discrimination based upon a person's religious beliefs, or his national origin, or the color of his skin, cannot be reconciled with the American concepts of justice and the brotherhood of man. In order to build and maintain a great Nation such as ours we must make use of all the human resources of the country, but if we deny certain groups among our

citizens the opportunity to develop their skills, then it is not only a contradiction of our own principles but we are actually hurting our country and its interests.

Whenever conscientious efforts instead of timid experiments have been attempted in the field of race relations the results always have been encouraging. There is no simple solution for wiping out prejudice, but undoubtedly the first direct step is to remove the legal sanctions of discrimination. So long as old racial laws remain or new legal barriers are imposed racial tensions will continue. So long as stereotyped ideas about minority groups are not modified bigotry and intolerance will flourish.

Law is an effective instrument for changing social conditions and law acts as a powerful factor in preventing discrimination. It fosters the conviction that discrimination is wrong by fixing standards which are respected by the majority of the people. Because people as a rule are lawabiding, their behavior tends to create customs which are in

harmony with the law.

For some time now Communist propaganda has been exploiting every manifestation of prejudice in the United States in order to spread hatred against us among the peoples of Asia and Africa. They tell many untruths and half-truths about our treatment of minorities, while the true facts are distorted to give a false impression of the extent of discrimination in our country. This forces us to be on the defensive and apologetic, and it affects American prestige and moral leadership among the peoples of the world

Consequently, I believe the time is long overdue for us to seek to eliminate all remnants of discrimination in this country through the means of effective legislation. For this reason, I have drawn up a civil rights bill which is comprised of four titles, dealing with specific civil rights problems. These four major sections of my bill are as follows:

First. Civil Rights Commission: I propose to authorize the President to establish a Civil Rights Commission composed of three members, for a period of 3 years each. The purpose of this Commission shall be to conduct a continuing study of the policies, practices, and the enforcement program of the Federal Government with respect to civil rights, and of the progress made throughout the Nation in promoting respect for and the observance of civil rights. The Commission shall report its findings and recommendations each year to the President and to Congress.

Second. Prohibition against poll tax: This section of my bill recommends that the requirement for payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting or registering to vote in a primary or other election for President, Vice President, and Members of both Houses of Congress, shall be abolished. It shall be declared unlawful for any State, municipality, or other governmental subdivision to levy a poll tax on the right to vote or registering to vote.

Third. Protection from mob violence and lynching: Groups of two or more persons who commit or attempt to commit violence upon an individual or a

group because of their race, color, national origin, or religion, shall be recognized as a lynch mob and violence committed by them shall constitute lynching. Members of such lynch mobs who willfully incite or commit a lynching shall be guilty of a felony and punishable by a fine up to \$10,000 or imprisonment up to 20 years, or both.

Fourth. Equality of opportunity in employment: The last and most important section of my bill deals with discrimination in employment. It declares such discrimination based on race, color, national origin, or religion as contrary to American principles of liberty and equality of opportunity, deprives our country of its full productive capacity, and foments industrial strife and unrest. Discrimination in employment is made unlawful.

The bill creates a commission to be known as the Equality of Opportunity in Employment Commission, composed of seven members to be appointed by the President. The purpose of this Commission shall be to seek to prevent or discontinue discriminatory practices in employment through investigation, concillation, and persuasion. Where necessary, the aid of regional, State, and local agencies should be obtained. Where voluntary methods fail, the Commission is to be empowered to issue complaints, conduct formal hearings, and issue cease-and-desist orders enforceable in the courts.

Mr. Speaker, this is a time when the people of this country must be on the alert to defend our civil rights through the adoption of legislation along the lines indicated in my bill. To abuse our civil liberties and to permit the practice of discrimination against some of our fellow citizens is proving very injurious to the American way of life and all that America stands for.

Equality of opportunity for every citizen of this country is essential to the welfare and progress of our Nation and our civilization. Liberty-loving people throughout the world look to the United States as the leader in the cause of freedom and human rights; hence, it is our sacred duty to afford all American citizens the opprtunity to participate in every phase of our national life and to serve this country with pride and dignity. When we speak of the belief of the American people in freedom and human rights, we are not resorting to idle words; to the American people these words represent a wonderful idea and a cherished goal, they reflect the fundamental attitude of the people of this country who appreciate the meaning of true democracy.

This country is comprised of people who come from all races, religious beliefs, and national origin. All of them have made important contributions toward the development of the United States as a great nation and toward shaping its destiny. I am strongly opposed to setting up second-class citizenship for any group in this country, because I do not believe in the superiority of one race or one nationality group over another. As soon as we encourage second-class citizenship, we open the door for discrimination and bigotry.

Somewhere recently I came across the following lines:

Give us wide walls to build our temple of

liberty, O God.

The North shall be built of love, to stand against the winds of fate;

The South of tolerance, that we may building, outreach hate;

The East our faith, that rises clear and new each day; The West our hope, that even dies a giorious

way.
The threshold 'neath our feet will be

humilty:

The roof—the very sky itself—infinity.

God, give us wide walls to build this great temple of liberty.

Mr. Speaker, we must continue to build with love and tolerance; we must continue to have faith in our country and its future, and we must continue to hope for human brotherhood, for freedom, and for true understanding among the nations and the peoples of the world.

Bank Holding Companies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLARENCE E. KILBURN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. KILBURN. Mr. Speaker, there is a bank holding company bill up before the House Committee on Banking and Currency. I thought the Members would like to read the following article giving an outline of the situation from a non-partisan standpoint:

[From the United States Investor]
BANK HOLDING COMPANIES

Every once in a while a committee of Congress is asked to hear the complaints of a portion of organized banking against bank holding companies. We do not understand that the American Bankers' Association spearheads the group of antagonists or that it has any lively interest in the movement. The complaint is sponsored by a small, though reasonably numerous, bankers' organization. In due course the complainants have recently had a public hearing at Washington on the Spence bill—their present tangible suggestion for law—and have received their usual measure of newspaper publicity.

Maybe their voices carried a bit further on this occasion than in some previous years, for the numerous mergers of banks all over the country in recent months have naturally turned attention toward this other form of bank union, the holding company. Whether the Spence bill has any better prospects of enactment into law than similar bills offered in years past we do not venture to guess. Our recollection is that Congress has not cared to apply the big stick to bank holding companies heretofore. So the 18 holding companies whose ownership of banks carries them into 22 different States continue to operate and to perform a service or to be a threat to localized banking, according to the side which you choose to take on this perennially mooted question.

The 18 companies vary in setup from the Transamerica Corp., operating in seven States, and the Northwest Bancorporation, whose operations spread across a considerable portion of the Northwest, to corporations confining their activities to single States like the Marine Midland Corp., of New

York, or the Baystate Corp., of Boston, or the Shawmut Association of Boston, both of these latter being active only in Massachu-The more common practice among the 18 is to be bank holding companies only. but the Trans-America Corp., as we remember it, gets only 26 percent of its income from ownership of banks and actually gets 45 percent from its ownership of a great insurance company. We believe there are others of the 18 principal holding companies that have invested to some extent outside of bank shares, believing that diversification of investment is a helpful course for a holding enterprise to follow and tends to strengthen the financial position of the underlying

LET THE RECORD SPEAK

In this article, we shall not consciously assume the role either of antagonist to holding comanies or of their sponsor. They have shown over the years that they are quite capable of being their own spokesmen. What is more to the point, however, than their ability to present data and to marshal arguments in their own behalf, is the fact that each of them has now had a long career. Part of them, at least, are old enough to have lived through the great depression and the trying years which followed. and to have shown what their ability is to grapple with the troubles which that period brought upon banks. Their conduct, therefore, from the date of their respective organizations down to the present, is an open book. What their attitude has been toward the individual banks which they own, whether they have been cooperative or otherwise with banking authorities, whether they have brought strength or weakness into the banking situation-all these questions can be answered, not from abstract thinking, nor from prejudice, but from the record. What we shall have to say in this present article is with a view to clarifying popular understanding on the whole subject of bank holding companies. We think that there is need for some definite statements in keeping with that objective.

EXAMINERS KNOW

The fact cannot be too strongly emphasized that every bank in these holding company groups is subject to regular and thorough examination by public authorities. Those which operate under national charter are amenable to the examinations and discipline of the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency. Those chartered under State law are held to similar account by the State superintendent or commissioner of banking. And State banks which are members of the Federal Reserve System come under supervision of the Federal Reserve Board Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation also has supervisory power over its insured banks. What we have in mind when we say that this fact cannot be too strongly emphasized is that some folks persist in believing that ownership of a bank by a holding company does, in some subtle way, change the character of the controled bank. That simply cannot be so, except in such ways as we shall presently indicate. The examiners from State or National staff have access to every record and every account and every scrap of information in the possession of the bank. The examiners know all about the deposits and the treatment accorded depositors, they know the character of the loans and of the investments, they know exactly what have been the relations between the bank and the holding company which owns it. They have read the records of the directors' meetings. and if the votes taken at these sessions indicate subservience to the holding company. that fact is discovered in all its outline. Needless to say, the examiners report in detail on all their discoveries to the heads of their respective banking systems, namely, the Federal supervisory authority at Washington or the State supervisor or commissioner at the State capitol. You see, nothing about the operations of the owned bank is hidden from the eyes of the trained examiner or from the eyes of his chief to whom he reports. We suggest that it is significant that one hears no uproar from the Federal supervisory authorities nor from representative State supervisors as to the holding companies. In fact at the recent hearings Comptroller Ray M. Gidney in offering two amendments to the present law said, "There is not apparent to us a need for an extensive or general revision." Certainly these men should be in position to become very vocal as to these organizations if they sense a need for disciplining them.

Next, we think the facts should be clearly noted that bank-holding companies have not reduced in any area the lively competition of controlled and independent banks alike for deposits and for loans. Indeed, from our own acquaintance with the banks included in holding company groups, we can testify that the tempo of their competition is livelier for the very reason that the con-trolled banks must give a good account of themselves to the company which owns

OUT FOR BUSINESS

In fact, we can recall at this very moment a case where two banks operating in different parts of the same city are owned by the same holding company. If you think that same holding company. If you think that because of that ownership the two are parceling out some sort of division of territory between them, you are in for a bit of a sur-The two are out for business with a vim and quite as ready to encroach on each other's district as if they were owned by entirely independent banking organizations. In view of what we know from our own contacts with part of the holding companies and what we hear about the others, we question whether anybody can discover any reason for believing the customers of banks owned by holding companies have any part in the movement to put these companies more tightly in leading strings.

Still another rather patent fact, as it seems to us, is that when a holding company acquires a bank, it must, in the very nature of things, preserve a high degree of local character for it. It may or may not place a new figure at the head of a bank, as president or executive vice president, for example. We shall have more to say on that matter in just a moment. But the men who operate the holding company are just as well aware as anybody that the prosperity of the purchased bank must depend upon holding the deposits it already has and increasing them and upon preserving friendly relations of local customers. Nothing could be more mistaken on the part of the holding company than a spirit of absentee landlordism in its conduct of a bank. The local contacts of a bank are among its most precious assets and no holding company is going to dissipate such assets.

SAVED BY A HOLDING COMPANY

Just what does the coming of the holding company into the ownership of a bank mean, when you have stripped your discussion of any shape of prejudice? Sometimes, as we can recall from experiences in the troubled days of the 1930's, it has meant the salvation of the purchased bank. not out of place to do so in print, we could name a number of banks in some of our States whose continued existence right down to this day can be traced back to intervention in their affairs at the critical moment by a holding company. But, in general, there are three contributions which a holding company can make to the welfare of any bank. First, it can supply the bank with a capable management when need for that arises. It is a curious fact that a number of authorities on banking have spoken out, during the past year or so, on the need within banks for sturdier management-training programs. There is not sufficient attention, they say. North Dakota Indian Commission, under

within a good many of these banks, to making likely members of the staff capable of larger responsibilities or to getting junior officers ready for the day when they must assume senior duties. That particular problem has been accepted by the holding companies as one of their assignments. They do provide heads for banks who measure to the jobs they are given, and they have others in training for similar advancement.

A GREAT SERVICE

A second activity of a holding company organization can be to assure to each controlled bank an adequate system of accounting. How much need there is for that has been made clear by the numerous addresses at bankers' conventions on safeguards which banks need to set up against embezzlements. It has been rather startling to learn from some very good authorities speaking at these conventions how frequently the audit system of banks is ineffective, how lacking in internal controls so many banks really are. Here is a field where the holding company has frequently performed a great service for the banks owned by it. And of course there is the familiar field of alding the local bank in the selection of investments for such of its funds as are not required for the making of local loans. The picking and choosing of bonds for a local bank is frequently an enigma for the local management and one whose solution can be aided by experts at the holding company's headquarters.

SPREADING THE FACTS

Just how large a figure did the 18 bank holding companies make against the background of the total banking operations of this country? Well, they have 4.17 percent of all the commercial banking offices operating in the United States, and these offices hold 5.83 percent of the total deposits. We are informed that on December 31, 1954, they had 321 fewer offices and \$2,343,000,000 less deposits than on December 31, 1946. That is not too grim and threatening a picture, is it? It does not look as if the balance of banking power were moving in the holding companies, does it? But your critic of the holding companies would ask for some figures that come nearer to supporting his position than these do. So let us see how large are the outlines of the holding company picture in the 22 States where they actually do operate. (You see, there are 26 States where they are not to be found at all.) In these 22 States, they have 8.83 percent of the banking offices and the deposits at these offices amount to 11.20 percent of the total bank deposits of the 22 States. So here you have the measure of the problem. Does it fill you with dread forebodings and make you wish to scurry down to Washington, asking that the bars be put up against further advances of the holding companies, or do you share the feeling of a good many other people that, in many communities, the holding companies have brought a strengthening influence into the banking picture? We have said at the beginning of this article that we are not going to take sides in this debate. We are merely spreading some of the facts in the case before our readers, so that they may draw their own conclusions.

Turtle Mountain Program Makes Indians Self-Sufficient

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the

the able management of John Hart, has demonstrated that certain industries can be set up where Indians can find jobs close at home and make their own way without Government doles. Such an industry was set up on the Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation for the manufacture of parts to watches, and the Indians have done well and have proven themselves good mechanical workmen.

The Legislature of North Dakota has memorialized Congress on this subject and passed the following concurrrent resolution:

House Concurrent Resolution V

Concurrent resolution petitioning the Congress of the United States to enact legislation authorizing a study and investi-gation into the feasibility of establishing additional manufacturing enterprises adjacent to Indian reservations in this

Whereas the establishment of a jewelbearing plant adjacent to the Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation has provided much needed job opportunities for Indians residing in the area and has brought into productivity a formerly unutilized labor force and has thereby been an aid to the general economy of the area and to the wealth of the Nation; and

Whereas the employment records of the jewel-bearing plant located adjacent to the Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation show that absenteeism and turnover among Indian employees are lower than the national average for similar industries; and

Whereas the locating of such enterprises adjacent to Indian reservations is a positive act of providing social and economic opportunities for rehabilitation of and self-help for Indians; and

Whereas the establishment of such enterprises adjacent to Indian reservations has proved to be beneficial to the Indians residing on and near such reservations, to the State of North Dakota and to the United States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of North Dakota (the Scnate concurring therein), That the Congress of the United States is hereby memorialized and respectfully petitioned to enact proper legislation to provide for a thorough investigation and affirmative encouragement for such self-rehabilitating projects which will result in the elimination of dependency and the establishment of a substantial selfsupporting status for Indian people; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution, properly authenticated, be sent by the secretary of state to the President of the United States, the presiding officer of each of the Houses of the Congress of the United States. to the Secretary of Interior of the United States, the Director of Defense Mobilization. and to each of the members of the North Dakota congressional delegation.

A. H. FITCH, Speaker of the House. KENNETH L. MORGAN, Chief Clerk of the House. C. P. DAHL, President of the Senate. EDWARD LENS, Secretary of the Senate.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Address Delivered by Senator Neuberger Before the City Club of Portland, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, during the recent trip of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to the Pacific Northwest for hearings on S. 1333, to authorize Federal construction of Hells Canyon high dam, I had occasion to address the City Club of Portland on April 8, 1955. This is an organization known throughout my home State for its conscientious and thorough approach to public affairs. The City Club has gained national fame for its painstaking research into critical public problems. For example, its study of corrupt-practices laws and election expenditures now is winning the study and approval of political scientists and governmental officials throughout the United States.

I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from my remarks to the City Club in Portland on April 8 be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

EXCERPIS FROM REMARKS OF SENATOR RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, TO CITY CLUB OF PORTLAND, OREG., APRIL 8, 1955

CONGRESS FACES A CRISIS IN AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

In the 3 months that I have served in the Senate, many important matters have come before the Congress. The list would be well known to you. It includes the most important of all, our foreign policy, and urgent domestic needs such as schools, highways, resource development, adequate pay for Federal and postal workers, and taxation. I shall return to some of these later. But I want to stress first what I believe to be the most critical problem now plaguing our domestic economy: the continued decline in American farm income.

In recent months, the scope and the dangerous characteristics of our deepening agricultural crisis have been brought to the consciousness of the Congress and of the Nation from many sources and with ever greater urgency.

Let me cite just a few random examples:

Less than 2 weeks ago, the New York Times reviewed the drop in farm income caused by falling prices and stringent acreage limitations in an article headlined "Crisis in Farming Threatens Boom." The subheads read "Income Sliding Fast," "Small Farm Forced Out." A well-documented article in the U.S. News & World Report for March 25 reminds us of the sinister parallel with the 1920's, when a spectacular industrial and financial boom obscured the early danger signals of a prolonged agricultural slump.

The article states the facts with the logic of simplicity:

"Farmers are getting less for their crops. They are being forced to grow less. Their costs are high. Their incomes are shrinking."

And it concludes that "the farm problem is worsening, now that more trouble lies ahead."

THE FACTS SHOW THE OMINOUS TREND

Congressional committees have repeatedly studied the farm problem and have reported the ominous downward trend. In reporting out the Agricultural Act of 1954 in the 83d Congress, the House Committee on Agriculture reported a 13 percent decline in net farm income in the preceding 2 years, while the rest of the economy reached new heights. In reporting out a new farm bill last month, the same committee again reviewed the facts:

"Farm prices down an average of 22 percent since 1951. Net farm income down 28 percent since 1947—10 percent below 1953, with further declines scheduled for this year and 1956."

The House Appropriations Committee reports that "the cost of farming continues to increase, with a 14-percent increase in prices paid by farmers during the past 5 years." Farm mortgage debt has nearly doubled since the end of World War II.

Farmers' share in the national income has dropped from 9.4 percent in 1951 to 7.2 percent in 1954.

Yet consumers have not benefited from lower prices. Pacakaging and other costs of distribution and merchandising have increased the spread between farm and grocery store prices. Thus, between 1949 and 1954 food grains dropped 9 percent, but cereals and bakery products rose 22 percent; dairy products rose 6 percent at retail but brought the farmer 8 percent less, and fruit and vegetable growers got 4 percent less while housewives paid 12 percent more. Farmers now receive only 43 cents-gross, not net-of each dollar spent on food, while the other 57 cents go for distribution charges.

The crisis is not confined to 1 or 2 sectors of agricultural production. In the Capital, we know that the squeeze between high costs and reduced acreage and support levels has hit cotton, corn, and other commodities as well as the wheat and the sugar beets of Oregon. The farm problem exists for the growers of fruits and vegetables in the Williamette Valley, and—as my wife's mother has graphically told me of her own farm—it is acute for the dairy farmers of the Northwest, of the Midwest, and elsewhere.

But perhaps the case of wheat will serve as a good single example.

THE CASE OF WHEAT

In its April issue, the Farm Journal poses the question, "Can We Rescue Wheat?" This article, and the other sources I have mentioned, give us some of the dimensions of the problem.

The carryover of wheat on July 1 will be nearly a billion bushels—as much as 5 times the amount considered a normal carryover—and \$2½ billion worth of that is held by the Commodity Credit Corporation. The carryover will be more than a whole year's supply of wheat for this country, without this year's crop.

Yet acreage restrictions—which have forced 24 million acres, about 30 percent,

out of wheat—and reduced support percentages show little promise of restoring order to wheat production. Rather, they add to the pressure to grow varieties which will yield the most bushels per acre, regardless of quality—to produce more wheat, of types which no one else may want, for the number 1 customer, the Federal Government.

What kind of a national farm policy can

provide a solution?

I do not pretend to know the answer. I declined to pose as a specialist on agricultural legislation during the campaign last year, and I have not become an expert in 3 months in the Senate. But I return to my original point: The danger to our national economy of the threatening farm depression is the greatest present problem we face in the field of domestic policy.

In the case of wheat, perhaps the domestic parity certificate plan—sometimes called the "two price plan"—offers some hope. That is not a new approach; Congress approved parts of it long ago in the McNary-Haugen bill, and the House of Representatives has recently revived it. Its relation to the support programs for corn and other feed grains, and to a stable world market, will require careful scrutiny.

FLEXIBLE SUPPORTS INADEQUATE

But in this field we cannot seek perfection; we must choose between imperfect alternatives. The administration offers no leadership beyond its insistence on the eco-nomic wringer of its "flexible" support program, which seems designed to seek a kind of agricultural "survival of the fittest" putting a substantial number of farm families through bankruptcy. To call this approach inadequate is an understatement. Over 20 million people live on farms, and over 30 million live in rural areas economically dependent on farm prosperity. It is completely illusory to contemplate a continued boom for big business, for banks, for the stock market, while an agricultural depression knocks the economic props out from under these 50 million Americans-onethird of the Nation.

RURAL AMERICA NEGLECTED

The purely economic future of our farm population and of our small rural communities presents problems of great difficulty and, as I have said, of immense importance. But in the formulation of other national policies which affect farmers, whether as farmers or simply as citizens living in the rural areas of our country, their interests are often neglected by the present administration.

I shall take time only to mention briefly a few examples.

The great tax reduction bill of 1954 gave billions of dollars in tax savings to industrial corporations and their shareholders, but it gave no or very little relief to individual taxpayers, including the average farm family.

The second Hoover Commission—not to be confused with its predecessor, which avoided policy questions and stuck to administrative efficiency—recently recommended sharp curtailment of a series of Federal lending programs which have made low-interest credit available for necessary purposes, many of them of special value to farmers. Chief among the latter has been the rural electrification program. Already starved for power by the power policies of the present admin-

istration, this valuable program, which has brought modern civilization to millions of farm families, faces extinction if the views

of the commission prevail.

The ambitious road construction program submitted to the Congress by the administration recommends total expenditures on highway construction in excess of \$100 bil-Twenty-five billion dollars are to be furnished by the Federal Government to be expended over the next 10 years. Only \$41/2 billion of this is "pay-as-you-go" financing; \$2016 billion are to be borrowed at a cost of \$1116 billion in interest, at rates significantly higher than those usual for obligations of the Federal Government.

You may have read about the weird financing scheme devised to raise this large Federal contribution without adding to the national debt. I am a member of the subcommittee on roads of the Senate Committee on Public Works, which is considering highway legislation, and I have heard administration witnesses explain this project. But the best thumbnail sketch was provided by Senator HARRY BYRD of Virginia, the Senate's chief watchdog of fiscal probity, who appeared as a witness to tell the commit-

tee:
"It establishes a Government corporation without income or assets and authorizes this corporation to borrow \$21 billion for 32 years without declaring it as a debt, and by leger-demain excludes this debt from the debt limitation fixed by Congress. The interest will be \$11.5 billion or 55 percent of the funds borrowed."

In view of Senator Byan's stinging dissection of this scheme, it is widely conceded that the fiscal features of the administration's program will not be adopted. But beyond that the program itself places far too great an emphasis on completion of the interstate network, at the expense of the secondary and farm-to-market roads.

We need a network of safe and fast limited access highways for long-distance travel and transportation. But the needs of our rural population to travel between the smaller towns and to take their produce to market must necessarily be met from the same sources of financing which will pay for the interstate system. We cannot afford a pro-gram which will dry up those sources in the interest of fast transportation between our metropolitan centers and starve out the badly needed improvements of the other types of roads.

I expect the Subcommittee on Roads, under the able chairmanship of Senator Gore, of Tennessee, to strike a reasonable balance between these needs. At the same time, I think it essential that the necessary financing be more nearly on a pay-as-you-go basis. Therefore, I have proposed a 1-cent increase in the Federal tax on motor fuels, while exempting farmers and fishermen who use gasoline or diesel oil in off-the-road

equipment.

REAL AID FOR EDUCATION NEEDED NOW

The same preoccupation with fiscal gimmicks rather than with real needs is delaying progress in a field equally important to urban and rural communities—the approaching crisis in our educational facilities. Again. the administration's proposals are expressed in terms of very large sums of money, but offer virtually no real assistance. The only direct aid offered by the administration program—a very small amount—would be available only to so-called impoverished school districts. The districts of Oregon—and the same is true elsewhere in the Nation—are staggering under an ever-growing burden of school needs to cope with rapid increases in school population, but they are not "im-poverished." Yet, except for the small sums offered to impoverished districts, the administration offers only new borrowing facilities.

Not only are our overburdened school dis-

tricts thus to be encouraged to add to their debts, but, as Mr. Rex Putnam, the State of Oregon's superintendent of public instruction, wrote me, the administration's proposal to underwrite a 31/2-percent interest rate on school loans might stimulate a wave of borrowing so as actually to drive up interest which now average less than 21/2 percent.

The need is urgent for real help now, not for studies and conferences. A generation of children who get part-time education in old, overcrowded schools is forever lost to our vital reservoirs of skill and leadership. Therefore, I have cosponsored and urged passage of Senator Hill's bills for immediate aid to school construction, and to earmark for aid to education the Federal oil revenues from the outer Continental Shelf.

. PRIVILEGE TO SERVE WITH SENATOR MORSE AND REPRESENTATIVE EDITH GREEN

In much of the legislative work of which I have spoken, and in our efforts to assist our constituents with problems in the National Capital, I have been privileged to cooperate closely with my two colleagues who also represent Multnomah County in the Congress-our senior Senator WAYNE MORSE and Congresswoman EDITH GREEN. I have benefited much from Senator Morse's wide knowledge and the experience he has gained in 10 years of representing the interests of the people of Oregon in the Senate. Mrs. Green has at once established herself. as we who know her knew she would, as one of the outstanding freshmen of this or any other session. I look forward to working in close association with these two fine, liberal, public servants in the years ahead.

Many issues which come before the Congress appear there in forms shaped by party programs and party strategy. This is a necessary result of the organization of Senate and House committees by the majority party with proportionate minority representation, and it is essential if our great national political parties are to remain alternative instruments of representative government.

Sometimes the lines get badly blurred. The reciprocal-trade agreements law, for example, is a program of Democratic origin which the Republican administration of President Eisenhower has made a cornerstone of his legislative program. Yet, although a Republican President has called its extension essential to our national interest, the reciprocal-trade bill can be passed only by the efforts of a majority of Democrats over the opposition of a majority of Republicans. Our own legislature in Salem, dominated by the party whose chief slogan is that it likes Ike, has memorialized the Congress to defeat the reciprocal-trade bill. The resolution against granting the President's urgent request for this important authority passed the State senate with the support of 17 of the 24 Republicans and the house with the votes of 30 of the 35 members of the President's party.

In this field, I think my own party in the Congress has shown a sense of responsibility for putting national above sectional and local interest.

SEARCH FOR PEACE ABOVE PARTISANSHIP

But I want to close by referring briefly to that area of congressional responsibility which must transcend partisanship, the field of foreign policy.

In the short 3 months since the day I first took my seat in the Senate, our Government has made foreign policy decisions of historic importance. My seat in the Senate is No. 96, and I have been most conscious of being the most junior of freshmen Senators during consideration of these important decisions.

In domestic matters bearing upon the economic and social direction of his administration, I have—as I have discussed earlier today-felt both competent and free to oppose the President's policies. But in matters of foreign policy I have, sometimes in spite of misgivings, voted to give the President the support he needs to carry out his responsibilities as the spokesman of our Nation in its relations with foreign governments. Thus, I voted for the Formosa resolutions, for the mutual defense treaty with Nationalist China, and just last week for ratification of the agreements admitting an independent West Germany into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and paving the way for its rearmament.

I believe that, as long as we have confidence in the purposes and objectives of a President in foreign affairs, we must permit him the authority to match his responsibil-During the last administration, the opposition in Congress constantly fought this principle of Executive responsibility in foreign affairs-a fight that culminated in the near-passage of the Bricker amendment.

But I am confident that President Elsen-hower's objective is peace. We know in Washington that the American people do not want war over Quemoy and Matsu, and I think the desire for peace will prevail. as I have said, I have had misglvings, it has been because the deliberate uncertainty of our position toward those island outposts of Chiang Kai-shek has seemed to me unneces-

sarily costly.

Eventually, I think, the President will decide against war. But in the meantime, a heavy strain has been put on our Atlantic alliance, which must remain the keystone of our global policies. Attention has been diverted from more important crises in southeast Asia, which are of greater significance to the free world. And ammunition has been given those who picture us as a nation dedicated to atomic militarism, when the real problems of Asia require economic solutions, technical assistance, and above all, mutual confidence and understanding.

Thus, critical issues and room for disagreement remain even in the field of foreign policy. But the record shows, I think, that this debate is generally being kept at a level above party politics, and that most of us seek alternative ways to the goal which is common to the entire Nation-peace with security.

Proposed Revision of McCarran-Walter Immigration Act-Excerpts From Statements by Governor Harriman, of New York, Senator Lehman, Paul M. Butler, and Carmine G. De Sapio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President. March 9, 1955, the Nationalities Division of the Democratic National Committee held what was called a strategy dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City. The dinner was presided over by the eminent and truly distinguished Governor of Michigan, Hon-G. Mennen Williams, who is the new chairman of the Nationalities Division of the Democratic National Committee.

At that dinner a most impressive group of leading figures in American political life addressed the gathering. One of the recurrent themes of most of the remarks made at that meeting was the need to revise and overhaul the McCarran-Walter Act. I ask unanimous consent that pertinent excerpts from the remarks made by Gov. Averell Harriman, of my own State of New York; by Mr. Paul Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee; and by Mr. Carmine G. De Sapio, National Democratic Committeeman from New York, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, along with pertinent excerpts from a message which I addressed to the assembly, and which was read in my behalf by my administrative assistant, Mr. Julius C. C. Edelstein.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Address by Governor Harriman at the Dinner of the Nationalities Division of the Democratic National Committee, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, March 8, 1955

You who are here tonight have an especially deep and personal understanding of the need for the United States to take its proper place of leadership in the world.

No nation can go it alone—not even powerful America. From a military standpoint, we cannot. From an economic standpoint, we cannot.

But over and beyond these materialistic reasons are others just as compelling—reasons of history and religion and culture, of sentiment and emotion. America will always be bound to the lands where all of us, whether recently or long ago, have our family roots.

The sons and daughters of every one of the nations bordering on the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and the European seas and rivers have made their contributions to America—contributions of industry and enterprise and character. We have a common heritage. And so we who happen to be on this side of the Atlantic can never forget that we are part of a larger community. And none in that community can be secure unless all are secure.

Nor can any of us be truly secure as long as a large part of our community—reaching from the Baltic States through Poland and Czechoslovakia, to the borders of Greece—remains enslaved. We know that the flame of freedom will never be extinguished in those countries, and that they will again one day carry on their proud traditions in liberty and self-government.

So our common goal—and the goal of our Nation's foreign policy—must be to strengthen the ties that bind together the North Atlantic community, and beyond that the larger community of all the free coun-

tries of the world.

I need not tell this audience how injurious to this whole objective is our own
immigration policy. Two and a half years
ago the President said the McCarran Act
had to be revised to eliminate its discriminatory, un-American features. But today
the McCarran Act still stands as written—
and still proclaims to the world that America does not really practice what she
preaches about the equality and innate
worthiness of all people of every land and
creed. We can thank Senator Lehman and
Congressman Celler and their Democratic
colleagues for taking the initiative to revise
the act in the absence of the leadership the
President had pledged.

Equally injurious is our refugee policy. An act of Congress proposed to admit 209,000 refugees over a 3-year period. Yet, as of January 28, when half the life of the act had passed, fewer than a thousand bona fide refugees had been admitted to this country. The administration of the act has

made a travesty of what was to have been a great humanitarian undertaking.

Unhappily, in the last 2 years, there has been a tragic decline in American prestige and influence among our friends and allies throughout the world.

Why is this? Why has it come about? I believe it can be traced to a basic causeand that is the unwillingness of the Republican administration to do those things necessary to fulfill the role of world leadership which the circumstances of history pressupon us.

The last 2 years have been a period of retreat from leadership.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF HERBERT H. LEHMAN OF STATUETTE OF LIBERTY AT NATIONALITIES DI-VISION DINNER, WALDORF-ASTORIA, MARCH 8, 1955, READ ON BEHALF OF SENATOR LEH-MAN BY JULIUS C. C. EDELSTEIN

There was a time—not so long ago—when our country received immigrants annually not in thousands or hundreds of thousands, but in millions. And who is there who can say that our country is not the greater for it today—a country which 300 years ago was impassible wilderness, unconquerable desert, and storm-swept mountain range. Our country today is the world's center of power—the leader in productivity and in technological progress: a land of challenging opportunity for all its citizens.

Yet today our imigration laws reflect not these great facts of our history and tradition, but rather the fearful prejudices of fearful minds which contrived 30 years ago to place on our statute books—and to maintain it ever since—a law steeped in bias and dedicated to the proposition that all men are not created equal, as far as admission to the

United States is concerned.

We have slammed our gates shut, cut admission of legal immigrants down to a trickle, converted our immigration system into a series of hurdles and hazards built around race and national origin, and make a shabby mockery of our national traditions.

The national origins quota system, enshrined and revalidated in the McCarran-Walter Act, is a travesty upon America. It is a rebuke and insult to every one assembled at the Waldorf tonight; it is a reproach to every American. There are other provisions in that law, the McCarran-Walter Act, which demean the status of American citizenship, which make a joke of justice and fair dealing, and which treat every allen—imigrant or visitor—as a potential spy, saboteur, and criminal. All of this holds us up to contempt and criticism in the eyes and in the opinion of free mankind.

If there is one law, above all others, which furnishes grist for the Communist propaganda mill, and which is contrived to lend aid and comfort to the Kremlin, it is the McCarran-Walter Act.

How ridiculous we appeared in the eyes of the world only last week when a great chain of American newspapers proposed editorially that Russian farmers be invited to visit the United States to study our farming methods, and the Soviet Government quickly endorsed the proposal.

For it developed immediately, regardless of the wisdom of the idea itself, that the Russian farmers couldn't be admitted to the United States as visitors because of the Mc-Carran-Walter Act * * unless the Russian Government accredited these farmers as Soviet diplomats.

So, my friends, it seems to me that one of the first goals to be marked out, not only for the Nationalities Division, but for all Americans of goodwill—should continue to be the drastic amendment and overhaul of the McCarran-Walter Act, to eliminate its bias and prejudice: the iniquitous national origins quota system, and to humanize and liberalize that law in all its aspects, both

citizenship and immigration, in order to make that law conform to the great traditions—the true traditions of America.

And I hope the Nationalities Division, and all its friends, and all those with whom it has contact—and the Democratic National Committee—and all those with whom it has contact—will mobilize all possible support—in ever-increasing amounts—for the drastic revision of the McCarran-Walter Act. And in this connection, I invite attention—and support—to the omnibus immigration and citizenship bill, S. 1206, introduced in the Senate on February 25 by myself and 12 colleagues—and in the House by Representative EMANUEL CELLER, and a number of his colleagues. I hope that in due time the Lehman-Celler bill will prevail.

I am glad to extend a similar invitation of support for this bill to the Republican National Committee, and to President Eisenhower. While my hopes are not high, I would be glad—and I know all of you would be glad—if that invitation were accepted.

Speech by Paul M. Butler, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, at the Nationalities Division Dinner, New York City, March 8, 1955

In this connection, let me speak of one of the men to whom we pay particular tribute tonight, the great Senator from New York, Herbert H. Lehman, who is one of the very finest statesmen of our times. Senator Lehman has for years been a leader in the fight of the Democratic Party for fairer immigration laws, the fight to rid our country of racial injustices, the fight to secure a constitution for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and in no end of other causes where equality and liberty are at stake.

Senator Lehman continues to devote his time, his energy, and his life to these great goals. We in Washington look for him to be with us not only for another term, after

1956, but for many more terms.

Senator Lehman's ideals represent in a sense what the Democratic Party seeks to accomplish for our citizens of foreign birth. Many of you are familiar with the bill of which he is a cosponsor, the Lehman-Celler bill, to revise and replace the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, which contains so many inequitable and discriminatory provisions.

The introduction of the Lehman-Celler bill to put our immigration laws more in step with the best in American traditions, is just one more example of how Democrats are offering positive and constructive policies to meet our Nation's needs. When Mr. Eisenhower was a candidate back in 1952, he said in a speech here in New York on October 16, 1952, that he thought the McCarran-Walter Act was discriminatory and ought to be revised.

But since January 1953, the Eisenhower administration has offered little more than talk about this matter, as is the case with so many other problems facing the American people. In the field of fairer immigration laws, it is left to the Democrats in Congress to introduce constructive proposals, while the Eisenhower administration backtracks, sidesteps, and doubletalks, exactly as it has done on schools and housing, tax reductions, and national defense.

You will recall that President Truman vetoed the McCarran-Walter act because he believed it discriminated, by means of the national origin quota system, against Italians, Greeks, Poles and others from southern and eastern Europe. This demonstrates the courage and devotion to principle that made Mr. Truman the great President that he

George Washington spoke from the heart of America when he said: "The bosom of America is open to receive not only the Opulent and Respectable Stranger, but the oppressed and persecuted of all nations and religions; whom we shall welcome to a participation of all our rights and privileges, if by decency and propriety of conduct they

appear to merit the enjoyment."

The several bills introduced by distinguished Democratic Members of the Senate and the House to make our immigration laws a more faithful reflection of Washington's great affirmation ought to receive a full hearing in Congress and the support of all those who reject as un-American the discriminatory National Origins Quota System.

In considering these proposals, some of us might well remember what Will Rogers, a great Democrat who was part Indian, used to say: "My ancestors went down to the

shore to meet the Pilgrims."

Just as we must turn to Democratic leadership if we are to expect intelligent revision of the Immigration act of 1952, so we must look for little forthrightness on the part of the Eisenhower administration if we hope to do anything about the mockery of humanitarianism represented by the Refugee Relief Act of 1953.

That act was supposed to allow 214,000 refugees, escapees, expeliees and orphans to enter the United States as nonquota immigrants. Yet under this act only 14,106 visas have been granted as of January 29, 1955. In other words, just a fraction of the total provided for has been admitted with the act due to expire next year. And of those who have come only 68 are escapees, only 204 are refugees. This from the Eisenhower administration which boasts that although conservative in economic matters, it is "liberal" with respect to human beings.

The distinguished chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Congressman EMANUEL CELLER, of New York, pointed out only a few days ago that the operation of the Refugee Relief Act is "tangled and snarled in nightmares with nightmares, forms, questionnaires, security checks, duplication."

That we should seek to insure that no Communists or others who would subvert our free institutions enter America is something on which all of us certainly agree. But as Congressman Celler said, the State is "playing a cruel game by pitting legal paragraphs against human lives. Escapees from behind the Iron Curtain (of the Communists) into free territory, beckoned by the light of liberty, have dared to cross barbed wire, risk gunfire, spend harrowing days and nights in escape from the Iron Curtain countries only to find themselves finally barred by bits of paper * *."

Yet the Republican administration talks glibly of liberating enslaved peoples.

In the first 18 months of the Displaced Persons Act, enacted and administered by Democrats, over 126,000 displaced persons came to this country to build lives for themselves and to enrich American life by their presence.

Compare this number—these numbers of human beings, if you please—with the pitifully few persons admitted by an Eisenhower administration estensibly devoted to a liberal attitude toward human life. You will then understand more deeply, I think, why it is the Democratic Party which offers most hope and most opportunity of realistic action on one of the problems of greatest interest to Americans of foreign descent.

Address by Democratic National Committeeman Caemine G. De Sapio Before the 1956 Strategy Dinner Sponsored by the Nationalities Division of the Democratic National Committee at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, March 8, 1955

Although I have been able closely to observe the activities of the nationalities division of the Democratic National Committee

through the years, tonight its effectiveness, its activities, and its significance have been brought home to me with vivid reality. This division, in every sense, is representative of our American population. Thirty-four million of us were born in other countries or are immediately descended from parents born in other countries. The rest of us are of ancestors who came to America not many generations ago in search of liberty, of faith, of hope, and of a secure future.

New York City itself is representative of the population of the world, and we New Yorkers are so proud of the achievements by Americans of French descent; Americans of Polish descent; Americans of German, Italian, Rumanian, Danish, Spanish, and South American descent; in fact, Americans who can trace their ancestry to every corner of the globe; Americans of all religious beliefs—Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic. We take pride—all of us—not only in our ancestry but in the fact that here we are just good American citizens, particularly devoted to our country, its ideals, and our fellow men and women.

This city, like our country, is enriched by the varied backgrounds from which our people come, and this city, in turn, has enriched our State, our country, and all of the world.

In our party's platform in 1952, we advocated the admission into our country of a considerable number of refugees, principally from lands behind the Iron Curtain.

These people have been the victims of barbarous totalitarianism, the cruelty of which staggers the imagination. They come from places in the world from which the relatives of many of us in this room come and they need have and help. But the Republican Party, while giving lip service to the idea of extending aid to these refugees, wrote a law which contains so many obstacles and barriers as to be entirely meaningless. It is incumbent upon our conscience as a party and as a people to remedy this situation, so that the provisions for the admission of refugees will parallel our national heritage.

Likewise we have an immigration law which cruelly discriminates against countries from which many of our recent ancestors sent so many people who have made incalculable contributions to the welfare of our Nation. This immigration law disgraces both the dignity and the philosophy of our country and casts a cynical shadow upon the ideals expressed by Thomas Jefferson and the other authors of our national independence.

Measuring Weather Modification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCIS CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, 9 months ago a new agency, the Advisory Committee on Weather Control, began its work. It is working in a field which has more potential meaning for all forms of human endeavor than any field one can name.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a letter from the executive secretary which, while not intended by him to be an interim report, nevertheless gives very interesting information.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Advisory Committee on Weather Control, Washington, D. C., March 21, 1955.

Hon. Francis Case, United States Senate, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR CASE: At your request I am, in this letter, putting into writing some of the things taken up at our meeting in your office February 22. May I first say that it was enjoyable meeting with you and your staff and I hope that you considered the discussion worthwhile.

In speaking of the difficulties incurred in evaluating weather modification experiments, I certainly did not wish to give the impression that these difficulties cannot be overcome. We think that we are developing techniques that will enable us to get the answers with a positiveness never before possible.

AVERAGE BETWEEN 0 AND 30 PERCENT

I did not wish to give the impression, either, that we feel that cloud seeders are not producing the results in increasing precipitation hoped for when the legislation was drawn up and passed.

It does now appear probable to us that average increases are not of the magnitude of those believed to be a consequence of the early experiences, that is, increases of 50 to 100 percent, and even higher. Such increases, if invariably the consequence of every cloud-seeding experiment, would certainly have shown up by now.

The fact that they haven't seems to indicate that the average increase may lie between 0 and 30 percent. Individual operations could still produce higher increases.

It seems reasonable to expect that if we can detect the circumstances that may produce the greater increases, then the cloud seeders can surely improve their techniques to produce greater increases with greater regularity, since those techniques at present are in an early stage of development and are in some instances disputable.

But increases of the magnitude of 5 percent or 10 percent can produce consequences of tremendous significance to the economy of the Nation. Consider these facts, as worked out in an economic study sponsored by the Advisory Committee and carried out by a group supervised by Dean Eberle:

COST REQUIRES ONLY SMALL RETURN

Only one-hundredth inch increase of rainfall on spring wheat can pay for the cost of a cloud-seeding operation. Working on the basis of 8 inches of rainfall on the wheat crop this increase would be only one-eighth of 1 percent and is an amount too small to measure with rain gages or to detect with statistical analyses.

A very slight increase in rainfall, therefore, can produce a favorable benefit-cost ratio and we figure that increases of 20 percent or more may very easily produce benefit-cost ratios running up to 300 to 1 which is, of course, very far in excess of any benefit-cost ratio which can be anticipated for any ordinary water-resources development of conservation project.

EXPERIENCE ON COLORADO RIVER

We calculate that a 10 percent increase in precipitation following operations in tributary areas of the Colorado River could produce a benefit-cost ratio of 14.8 to 1 during an average season. This 10 percent increase could produce 2,270,000 acre-feet of average increased seasonal runoff. We estimate the cost of the operation at approximately \$1 million.

Davis Dam has a capacity of 1,820,000 acrefeet and cost \$35,900,000 (figure supplied by the Bureau of Reclamation and does not in

clude the cost of the power installation,

\$24,500,000, but only the storage).

The cloud-seeding operation, therefore, could provide enough additional water to fill Davis Dam.

Our calculations include the value of increased hydroelectric production, additional agricultural production and increased grazing land yield but, of course, increase sonal runoff in the Colorado River Basin would have additional value for the reason that the river runoff has been overallocated and is the subject of very serious conflict between the States in the area.

Additional water in the eastern States would have a great deal more value because of higher grade uses (industrial and municipal) and unquestionably more spectacular benefit-cost ratios could be established.

Now I want to say something about our program of evaluation. The legislation, of course, commits us to the evaluation of public and private experiments in weather modification and since the question is not only "whether?" but "how much?" we inevitably have to use statistics.

CONFERENCES ON EVALUATION

When we looked over the first reports we received from cloud seeders we realized we had a much tougher problem than we had

previously thought.

We decided to call on the advice of the most competent people in the country and we obtained, first a series of papers from scientists, statisticians, and the cloud seeders themselves which papers we have bound up into a volume which we sometimes refer to as the "bible" of evaluation. We then called a series of conferences on evaluation using the papers as a starting point.

Our first conference was at Cambridge. September 22-25, our second at San Francisco, November 8-9, and our last at Wash-

ington on January 11-12.

Our confidence was severely shaken when at the first conference about half of the scientists present seemed to express the opinion that statistical evaluation could never produce reasonably conclusive answers and the other half seemed to feel that it might be done but would certainly take some 10 to 20 years.

So, here we were, committed to a program of statistical evaluation and having less than 2 years in which to do it, and having many of the top people express doubts whether it

was worthwhile doing at all.

PHYSICAL EVALUATION IS DEVELOPED

This led to some serious soul searching. It led Capt. Howard T. Orville, United States Navy (retired), the chairman of the committee, to devise the concept of "physical evaluation."

It led Capt. F. A. Berry, United States Navy, our chief scientific adviser who came aboard on September 15, to explore a new method being worked out at MIT for forecasting or hindcasting precipitation on targets, and to search for a statistical crew having special ability and experience which could be expected to devise new methods for improving the sensitivity and validity of statistical

Captain Berry presented his proposal for accomplishing this statistical work to the full committee when it met October 20. was approved and the crew began work on January 3 of this year. The head of the group is Mr. H. C. S. Thom, formerly Chief Climatologist with the Weather Bureau. Because of his presence here in Washington. he and Captain Berry were able to work the scheme of operation previous to January 3 so that the group was able to start work on data the first day the people showed up.

We now have confidence that the committee staff will be able to produce statistical evaluations superior to any so far performed and envisaged at the present time, for the

following reasons:

SHORTEN THE TIME REQUIRED

1. We have the first group ever assembled which can tackle the job of statistical evaluation on a full-time basis with the facilities necessary to do the job. This concentrated approach means that the group will be able to develop (and has already developed) new ways of carrying out analyses.

As I mentioned the other day, our group has been able to handle as much data in 2 weeks as another group handled in a study extending over a period of over 2 years. also expect to use an electronic computing machine for handling some of the data.

2. We have examined practically all statistical analyses carried out by other individuals and groups. We are confident, therefore, that we are abreast of the latest developments and can proceed from there.

3. Mr. Thom's group has developed a model into which theoretical precipitation increases can be plugged. This model enables us to determine almost positively the sensitivity of our analyses. This eliminates one factor of uncertainty in previous analy-

YEARS CAN BE TELESCOPED

4. By requiring reports from the cloud seeders on reporting forms we supply, we can get more data and more uniform data

on the experimental work.

This means we can carry out more individual evaluations than was the case before and also we can combine the data of more experiments than ever before. Whereas one experiment might seemingly show an increase in rainfall which could easily be attributed to accident, or normal variation, a number of positive results would decrease the likelihood of their happening by accident, or increase "significance."

A typical remark concerning an individual evaluation might be that "it will take 10 years of data to detect at a specified significance level an increase in precipitation of 15 percent." Combining individual evaluations will have the effect of telescoping years so that smaller increments of precipitation can be measured with the specified degree of

significance.

5. Mr. Thom has also newly adapted a "sequential procedure" to the evaluation of weather-control experiments. Instead of the old method of testing after completion of an arbitrary number of rain-increasing operations, the tests or evaluations are made on 1 operation, then 2, then 3, etc.

Each test tells whether precipitation was increased or not increased or tells the evaluator to add in another operation. The combined evaluation stops when the evaluator gets a "yes" or "no" answer. Trying the procedure out on the model mentioned above, the group found that it detected a specified increase with specified significance using only 14 operations, whereas the classical procedure required 40.

Obviously, the new procedure will save time and work and, by the same token, money.

CLOUD SEEDERS ARE CONSULTED

6. Our group will make its practice to fully consider meteorological and physical factors before and during the carrying out of evaluations. A failure to do this has to a considerable degree invalidated the results of some previous evaluations. In this connection we have established a practice of consulting with the cloud seeders about work done on their projects. In this way we have obtained some vital information, the lack of which would make our evaluations less certain.

7. The philosophy of our operation involves taking into account what the statisticians refer to as the "type II error." This concept was first applied to the evalution of cloud-seeding operations by Mr. Thom.

I will try to explain the concept in a simplified manner, as follows: The statistician

might insist that a 25-percent increase in precipitation, say, be demonstrated with 95 percent significance; in other words, might insist the odds be 20 to 1 that the effect was caused before he will consider the conclusion statistically significant. In that way he protects himself from accepting a hypothesis that may not be true.

But what are the odds that he may thereby

reject a hypothesis that is true?

It is also important for the Nation's welfare that we protect ourselves against the type II error, especially since the benefits from increased precipitation are so great compared to the cost of the operation. In making many decisions the businessman often has to proceed with less than 20-to-1 odds in his favor. If he is going to possibly benefit to the tune of \$30 for every \$1 he invests, he will very likely be willing accept much lower odds that he will receive this benefit.

NORMAL MUST BE KNOWN

8. Earlier on I mentioned a new method developed at MIT for determining what precipitation on a target should be or should have been without cloud seeding.

If we can ascertain with a reasonable deof accuracy what the precipitation should have been without cloud seeding, then, of course, we can simply subtract that figure from the precipitation that actually occurred, and we will have the increment. The method is known as the Wadsworth-Malone scheme of continuous typing.

Another agency of the Government is sponsoring a test run of the scheme at our behest and with our cooperation. We are hopeful that the test run will show that the method can aid greatly in our evaluations.

To further assist us in coming up with the answers desired by the President and the Congress, we have determined on a program of physical evaluation. Our budget request for fiscal year 1956 totals \$295,000 and of this sum \$95,000 has been set aside for physical evaluation performed by contract. The Budget Bureau has approved of this request. I can describe physical evaluation the following broad and general manner:

It is possible at generator sites to measure the output of silver iodide crystals; it is possible to track the flow of air, and pre-sumably the silver iodide borne by that air, by tracers or by means of no-lift balloons carrying reflectors which can be seen on radar; it is possible to observe the development of storm cells in clouds by means of radar: it is possible to measure silver iodide concentrations at points removed from the generator sites; and it is possible, though difficult, to detect silver iodide in rain or

We hope to carry on some outdoor work at critical points of this cycle which will confirm, deny, or measure the presumed effects of silver iodide as used in commercial operations.

QUESTIONS YET TO ANSWER

It is surprising that almost 9 years after Dr. Vincent J. Schaefer first seeded clouds over Massachusetts we do not have answers to some very basic and seemingly simple questions about the commercial-type opera-

A few weeks ago, a group composed of Dr. Schaefer, Dr. Bernard Vonnegut and S. E. Reynolds met in our committee headquarters to help us work out details of a simple physical evaluation program to get a few (but essential) answers. You will recall that Dr. Vonnegut, then with General Electric, was the person who discovered sliver iodide as a seeding agent. Dr. Reynolds carried on pioneer work on the decay of silver iodide under certain conditions.

All of the above indicates, I think, that we are making an intensive effort to get reasonably definite and positive answers by June 30, 1956. The legislation contemplated that this would take 3 years; we hope to get the job done in 2.

We are reasonably confident that when the present Congress meets for its second session we can come up with some concrete recommendations as to whether and how the United States should "experiment with, engage in, or regulate activities designed to modify weather." This may very well involve some type of legislation and at the time we are ready to make recommendations, your interest in this legislation will certainly be remembered.

There are other things I had wished to discuss while at your office, but I particularly wanted you to know how the work on evaluation is coming. We appreciate your patience and interest in listening to and reading a presentation which unavoidably gets somewhat complicated and technical.

My very best wishes.

Sincerely,

CHAS. GARDNER, Jr., Executive Secretary.

President Eisenhower and Religious Worship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a copy of a letter which was addressed to the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Neely], and signed by Leon B. Gladish, minister of the House of Hope Presbyterian Church, St. Paul, Minn.; and to this letter I say "Amen."

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE HOUSE OF HOPE
PRESENTERIAN CHURCH,
St. Paul, Minn., April 7, 1955.

Senator Matthew M. Neely, The Capitol, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have had before me for the past few days your criticism of the President for his attendance upon services of worshipping God. I have wondered what would be the purpose in such criticism? A minister can never know a man's purpose in worship anymore than a constituent can know a Senator's purpose in attacking a good habit.

Paul the Apostle points out many times that the severest judgment is upon the one who causes his neighbor to fall, who by his own action or inaction starts his neighbor on the road of misdeeds. Contrarywise, the good example is to be most commended.

The Christians of this land can be proud to have a President who does go to church to worship One higher than himself; that he believes that God does help guide the affairs of men and so opens his meetings with prayer. It is rather a different stamp upon our national life to have a president who believes in the stamp upon our coins: "In God we trust."

Today we need the good example at every level of life and from every leader of our land, including you. Senator. God knows a man's motives, but there are some acts which are innately good—attending church is one. Let you and I not judge whether the President is a hypocrite but be thankful for his good example. There are too many big

issues which require big thinking by big men to squander our thoughts in little thinking. Sincerely,

LEON B. GLADISH, Minister.

Death of Capt. Edward A. Hayes, Past National Commander of American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. BRICKER

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, Capt. Edward A. Hayes, past national commander of the American Legion and a close personal friend of mine, passed away in Chicago April 1, 1955. A man devoted to family and country, Captain Hayes will be mourned by all who were fortunate enough to know him.

Military services for Captain Hayes were conducted in Chicago. Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, Legionnaire, and past national commander of the Jewish War Veterans, and Dr. L. Robert Mellin, past commander department of Illinois, Military Order of the World Wars, delivered the eulogies.

In Captain Hayes' home town of Decatur, Ill., solemn requiem high Mass was conducted in St. Patrick's Catholic Church by Captain Hayes' brother-inlaw, Rev. Father Thomas Muleady. The Reverend Father Robert J. White, retired, rear admiral of the Navy Chaplain Corps, eulogized Captain Hayes at these ceremonies.

These services illustrate so clearly the contributions made to our Nation by Captain Hayes, that I ask unanimous consent for their insertion in the Appendix of the Record, and also the editorial tributes paid to Captain Hayes by the Chicago Daily News of April 4, and the Decatur Daily Review and Herald of April 6.

I am sure that my distinguished colleagues join with me in extending condolences to Captain Hayes' widow, Mrs. Margaret Hayes, and their devoted family.

There being no objection, the documents were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chicago Daily News of April 4, 1955]

EDWARD A. HAYES

Farsighted men sometimes become irritated with the short-range vision of their contemporaries, and it may have been this which caused the late Edward A. Hayes often to seem acidulous in criticizing softness toward communism. For he was predicting its evil future many years ago, at a time when many considered it merely an interesting social experiment.

As national commander of the American Legion in 1933, as a special assistant to Col. Frank Knox, when the latter was Secretary of the Navy, as politician, as successful lawyer, and civic-minded citizen, Ed Hayes was always acutely aware of the menace to America posed by international communism.

His was an outstanding career, carved out entirely by his own ability. One of four sons of an immigrant Irish railroad worker, he trained himself to be a court stenographer. Acquiring a taste for the law, he put himself through St. Louis University. Step by step he rose to eminence in his profession, as he did in the Navy, enlisting as a seaman and rising to the rank of captain by appointment of Colonel Knox.

As Colonel Knox's assistant, he aided in the first investigation of the Pearl Harbor disaster, and wrote much of the report made to the Nation in the early days of the war. In 1954 he sought the Republican nomination for United States Senator, and his defeat was a deep disappointment.

Mr. Hayes served his country with sincere devotion. In his untimely death last week, from a heart attack, Chicago loses one of its most distinguished citizens.

[From the Decatur (III.) Herald of April 6, 1955]

BROUGHT HONOR TO HOME TOWN

Edward A. Hayes came home this week to be buried in Calvary Cemetery. He had lived in Chicago since the end of World War II, during which he served as an assistant to the Secretary of the Navy. Obituary notices in the metropolitan press sometimes neglected to mention that he had lived in Decatur.

But Ed Hayes grew up in Decatur and practiced law here after his military service in the First World War. It was as Ed Hayes, of Decatur, Ill., that he moved steadily along in the American Legion until he was elected national commander.

Always active in Republican politics, Ed Hayes should have qualified for major appointive office in the Federal Government except for the change in administration in Washington, just as he had attained national prominence. But he did not complain. He accepted a series of responsible wartime assignments under the new Commander in Chief.

Ed Hayes brought honor to his home town, and his old friends and neighbors are grieved by his untimely passing.

[From the Decatur (III.) Herald of April 6, 1955.]

EDWARD HAYES LAID TO REST WITH TRIBUTE

Funeral services for Edward A. Hayes, former Decatur attorney, national American Legion commander and assistant secretary of the Navy, were held here yesterday noon-

The solemn requiem high Mass in St. Patrick's Catholic Church was celebrated by Hayes' brother-in-law, the Reverend Father Thomas Muleady, Chenoa. Burial was in Calvary Cemetery.

Hayes, 62, died unexpectedly in a Chicago hospital Friday. He had lived in Chicago and practiced law there and in Washington. D. C. since 1945.

Serving as pallbearers were 6 past commanders of the Castle Williams Post, 105, American Legion.

Honorary pallbearers included Gov. William G. Stratton and dozens of high Government, military and Legion officials from several States.

The Reverend Father Robert J. White, of Washington, D. C., retired rear admiral of the Navy Chaplains Corps, eulogized "Ed Hayes, Christian gentleman."

He recalled an incident in Miami, Fis., years ago, "when he was commander and I was chaplain." The crowds were cheering, and Commander Hayes smiled. "I wonder how many will know us in a year or two."

Many more did. Pearl Harbor brought the appointment as special assistant to Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, and a dangerous mission to North Africa, a trip behind enemy lines in connection with the surrender of the Italian Fleet.

He undertook these duties with "complete dedication to the task and a complete faith in providence," Father White said.

Kindliness and grace followed him all the days of his life, and he should dwell in the house of the Lord."

Father White, closed the eulogy noting this is Holy Week, wishing Mr. Hayes "eternal rest, eternal Easter morning."

[From the Decatur (Ill.) Herald of April 5, 1955]

PALLBEARERS LISTED FOR EDWARD HAVES

Six past commanders of Castle Williams American Legion Post No. 105 will serve as pallbearers today at the funeral of Edward A. Hayes.

The 62-year-old former Decatur attorney and one-time national commander of the American Legion died unexpectedly in Chicago Friday.

Serving as pallbearers will be: Joseph H. Riggs, Charles Lee, Carl J. Meacham, Ben J. Moody, Loren L. Shaw, and Fred W. Ziese.

The solemn requiem high mass will be at 11 a. m. in St. Patrick's Catholic Church. The Reverend Father Thomas Muleady, Chenoa, will be the celebrant; the Reverend Father Edward Adamski, of St. Patrick's, will be deacon, and the Reverend Father Richard Jones, S. J., of St. Joseph's Hall will be sub-

The eulogy will be delivered by the Reverend Father Robert J. White, Washington, D. C., a retired rear admiral in the Navy's corps of chaplains.

The Reverend Father White served as national chaplain of the American Legion while Mr. Hayes was national commander.

Castle Williams Post will preside at military graveside services at which Mr. Hayes' national and State American Legion commander flags will be displayed.

The J. J. Morgan & Sons Funeral Home is in charge of funeral arrangements.

Honorary pallbearers will include the fol-lowing Decatur men: Poyntelle Downing, Emanuel Rosenberg, Arthur F. Delahunty, Larry Teall, Jack Powers, Jeremiah Driscoll, Bernard Graliker, Lawrence Kuhle, Edgar E. Nicholls, Lynn Clark, and Dr. A. F. Goodyear.

Others will be:

Gov. William G. Stratton.

Mayor Martin Kennelly, Chicago.

James P. Ringley, past department commander, Illinois American Legion.

Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, past national com-

mander, Jewish War Veterans.

Brig. Gen. Lafeton Whitney, commander, Chicago Chapter, Military Order of the World

John Stelle, past national commander, American Legion.

Adlai Stevenson, former Governor of Illinois.

Seaborn Collins, national commander, American Legion.

Stuart List, publisher, Chicago American. Don Walsh

John O'Keefe, general manager, Publishers Association.

Carl Stockholm, national president, Navy League of the United States.

Warren Wright, State treasurer of Illinois. Gov. George N. Craig, of Indiana, past national commander, American Legion.

Edward A. Clamage, past department commander, Illinois American Legion.

Irving Breakstone, department commander, American Legion.

Harold Cummins, Cook County commander, American Legion.

Clarence F. Cross, past commander, Naval Post, American Legion.

Comdr. Hamilton Vose, United States Navy Reserve.

Capt. Roger White, United States Navy Reserve.

R. Haskin Damon.

Rear Adm. Emmett P. Forrestal, commandant, Ninth Naval District.

Lt. L. Robert Mellin, past department commander, Illinois Military Order of the World Wars.

Gen. Robert E. Wood.

Col. Henry Crown.

Rear Adm. Daniel V. Gallery, chief, Naval Air Reserve Training Command.

A. Andrew Boemi, president, Ninth Region, Navy League of the United States. Robert Crown, president, Chicago Council,

Navy League of the United States.

Col. Matthew J. Murphy, past department commander, American Legion, Department of Illinois.

Capt. Michael J. Ahearn.

Perc Brautigam, national executive committeeman, American Legion.

Maj. Gen. Kenneth Buchanan.

James F. O'Neil, past national commander, American Legion.

E. F. McGinnis.

Maj. Gen. Frank Schwengel.

William Downey, assistant to Governor

MEMORIAL SERVICES FOR EDWARD A. HAYES, PAST NATIONAL COMMANDER OF THE AMERI-CAN LEGION

(Address delivered by Brig. Gen. Julius Klein)

This gathering of a loving family and devoted friends pays tribute to Capt. Edward A. Hayes. Not final tribute because his life was devoted to building a monument of respect and admiration that will be carried from generation to generation.

Ed Hayes will be chronicled in the Book of Time as a man dedicated to his wonderful family, his country, and his faith-a crusader for tolerance, justice, and fair playa champion of America's fighting men.

I count myself among those fortunate individuals who followed his courageous leadership toward a better America. strange is the course of fate and yet how wonderful that over 30 years ago our paths should cross and that this friendship should draw us together over life's span.

The spark of greatness was born in this man and it kindled a flame that brightened our Nation. And yet even with the fame and honor of his achievements, his first thoughts were always directed toward his devoted family.

Ed Hayes fought on many battlefields. Every promotion, whether in the United States Navy, in his profession as an attorney, or as a veteran and civic leader, was won the hard way-through the ranks and always to the top.

Twice in his lifetime did he volunteer his services to his country. In 1917 he began his naval career as an apprentice seaman and worked his way up through the ranks to receive his well earned commission, and although the war ended, he so strongly felt the dangers to America's shores that he volunteered again and was commissioned in the United States Naval Reserve.

As the years passed on and the pages were torn from the calendar, new prominence and continued success came to this man as an attorney and civic and veteran leader.

In 1933 his became the most powerful voice of all American Legion national commanders. He spoke for all faiths, races, and creeds and around the world his words were felt when he, as national commander of the American Legion, spoke like a prophet before the tomb of the Unknown Soldier and warned of the Red menace. And because this man knew of war, he fought for peace and a strong defense. Yet even in his battle for peace, he found that for a second time in his life, he again would have to volunteer to serve his country in war.

Before Pearl Harbor, before war was declared, Ed Hayes gave up his successful law practice and left the arms of his loving family to don his uniform in service to his country. He served with valor and honor on all of America's fighting fronts. No man could offer his country more than did Ed Hayes.

As a Legionnaire, may I say the American Legion is strong today and will grow stronger for the good of our country because men like Ed Hayes were our leaders. We must keep this sacred heritage and carry on. Thus, we shall show ourselves worthy of the memory of Ed and it will inspire us until we, too, join his ranks.

He made his last journey to our Capitol, which he so loved, with me only 2 weeks ago, in the interest of the great cause of Americanism. Already sick and in pain, he did not shirk his duty, his friends, and country. In Washington, the citadel of democracy, I was with him and we returned to Chicago together. He felt his job was done. He should have cared for his own health and welfare first, but as always, with Ed Hayes, duty came first irrespective of the sacrifice and his last mission was again-beyond the call of duty.

His last words were characteristic of that noble spirit when he turned to his beloved wife, Margaret, and said, "I love you."

And that is what we say to Ed Hayes today. We love you and will always love you.

Not only 18 million veterans salute you today, Captain Hayes, but all other good citizens bow in reverance and in prayer. May your soul rest in peace. May the good Lord give strength to your wonderful family and bless them so that they may carry this heavy

Farewell, Comrade Hayes. Sleep in peace.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS BY DR. L. ROBERT MELLIN, PAST COMMANDER, DEPARTMENT OF ILLINOIS MILITARY ORDER OF WORLD WARS

Ed, as I stand humbly before you to speak a few words to you, I am sure that 20 million veterans and the widows and orphans of our comrades who have died join me in telling you that you died for them.

For 35 years you dedicated your life to the service of your comrades in need.

You, too, like many others could have left behind you many pieces of gold and silver, but instead you willed to us a heritage of Americanism, a love of humanity and a dedication to the service of our comrades.

All of us who have had the privilege of knowing you, knew that when you gave your

hand you also gave your heart.

I saw you daily during the last days of your earthly visit and I knew that you were aware of what was just ahead for you and in those last moments you were constantly at peace with God for next to your beating heart entwined about your left arm was the holy rosary.

If I could have read your mind in your last moments I am sure the following thoughts were there:

"I fear no foe with Thee at hand to bless, Ills have no weight and tears no bitterness, Where is death's sting? Where, grave, thy victory?

I triumph still, if those abide with me. Hold then Thy cross before my closing eyes. Shine through the gloom and point me to

the skies. Heaven's morning breaks and earth's shad-

ows flee. In life, in death, O Lord abide with me." Ed, your body lies there in its last sleep

but the spirit of your soul to remind us all of the greatness of you shall live forever.

BIOGRAPHY OF EDWARD A. HAYES

Born January 5, 1893, Morrisonville, Ill.; St. Teresa's Parochial School, Decatur, Ill., 1898-1908; Brown's Business College, Decatur, Ill., 1908; court stenographer, 1909-12; St. Louis University (Law), St. Louis, Mo., LLB degree, June 1915; admitted to practice, Ill., October 1915; member, firm Hayes & Downing, lawyers, Decatur, Ill., January 1916 to June 1917; enlisted United States Navy, June 1917, as apprentice seaman, advanced to chief yeoman; commissioned ensign United States Naval Reserve, August 1918; served as aide to Admiral Moffett; discharged March 1919; returned to law practice at Decatur, Ill.; assistant attorney general, State of Illinois, 1928-33; department commander, Illinois, American Legion, 1929-30; chairman, American Legion rehabilitation committee area D (13 Midwest States), 1931-32; national chairman, American Legion rehabilitation committee, 1932-33; commissioned lieutenant commander United States Naval Reserve, November 1933; national commander, American Legion, 1933-34; chairman, resolutions committee, Republican Grass Roots Conference, Springfield, Ill., July 1935; manager, campaign committee, Frank Knox for President, 1935-36; chairman, platform committee (Midwest area), Republican Party, 1938; called to active duty United States Navy, July 1941; executive assistant to head of Domestic Intelligence, United States Navy, August to November 1941; special assistant to Secretary of Navy, November 1941 to April 1944; commissioned commander, United States Naval Reserve, July 1941; commissioned captain, United States Naval Reserve, June 1942; released from active duty April 27, 1945; chief counsel of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Trading With the Enemy Act, March 1, 1953-January 1954.

Partition of Ireland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Charles Lucey, from the Catholic Standard of April 8, 1955:

THE BACKDROP—THOSE SIX COUNTIES

(By Charles Lucey)

DUBLIN.—This essay, written after a short visit to Ireland, is about the bitterness growing out of partition of the six counties of northeast Ireland from the Irish Republic.

It seems accurate to report there is no actual tension today over partition, but the question of how this abrasive problem is to be solved has become clearly livelier in recent months. Here are the reasons:

1. Secretly organized and maintained bodies of troops, committed to using force where it can be used against British authority in the six counties, are drilling and under arms in the south of Ireland.

 Armed raids have been staged in recent months on British garrisons in Armagh and Omagh. In one case a quantity of British arms was seized; the second raid was frustrated.

3. Prime Minister Costello and ex-Prime Minister DeValera of the Republic of Ireland have urged talks with officials of Northern Ireland on the partition issue. But these officials say there is nothing to talk about—that the separation of the six countles has been "finally determined."

4. There has been some public discussion in England of the importance of all Ireland in case of major war. Some interests have

contended that if war came, Britain would have to press its interest in the use of Irish ports—a matter of bitter relations in the past which, in World War II, also involved the United States Government.

It is difficult to be sure how much support there is among Irishmen for the recent stirrings against division of the island into two separate political entities. Mr. Costello has contended that partition must be solved by peaceful means. Yet well-informed Irishmen say the Costello Government, through the regular army and the national policy can hardly fail to be aware of the secret drilling that goes on among those using the same designation as the insurgents who fought the war against the British 40 years ago—the IRA or Irish Republican Army.

NEW SYMBOL

There's another two-letter symbol, A. P., which also is coming to have meaning all over the country. It stands for antipartition, and was apparent in Ireland's St. Patrick's Day parades. And partition was the theme of top government officials in holiday addresses.

Some here believe that so long as political differences in the six counties are founded in great part on religious differences, with pro-British Protestants in control of the government and Catholic Nationalists in an overall minority, it is all but hopeless to look for solution by negotiation. They say the only answer is by force and the loss of a generation of young men of the Irish Republic, as in the 1916–20 period, to make the case before the world.

ANOTHER SOLUTION

Others see a solution through a considerable population movement from south to north, which has had some beginning and which could force greater political recognition for Irish Nationalists whose strength is minimized now because of gerrymandering of seats in the northern parliament.

Then, still others say Ireland itself at home can hope to do little about what they see as northern stubborness well supported by Great Britain. They also say that eventually the answer to partition must come from America and from the fact of America's traditional sympathy for the principle of self-determination.

Now, in relation to Communist aggression and to any threat of atomic warfare, it may seem that what happens in this little island in the North Atlantic has no great cosmic significance. But the fact is that Ireland does have something to contribute to the free world's side. Its strategic location in relation to Atlantic sea and air crossing facilities is obvious.

Ireland knows that economically and otherwise its interests are closely tied to England. Remove the artificial barrier, Irishmen say, and that tie can grow and become stronger and more prosperous on a basis of real friendship.

Bolitha J. Laws, Chief Judge, United States District Court for the District of Columbia, Reports on Public Defenders Measures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include

the following letter I received as chairman of Subcommittee No. 2, in connection with the public hearings on bills relating to representation of indigent defenders in United States district courts by public defenders:

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, April 1, 1955.

Hon. THOMAS J. LANE,
House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LANE: As requested by you when I appeared before your committee in Congress as a witness on Wednesday of this week, I am sending you herewith a statement of average sentences imposed by judges of this court compared with those imposed at other points. You doubtless will recall that in our court we handle major cases which customarily arise in State courts, as well as those which arise in United States courts. Therefore, the figures which we have assembled include certain types of United States cases such as narcotics, interstate car theft, fraud, and other thefts, assault and robbery on United States Government reservations and high seas, in respect of which our average sentence is compared with the national average; and we also compare cases usually arising in State courts such as various types of homicide, rape, larceny, robbery and burglary, in which we compare the average sentence here in comparison to the average sentence imposed in each of our neighboring States of Maryland and Virginia. We do not have readily available at this time the national average in State cases, since we have not been furnished figures from other than the two States mentioned. The figures which I am sending were furnished our court by the Administrative Office of the United States Courts and the United States Bureau of Prisons.

At various times in the past we have read about statements being made that our sentences in narcotics cases have been low. You will note from the chart that the sentences in the District of Columbia in narcotics cases average over 2 years more than the national average. You will also note that with the sole exception of robbery cases, the average sentence imposed by our court in the District of Columbia in all of the categories listed is higher than the national average. I do not know the full definition of robbery in other jurisdictions, but I do know that in Washington robbery includes stealthy seizure and purse snatching, as well as armed or other robbery by force.

I am especially interested in calling your attention to our average sentence in rape cases. You may recall Congressman Fornesters stated at the hearing on Wednesday he understood our average was around 2 years. In fact, the average sentence in rape cases for the fiscal year ending June 30. 1954, was 12.7 years, and in assault with intent to commit rape the average was 9.1 years. In addition to this, rape cases in the District of Columbia include the statutory crime of carnal knowledge, that is committed when a male has relations with any female under 16 years of age, even with her consent.

The chart I am sending you is not in any great detail and relates only to the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954. (The Virginia figures cover the last 6 months of the fiscal year.) However, we have made similar studies as to previous years so far as cases in United States courts are concerned and the results have been substantially the same. I think you will agree the information I am sending you strikingly refutes some of the unfounded talk which has resulted from published articles within the last several years. In submitting these figures I do so in order that the true facts may be known

to Members of Congress, some of whom apparently have been misinformed. I do not intend to convey the impression that I believe lengthy sentencing is the sole, or necessarily, the principal deterrent to crime.

I am grateful to you and the other members of your committee in making it possible to send you this information.

Sincerely yours, BOLITHA J. LAWS.

Average sentences imposed for the offenses listed

Offense	United States Dis- iriet Court for the District of Columbia, year ended June 30, 1954		United States Dis- trict Court for the District of Maryland, year ended June 30, 1954		United States Dis- trict Court for the Eastern Dis- trict of Virginia, year ended June 30, 1954		The 86 United States district courts (District of Columbia ex- cluded), year ended June 30, 1954	
	Number	A verage sentence (years)	Number	A verage sentence (years)	Number	Average sentence (years)	Number	A verage sentence (years)
Interstate car theft		3.0	31	1.5	36	1.5	2, 693	2. 2
Car theft (local) ! Fraud and other theft. Narcotics Larceny ! Grand larceny.	201 95	2.9 4.1 5.7 3.0 4.3	68 7	1.7 4.6	34 2	3.5 3.5	3, 567 1, 483	1.9
Petit larceny	35	1.0		No.			Account of the last of the las	
Assault Robbery Burglary 1 Murder: 1	95 174 172	4. 5 9. 6 6. 8	* 2	2.0	23 23 21	2.8 4.0 3.0	¹ 25 ² 175	2. 6 11. 2
First degree Second degree Manslaughter 1	# 13 31	Denth 28.5 9.9						
Manslaughter		11.3 .7 10.0 11.3			10000000			
Rape (carnal knowledge). Assault to rape.	17 11	12.7 9.1						

Local offenses not usually tried in a Federal court.
 Offenses committed on United States reservations and high seas.
 Includes 2 life sentences, computed at 43 years.

Average sentences imposed for selected local offenses in the District of Columbia during the year ended June 30, 1954, and in Virginia and Maryland during the 6 months ended June 30, 1954

		s imposed trict of Co- local of-	Sentences of prisoners received in State institutions, 6 months ended June 30, 1954				
Offense	fenses triet C Distrie	by the Dis- ourt for the t of Colum- ear ended	Virginia		Maryland		
	Number	Average maximum sentence (years)	Number	Average sentence (years)	Number	Average sentence (years)	
Murder Manslaughter Robbery Assault Burghary Larecny Auto theft Rape	1 13 31 174 95 172 95 71 28	28.5 9.9 9.6 4.5 6.8 3.0 2.9 11.3	1 42 23 1 59 161 330 195 30 2 31	19.9 3.4 12.8 2.8 4.3 2.6 2.1 9.1	241 29 186 206 399 361 42 129	11. 4 4. 7 7. 5 1. 6 2. 8 1. 7 1. 9 8. 9	

Includes 2 life sentences, computed at 45 years.
 Includes 7 life sentences, computed at 45 years.
 Includes 1 life sentence, computed at 45 years.

Data from Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D. C., Apr. 1, 1955.

Why Lower Tariffs?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an excellently written article on the subject of Why Lower Tariffs. This article is written by Mr. Ernest H. Gaunt, formerly a resident of Andover, Mass., a part of my congressional district. It is printed in the March 31, 1955, issue of America's Textile Reporter. The arguments presented in this article are very timely and specifically relate to the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955 now pending in the United States Senate.

The article follows:

WHY LOWER TARIFFS?

(By Earnest H. Gaunt)

MOST OF THE LEGISLATORS, WRITERS, ACADEMI-CIANS, AND ECONOMISTS ADVOCATING LOWER TARIFFS HAVE NO DIRECT STAKE IN DOMESTIC

With the recent renewal by President Elsenhower of the proposal to extend the reciprocal trade agreements for 3 years with

a possible reduction each year of 5 percent in import duties—shortly to come before Congress—this complicated and vital subject is again facing the industry. The influential Committee For Economic Development recommends extension for 5 years with a possible total tariff reduction of 25 percent. Two members of that CED dissented on the ground that any further lowering of the present duties should await more normal conditions.

A Gallup poll announced January 8 indicated that slightly over half of those interviewed had read or heard something about these proposals. The percentage favoring higher tariffs increased 10 percent over a year

ago.

This current majority against lower tar-iffs is significant. It stands despite the great volume of publicity by governmental leaders and the big mass-production steel, automobile and machinery industries—since the early thirties—on behalf of gradually whittling away all protective import tariffs.

One large group wishing for still lower tariffs sincerely believes they will be in the national interest as well as for the world general welfare; that international trade is a two-way street, that in order for a nation to export surplus goods, and raw materials as cotton, tobacco, and wheat, it must take imports of other kinds of goods and raw materials from foreign countries. The alternative is to continue money aid in various forms to foreign countries which have been or are potential users of American raw materials and goods.

They see the desirability of approximating a balance between values of exports and imports, counting on governmental foreignaid money and tourist money, and increased American investments abroad. The rest, they believe, must be done by this Nation encouraging and accepting more imports which would give foreign countries the

American dollars they need.

In this group are some legislators, writers, columnists, academicians, and economists who have no direct stake in domestic industry but who consider themselves never-

theless objective.

Another group does have a direct interest in still lower tariffs. Some wish to continue their exports or to increase them or to start exporting; others wish to profit as importers. In this group are growers of raw materials of which the United States has a regular surplus beyond its domestic needs; and big mass producers of steel, automobiles, and of business and other machinery-who have built up overcapacity so far as the United States market is concerned.

These mass producers feel they must export, or stop growing. Automobile manufacturers say they consider increased imports and exports to be in the national interest; and they assert that what is in the interest of the automobile industry is also in the

national interest.

Those American automobile makers who have established branch manufacturing plants abroad, expect to take advantage of the cheaper foreign labor and lower foreign living standards. And so they can especially see the advantages to them of this country importing other goods than automobiles. Those other industries to be given the low-tariff treatment for the benefit of automobile makers and others, do not regard their being considered expendable, with the same equanimity as do the beneficiaries of low tariffs.

Those groups opposed to further lowering of tariffs, however gradual the whittling may be, or who want higher protective tariffs-include manufacturers of textiles, watches, electrical equipment, bicycles, pottery, chemicals, independent oil producers, soft coal producers and others. Together, they add up to a very large sector of United States employment. The proponents of protection of domestic American industry argue that this is already a lower tariff country than any other important world-trading nations.

The present aim of the industries wanting protective tariffs is not to grow larger or to export, but simply to be allowed to exist or break even—frankly for their own interest and that of their owners, stockholders, and employees. And like the automobile manufacturers they consider their existence to be vital to the national interest.

Henry Hazlitt, of Newsweek, recently wrote that United States import barriers are nothing compared with the barriers to trade of Britain, and compared with the import barriers of all the countries that have exchange and currency control. He said that the Tariff Commission recently calculated that the American tariffs averaged about 5½ percent of the value of all United States imports; and that on the same basis, it has been calculated that the British tariffs averaged more than 25 percent of the value of all British imports.

Marion Heiss of the Cone Mills of North Carolina stated that foreign inconvertible currencies are implements of trade manipulation; that in most countries outside of North America, exchange rates are not related to economic value or actual purchasing power, but instead they "bob up and down unpredictably according to the whims of their respective governments." Under such conditions foreign goods, values, and exchange rates are often matters quite apart from the facts of the market. They are rigged and manipulated like puppets, to serve the selfish desires of the state.

"Tariff duties (United States) are on the foreign value of imported goods. For this reason the protective effect of an established tariff is never constant. The foreign value is the internal value adjusted to an exchange rate liable to fluctuate at any time. Hence foreign values in terms of dollars are extremely unstable. A drop of 20 percent in exchange rates means the same to the American importer as a 20-percent decline in price and a corresponding decline in the tariff.

"Outside of North America at the end of 1953, there appeared to be no country whose tariffs or trade restrictions against American goods generally were not more severe than 5 years earlier. American cotton goods today are virtually excluded from thee domestic markets of the foreign textile manufacturing countries."

O. Glenn Saxon of Yale University has pointed out the domination by foreign countries of international trade, financial, and monetary relations—by socialistic theories of managed currencies, compensatory spending, unbalanced budgets, monetization of public debts, competitive currency devaluations, arbitrary and discriminatory exchange controls, inconvertibility of currencies, artificially maintained exchange rates among national currencies, discriminatory export and import duties, government fixation of minimum (monopolistic) prices on the exports of major itnernational staples, and state trading as well as state financing.

American protectionists earnestly remind people of the hundreds of small and medium-sized manufacturing concerns in this country which have already been forced to run on short weeks, or shut down, throwing many thousands out of work; or compelled to liquidate or sell out to giant competitors—with many hanging on the verge—partly or largely due to our present low tariffs under the reciprocal trade agreements and to following the recommendations of the international conference called General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade.

They deplore that GATT is not responsible to Congress which constitutionally is supposed to handle tariffs but which are now delegated to the State Department.

The protectionists want State Department officials not to be so prone to attack only

American tariffs as trade barriers, but want them to know about and consider very type of trade restriction used by foreign trading countries as outlined by O. Glenn Saxon when dealing with GATT.

Some protectionists have asserted that representatives in GATT have been too largely theorists, lacking a practical feel or understanding of American industry as a whole. And complaint has been voiced that GATT meetings are held in secret with information about its proceedings unavailable to the public, and that this is contrary to American concepts. Fred G. Singer of du Pont de Nemours Co. recently said that tightly controlled information services have no counterpart in American Government. Dr. Leland Doan, of Dow Chemical Co., also recently said that GATT "has never been authorized by Congress nor has it made a full report of its deliberations to either Congress or the American people."

Other statements are that in GATT's lifetime the United States has lost about twothirds of its textile export trade, which William J. Erwin, of Dan River Mills of Virginia, suggests is this country's reward as the most generous nation in granting tariff concessions. He said that as a result of GATT, foreign nations had taken the easy road of encouraging export of their goods to the United States, the one region of supreme abundance, instead of stimulating the flow of their textiles to those areas of the world where people are in dire need of clothing: that only the United States and Canada under GATT have entered wholeheartedly into the spirit of true reciprocity.

Those American industries affected by low tariffs continue to cite the much lower wages paid in foreign countries whose subsidized exports are entering this country in great quantities under present tariffs—and call this unfair international competition. Britain, for instance, pays its worsted cloth weavers about one-third of what is paid in the United States, and other textile countries as West Germany pay even less than Britain. Japan, which pays its cotton weavers less than one-tenth of our wages, is now getting its cotton textiles into the United States.

Incidentally, both Japan and India are getting their textiles into Britain to the great distress of Britain's milis and textile labor unions. Indian cloth is entering Britain at the rate of 200 million square yards a year, not only duty free but made from cotton subsidized by the Indian Government.

On January 5, the Australian minister of

On January 5, the Australian minister of commerce said that his country might withdraw from GATT "unless Britain stops buying unfairly subsidized exports to Australian detriment." Canada is now debating its tariffs, with a possibility that they may be raised, even on British goods, perhaps doubled in some instances—in order to restore Canada's textile industries to normal health and employment.

On January 8, the Christian Science Monitor reported that Swedish textile manufacturers are now pressing their governments for higher tariffs to protect them from West Germany which in the past 3 years has increased its textile exports to Sweden from 35 percent to 65 percent—the wage costs in West Germany being about 60 percent of Sweden's.

American protectionists are not happy when somebody else is badly hurt by foreign low-wage, subsidized, unfair international competition—but they note with wry humor that it seems inevitable that some people must have their own ox gored before they become aware of what the same digs mean to others.

Comment has been made that some Japanese producers may not be including in their price export price, anything at all for labor, and that they can do so because of the export subsidies paid them by their cartels and government.

Southern cotton mills are protesting the mounting flow of imports of Japanese cotton goods. Work-clothing manufacturers in same region are alarmed at the possibility of a simultaneous increase in imports of Japanese work clothing and an increase in United States minimum wage to 90 cents per hour while the Japanese work-clothing manufacturers pay a wage of around 13 cents hourly.

J. Spencer Love, head of Burlington Industries—is much oposed to a further reduction in textile tariffs. His business is now the largest textile corporation in this country. With its related organizations the Burlingon Mills employs about 36,000 at an hourly average rate of \$1.32. On January 12, he urged that textile men "strongly support the enactment of a 90-cents-an-hour minimum wage." But he said that at the same time they should fight a reduction in the tariff rate which would undermine the American pay scale and threaten future wage raises.

He said that the American textile industry could probably compete with Japan and other countries on the basis of a 90-cent hourly minimum—but to lower the present tariff duties "would be inviting disaster for the entire industry."

the entire industry."

The protective tariff, American manufacturers say that foreign manufacturing nations which "must export or die," unabashedly give export subsidies to their manufacturers as a matter of their protection and in their national interest. American manufacturers who badly need protection by means of adequate tariffs to balance low foreign wages and high foreign export subsidies—cannot understand how some Americans seem to regard "protection" as a nasty word when it is for Americans, but a proper thing when, disguised under foreign cartel institutions and currency and other manipulations, it is used by foreign nations.

ulations, it is used by foreign nations.
George Sokolsky wrote "the American prefers to do his business forthright and direct, and when he tries to be devious, as he needs to be in world leadership, he often becomes ludicrous. It is the ingenue playing the heavy." Mr. Sokolsky also thinks the current struggle over tariffs has become an uneven one between American "bigs" and "smalls."

True reciprocity surely means a two-way street, but the reciprocal trade agreements and GATT have not worked out on a mutual basis—rather as a one-way street in which the United States and Canada have favored the trade of foreign nations. For instance, any tariff reduction by this country to Japan, under the most-favored-nation clause, can also be claimed by nations which do not need that particular reduced tariff. This is a giveaway to the latter nations, to American industries not needing protective tariffs but getting them because they were granted to industries deserving them.

Such giveaways to those nations which are proving able to get up on their own feet are not trade but gifts, and should not be allowed to masquerade as trade, or under the false label of "reciprocity."

Abraham Lincoln was for tariff protection for domestic industries on the ground that by trading with one another one had both the goods and the money. Protectionists of today, as Lincoln in his day, doubt that it is sound world humanitarianism for this country to help its own house be pulled down to assist foreigners to rebuild their houses. Protectionists and most informed neutrals believe this country's help as a nation should be confined largely to aiding such foreign nations as are soundly trying to recover free and fair internal competitive enterprise and to abolish or lessen the stranglehold of monopolistic cartels.

The majority of Americans know that there are prudential limits to their own families' spending, and most should know that at the present time there are prudential limits

to the amount of foreign aid the United States can safely afford, including too-low import tariffs. The idea of balancing trade internationally by giveaways can become an absurdity, as it would be absurd for a doctor to balance his health conditions with his patients by purposely contracting or spreading disease.

Exports made today or tomorrow by the United States at the expense of too many American workers, small entrepreneurs, and investors in vital industries like textiles are not sound economics or democracy.

This country needs exports and imports, but not at the price of sacrificing vital industries, in order to get export trade for steel and automobiles. Nor must this country be more humanely helpful to Japan or other unfortunate or backward nations to keep them out of the Communist orbit and retain them as an outer line of defense. Certainly by embracing or copying the weakening features of foreign state socialism and monopoly cartels—this Nation may be "sinking" the ship to clean out the rats

Most Americans who are not directly or selfishly interested in either lower or higher tariffs but who are fairminded and reasonably objective, agree that if still lower tariffs are today actually in the general welfare, present and near future, those companies and their workers being displaced and sacrificed should receive compensatory damages, and those being helped should pay the costs thereof. Such Americans believe in promoting world welfare but not at the expense of domestic general welfare.

Unemployment insurance is not enough to allow workers displaced by too low tariffs, to adjust by getting new jobs, and learning new skills and to meet the expenses of moving to new areas; and such unemployment insurance does not replace to the owners and stockholders the long-time accumulated value of their investments in plants and goodwill. The simple justice of compensatory indemnity payments by governments to their victims, has long been recognized by all civilized nations acting for what they consider their general welfare, as in building highways, schools, or other public works, which require the taking over of the property of individual persons.

The funds to pay indemnities to low-tariff victims could well come from special export taxes on Americans who directly benefit from low tariffs, such as exporters of American automobiles and other machinery, and steel; and special import taxes on importers of low-wage, subsidized foreign goods. Extra high unemployment taxes could be fairly collected from manufacturing exporters. And the income from such special sources should be earmarked soiely for payment of these indemnities.

The classic argument of free-traders and low-tariff advocates is that tariffs raise the price to consumers. This contention completely overlooks the fact that when protective tariffs aid the domestic consumer to keep in fair competition with the foreign low-wage, subsidized producer, a foreign monopoly of local markets can be prevented. Silk and rubber and coffee are examples familiar to most people, and even though silk and rubber were on the free list, American consumers in World Wars were at the mercy of the whim or greed of foreign monopolies as to the price paid for these commodities in this country.

A Christian Science Monitor news item of January 7 reports that Britain's cotton and rayon mills in 1954 paid their highest dividends since their 1920 boom. And dividends in 1953 were almost as high. During 1953 and 1954, American cotton, rayon, and worsted mills suffered heavy losses and great unemployment.

Informed American consumers will realize that while this Government has not given subsidies to its own manufacturers—low tariffs are in effect subsidies to low-wage for-

Is it good national or international policy to aid the giant industries of any country to wipe out small and medium-sized independent manufacturers, though doing it gradually—like chopping off a dog's tail by inches? Bigness which grows naturally without artificial aid from Government—cannot, and perhaps should not, be stopped in such growth unless its very size becomes a dangerous menace. Bigness could be a dangerous menace by too greatly handicapping many smaller natural growths and institutions vital to national economic and social health.

Another danger from bigness lies in the attempts, so far thwarted by antitrust laws, of some American bigs consorting with foreign cartel-bigs in international trade.

Addicts of the theory that everything is better, see no danger in artificial bigness. Such addicts do not seem notable for quality-mindedness, as the Socialists have not been in some of their programs. State-Socialists and their impatient allies the Communists, welcome all trends towards bigness and concentration, so that the whole nation may more easily be taken over by the State.

Boiled down to its economic phase, are not the basic problems of tariffs these: (1) should one export too many American tobs. and lower decent living standards in order to balance imports of goods from low-wage. subsidized manufacturers in countries like Japan and other exporting nations? Or (2) should one give unneeded assistance American giant mass-production industries which have built up overcapacity and must export to keep on growing? (3) Do consumers really want foreign bargains based on unfair international trade? (4) Should one copy nations enslaved by their monopolycartels, in their policies of "birth-control" of new and small, independent industry, and euthanasia of such small- and medium-sized industries as now exist? (5) Is it wise to go so far in reduction of tariffs as to use up or kill seed-corn? (6) Will the serious crippling or destruction of some of the vital American industries by too-low tariffs resulting in unfair international competition, help the automobile, steel, and machinery industries to sell enough of their product in domestic markets when the many thousands of worker-consumers in the sacrificed industries become unemployed?

Finally, this Nation must keep its highly skilled industries to maintain a better America and a better world.

The Atomic Revolution Is Here

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Record I include The Atomic Revolution Is Here, an exclusive interview with John Jay Hopkins, president of the General Dynamics Corp., appearing in the March 18 issue of the U. S. News & World Report:

THE ATOMIC REVOLUTION IS HERE (Interview with atomic-submarine builder John Jay Hopkins, president, General Dynamics Corp.)

(When people think of atoms, it is usually with fear. They think only of bombs.

(But atoms, says an atomic industrialist, can be a boon to mankind as well as a bane, Atomic power, he predicts, is going to raise living standards all over the world.

(John Jay Hopkins, who makes this prediction, is president of General Dynamics Corp., which built the first atomic subma-

(Atomic power, Mr. Hopkins maintains, is no mere dream of the future. It is here now.

(The United States, in his view, should take the lead in putting it to work. Backward nations can be industrialized—and, he suggests, the United States will gain new markets and new friends.

(In this interview, held in the conference room of U. S. News & World Report, Mr. Hopkins tells how the atom can promote peace instead of war.)

Question. Mr. Hopkins, you have just built a submarine—

Answer. The Nautilus.

Question. Powered by an atomic reactor it generates power from atomic materials? Answer. That's right.

Question. Is this the first commercial use of a reactor, or is this really commercial?

Answer. Well, you might say it is in one sense "commercial." It demonstrates what a reactor can do. It's the same type—although there are a number of different kinds of reactors—that you would build for a commercial installation. It's the first application of atomic power to propulsion—the first that we know of where the heat from a reactor was converted into useful work—into propulsion.

Question. Is the advantage that the Nautilus will be able to travel submerged almost indefinitely?

Answer. You won't have to refuel, although you may have to do something to the reactor from time to time; but the submarine can travel around the earth, under water, at very high speeds. Because the reactor doesn't need oxygen, it frees you really from the power problem. It gives you an enormously greater amount of power within the same space as you had before with the traditional method of the diesel engine and electric storage batteries.

Question. Is the reactor that you built for the submarine going to become practical in industry?

Answer. It would be most practical. This particular submarine reactor may not be the type. This is a small reactor. In a submarine, you need only a limited amount of power. It's a lot greater than any power we've ever had before in a submarine.

For electricity production, however, they're talking about 100,000—or even 200,000 kilowatts. Such a reactor might be as big as a large building.

Question. What would this 200,000-kilowatt reactor do?

Answer. It would take care of a city of about 250,000 people. Perhaps more than that. The largest single unit usually put in a major power station today is 150,000 kilowatts.

Question. Do you thing there is something very significant going on in industrial atomic power throughout the world?

Answer. Oh, by all means. I would say in England and Belgium and France—they have a building started down on the Rhone.

Question. But all of that's in an early stage, isn't it?

Answer. No; not in England. A year and a half ago at the National Industrial Conference Board the senior in charge came over from Harwell and showed actual photographs of their atomic installations.

Question. Are they ahead of us?

Answer. Yes; in having a program defined 10 years ahead. Now, remember, a reactor is not a weapon except that you use it in a weapon such as a submarine. A reactor is a heat-producing unit.

Question. Is this country going to move now more rapidly into the industrial field with atomic energy?

Answer. I think we will be forced to do so. Question. What's holding us back?

Answer. I think there are two factors. is the lack of general understanding on the part of our public. I thoroughly subscribe to the security that we have had on our weapons. We must still have that, but I think in general it's been thought to be too much of a "hush-hush" subject. You are not supposed to talk about it, like "the birds and the bees," and all that. However, other countries have been engaging in the development of atomic energy too, and they are going on talking about it in a very frank manner. The result is that the American businessman hasn't had too thorough a conception of what it is all about.

It isn't because of fallure to have information available. I made a speech, "Atoms for Peace," way back last April in Vancouver, and I've been making speeches for about 2 years now on the use of atomic energy for

peaceful purposes.

I have been pleading for not only American industrialists but others to realize that atomic energy is a great boon to mankind. not just a bane. Fire was dangerous, too, when it was first discovered. It was probably considered very destructive until men learned how to strike it from flint when they wanted to, and how to warm their hands over it, and how to extinguish it when they wanted to. How it could be used for cooking came much later. Atomic energy is much the same thing.

Sure, it's dangerous. But we know already how to handle it and control it, and from now on, now that secret has been learned, atomic energy must be harnessed and put to

Question. Businessmen have to learn how to make money out of it, don't they?

Answer, Absolutely, Question. Can they do that?

Answer. Yes, but you're getting ahead of me. The whole world ought to know about the usefulness of this thing. There's a big philosophy involved. There are a lot of people in this country who are frightened. I think worrying about the use of the Hbomb has affected the whole national psychology. Of course, we have to warn people. They have to have all these installations and civil-defense organizations-Governor Peterson's organization, Federal Civil Defense Administration, has to function.

But there's no reason why people should have that on their minds all the time.

I believe that the beneficent uses of this great power—this God-given fundamental power, what you might almost call God Himself in action-can be explained to people. They can be told how it has the potential of bringing blessings to everybody on this planet. Telling them the creative possibilities in the atom-not just the destructivemight take the edge off some of these worries.

So, 2 years or so ago we started to make talks about that side of the atom and to get some optimistic philosophy out about it.

The first thing we want to get over to the public is that it is a wonderful thing to have this power and that we should get going on it quickly.

Question. Do you think that we are drag-

ging our heels now?

Answer. No, we're not dragging our heels, but I think it's a wonderful thing-a great lift-for instance, when Consolidated Edison of New York comes in and says, "We're going to spend 30 to 40 million dollars on an atomic powerplant."

It's not going to be here for a while unless they find cheaper ways of shielding, and so forth. But they should find cheaper, lighter methods of doing all these things. It's still going to be a little uneconomic in certain centers.

Now, New York City, of course, brings in a lot of coal and oil. You see it in the barges all the time. I don't know what Consolidated Edison's costs are, but they are anticipating 5 years from now when costs will be down and we'll be getting more efficient production in all of these things. Then they'll be all right. But there are many uses other than to generate electric power, like the marine uses we have been talking about here.

Question. Would the British sell atomic reactors commercially in places, for example, like Brazil?

Answer. Oh, sure, they could make them to sell just like you make bollers or electric motors. Just like Babcock & Wilcox, General Electric, and Westinghouse.

Question. Is there a demand for that type of thing today?

Answer. I certainly think there will beand soon.

POWER FOR JAPAN, INDIA

Question. There's a lot of interest in it? Answer, Yes, I'd say that, so far as we are concerned, we are faced with what I call the paradox of the world markets. You see, in the United States electricity is available to us at 4 to 7 mills per kilowatt-hour. Now, that's guaranteed power. We've got all the coal and oil we want, although we import a little oil-the Independent Oil Marketing Association says we're importing too much. But here in this country we are already fuel rich, and we don't need this new atomic fuel very badly, do we?

All right. But now to go to Japan, where it costs 20 mills per kilowatt-hour for electricity, and they can't develop much more power from conventional fuels, even water-

power, on any economic basis.

Then go to a place like India, where they just can't possibly develop even their water-

power-it's too expensive.

And go to France, where they're building their fourth hydro unit on the Rhone and where they told me last May it was the lastit had gotten too expensive to build any more.

Question. What does their electricity cost them?

Answer. I think it is probably around the neighborhood of 12 mills per kilowatt-hourknow it's about 3 times more expensive than ours-so it's about 12 to 14 mills. That's the cost, including the installation They are building their last conventional hydroelectric unit now. And when it's through they're not building any more.

I asked the French, "Well, what are you

going to do then?"

The headman said, "By then-it will be 5 years from now—I think we'll have atomic power."

I said, "I think you're right." So that's why France is working on atomic power. They can use it.

Brazil and Italy, too-even Switzerland. The topman in Switzerland told me they have a 4 million population, or close to that-probably a little bit more. And they don't see how they can have any more people in Switzerland because they don't have any more power. They have developed their waterpower about as fully as possible. And economically-if they keep their present standard of living-the population is about the limit that can live there. And now they don't know what to do about it.

Switzerland is very much interested in atomic power because it gives them hope they can supplement their waterpower and thereby provide jobs for all these mouths that are coming along to be fed.

Therefore, I'm wondering for our country and this is the paradox I mentioned-if it isn't much more important for us to pay attention to the international development of atomic energy in peacetime and not worry too much about our own installations here except perhaps for experimental purposes, and concentrate on going to Japan, on going to India, Brazil, and the other friendly nations. We're working out the know-how

We, who engineer-and we've done it already, that's why we in America lead in this field-we, who engineer and build and manufacture have had better manufacturing facilities and staffs and know-how than any other nation in the world. We can beat England to that and we can beat Germany to that, even. We've done it-that's why our weapons are always more effective. can do this job better than anyone elsebut why do it for ourselves when it does not compete soundly with our present form of power? Why don't we go ahead and do this internationally for others—and that way keep our world markets?

Question. You mean do it in cooperation

with others?

Answer. Naturally-any foreign nation you could work with. We've had a lot of uranium from Belgium—that would be a logical place. South Africa is furnishing uranium. Canada, for instance-

Question. And you would do it from the know-how or technical standpoint?

Answer. Yes. Many nations would look to us. India, for instance, has no manufacturing facilities, but I think India has a pretty good supply of uranium-certainly, thorium.

There would be everything to gain. would do most of the manufacturing and engineering and furnish most of the knowhow. We have the know-how. You can distribute a certain amount of operating know-how wherever you want.

RAISING LEVEL OF LIVING

Question. If they had the atomic powerplants they could go on building up their over-all industry there?

Answer. Yes, And that would give them & chance to bring their standards of living up-Of course, the major factor in any standard of living is the degree of industrializationthat is the major factor in keeping peoples from starving.

We think it won't be long before water for irrigation purposes is created through the application of atomic heat-I mean the purification of saline waters, of sea waters.

The industrial atom will affect agriculture. it will affect medicine. And with that, I think, generally—I'd give it a period of years. 50 years or so—I think you will begin to get the standards of living up all over the world. You will begin to get all these mouths fed. What is it Gandhi said? the millions who have to go without two meals a day, the only acceptable form in which God dare appear is food."

If we could only get a few grains of rice to eat a day, and had to wonder where the next meal was coming from, we would be most unhappy, I think. And the terrible danger, of course, is that some other nation may get the idea and for imperialistic pur-poses appear to Asia's billion people as "God."

Question. Will the atomic reactors abroad ever be able to furnish power as cheaply as the 4 to 7 mills per kilowatt-hour that we have in America?

Answer. That's an engineer's problem, and we've had to do some guessing over a period of years. There will be new discoveries. It's like the beginning of steam, the applications of fire and electricity. Just think what we've done in electricity. There have been we've done in electricity. The vast developments since 1880.

In the last 10 years you've seen the coming of television. I easily remember when we had the old-fashioned-type telephone, the Alexander Bell type. Look at all the changes that have occurred in your telephone since then. Now the same thing is going to happen in this atomic field. Even in the basic science of the field there are going to be tremendous developments and discoveries beyond our imaginations to predict.

Question. Aren't there places where power can be produced cheaper with atomic energy?

Answer. Oh, yes. I would say so. And places we are especially interested in such as Thule, in Greenland, where you have no wood, coal or oil.

Question. You would need a portable re-

actor, then?

Answer. Yes. I hope they will hurry it up. Question. There isn't any reason why we shouldn't work along and hurry up our development in power, is there?

Answer. There is every reason why we should do all we can to develop reactors for submarines, and so forth.

Question. For automobiles and railroads,

Answer. Yes, it would be feasible, although the automobile presents a number of prob-

END OF "HUSH-HUSH" ERA

Question. Is industry interested? Answer. Yes; more and more so. When I talked to the members of the Economic Club of New York just last April, I had many men, heads of great corporations and others, question me because they're vitally interested and need to know more. And I've noticed now in meetings of the Atomic Industrial Forum and the National Industrial Conference Board more and more businessmen are attending-as many as half a dozen from a corporation. The Conference

Board is starting up another 5-day conference, now. The University of Michigan is having one. They are very widely attended now by representatives of various indus-

tries that may be affected by it.

Corporate interest in industrial atomic energy has snowballed in the last 2 years from little or no understanding. Yet so many-we've been watching this, remember, since back in 1947—so many have thought it was one of those "hush-hush" things, something you couldn't even dream about using in any way, that they have had no conception of the controls that have been taken from around it in the last 5 years.

But I think these inhibitions and this timidity are disappearing very rapidly, though you still find it. And there is a natural lethargy, I find, on the part of certain segments of our industry. It's not especially true in companies where you have great leaders such as Mr. Sloan [board chairman] of General Motors, or Bill Price [president] of Westinghouse, Ralph Cordiner [president] of General Electric, and other leaders who are restless and don't let grass grow under their feet-who are always alert and onto new developments. there are a number of companies which are lcthargic—they're making some rapid turnover consumer items and they can't see anything in it for them. They just hope that nobody will drop an atomic bomb on their plants.

Question. Do you find any coal or oil people enthusiastic about atomic power?

Answer. Segments of the oil industry are enthusiastically interested now. They know that if they get into atomic research, they're bound to get a lot of shortcuts in their refining methods. I know they're going to do it in chemistry. Dow Chemical and all the big chemical companies, Monsanto, the rest of them-they've been after this for 3 or 4 years. They saw it right away. I know they're going to get it. And oil is nothing but chemistry, this refining of oil. In fact the new chemical business is run on molecular and atomic research.

Question. That seems to be the biggest part?

A. Certainly it is. Gene Holman of Esso |board chairman, Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) | bought himself some cobalt the other day-irradiated cobalt. He bought all he could-32 pounds of it, or something like that. They've got a \$250,000 building for research in possible atomic approach in oil refining.

ATOM VERSUS COAL AND OIL

Question. What about coal?

Answer. Atomic energy can be used as a substitute for either the solid fuels or the liquid fuels. I think we ought to be careful in using the liquid fuels. We're using them very prodigally. In one way we ought to hold back on it. I don't know how many hundreds of years-100 or 200 years-the supply will last. Liquid fuel is easily packaged. It's easily carried. It has a great many advantages you will never get out of a reactor, which is heavy and has to be more or less stationary.

Well, we've got a portable reactor, too, but it's not like carrying liquids around. And solid fuels for cooking, and so forth-I don't think there is any substitute for making steel with coke, and so on. I can't see that it is possibly going to interfere with either the liquid or solid fuel business at all.

Question. Every once in a while you hear it said that power from the reactor would not be practical unless you make and sell byproducts for the bomb-would you go into that?

Answer. That is more of a question for an engineer and a scientist, but I believe reactors can be practical-profitable, that is-without producing plutonium or bomb material.

Such comments on practicality would probably be valid if you were starting out just for commercial power. It is questionable whether you would ever have been able to sell people on affording an Oak Ridge for commercial purposes, let's say. Nevertheless, today we've got such plants, and they're capable of turning out the kind of fuel that you need for commercial reactors.

Question. In the future, though, unless you maintain these plants to make the material for the bomb, would you have the material for the industrial use of the reactor?

Answer. Yes. You would have to create them if you didn't have them. You might hope to find another process, but it would be pretty much of a job. But they don't need to be used primarily for destructive weapons. In an era of peace they could supply the materials for a new world. Atomic bombs, you know, can be turned into peaceful

Question. Is the supply of uranium a problem any more?

Answer. They are finding more and more of it all the time. Of course, there is a big drive down in New Mexico now and I understand Texas is looking for it. As for highgrade uranium, Czechoslovakia has a big. high-grade deposit. There are very large deposits of a fair grade, just fair, though in South Africa in the gold mining. They've taken these tailings that are up on the surface and they're readily available. There is quite a lot of it there.

In the Belgian Congo I believe there is the richest deposit. Canada has made some important discoveries in the Great Slave Lake area, and so forth. There just seems to be quite a bit of it around. The Atomic Energy Commission has painted a much more promising picture of the supply.

Question. So if industry wants to go in, it can go in?

Answer. Five years ago they were very much worried about the supply. But I suspect some of their optimism now arises from the fact that thorium and some of the other elements, perhaps one or two of the other elements, will show them the way not to use too much uranium.

WORLD WAR'S SOLE BOON

Question. When will the taxpayers start getting some money back from this deal?

Answer. Well, it's probably the only blessing that came out of World War II-the fact that we've got atomic energy. I suppose you would have to look at the cost and repayment potential over a period of 50 years or so. There are a number of blessings that

can come out of it and probably will. Some

have come out already.

On December 1 last, I proposed an international atomic lend-lease plan whereby we would help finance the implantation of atomic reactors in power-short countries all over the world-countries friendly to us, of course. Japan reacted very strongly to the idea. They need atomic power very badly. They want desperately to get started. About 10 days or 2 weeks after the speech had been printed on the front pages of Japanese papers, the Russians announced a plan to give industrial reactors to their satellites.

Question. How about our Government?

Are you getting any response?

Answer. Well, before I accepted the invitation to Japan we checked with the State Department. They know all about it. We also talked with other Government agencies, and they are very much interested. They want to get around to the psychological approach and they need to get across to the world the blessing that atomic energy could really be. You know, we are unpopular in some parts of the world. There are many reasons, some of which, of course, are not fair to us. I've always found, when I loaned money to a friend and he wasn't able to pay it back, I lost a friend. I think we lose our friends by a lot of our activities.

My thesis is to help friendly nations with American know-how, with reactors of the research type and perhaps the portable ones later on; to help them develop the power they need so badly and that we don't need so badly. They could pay us back, of course. Many are so anxious to get it that payment isn't too much of a question.

Question. What would it cost?

Answer. We figured about \$250 a kilowatt, and that's probably around the maximum to build a commercial reactor. For instance, you could start with an experimental reactor for around \$1.5 or \$2 million-that's what these college experimentals are costing. If you go to a portable at \$2 or \$2.5 million you wouldn't get a great deal of power, but at least you'd get a great deal of know-how of these things. Then later you can go into the larger sized reactors. There are plans under way for 10,000, 20,000, and up to 200,000 kilowatts.

Now that's a problem: It would be 3 or 4 times more expensive than steamplant of an orthodox type and it might run up to about \$25 million or thereabouts to build such a reactor now. Later on it would be developed, of course, into a greater reactor but the power cost will be much cheaper. It could mean that a \$25-million installation might take care of a city of several hundred thousand people.

You could really develop Japan's present electrical power if you put in, say, 12 reactors costing around \$25 million apiece. It would strike off the natural limits on their power supply, and let them use their manpowerthey're getting more people all the time. That's one of the big worries—they're getting up to 90 million people. They can live on that island provided they get jobs. They can bring in their food and raw materials, and a boundless supply of nuclear power would let them export their skills and labor without limit. I don't know what we're going to do about it, but Japan's our problem and we've got to get busy solving it.

Question: Well, what you suggest would cost \$300 million dollars. And we've already given them much more than that -

Answer: Oh, yes, we've given them \$2.5 billions already. And this wouldn't be done all at once. This would be over a period of

Question: And you could go to a country like Brazil-

Answer: Sure, and get them way is to get what we ought to do right away is to get what we ought know-how started. We've got Answer: Sure, and get them started. But this operating know-how started. to get a lot of youngsters in engineering schools. This thing is highly complex, and

these operators have to know what they are doing. It's going to take 10 years to do that in a country like Brazil. And the thing to do is to start with an experimental re actor right away. There are probably about 10 or 15 universities all with experimental reactors, and our boys are all learning. Well. that's good, because our boys have got to go and show these Brazilians and Italians the know-how.

ECONOMIC REVOLUTION

Question: We ought to build up our skills, then?

Yes, sure. We ought to create Answer: all the skills because we've got to export those skills sometime-I mean temporarily lend them. There is really a tremendous economic revolution involved. And we've got to look at it as much more of a revolution than the industrial revolution was, because you are dealing with many more hundreds of millions of people. You had a handful of people to deal with in the old days of the industrial revolution. Now you have a really serious situation.

Question: The atomic revolution is here,

then?

Answer: Yes. I want to emphasize this, too, since we're in this field: President Eisenhower did a very fine thing when he appeared before the U. N. and made a great speech and said: Here, now, we'd like to all get together, all of us, including Russia, because they are members of the U. N., and we will talk this (atomic-energy) thing over and get something started. That was his proposal. Russia tried to put it in the Security Council so they would have a vetoyou know all the history-trying to hamstring it and handicap it right away. But they finally got a meeting set up for next August, and they're going to do some talking about it.

I don't see why the United Statesmy approach—has to sit around and wait for the United Nations to do a lot of talking and maybe someday acting on it. Because to me it's a pure American industrialist's plan and program. Why not just have the Government let us go ahead and start pushing it? They are not holding back; the AEC has been very forward-looking, and there are no complaints to make from my point of view. We're used to working with men like Admiral Rickover [director, Nuclear Power Division, Bureau of Ships, U. S. Navy, and chief, naval reactors branch, Division of Reactor Development, AEC| and others, and they've been good training for a lot of our fellows. We've got to get things done today, not tomorrow.

Question. What's holding us back?

Answer. Just a natural lethargy, as far as I can see. There's enough extra fuel that we don't need for weapons. There certainly is a lot of know-how around; and there are certainly a lot of manufacturing facilities and a lot of great companies interested, like Westinghouse, General Electric, Babcock & Wilcox, Dow Chemical; I could name any number. And we're very much interested.

But if we did that with just one country-Japan or India, for instance, or one of your southeast Asian countries where additional power is logical-and said, "Here, we are going to help you," that would make more friends for us around the world. That would make friends in places where we have no friends at all.

RUSSIA STEPS IN

Question. Which is an investment of only \$25 million?

Answer. That's exactly it. It's not only the cheapest thing, it's a wonderful psychological thing. And let's do it, not just talk about it in the U. N. I had no more made a speech involving this program than within weeks Moscow announced that they were going to give Czechoslovakia and Poland some reactors. There is a tremendous psychological weapon involved here.

Question. If you were to get to work right away, how long would it be before you had a powerplant going?

Answer. Of course, Duquesne Light Co. expect their reactor to be completed by Westinghouse about 2 or 3 years from now

Question. The experimentals would take less time than that?

Answer. Oh, yes; there are a lot of experimentals already.

Question. And you could take one of those to those countries?

Answer. Pick out any one you want— Brazil, Peru—we have the reactor. Now, there is a certain security problem, but security problems are not very great in the commercial field. They are very great in the weapons field. There are lots of things that have to be kept secret in the weapons But our people don't see why you can't classify it in the so-called "gray" or one of the light-gray areas. I don't think there is much problem. Because, what's the answer, anyhow? If we don't do it, England's going to, or Russia is going to and it won't be long.

Question. It won't be long?

Answer. No; I expect England will move pretty soon.

Question. What do you think they will do? Answer. They will probably have a practical reactor for commercial purposes at Harwell, in England, within a year or two. They are a year or so ahead of us. They started 2 or 3 years before we did.

Question. You mean they will be ready

Answer. Oh, that will come along later. but they will have this all demonstrated. And what is it from then on? It's just a You build an automobile and duplication. you can always take it apart and lay out all the parts and make yourself a million of

Question. They can show a customer a reactor from which they can make others?

Answer. Yes; and they will know a lot about their costs, too, in building it.

Question. How long would it take to lay

down an experimental reactor?

Answer. We've got experimentals around the place. There are five invo There are five involved in the current pilot programs of the AEC. They are the smaller ones.

MIGHT PREVENT WAR

Question. It wouldn't take very long to build Brazil one, for instance?

Answer. Oh, no. But even the announcement that they were going to get it would I have had a definite philosbe a big help. ophy about all these things for a long time. and I've had a definite interest in getting this thing pushed internationally. Another great advantage is not only that it might prevent another war, but win ourselves friends, such as India.

The essence of the whole thing is that in the next 25, 30, or 40 years we might need a lot of those friends. We haven't got too much uranium of our own. We are nate in having a very friendly nation in Canada, which has lots of uranium, but Canada will find uses for that uranium-it can be sold to others. And it might not be so easy to tie up Belgium once they get into this thing. They may decide to sell that uranium in South Africa or somewhere else. And we haven't got this big continental supply of our own, such as we have even in the oil business. Or the atomic fuel of the future may be thorium, or some other element we haven't got. Where would we stand then?

We better begin to think about some of the friends we need around the world. Our population growth is enormous. I don't know what it will be in 1975, but it is enormous-and it is getting awfully costly to live in this country of ours, and other standards of living are going to come up so we can't sit here and figure we're always

going to have it this good. I think if we have some friends around the world with strategic fuels and raw materials it would be very helpful and convenient. I think we ought to make it evident around the world that we're not selfish about this great discovery.

As a matter of fact, basically, atomic owes its development to people of energy a number of nationalities. For instance, Becquerel, a Frenchman, Rutherford, an Englishman; Einstein, a German; Bohr, a Scandinavian; Fermi, who happened to be an Italian; Ernest Lawrence, an American, and many others. So I don't think we should take a selfish attitude about this.

Now, we know nobody is saying, "Let's keep all this for ourselves," but the effect

is the same.

We should make the point that we are so power-rich in cheap power that we do not immediately need atomic development in our country. But other countries do. It would be a wonderful thing to help other countries, particularly the friends of ours, and through that probably to undertake the best method of preventing another war.

It's a marvelous psychological approach against communism, if we only don't wait until communism has made the offer. Other countries are waiting to see what we will do. You can make an offer, but if you can't make good on it-they catch on to that one, too. I don't know what Russia is going to do. But they said they were going to give Czechoslovakia and Poland those And they's got to make good on reactors. whatever they promise. And, then, just out of our own self-interest, the last point is that maybe we will need these friends someday very much, not in your lifetime or mine, perhaps, maybe not in 50 years, 75 vears. But someday.

ATOMIC PLANE? SECRET

Question: What is the status of the atomic airplane?

Answer: I'm rather under wraps on that. The Air Force keeps us under very strict orders about it. All that is known is that we are working on it at our Fort Worth plant. I believe at Boeing they have in the last year or so had a study contract. General Electric and Pratt & Whitney are working on it. too.

Question: It would be a big plane?

Answer: Obviously, it would involve a large ship. A B-36 weight 230 tons, that 460,000 pounds. So we're used to building big ships. Question: Is that big enough?

Answer: I don't consider the size of the plane to be a seriously limiting factor. It depends on the size of the reactors needed to furnish the power you wanted.

An engineer wrote me the other day-he is a man whose opinions I would listen toand he said, "You're giving everybody the benfit of the doubt when you speak of these costs." He thinks that in 5 to 10 years we'll costs." know how to get electricity direct from the reactor.

Question. Do you believe that they might be able to?

Answer. It's conceivable. I must say that it seems a long way off.

Question. Lighter shielding is a major problem, isn't it?

Answer. Yes. And it's being worked on in a number of places. Somebody is going to come up with it. We don't know, because we probably don't yet know all the elements in the world.

Question. Some companies have complained about the patent regulations, haven't they?

Answer. Yes. In the early days it was natural for the Government to hold on to all those things. In order to encourage industry will tend to lighten up on that. I think there is enough sentiment in Congress for You free enterprise to bring that about. start with one of the world's greatest monopolies—the patent monopoly of the AEC. But, of course, it had to be that way for security reasons. Now you can't expect to change that all over and make it a practical situation all at once.

Question. Can't industry get patents now? Answer. Yes, but important inventions are subject to compulsory licensing, and there are other serious limitations.

I think the patent situation will work itself out and become normal after a time, and get more and more into the commercial aspects.

Question. Another thing they talk about

is insurance-

Answer. Well, that is quite a problem, too. We struck that. Of course, the Government has been, in effect, taking its own insurance in places like Hanford [Wash.] and wherever our men work, but when we were going to bring a reactor in order to put it in the Nautilus hull, one of our insurance companies, a major one, served us notice right away that they would cancel all of our insurance if we brought the reactor into the yard. had us running around in circles for a while.

Question. How is that problem going to be

overcome?

Answer. Well, they will have to get used to it. You're always going to have insurance. You have fire insurance, and I think you're more apt to have fires than you are to have trouble with atomic reactors.

Question. Is the insurance problem the fact that they don't have any way to figure

out what their risk might be?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Will they in time get some actuarial data?

Answer. Unquestionably they will get the data. I think the problem will be recognized for what it is-it's practically nonexistent. The actual experience of the Commission has been that it is the safest industry in the world, but insurance companies are worried about it because of the potential. And, if the Government is willing to pick up at least part of the potential, I think the insurancecompany people will step right in. I believe that is the way it will work out. Have you ever seen them handle these radioactive materials behind lead barriers?

Question. No-

Answer. Well, it is all remote. You can see what they are doing, but they use this remote machinery to pick the stuff up and carry it over from one place to another. And the thickness of the lead glass they work behind depends upon the radioactivity of the materials they are handling. There is always a Geiger counter around, so nothing could happen but what machines would start ringing bells. Everything is marked "Do not touch," and a fellow would have to be very dumb to get caught-most of them around know what the penalties are.

PROFITS FROM WASTE

Question. Once you get a lot of these reactors industrially, what will be the problem of the disposal of the radioactive waste?

Answer. There will be companies set up for that purpose. I think the Government has the right to the waste fuels.

Question. Isn't there a problem of dispos-

ing of the other wastes?

Answer, I think most of it will be very useful in the form of isotopes and such. It's a development problem. It's a reclamable waste. It is true that a few years ago they didn't know what to do with it. They tried to bury some of it.

Question. Haven't they had a lot of trouble getting rid of a lot of this stuff?

Answer. There hasn't been a lot of effort put on that problem—they've just begun to face up to it in the last 2 years. I think they know where to put most of it, but my prediction would be that probably someday they will go back and get it and use it for something else. It's still valuable.

Question. What about the cost of building the Nautilus-is it higher than it might be someday?

Answer. The original cost is, of course, higher. You see, the Nautilus is the first of its type. If you build just one of an item, you have all your research, development and experimental costs in the one craft-not spread out over several. But if 2 or 3 or 4 are ordered, you make great over-all savings because you can build 2 or 3 or 4 of a thing at once.

Question. Aren't you the only makers of submarines?

Answer. No. The Navy Yard at Portsmouth, N. H., is a submarine builder as is Mare Lsland Navy Yard, at San Francisco,

Question. But they haven't built an atomic submarine as yet, have they?

Answer. No. But Portsmouth has been designated for one.

Question. You haven't standardized on an

atomic power plant, have you?

Answer. Well, we're using two different types of reactors now. The Nautilus has one. The Sea Wolf [another submarine] has a different kind. For one thing, it uses circulating liquid metal in the heat transfer rather than pressurized water. We all have confidence that we'll find out what, ultimately, is the least expensive to operate and the most satisfactory. I suppose there'll be 2 or 3 more different types. The Navy, the AEC, industry—all of us on the team—see the real strategic value of the submarine.

SUBMARINE STRATEGY

Question. The combat submarine?

Answer. Yes-the high-speed atomic attack submarine, of course. But the submarine, you know, can be used also for many different military applications, such as underwater

transport of a strategic type.

You probably can't transport large cargoes under water economically or cheaply. I don't claim that. But during wartime it is highly desirable to have underwater tankers or underwater freighters. So, even though Russia may not have a lot of surface ships to attack with-and she may not have any supply lines which we can attack-nevertheless there's tactical value to an underwater approach.

Question. Would it ever be possible to convert the fleet-type submarine into an atomic-

type submarine?

Answer. Well, almost anything is possible nowadays, but you have to consider that the atomic submarine is built for very high sustained speeds under water. The hull shape is a lot different from a conventional submarine.

Question. What about Arco?

Answer. You mean the plant out in

Question. Is that a large reactor?

Answer. Well, they have several different things out there. It would be an interesting place to get to if you could get in. It's a testing area, largely. Out there we erected—with the Atomic Energy Commission, the Navy, and Westinghouse—the so-called submarine in the desert. It has the portion of the submarine hull that houses the reactor, the two major units-the power unit and the propulsion unit. It has been working out there now a year and a half, 2 years.

Question. It has been working successfully all that time?

Answer. Yes. By this means the Navy and the AEC knew a long time ago, long before we completed the Nautilus, that the machinery was perfect and worked perfectly. We had no doubts.

Naturally, they weren't going to spend millions of dollars building something that they weren't sure would work. So, this land-based submarine and its reactor proved everything. They even calculated that it

could run successfully under the Atlantic to Europe—even around the world.

Question. What about the operating cost

of the Nautilus?

Answer. Operating costs of the Nautilus will be determined by the Navy after extensive running of the boat. remember, however, the Nautilus is a unique weapon-and what is required primarily is high potential and performance as a weapon. Operating cost tends to be secondary.

Question. What about building an aircraft carrier or a very large ship for transatlantic

use? Would it be feasible?

Answer. Oh. very feasible, most feasible, Question. Would a nuclear powerplant take less space than an ordinary powerplant because of fuel it requires?

Answer. That's the principal advantage both in the submarine and the merchant

HOW COSTS COMPARE

Question. Then it would be most economic in a cargo ship, wouldn't it? There would be more space available-

Answer. Yes. In that connection I can give you some figures on the cost of electricpower energy. For instance, it depends on such factors as your waterpower, accessibility, your installation costs, your fossil-fuel equivalents. If you ship your fossil fuels long distances, then you run your costs way up. But electric power costs in our country run between 4 and 7 mills per kilowatthour. That's cheap. That's by water and the fossil fuels-coal and oil.

But the United States has about the cheapest power in the world. I think that's a fair statement. Britain is costly. France is costly-the Rhone development has been very costly. So, I'd say most nations would pay for electric power probably twice what

we are paying.

When you get down into ship transportation, you've got another thing. You have to compare what it costs a coal or oil-burning ship to develop the steam power to drive its turbines and propellers as against the cost of

nuclear power.

Now, the initial cost of building a nuclear ship might be more. We're dealing with factors here that haven't really been worked out. We can't really speak in terms of operating costs at this point, but certainly the big advantage is in saving the space for fuel. Frankly, in our country, with its presently cheap electric power, I would expect that the big atomic development over the next 5 years-add 10 if you want, although I expect to see all this move much faster-would be in marine applications, atomic-powered

Q. Well, is there a barrier in laws-is there something needed in the way of new laws?

The Joint Atomic Energy Commit-A. No. tee [of Congress]. I think, has been in the main extremely constructive. The late Brien McMahon, the first chairman, was intensely interested always. Of course, they were looking at it in his day as a weapon, and they didn't have fuel enough to consider it for industrial use. Also, I think the scientists have worked out a lot better method of control in the last 5 or 6 years. But they clamped on very strict security, as they should. It was right after a big war and they didn't want to make trouble, and there was every reason why we should have very tight security, both psychologically and actually. That's the reason for the Mc-Mahon Act. Now the act has been amended, STERLING COLE, who was chairman for a while, has been very helpful.

There are a lot of them on the committee who are most interested. It's been a fine. fine group, and the members have wanted the best for the Nation.

Q. They would give industry a chance to go ahead?

A. They're very anxious for it to do so.

Far East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the Oregon World Affairs Council, under the able direction of its president, Dr. Frank Munk, and Mrs. Hilmar Grondahl, executive secretary, have done much to bring to the people of my State constructive information on world problems.

Last week in Portland, nine members of the Asia Town Hall mission discussed before the Oregon World Affairs Council some of the pressing problems of the Middle and Far East. These Asian leaders stressed the need for understanding for an increase in productivity to raise standards of living, and, most important, the need for peace and time in which to develop.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an interesting and instructive article by Gene Briggs from the columns of the Oregonian for April 8. 1955

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ASIA DEEMED AS NEEDING PROMISE OF PEACE. TIME IN WHICH TO DEVELOP

(By Gene Briggs)

Peace and time in which to develop.

These are paramount needs of Asian countries and just as important to the United States and other free nations, as democracies seek to guide the world into a new relationship of prosperity and good will, about 250 persons were told Thursday night by 9 Asians in a discussion sponsored at the Multnomah hotel by the World Affairs Council of Oregon and cooperating organizations.

On the panel of speakers were representatives of the governments or popular leaders from Egypt, South Viet-Nam, Thailand, Indonesia, Iraq, India, Japan, Jordan, and

the Philippines.

RISE OF NATIONALISM TRACED

In general, the speakers told of the rise of nationalism in Asia, the recent independence gained by several Asian countries, and the problems of development they face after generations of backwardness.

Roberta Villanueva, general manager of the Manila Chronicle, the Philippines, said the Asian countries have a common problem of ferment, turmoil and restlessness of spirit. He said "this nationalism is an important dynamic spirit, like yours of 1776."

Villanueva said the "weak are generally suspicious of the strong," but "I urge you to keep on helping people of Asia to gain the necessities of life. Don't be impatient, and some day * * * the people of Asia will work hand-in-hand with you in developing the bright new one-world of tomorrow.

ISRAEL PROBLEM TO EGYPT

Mrs. Amena El-Said, Egypt, said the major problem in Egypt is Israel. She said the Middle East was divided when Israel was created by the United Nations.

"The United States is to blame morally and politically for Israel," she said and as long as Israel exists, there will be no stability

Some Pressing Problems of the Middle and in the Middle East. "Money never buys friends, but you can get our friendship free by giving us justice." Mrs. El-Said concluded. Abdul Kerim Al-Uzri, Iraq, echoed Mrs. El-Said's statement that "We, as Arabs, con-

sider Israel the most important and dangerous question."

For Asia as a whole, Al-Uzri said the major problem is one of poverty. He said, "We must raise productivity. The American people can help provide the necessary technique and, perhaps, some of the capital."

He said Iraq needs little of that capital,

but many Asian countries do.

India's G. Ramachandran, director of a rural workers' training center, said his country has recently rediscovered freedom after centuries of subjugation. "We seek to nurture the freedom that has come to us," he said.

"We inherited a country with the task of rebuilding a shattered land. If there is conflict, we'll be thrown back many years. The greatest need is peace * * * peace for India and Asia."

Cai Thai Boa, Vietnam, said the acute problem of his country is communism. Because of the Communists, he said, we have partition, a country almost destroyed and more than 1 million refugees from north Vietnam.

He said, "We want also peace. Our people

need to live in peace."

George Togasaki, Japanese newspaper publisher, said population is the first problem of Japan. The Japanese population has grown from 33 million at the time Japan was opened to the West to 88 million today. Little of the country is arable, he said, and Japan has turned to industry. The solution is two-way trade, not aid, he said.

Musa Nasir, Jordan, said America should know of the injustice done to the Arabs because it concerns you as much as us. He said the Arabs would rather have one tiny bit of justice than millions of dollars.

Mohamad Roem, Indonesia, ex-cabinet minister, said "Many people in Indonesia believe in democracy and these elements will win in the end." He said the United States should seek closer relations not only with military countries, but with people who are moving in a democratic way.

Miss Nilawan Pintong, Thailand magazine editor, described the Thais as a people happy with their own way of life but caught up in world progress and forced to become modern. She said, "It is the responsibility of the people who brought in new things to teach them and show them what needed."

Disposal of Projects Built by the WPA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCIS CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an opinion of the General Counsel, General Services Administration, concerning the rights of municipalities in the disposal of buildings or projects constructed under WPA. I believe this opinion will answer questions which have arisen in many communities throughout the Nation.

There being no objection, the opinion was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION, Washington, D. C., March 9, 1955. Re WPA-built barn, Belvidere, S. Dak. HON. FRANCIS CASE,

Committee on Public Works, United States Senate.

Washington, D. C. DEAR SENATOR CASE: Reference is made to your letter of January 21, which was re-ferred for reply to this office by the Archivist of the United States. The inquiry sought information concerning any interest the Federal Government may have in a barn erected by the WPA in the town of Belvidere. S. Dak., which is presently being considered by town officials for disposal by sale.

An exhaustive research of the files of the Works Project Administration reveals that the town of Belvidere, Jackson County, Dak., acted as official sponsor of project OP-65-1-74-2324 to "tear down and salvage materials from abandoned lumberyard, storage sheds on private property for use in constructing horse barn, hog house, stock pavilion and corrals, 500 feet of 2-inch water main from town system to project and perform incidental and appurtenant work thereto on town-owned property."

The foregoing quotation appears in an agreement signed by W. E. Kuhn, chairman, town board, June 1940, which also contained the following restriction: "No sale or other division of the property from public use and control will be made during the useful life of the improvements created under this pro-'The completion date of this project

was October 29, 1940.

In the case of the United States v. City of Columbus, decided December 3, 1943, United States District Court of North Dakota, N. W. D. (54 Fed. Supp. 37), the United States sought to recover from the city of Columbus, N. Dak., the amount expended by it for the cost of materials used and labor performed in the construction of a community recreation building as a WPA project, leased by the city as a liquor store. The court on motions for judgment on the pleadings stated as

"A review of plaintiff's complaint indicates that by virtue of the Federal Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1937 (15 U.S. C. A., secs, 721-728), the United States of America agreed with the city of Columbus for the erection of a certain project described as: 'Demolishing old building and construction of the community recreation building'; that the project was properly approved, and that 'the project herein alleged was by this plaintiff in all things performed and completed on January 31, 1939, in the total cost of materials and labor in the sum of \$3,729.90.

The complaint alleges that the defendant 'did convert the project herein * * in that the said defendant leased same to a private individual for the operation of a liquor store, and by reason thereof, the plaintiff herein is entitled to recover from the defendant, the sum of \$3,729.90, the amount expended by this plaintiff for the project herein described.' In effect plaintiff contends that all projects constructed by or through the authority of the Federal Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1937 shall be or are impressed with an easement or a restriction limiting the use of such completed projects to the uses described in the act, and that a local municipality, incidentally benefited by the Federal Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1937, could use the project thus created only for the purposes set forth therein.

"(1) It seems to me essential, in order to determine whether or not plaintiff's complaint states a cause of action upon which relief could be granted, and that examination be made of the act in question and its purposes ascertained. The evident and declared policy of Congress in passing the various Emergency Relief Acts was that of reducing and relieving unemployment. The joint resolution of June 29, 1937 (ch. 401, 50 U. S. Stat. 352; 15 U. S. C. A., secs. 721-728),

begins by stating:

"That in order to continue to provide relief, and work relief on useful public projects, * * * there is hereby appropriated,
 * * * (money) to be used in the discretion
and under the direction of the President,
 * * * and no non-Federal project shall be
undertaken or prosecuted under this appropriation unless and until the sponsor has
made a written agreement to finance such
part of the entire cost thereof as it is not to
be supplied from Federal funds."

"Numerous courts have had opportunity to define the purposes of the various Federal

Emergency Relief Acts:

"Courts have judicially noticed the fact that the primary objective of the Federal Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 (15 U. S. A., sec. 728 note) was not to benefit particular municipalities or localities, but to

provide relief for unemployment.

"'By contributing a small part of the necessary expense and by contributing the services of a superintendent and a small number of employees the city of Los Angeles was able to obtain the benefit of the project. It was not, however, city work of which the city had control, but was under the rules and regulations of the Emergency Relief Administration. (Hoover v. Independent School Dist., supra (220 Iowa 1364, 264 N. W. 611); Shelton v. City of Greenville, 169 Tenn. 366, 87 S. W. 2d 1016; Todaro v. City of Shreveport, supra (La. App. 170 So. 356, 360)).' (Taylor et al. v. City of Los Angeles (29 Cal. App. 2d 181, 84 P. 2d 242, 243).)

"We are dealing here with emergency measures which represent the exercise of policy power and have for their purpose the relief of persons in distress by reason of the financial and economic depression. Their primary purpose is to furnish work to the unemployed. The question of making public improvements is secondary; and is but a means of carrying out the primary purpose." (Village of Larchmont, et al. v. Town of Mamaronec, et al. (249 App. Div. 741, 291 N. Y. S. 716, 718.))

"The sole and primary purpose of the various emergency relief appropriation acts and the executive order of the President made in connection therewith, is to give employment to persons requiring relief, and involves a work relief program.' (Block v. Sassaman (D. C., 26 F. Suppl. 105, 106.))

"The Supreme Court of Massachusetts had occasion to pass upon the purpose of the various emergency relief acts. In doing so that court stated:

"'Running through all the laws enacted. the purpose of the Federal Government is found to relieve unemployment directly, through projects, so called. The plan of employment involved the doing by the Government itself of these projects, which, as in the case at bar, theretofore were carried on by the municipalities themselves with some possible assistance from the Commonwealth and county. But we view these projects as undertaken not for the benefit of the municipality, but primarily for the purpose of relieving unemployment, and incidentally for the utility and convenience of the general public, as distinguished from the municipality itself.' (Benoit v. Hathaway (1941, 310 Mass. 362, 38 N. E. 2d 329, 331.))

"(2) It is apparent from plaintiff's complaint that '* * * the project herein alleged was by this plaintiff in all things performed and completed on January 31, 1939 * *.* We are then confronted with the question of what control the United States of America could exercise over the project after its completion. It is apparent that the primary purpose of the Federal Emergency Relief Appropriation Acts had been accomplished when the project was completed. Unemployment had been lessened; relief in the way of public work had been granted. The United States

had paid those properly certified as needing relief for such work as they performed on the project, which, according to the complaint, the plaintiff itself completed. The money was not paid by the United States to the city of Columbus. The city of Columbus, by having a completed building in place of an old and inadequate one, was incidentally benefited. But the purpose of the act was not to benefit the city of Columbus, nor to erect a community building for the city of Columbus. The primary purpose, as stated, was to relieve unemployment, and when the project was completed that purpose had been served. Nowhere in the act do we find any authority or justification for the theory that projects thus completed may be used only for the purposes designated in the act. If the contrary were true, and if the Government's theory were sound, then the Federal Government could exercise control over the many thousands of non-Federal projects created out of WPA labor. That control would not be for any limited time, but theoretically would be forever, or at least until such projects were no longer susceptible of any practical use. The public ball park of a municipality would forever remain a public ball park unless the Federal Government (provided even it had the authority under the theory advanced) consented to its being used for other purposes. Congress intended no such control over incidental benefits of the relief program, and I find no justification for such theory in the acts involved. It is quite true that Congress, in its appropriation, limited the projects upon which such appropriations could be expended. Had the city of Columbus asked for the approval of a project creating a privately operated apartment house, the project would not, of course, have received departmental or executive approval. But once a project, which in its application meets the specifications required by law, and receives approval, and is constructed under the supervision and control of WPA officials, is completed and turned over to the municipality, it is turned over without being impressed with an easement or right or restriction controlled by the United States, and may be used thereafter by the municipality in any manner which the laws governing that municipality allow. A contrary conclusion would, in my opinion, result in entanglements of such infinite complication as to be impossible of administration, judicial or otherwise, and was never within the contemplation of Congress. "(3) It is true that the plaintiff's com-

"(3) It is true that the plaintin's complaint alleges that the defendant agreed that 'the work proposed will be done in full conformance with all legal requirements,' and also that 'All operations will be in accordance with regulations prescribed under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1937, and orders and regulations issued thereunder,' and that section 8 of Operating Procedure G-1, issued by the Works Progress Administration, provided that 'Projects must be genuinely useful to the public' and 'Projects shall not be undertaken for the benefit of private * * improvements may be made only to public property * *, which property is held either for the conduct of normal governmental function or for the general use of the public'.

ernmental function or for the general use of the public."
"It will be observed, however, that nowhere in the complaint is it alleged that the defendant had any control over the construc-

tion of the project, nor is it alleged that in the actual construction there was any deviation from the bare provisions of the law, nor from the regulations which were duly issued by proper authority thereunder. The United States, plaintiff herein, through its officials

and its agents, had full control of the construction and completion of the project sponsored by the city of Columbus.

"The type of project or proposal, as alleged in the complaint, was a proper one, and the complaint alleges that the plaintiff 'in all things performed and completed' the proj-

ect. Nowhere in the complaint is there an allegation to the effect that the defendant agreed that after the completion of the project the same would be used in any specified ect the same would be the manner or for any paricular purpose or purposes. There has been alleged no fraud on the part of the defendant. The complaint merely alleges that the defendant 'converted' the project, that is, 'the community recreation building,' by leasing the same to a private individual for the operation of a liquor store. The answer, incidentally, denies that the defendant leased the building to another for the operation of a liquor store, but asserts that it operates a municipal liquor store therein and has a contract of employment with the one who manages it. There may be some question whether, under the laws of the State of North Dakota, the city of Columbus could itself operate a municipal liquor store. But, with such questions the United States has no concern. The interest of the United States in the project ceased when the primary purpose of the act had been served through giving work relief, by completion of the project, and its release to the defendant.

"For the reasons stated I am of the opinion that the complaint fails to state a cause of action and the case will be ordered dis-

missed."

Accordingly, it would appear that the several Emergency Relief Appropriation Acts do not require, in the absence of fraud, any WPA projects authorized thereunder to be used only for the purpose contemplated in

the act after their completion.

The completed project when turned over to the municipality is not impressed with any right or restriction controlled by the United States but may be used or disposed of by the municipality in any manner allowed by the laws governing it when the project has served the purpose for which Federal assistance was granted, viz., the relief of unemployment, or when its useful life, as determined by the responsible town officials, has lapsed.

Sincerely yours,

GENERAL COUNSEL.

Stop the Current Drift Toward Atomic War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, on April 2, 14 Protestant church leaders joined in an appeal to President Eisenhower to stop the current drift toward atomic war. This is a message which comes, I believe, from the heart of the American people.

I ask unanimous consent that an article in the New York Times of April 3, reporting the dispatch of this letter, and also setting forth the text of the letter, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESIDENT ASKED TO STOP WAR DRIFT—FOUR-TEEN PROTESTANT LEADERS SIGN APPEAL AVERT ATOMIC SMASH-CHINA COURSE

Fourteen protestant church leaders urged President Eisenhower yesterday to stop the current drift toward atomic war.

In a letter to the President, the churchmen took sharp issue with White House advisers who have advocated all-out war to destroy Red China's industrial potential. The letter said:

"We are shocked, Mr. President, that these advisers urge you, who have stood always consent to all-out war and the use of atomic bombs. Such an irresponsible policy would expose the United States Government and the American people before the whole world as wanton aggressors."

The churchmen were equally critical of the thesis that the United States is honor bound to defend the Quemoy and Matsu Islands or to protect Chiang Kai-shek from

losing face.

'We think that to risk worldwide atomic war for the prestige of Chiang Kai-shek would not only be a folly, but a crime of the first magnitude," they added.

LIST OF SIGNATURES

Signers of the letter were:

The Right Reverend Norman B. Nash, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts.

Bishop John Wesley Lord, of the Boston area of the Methodist Church.

The Reverend Dr. John A. Mackay, president, Princeton Theological Seminary.

The Right Reverend Charles K. Gilbert, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York, retired.

The Reverend Guy Emery Shippler, editor, the Churchman (Protestant Episcopal). The Reverend John Bradbury, editor, the Watchman-Examiner (Baptist).

The Reverend J. Tremayne Copplestone,

editor, Zions Herald (Methodist)

The Reverend Dr. Phillips Packer Elliott, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn.

Emerson Hugh Lalone, editor, the Universalist Leader.

The Reverend Dr. John Towland Lathrop, minister, First Unitarian Church, Brooklyn. Clarence Pickett, honorary second American Friends Service Committee. secretary,

W. Stanley Rycroft, secretary for Latin America of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United

States of America. John C. Slemp, editor, Missions (Baptist). Stanley I. Stuber, general secretary of the Japan International Christian University Foundation.

TEXT OF LETTER TO PRESIDENT

The letter follows:

"We, the undersigned clergymen, laymen, and editors of Protestant journals, writing as individuals, are profoundly disturbed by the current drift in Washington toward war.

"According to the New York Times of March 26, 1955, high policy advisers are suggesting a strong action against the Chinese mainland, which has been ominously labeled 'Operation Smash China.' Some such advisers, said the Times, advocate war on an all-out basis, with the objective to destroy Red China's industrial potential.

'We are shocked, Mr. President, that these advisers urge you, who have stood always for peace, to consent to all-out war and the use of atomic bombs. Such an irresponsible policy would expose the United States Government and the American people before the whole world as wanton aggressors.

"The New York Times dispatch says it is 'the conviction in official quarters that Russia does not wish to risk a general war' and that 'Red China wishes to avoid involvement in a general war.'

"Why then shall we start all-out war against the Chinese mainland? How, we ask, can the administration expect to have a united people behind our foreign policy? There are millions of upright Americans whose Christian conscience would never tolerate such an action."

PREMISES TERMED "FLIMSY"

"Your advisers say that we are honorbound, to defend Quemoy and Matsu, and the only way to do it would be to smash China,

There is also talk that we must protect Chiang Kai-shek from losing face. We think that to risk worldwide atomic war for the prestige of Chiang Kai-shek would not only be a folly, but a crime of the first magni-

"The arguments in favor of waging preventive war are unbelievably filmsy and faulty. The promoters of the smash China plan predict that Russia would stay out of such a war.

"As you will recall, our military experts were wrong on China in 1950. We fear that they are blundering again. Why should Russia, also honorbound by treaty, stand idly by and see her ally destroyed by atomic

"Mr. President, we implore you to stop this drift toward atomic war. We wholeheartedly agree with a recent editorial in the New York Times that it would be a vast tragedy if we stumble into war against the intentions and wishes of the majority of our people and our allies.

"As Christians and citizens we urge you to exercise in this critical hour your strong leadership for peace. We agree fully with the New York Times editorial which said:

"'It is time that the fire-eaters in Washington, whether in the Pentagon, or else-

where, went into silence.'

"Mr. President, if the world is to be saved from irretrievable disaster, we must be-gin to think and act positively in terms of peace. As Christians we know that war, atomic war, will bring no solution. Mr. President, said recently that 'there is no alternative to peace' and 'the concept of atomic war is too horrible for men to endure and to practice; we must find some way out

"If we blunder into atomic war, there will be no victors and few survivors. The only way to find a solution for remaining con-

flicts is by negotiation.

"In years past we negotiated the Berlin blockade, the thorny question of Trieste, the Korean war, and the jungle war in Indochina. Shall we now plunge mankind into the abyss for the tiny islands of Quemoy and Matsu? These islands are a part of Chinese mainland and we should evacuate

"As for Formosa, we must negotiate either on the basis of the two-China concept or as a neutralized sanctuary for Chiank Kai-shek under the trusteeship of the United Nations.

"Mr. President, as Christians we cannot be silent at this critical juncture of United States history. Our conscience compels us to oppose an aggressive all-out war policy. Your decisions, Mr. President, will not only affect the safety and well-being of 165 million Americans, but your stand for peace will benefit the whole human race.

"We beg you, Mr. President, to continue your action for peace, stop the drift toward war, insist on peaceful settlement of differences between nations. The problem of today is not the prestige of Chiang Kai-shek, but the survival of our civilization."

The Late Reverend Father Peter A. Crumbley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, a great man and a great priest whose whole life was a constructive and most

influential one in the service of God and mankind was the late Reverend Father Peter A. Crumbley, O. F. M., Franciscan Order.

We read and hear much of the juvenile problem but Father Crumbley considered this important problem years ahead of others.

In my extension of remarks, I include an article based on an interview with Father Crumbley-or Father Peter as he was endearingly called-written by Louis M. Lyons and appearing in the Boston Globe of November 3, 1935. The views of Father Crumbley are as applicable today and probably more so, than when he expressed them years ago.

Father Crumbley was a friend of mine whom I greatly admired. Anyone who met Father Crumbley during his lifetime was a better person because of such meeting.

The article follows:

NONE PORN A CRIMINAL, DECLARES FATHER CRUMBLY-ONE-TIME PRISON CHAPLAIN SAYS NEGLECTED CHILDHOOD TO BLAME-PUTS IT UP TO PARENTS

(By Louis M. Lyons)

"You've had the confidence of thousands of criminals; what do they tell you gave them a start in crime?" I asked Father Peter A. Crumbly, the Franciscan friar whose experience with crime has ranged from his early connection with juvenile courts and reform schools through a number of years as chaplain of Joliet Penitentiary.

"It's the almost unanimous verdict of criminals that the start of their troubles was a neglected childhood," the priest replied.

"I've talked with thousands in the penitentiaries. 'If I'd had a break when I was a kid,' they tell me—'My father was a drunk-ard. My mother was no good. We lived in a tough neighborhood. I got running with a tough gang. Then once I got in the jug every man's hand was against me. Once a convict always a convict.' That's what they say.

CAN BE REFORMED

"Yet I know the majority of criminals can be reformed. I never met a boy who was all bad. It's the business of the friends of boys and of patriotic citizens generally to discover the good in problem children and fan the sparks into the flame of a good life.

"Take a child almost incorrigible. He is a hero worshiper. Let him attach himself to a fine person and it will make a man of him. Somebody has a responsibility for these young people. In the first place, it is the parents' responsibility to teach respect for authority. But where there is insufficient home influence the employer can do a great deal. If a businessman has a young clerk who is running wild, getting into bad company, drinking, a word from the boss would go further than preaching. The businessman is too apt to say, 'It is not my responsibility' and let an opportunity go to help at a critical time."

The mission father's black pipe went out during this long passage. He got up, gathered his medieval brown robes about him. and made his way to the kitchen of his good friend and old Army mate, James F. Fitzgerald, at Milton, to get some old-fashioned matches. Then his host's children came tumbling in to tell him about the pheasant's nest that he must crawl under the shed to see. But like other veterans he has grown a little thick for crawling under sheds. So he took their word for it. Then there was phoning about the address he is to deliver at the Copley-Plaza ballroom this afternoon on Youthful Criminals—What Is Our Responsibility to Them? His lecture is to help the guild of St. Elizabeth finance its day nursery.

NO AUTOS THEN

His pipe going again, Father Crumbly remarked that his earliest recollection of home was his father with his pipe, and the old gentleman still enjoys a smoke at 80.

"My father could supervise me enough," he said. "There were no autos then. Parents have more of a task now. I'm afraid many of them aren't up to it. When I speak to a Rotary Club I say, 'Look your son over. He has your appearance and characteristics. Did you ever stop to think that he has your temptations multiplied many times by modern conditions?' Young people run their own lives now. Parents let them have their own rein; let them go anywhere, read anything, see anything. marvel to me that chidren are as good as they are.

"We who have responsibility owe them moral support and encouragement. Parents and teachers should protect them from what they lack experience to know is undermining to their lives. If we fulfill our responsibility to them as children, we won't have to lock them up in the penitentiary later on. I say that if we take care of a boy in his teens the rest of his life will take of itself. Keep a boy decent until he is 20 and his life will solve itself. By that time he will be interested in some nice girl and they will plan their lives together. But let a fellow run wild from 13 to 20 and you get

a scarred brand at maturity.
"We have no criminal class," the priest insisted out of his many years' experience with men who have committed crimes. "No one is born a criminal a priori any more than anyone is born to die of tuberculosis; neither science nor sociology will solve the crime problem. It is not due to ignorance, nor heredity, nor environment. It is bred in woeful disrespect for authority—for all authority-domestic, civil, ecclesiastic. If a man doesn't observe the commandments of God, how can we expect him to obey the laws of man? The sanction of an honorable man is conscience. The sanction of the gangster is fear. The first duty is the parents.

RESULTS INSPIRING

"I think the young people today, although they have their elders mystified, have many consoling characteristics to those of us who love and study them. Just before I came here I conducted a retreat for 700 high-school boys in Chicago, and the week before that one for 900 boys in St. Paul. I specialize in that work for high-school boys. The result is most inspiring to me.

'To the casual observer the high school lad appears flippant and irresponsible. My impression is that he is neither indifferent nor irrepressible. He is sensitive and selfconscious and adopts a flippant manner to cover his true feelings. He hates sentimentality from adults. But as soon as he discovers an older person who has a true sympathy for youth expressed in a man-toman way, he returns respect where he finds it.

"The high school lad realizes that he is in between a child and a man. Subconsciously he is aware that he is neither child nor vet a man. A lot of his deviltry is to cover up that. A 15-year-old is all hands and feet and awkwardness in the presence of adults. But in his own gang he can be a ringleader. My method is to get in with them and be a friend. Not a spy but a leader. Soon they lose their restraint. Supposedly tough lads want me to see their football games. They respond to a true interest.

The high school boy of today is convinced that grownups have made a mess of this world. I don't know but he's right. They blame our generation for the depression and the lack of peace in the world. They aren't articulate about it, but they sense that the results we have got don't much appeal to them. Whoever can lead the heart and mind of this generation of young people will con-trol the world. My interest is to develop them for God and for good citizenship."

He described his activity in the Catholic

Youth Order, started by Bishop B. J. Sheil of Chicago, which has recruited 100,000 boys for wholesome interests with its sponsorship of sports tournaments and scholarships.

"It's kept thousands of boys off the streets," he said. "No religious man ever went to jail, whatever his religion. Through the interest the Catholic Youth Order has developed among boys from the crowded quarters of the great cities, we have brought thousands of their families back into touch with religious impulses. Many of their peoplenew here from Italy, Poland, or elsewherehad lost touch with the church. Through their boys' associations, oftentimes whole families have found a church home. A lot of talent is wasted in dealing with youth because everyone has his own fad to try out. But life is not complicated if we will keep our minds clear about it."

On the telephone the guild wanted to know what Father Crumbly would wear for his lecture. He had brought a Prince Albert for an afternoon lecture on a lay subject to a general audience. Mrs. Fitzgerald agreed. Her taste and judgment was against the spectacular. But the suggestion was that he wear the garb of his order because of the romantic appearance of the medieval gown with its cord, and hood, and cross.

The problem was suspended for the time. But it led Father Crumbly to speak of the romance of the Franciscan Order, founded by St. Francis of Assisi in 1209.

CAME WITH COLUMBUS

It was a Franciscan padre, he recalled, who brought Christianity to America with Columbus.

"Padre Juan Perez, O. F. M., was the father confessor of Isabella, Queen of Spain, and also a man of science and as such interested in Columbus' proposed explorations. Padre Perez persuaded Isabella to finance Columbus' voyage, then himself joined it as chaplain and upon the landing at San Salvadore erected a cross and consecrated the newly discovered land to God. So we say we brought the church to America," said the priest.

"Other Franciscans established themselves in Florida and in Canada and Mexico and spread their missions up the Pacific coast to San Luis Rey, Santa Barbara, and as far as Sacramento.

Franciscans take the vow of poverty. Neither they as individuals nor their order may own property. Father Crumbly is now his father's only heir and it became necessary for his father to make a will, since the son cannot inherit his property. To cover the law, his father has willed the priest \$10.

This is the Franciscan missionary's first public lecture here though he has been often in Boston. As chaplain of the 601st Engineers he was attached to the Engineering Training School of the First Army Corps of the AEF where James F. Fitzgerald, of Milton, and Frank Nolan, postmaster of Avon, became his fast friends. A missionary of his order now, the Franciscan travels from Canada to California, holding retreats, preaching a simple religious faith. Buoyant in spirit, hearty in physique, as much a man's man as any of his veteran buddies, Father Crumbly, now graying and broadening to a comfortable middle age, chuckles to recall his first job as a boy in Appleton, Wis., was delivering the Ashland Daily Press whose editor then was Joe Mitchell Chapple, Bos-Mrs. Fitzgerald says her ton editor now. husband's good missionary friend is the most comfortable guest she ever has in the house. For one thing he gets his own matches.

FHA Facilities for El Paso

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. T. RUTHERFORD

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I submit the following letter which, as the date indicates, was written by me on April 7, 1955, as the result of an incident which transpired during the time Congress was in recess for the Easter holidays:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Washington, D. C., April 7, 1955.

Mr. GEORGE HERVEY,

El Paso, Tex.

DEAR MR. HERVEY: In connection with our telephone conversation of yesterday, you implied that a newspaper report had intentionally or unintentionally left the impression that I was condemning or was critical of persons who sent me telegrams in support of a Federal Housing Administration insuring office in El Paso. Such was not my position or intentions, and I therefore want to state very clearly and as concisely as possible the full situation.

I was recently contacted by an individual who informed me that he was the authorized chairman of a committee of the El Paso Home Builders Association, the purpose and sole function of this committee being to obtain and present factual information to the FHA supporting the office for El Paso. I was specifically told that the approach and procedure would be to present these facts to the district office of the FHA in Lubbock, and then here in Washington.

I was told by this committee chairman that their intent was to show the need and justification for establishing the office in El Paso, and not to engage in political pressure tactics which might be harmful to the project. In this, I concurred.

This report had been transmitted, I understood, to Mr. Norman P. Mason, Chief of the Washington FHA office. The officials requested time to study the report and conduct an investigation and survey so that subsequently, if possible, such an office might be established in El Paso.

Within a few short hours after Mr. Mason had started the survey, an attorney from El Paso, who said he represented you, Sam Guido, Jr., and a Mr. Kirkpatrick et al., presented himself in my office and stated that he was interested in obtaining the office. He made it clear that he represented only a small group of the El Paso Home Builders Association and that he was not to be considered as spokesman for the majority of the members of this organization. He explained to me that under the conditions of a contract he had with you and others, he would be paid the sum of \$5,000 if the office should be obtained for El Paso.

He also stated to me that he urged his clients to engineer a telegram campaign to coincide with his efforts. Now bear in mind that at this time I had not received formal, informal, official or unofficial requests to exert efforts in behalf of obtaining the FHA facilities for El Paso.

I had not received any fact, information or statistics which would place me in a position to make a formal or logical request, and present to the official here the case, founded on facts and not fancy, in behalf of El Paso. You, nor anyone in your particular group, at this point had contacted me in regards to the project requesting the establishment of such an office in El Paso, nor of the status of the situation. As stated, I had no facts whatsoever. Instead, I was greeted by 98 telegrams, and, I presume, others will come.

My position as regards those who sent the telegrams is this: these persons, I assume, were informed by you or your group that their help was needed in obtaining this fa-You possibly told them that the congressional officials here—Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, Senator PRICE DANIEL, and myselfhad all the facts and all we needed was an avalanche of telegrams expressing interest in the project, in order to be able to get it.

These people who sent the telegrams were sincere, civic-minded citizens who, upon the advice given by uninformed and unfair individuals, were given an erroneous impression and were denied the benefit of the full facts. These people were unaware of the true status

and situation.

Had you and your group taken the time and effort to have checked with the Texas Senators and myself, we would have told you that we would be happy to work on the project if you would but furnish us the facts we needed. Then after we had presented the case to the FHA and the proper officials had made a study, should the request have been denied, we would have welcomed and, in fact, solicited additional statements from business and civic leaders in El Paso.

Not only were your actions ill-timed, and of such nature as to possibly hinder our project, but if you had checked you would have known that Congress is not in session due to the Easter holidays and that both Texas Senators are out of town and will be for 2 weeks hence. (I might add, I am here because although the House is in recess, there is much other work than House action to be done here in Washington.)

May I sum this up by stating that at no time will I condemn people for expressing their opinions, and, in fact, I encourage and cordially invite such opinions. But it grieves me deeply when the expressions are engineered on unsuspecting and sincere people who believe in their hearts and minds that they are rendering a service; when, unknown to them, their sincere desire to be helpful is being used for other motives.

Furthermore, I think it was unethical and improper for anyone to pay, or to offer to pay, anyone else a sum of money for obtaining a legitimate project from the Government, for the good of the community. This in itself casts an undesirable reflection upon the project and besides is unkind in its implied purpose of discrediting the sincerity, ability, and desire for cooperation and achievement of the two Members of the United States Senate from Texas, and myself.

I feel that because of a lack of cooperation on your part and the lack of sincerity and purpose of a few individuals, the possibility of obtaining the office for El Paso has been endangered and possibly destroyed. And, I might add, until these tactics were used I think the project had a better-than-fair chance of being obtained.

For your information may I state that I am still personally and officially in support of the project to obtain these FHA facilities for El Paso. I think the request, if based upon fact and legitimate information, is fair; I believe the facility is needed and desirable. And I am hopeful that we can wash away the dirt which has been splattered on this project, making it eventually possible to obtain this service.

Mr. Hervey, the case is not a new one. Such instances have happened in the past, and I suppose, will continue to happen in the future. But it is unfortunate when a few selfish individuals by their intentional or unintentional actions, take a decent, fine, and respectable thing and cause it to be smeared or destroyed.

As I stated to you on the telephone yesterday, in addition to the tactics outlined above, certain improper, illegal, and unethical proposals were made to me in conjunc-tion with this project and I deeply resent such actions. My present position is not to further amplify these advances. My sole reason is not to further jeopardize or cast an ill reflection upon the project and a host of decent citizens who are sincere in their efforts to obtain this FHA facility. However, I will not hesitate to recall the situation around these advances should it justify the purpose.

I hope in the future it will be possible for us to achieve a unity in purpose, brought about by a sincere desire to be of service to the community, in this and other projects. I'll assure you such service to the people of west Texas is my sole purpose and intent. Sincerely,

J. T. RUTHERFORD, Congressman, 16th District, Texas.

Mr. Speaker, the purpose here is to serve notice to this group and to all concerned that I shall not tolerate such tactics or procedure, and that the situation and position stated, by request is here given. It is my hope that we will now go forward for the benefit of all. Nothing could be accomplished by continuing this affair further except to destroy this project and friendly re-

lations.

Would Lincoln Have Dismissed Corsi?-Remarks on the 90th Anniversary of His Death

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, April is a month of significant anniversaries. Ninety years ago on this April 14 Abraham Lincoln was assassinated at Ford's Theater in the Nation's Capital. That tragic event not only has made a lasting impression on American history but saddened and shocked the American people—even the leaders and the people in the South were shocked. For, as you know, the first memorial service for Lincoln was conducted by former Confederate veterans. The body of the President rested for a while under the dome of this Capitol Building and throngs of grieving Americans passed his

It is to be regretted that the great crowds which visit the Nation's Capital each year cannot visit Ford's Theater where this tragic event took place. They cannot visit the Ford's Theater because there is no Ford's Theater. It is advertised as such but, in reality, the present building is merely a warehouse museum to which an admission is charged. Steps should be taken to restore the building as it was on that fatal night, when the mad actor, Booth, struck his fatal blow. Only last year the Congress authorized studies looking toward a partial restoration at least. Let us hope that these studies go forward, and that the admission charge

to enter this shrine be eliminated. There is no admission charge to the Lincoln Memorial, and there should be none at Ford's Theater.

Every school child knows the Lincoln story. Everyone who comes to our shores as visitors or as immigrants knows and is moved by the story of this great American who belongs to the ages. But, today, it is clear that some of the presentday leaders in the great political party which he played a major part in establishing have forgotten, if they ever knew, another part of the Lincoln story which is equally vital and valid, and equally important to our times.

Lincoln, the man of the people, had a high regard for the contribution which the immigrants to America through the years, and the descendants of those who reached our shores in earlier years, have made to our country, for the richness and variety of cultures they brought; for the sacrifices they have made in the battles fought to preserve and strengthen our country; and the contributions these peoples from all the countries of the earth have made to every phase of our

In a speech in Cincinnati, on February 12, 1861, Lincoln said:

In regard to Germans and foreigners, I esteem them not better than other people, nor any worse. It is not my nature when I see a people borne down by the weight of their shackles-the oppression of tyrannyto make their life more bitter by heaping upon them greater burdens; but rather would I do all in my power to raise the yoke than to add anything that would tend to crush them * * * if there are any abroad that desire to make this the land of their adoption, it is not in my heart to throw aught in their way to prevent them from coming to the United States.

One thinks of the lonely railsplitter, the war President, the man of the people, enshrined forever in the magnificent Lincoln Memorial in Washington which is visited by thousands each year from all parts of the country, whose writings and deeds live forever in the lives and minds of his countrymen. And one finds in his words spoken to the German community at Cincinnati an echo in the immortal stanzas of Emma Lazurus which are inscribed on the base of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor:

Give me your tired, your poor,

Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.

The wretched refuse of your teeming shores. Send these, your homeless, tempest-tossed to me.

I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

Yes, we recognize that the political party which Abraham Lincoln helped to establish has contributed much to American life, to the realization of Lincoln's ideas, to the fulfillment of the American dream. But Lincoln's concern with the workingman, with the common people, the concern that was expressed in so many of his speeches, and in such phrases as: "God must have loved the common people, he made so many of them," and his concern with the foreigner who comes to our shore to make a new life has been often forgotten and often betraved.

The political party which made him President has come upon evil days, indeed, when one of its leading figures can take the position he has in regard to the refugee problem, and in regard to Edward J. Corsi, an immigrant born in Italy. I would like to quote here from an editorial in the Trenton Evening Times of Tuesday, April 12, 1955:

THE CASE OF CORST

A great deal of difficulty has been experienced during recent years in retaining desirable and highly qualified men in the Federal service. Washington holds little appeal for them and for one reason or another they pack their bags and depart for home, with or without a friendly note of regret and thanks from President Eisenhower.

There has never been any deep mystery as to the reasons for the continuing turnover in high places in the Government service. It is to be found principally in the readiness of the administration to offer a victim in sacrifice once the wolves begin to howl.

The case of Edward J. Corsi stands as a notable example of official cowardice. Mr. Corsi was regarded as ideally fitted for the post of special immigration adviser when he was named 3 months ago. He was a leading New York Republican who had been the party's candidate for mayor and had held important public offices.

But he proved to be a champion of liberal immigration policies and as such aroused the opposition of the restrictionists.

There were no definite and specific charges, nor is there anything in the record to support a suspicion against Mr. Corsi. In fact, only 8 days ago he was lauded by President Eisenhower for his "integrity and ability." Nevertheless, Secretary of State Dulles, surrendering supinely to a single critic, has dismissed him.

Why should men of ability and loyalty bother with public service when they are aware that there is always the danger that they will be subjected to such indignity?

One can think how saddened Lincoln would be were he alive today to see the ignoble position taken by his party's leaders.

I have joined a number of my colleagues in introducing a bill, H. R. 4533, to amend and revise the laws relating to immigration, naturalization, nationality, and citizenship, and for other purposes.

I can think of no greater tribute to Abraham Lincoln than to make the Refugee Relief Act work as it was intended to work by the Congress, and to enact into law H. R. 4533, which would carry out the noblest of the American traditions.

State Soldiers' Homes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on March 30, 1955, I had printed in the Appendix of the Congressional Record a letter from Gen. William J. Keville concerning State soldiers' homes in which he quoted Mr. W. Rex McCrosson. Mr. McCrosson has asked me to correct the quotation by inserting his letter which follows:

New Jersey Memorial.

Home for Disabled

Soldiers, Sailors, Marines,

and Their Wives and Widows,

Vineland, N. J., March 15, 1955.

Col. G. H. STORDOCK,

Secretary-Treasurer, National Association of State Veterans Homes, King, Wis.

DEAR COLONEL: Now as to the subject in the letter of John Quigley regarding the arrangement proposed by the States of West Virginia and Georgia, I must say I am in accord with their action. The State homes, as I see them at the present time, are divided into 2 groups, 1 of whom provides general medical, surgical, and domiciliary care, and the major number of which provide only domiciliary care with nursing attention.

New Jersey was the first State to have a soldiers' home. The laws enacted at that time generally, I think you find, were that any honorably discharged veteran who was necessitous and had not the ability to procure the means for his support and necessary care and attention, was eligible and should be furnished with the necessary subsistence, medical and surgical attention.

Until the advent of the Veterans' Bureau the homes generally carried out this intent. The lack of adequate facilities for mental cases and for general medical hospitals was furnished by these soldiers' homes.

With the advent of the Veterans' Bureau and the development of the Veterans' Administration program of mental and general medical hospitals, many of the cases that were formerly taken care of in the soldiers' homes were diverted to these facilities, and while the eligibility remained, the appropriations were not made by the States to carry out their responsibilities under the then existing laws.

I can see no reason why the home having a full medical program should not have the same support from the Federal Government as a purely domiciliary home for its patients. In fact, I would be in favor of having those patients who receive general medical care secure a greater per diem allowance than those who are given purely domiciliary care. By the same token, I cannot conclude that a particular illness should be excluded from care within our soldiers' homes merely because we label that illness under the general classification of mental

under the general classification of mental. Now if the States choose to have their general medical hospital at one point in the State and their mental hospital at another point, as long as the veterans are taken care of adequately I think that the statute applying to the soldiers' homes for reimbursement should be extended to them, and I think that Georgia and West Virginia will be great examples for encouraging other States who are not now providing for their veterans except in the local, State, or county mental and TB institutions provided for all citizens, to provide the necessary funds and facilities, so that all veterans therein might receive attention under the supervision of the soldiers' homes.

Since there are a great many veterans in all of the States in the mental institutions because of inability to secure beds in the Veterans' Administration institutions we can return to the original policy of the State fully providing for its veterans and the Federal Government extending aid, as they have done since the soldiers' homes were originally instituted for all veterans needing care.

To object or raise an issue by this association I think would hardly be in character. Don't let's be put in the position of preventing our veterans from receiving as much support from all concerned as possible. If the Congress don't choose to make sufficient appropriations for this type of care I think

that is their responsibility. That it will affect the present contribution made to the soldiers' homes as presently operated, is only taking counsel of our fears.

In the final analysis the question that has to be decided is: Is it the Federal Government's responsibility to take care of all veterans, service- and non-service-connected, who require care, or is the Federal Government only going to take care of service-connected cases of all types, including domiciliary, leaving the non-service-connected veterans to the States? If this is the way the Federal Government is moving, do not let us discourage States who are willing to assume additional obligations to their veterans, Very truly yours,

W. REX McCrosson.

Fortieth Anniversary of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the youngest of the laboratories of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, which is observing its 40th anniversary today, is located at the edge of the Cleveland Hopkins Municipal Airport. Its name, the Lewis Flight Propulsion Laboratory, tells its mission—power plant research.

Here, more than 2,500 specialists are searching for ways and means to make our engines—the turbojets, the ram jets, and the rockets—more powerful and more economical in fuel consumption. Upon the success of their efforts depends, in large degree, how much faster and higher and farther can fly the airplanes and missiles we build tomorrow.

One of the most interesting and inspiring days I have ever spent came not long after the voters of the 23d District of Ohio elected me their Representative. Then, I visited the NACA's Lewis Laboratory to see at first hand what was being accomplished.

From Dr. E. R. Sharp, director of the great research center, I was told how the Cleveland location was chosen in 1940 as the site of the NACA's greatly expanded powerplant research activity. I was proud to hear again how the Cleveland businessmen had done everything within their power to assure that the site would be ideal, as in fact it has proved to be.

I was told, too, about the late Dr. George W. Lewis, for whom the laboratory is named. Director of NACA's research program from 1919 to 1947 when he retired because of broken health, as much a war casualty as any man who fell on the battlefield, Dr. Lewis had considered the new powerplant laboratory a personal responsibility, and despite the immensity of the burdens he carried at NACA headquarters here in Washington, he traveled each week to Cleveland to give personal attention to the many complex problems associated with improvement of aircraft engines.

As Dr. Sharp took me around the laboratory, I was impressed by the youth of the technical staff engaged in work which could mean victory or defeat for the United States in any future war. I was equally impressed by the intensity with which these young scientists were working.

Military security limits my telling you what is transpiring today at the Lewis Laboratory. But, by a single example, I believe I can illustrate how valuable is the work being done. Right after World War II, NACA research men at the Lewis Laboratory began pioneering work with thrust augmentation-burning additional quantities of fuel in the tailpipe of a turbojet engine. The problems were many; they were very difficult to solve. The result: today, afterburners are used on the engines which power most of our fast military aircraft. These afterburners can provide as much as a 100 percent increase in the thrust which the turbojet engine provides.

I was interested, just as I know every Member of Congress is interested, to learn what is being done at the Lewis Laboratory about harnessing nuclear energy to airplanes. Again, military security prevents me from making detailed comments, but this much it is proper to note:

The performance capabilities to be realized from using nuclear energy for aircraft propulsion will enable nonstop supersonic flight to any point on the face of the earth, and return. With so large a gain the goal, industry, the Atomic Energy Commission, the military services, and the NACA are participating in vigorous, sustained attacks on the formidable technical problems that remain to be solved.

The huge, complex equipment that is used at the Lewis Laboratory in study of powerplant problems is very necessary, but in the last analysis, it is the caliber of the men and women who work there that counts most. From Dr. Sharp, on down, the people at the Lewis research center are representative of the best in the many scientific fields which have a bearing on aircraft propulsion. They are dedicated people. All America can be proud of the work they are doing.

The Corsi Affair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article by George Sokolsky, from the Washington Post and Times Herald of April 14, 1954:

THE CORSI AFFAIR

(By George Sokolsky)

The Corsi case raises certain general principles, namely, whether an official appointed to a subordinate position in a Government department may determine the policy of that department on a particular question; secondly, whether the head of a Government

department is bound to keep a man on willy-nilly, once he is dissatified with his work or his attitude.

Edward J. Corsi has for many years been a henchman in New York of Thomas E. Dewey, kept on the public payroll in the hope that he could gather for the Republicans a portion of the Italian vote. Most Italians in this State are Democrats, having been duly corralled into that party during the days of the New Deal.

Fiorelo La Guardia was a Republican when he ran for Congress. Subsequently, he became nonpartisan, or, to state it more accurately, omnipartisan, just as he managed to belong to all sorts of nationality and religious groups, "Butch" as his friends called him, was usually in political partnership with Vito Marcantonio who sought, in Harlem, both Fascist and Communist support, eventually leaving the Fascists behind him as numerically unimportant. La spoke a multitude of languages and therefore did as well at an orthodox Jewish bar mitzvah as at an Irish Catholic wake. "Butch" was an amazing vote-getter, but he never succeeded in making Republicans out of Italians.

Nor was Corsi more successful. He ran for mayor against Impellitteri and Pecora, that being the year when the politicians thought only an Italian could win in New York. Corsi was trounced, but Dewey gave him a job, as Dewey always took care of his own. It was only natural, therefore, that when Averell Harriman, a Democrat, was elected governor of the State of New York, Corsi should become unemployed and that a place should be sought for him in Washington.

Why John Foster Dulles, our much bedeviled Secretary of State, should have Corsi loaded upon him, is not too difficult to understand. Where else could Corsi be unloaded? He is a specialist in a foreign language group and in the particular interests of this foreign language group. This relationship is clarified by the intervention of Max Rabb, Eisenhower's political adviser.

So, Rabb apparently helped land Corsi a job in the State Department to "liberalize" the McCarran-Walter immigration law. Of course, if that law or any law is to be changed it is Congress that has to do it. The function of the executive branch of the Government is to administer and execute the laws of Congress, not to change them. So Representative Walter raised up a howl, and Corsi was offered a transfer. Whereupon Corsi shouted, "McCarthy!" and the liberals went into action.

JOE MCCARTHY had as much to do with Corsi's being hired and fired as you or I did, but just as in the circus, when there is trouble, the shout goes up, "Hey, rube!" So among the so-called liberals, the battle cry is "McCarthy!" Then they find themselves organized and fighting. The ADA goes into action, and the individual in question becomes a "victim." Then Jim Haggerty announces that the President never heard about the matter and therefore is not to blame.

Medical Services to Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want inserted in the Appendix of the Record the following resolution of the council of administration of the Michigan de-

partment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

This resolution protests the suggested drastic reductions in Federal medical services to veterans and others as recommended in a recent report by the Hoover Commission.

I should like to add that I support the dissenting view to this report submitted by the Honorable Chet Holifield. It is not in keeping with the often expressed intent of Congress to take a narrow view of medical facilities for veterans. The veteran population continues high, and as it grows older the need for medical service will increase.

It is essential that waste and inefficiency be eliminated but this should not be used as a guise to drastically reduce these important Federal medical facil-

The following resolution was adopted at a meeting in Clare, Mich., and was transmitted to me by Christie J. Braun, department quartermaster, adjutant of the Department of Michigan, Veterans of Foreign Wars:

I hereby move or resolve, as the case may be, that this council of administration go on record as opposing the recommendations of the Hoover Commission task force as they pertain to the treatment and handling of the veterans and their benefits in this country; and that the Hoover Commission be reminded that if they would serve these United States, they would cause to be worked out some method whereby the aged, the tubercular, the paraplegic, and the mentally disturbed veteran be taken care of as befits the greatest, and wealthiest, and the most powerful Nation yet to inhabit the face of this earth; and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Michigan congressional delegation.

NACA 40th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD J. ROBESON, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. ROBESON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, today the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, the Federal agency responsible for fundamental, scientific aeronautical research in the United States, is observing its 40th anniversary. I should like to express felicitations. I should like also to wish that in the years ahead the NACA may continue to provide the essential foundation of information upon which our continued aerial supremacy must rest.

I should like to speak briefly about the oldest and largest of the research centers which the NACA operates. It is the Langley Aeronautical Laboratory, located at Langley Field near Hampton in the First District of Virginia which I

am honored to represent.

During its first year, 1915, the NACA was little more than what its name implies, an advisory committee. Composed at the time of 12 members instead of 17 as at present, the NACA promptly decided that if the United States, the birthplace of the airplane, was to regain its lead in aeronautics, intensified re-

search activity was imperative. Within its first year, the NACA had taken the beginning steps to acquire such needed research equipment, and before 1916 had ended, the site now known as Langley Field was chosen.

What a proud name for an aeronautical institution to bear-in honor of Samuel Pierpont Langley. Even before 1889 when Professor Langley went to the Smithsonian Institution, that national repository of historic treasures, he had undertaken trailblazing in the infant science of aeronautics. He continued his aeronautical experimentation, and by 1896 he had flown large, powered airplane models for distances of more than half-a-mile. His standing in the scientific community gave encouragement to many, including Wilbur and Orville Wright, to undertake aeronautical experimentation. Following two accidents late in 1903, his own work was ridiculed. But his failures do not detract from his greatness.

The NACA's first wind tunnel, located at the Langley Laboratory was in today's terms, very small. But it, and the equipment that was soon built, were used so effectively that by the late twenties, the technical journals of Europe were conceding that the work at Langley Field had placed the United States in the forefront of aeronautics. In the years since, our continued aerial supremacy has, no less, been due to the work of the NACA.

It is the paid staff of the NACA, the scientists and the other workers, whom we should salute as being so largely responsible for American leadership in the air. Until 1939, the Langely Laboratory was the only research establishment the NACA operated. The laboratories and field stations constructed since were given a good start by top men being sent from Langley to head them up.

I wish time permitted my naming every one of the men and women at Langely. Instead, I must be content to mention but two:

First, the director of the Langely Laboratory, Henry J. E. Reid. With the NACA since 1921, he was only 25 when he was named head of the scientific staff at the Laboratory. Over the years, Dr. Reid's splendid work as administrator of the Langley Laboratoy has become a model for others who would encourage highly trained young men to become the competent researchers so urgently needed.

Second, John Stack, now assistant director at the Langley Laboratory. In 1947 he was a co-winner of the Collier trophy, aviation's premier trophy. This was for his conception of the high-speed research airplane program which resulted in the first supersonic flight. In 1951 Mr. Stack was again a Collier trophy winner, this time for the work he and his associates did in conceiving, developing, and applying practically, the transonic wind-tunnel throat. I am no scientist, but I have been informed that this development—the transonic wind tunnel-has provided the United States with a research tool of utmost value in the design and production of tactical supersonic airplanes.

Today, the Langley Aeronautical Laboratory of the NACA has more than 3,000 scientists and supporting personnel working intensively on all manner of aeronautical problems. For example, those having to do with enabling our new military aircraft to fly at ever faster supersonic speeds; those which must be solved before the true intercontinental ballistic missile will have become an actuality; in hydrodynamics, making flying boats equally efficient at near supersonic speeds and while floating upon the uneasy waters of the seven seas; in structures, learning how to construct airplanes that will be stronger and yet lighter and safer.

All this, involving the use of giant wind tunnels and other research tools so complex as to make description difficult—all this has been possible because succeeding Congresses have authorized the necessary new construction and have appropriated the funds needed to make fruitful use of that new equipment.

Today, as I salute the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics and speak briefly of the important role Virginia's Langley Aeronautical Laboratory has played in achieving aerial supremacy, I pray that in Congress we may continue to have the wisdom to provide adequate support for this essential Government activity.

Present and Past Policies in Dealing With Communist China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WINT SMITH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago the Chinese Communists released several captive missionaries. They had been held in prison on the grounds that they were spies for the United States.

One of these young missionaries, 27 years of age, when he got back to the United States said:

I am guilty of military esplonage. I confessed my sins and wrote out my confession.

He seems to have been thoroughly brainwashed.

But listen to another story from inside Communist China, from one who was there

Bishop Cuthbert M. O'Gara who heads the Chinese mission diocese of Yuanling-Hunan Province, was a prisoner of the Chinese Communists from June 1951 to April 1953 and is therefore well qualified to speak with authority on the subject of our present and past policies in dealing with Communist China.

Because of the timeliness of Bishop O'Gara's remarks, it is with pleasure that I submit with his permission, this report, and recommend it highly for your reading:

"The people of the United States do not appreciate the magnitude of the defeat the West has suffered since 1945," said Bishop O'Gara. "It is incredible that such a small group of pro-Communists, pseudo-intellectuals, should have effected in so short a time

one of the greatest turnovers in the history of mankind"

Bishop O'Gara said this defeat could not be blamed on stupidity. He charges that it was brought about with full deliberation.

"No group of Americans could be that stupid," he charged. "The deliberate throwing away of our victory after World War II is confirmed by the whole list of 'stupidities' since VJ-day. And these stupidities are still going on. Someone is directing this sellout."

BIG LIE GROWS BIGGER

The Bishop told of the hope and confidence felt in Hunan, his diocese, when the Japanese had been defeated. There the Chinese felt secure, certain that the United States would help keep Chine free.

"But America tossed the fruits of victory away. The Communists were permitted to pour in and take over," Bishop O'Gara reports. "The United States was beaten, the 'Commies' claimed, and their first big lie gained credence. * *

"That lie gained strength as we backed down in Korea, backed down in Indochina, and backed down in the Tachen Islands. That lie grows and feeds on each United States retreat."

The Bishop charges that American leaders are aiding the Communists by not allowing Chiang and the Nationalists to move against the Reds. The excuses given by Washington for yielding the Nationalist islands off the coast of China will not stand up under close examination, he contends.

Bishop O'Gara declared that the latest series of United States retreats falls into the same pattern that started with the defamation of the Chiang government immediately after World War II. He admitted that there had been abuses in Nationalist China—even as there was corruption in Washington. Whatever abuses there may have been in Nanking, these were puny, he says, when compared to the crimes against our people and against our Christian tradition by the United States officials who betrayed their own people and changed the history of the world by traitorously giving atomic and military secrets to Russia.

"But." he went on, "the Nationalist Gov-

"But," he went on, "the Nationalist Government was being shaped in the western tradition and was friendly. The United States should have taken a strong hand in holding the Nationalists in the camp of the free world."

CHINA BETRAYED

"American leaders could have rid China of the bad elements," said the bishop. "Instead we threw over a nation of more than 500 million by giving the Communists their strongest propaganda argument; we protected the ill-gotten gains of a few and presented the continent of China to our avowed enemies, the Soviets, who boast that they are out to destroy us.

"In the days when the Nationalists were being harshly criticized by our pseudo-intellectuals, pro-Red apologists, pinks, and fellow travelers, the Chinese Communists were being built up as a group of high-

minded agrarian reformers.

"I only wish I could get out of China some of the people of my diocese who were hung up by the thumbs and who spent days cooped up in rice bins, and who could give you a better appreciation than I can of the benefits of agrarian reform."

Bishop O'Gara says that by our continued retreats and by yielding to those who cry for more trade with Iron Curtain countries, we are building up the economy of our avowed enemy, who time and time again has declared that his objective is to eliminate the United States as a world power.

"Why should we help keep the Communists in power? Every report we get from released victims of Red China indicates that a push in the right direction would encourage the people to rise up against their Red oppressors. Besides we get no credit for our largesse. Anything the Reds get through trade with the West is labeled before distribution as coming from the Communist Peoples' Government. * * *

"Support for trade with China, whether originating in Britain or in the United States, cannot be written off as mere stupidity. It is deliberate. No one could be so colossally stupid.

"Some person or group of persons is pulling the strings. Sentiment for trade with China is a deliberate policy inspired by Communist sympathizers right here on the home front. That must be evident to anyone who reads the record."

RED CHINA AND U. N.

One of the most disastrous developments of the cold war, according to Bishop O'Gara, is the amazing sympathy in many circles in America and Britain to the idea of a place in the United Nations for Red China.

The bishop can't get over the gullibility of the American people who fall for the line of the "quasi-intellectuals who are sounding off on every opportunity in a concerted drive to win support for a Communist China seat in the U. N."

"Hundreds of Americans are still languishing in Red prisons—hostages in Mao Tsetung's drive for a U. N. seat," says the bishop. "One atrocity follows upon another; coloscal lies are spread against the United States—the most monstrous being that of germ warfare which was driven down our throats in jail—and still our legislators in Washington talk of recognition.

"To accept Red China in the family of civilized nations is like doing business with a bandit who has kicked you, maligned you, beaten you, and robbed you. Would you invite such a bandit to dine with you?

"How Mr. Churchill and Mr. Dulles and

"How Mr. Churchill and Mr. Dulles and other negotiators of lesser stature in the free world can contemplate dealings with these evil men who come to the conference table with hands reeking with the blood of our soldiers and missionaries is beyond comprehension. If Red China is admitted to the U.N., every self-respecting delegation should walk out."

REAPPRAISAL NEEDED

According to Bishop O'Gara we must face the facts of the present international situation with a sober mind and make "an agoniz-

ing reappraisal."

"We instituted a blockade," he said, "but it was ineffective because we did not follow through. When Britain in the days of her ascendency declared a blockade, any ship attempting to break through was searched—as Americans know to their humiliation. But when America blockaded the China coast, British ships plied the China sea doing business with an enemy. Has any accounting ever been made of the American lives lost because of this very broad and accommodating policy of our distinguished all?"

Bishop O'Gara says that every time the United Nations retreat and the Communists advance, there are great demonstrations throughout the length and breadth of China. Schools are emptied, victory parades staged, and floods of lies are spewed forth by expert Communist propagandists. Bishop O'Gara explained: "All of it is designed to make maximum use of the fact that the United States has backed down again, is nothing but the 'paper tiger' Red propaganda has always pictured her to be."

The appeal to national and racial prejudices is most effective on the young students,

the Bishop stressed.

"The Communists already have had control of the youth of China for 6 years. In another decade, the present generation will be irrevocably theirs."

PERSECUTED BY REDS

Bishop O'Gara almost died during his imprisonment. In fact, his recovery is not yet complete. He spoke with feeling against United States efforts to use material or monetary aid in building the free world's bulwark against communism. He deplored the fabuous giveaway programs of the United States, and the U.N. Billions of dollars have been poured into nations that today are solidly against us.

"Sending monetary aid all over the world gained not one single friend. We shall never win the goodwill or friendship of Asiatic countries with blandishments and lavish handouts. True—they will always come back for more; but when the time comes to stand up and be counted, they'll be found on the side that is militarily stronger and politically more aggressive and successful. Gratitude is not in the Communist lexicon. There is but one virtue and that is obedience of mind and body to the people's government.

"We have the brains to work out the me-

"We have the brains to work out the mechanics of the atom bomb," the bishop said.
"Why can't we produce the thinkers who will come up with ideas of how to sell American democracy of Europeans and Asiatics?

"We try to sell them a purely mechanical way of life and they give a deaf ear to promises of motorcars, radios, and TV sets. Our programs are crude and only insult the finer cultural instinct of peoples much older than we. Why don't our spokesmen for America make an honest, even scientific, effort to find out what these peoples upon whom we shower our billions in a futile effort to make them our friends, are really interested in and really do want?"

Attacks Along Borders Continue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 30, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following news item which appeared in the Israel Digest of March 25, 1955:

ATTACKS ALONG BORDERS CONTINUE

JERUSALEM.—A strong protest against the continued detention of four Israel soldiers, held by Syria since December 8, 1954, has been lodged by Israel with Col. J. Castonguay, Chairman of the Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission. Despite a binding decision of the Mixed Armistice Commission demanding the release and return to Israel of the soldiers, they remain in a Damascus jall.

The attacks upon Israel life and property from across the Arab borders have continued unabated during the past 3 weeks. Following is a partial list of the incidents which took place in the period between March 1 and March 21.

On March 1, a fishing boat from Ein Gev sailing on Lake Kinnert (Sea of Galilee) was attacked by fire from Syrian positions.

On March 2, Jordanians penetrated Israel territory east of the Hebron road and attacked an Israel patrol.

On March 5, an Israel patrol was attacked by Jordanians in the Duweima area of the Negev.

On March 9, Egyptian marauders penetrated into Israel near Ein Ha'Shlosha in the south.

On March 9, Jordanians fired upon workers in fields north of S'de Eliahu in the Beit Sh'an Valley.

On March 12, an Israel Army vehicle traveling northwest of Kissufim in the South was blown up by a land mine. Investigation revealed footsteps leadings from the mine to the Egyptian-controlled Gaza Strip border.

On March 12, members of the Jordan National Guard entered Israel territory southwest of Um-El-Fahum and attempted to kidnap an Israel Arab farmer.

On March 13, Egyptian infiltrators attempted to rob the settlement of Tel Re'im in the South of irrigation equipment. They were repulsed by an Israel patrol and fied across the Gaza Strip border.

On March 14, a civilian vehicle was blown up by a land mine north of Eilat. Footsteps led from the site of the explosion to the Israel-Jordan border.

On March 14, policemen in Beit Tsafafa, south of Jerusalem, were attacked by fire from across the Israel-Jordan Armistice Line.

On March 15, Egyptian marauders blew up a house in the settlement of Sharsheret, not far from the Gaza Strip border. The attackers were repulsed by the settlement's watchman and his sister. The watchman was wounded.

On March 17, watchmen of M'nuha, a settlement northeast of Affule, chased a band of Jordanian infiltrators back across the border.

On March 18, Jordanian infiltrators attacked the settlement of Yizrael near Affule. One settler was killed and a second wounded.

On March 19, an Israel Army vehicle was blown up by a land mine planted near Kissufim in the South not far from the Egyptian-controlled Gaza Strip.

On March 21, Jordanians fired across the Armistice Line at Israelis working in the fields south of Mount Gilboa.

On March 21, Egyptians fired upon an Israel patrol north of Kissufim in the South.

The President Shares a Secret

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, last Tuesday our entire Nation was electrified by the excellent news that American science had discovered an answer to infantile paralysis. Yesterday President Eisenhower, in one of the greatest and most magnanimous gestures ever made, decreed that all mankind should benefit from this discovery, as he made the Salk vaccine available to all nations, regardless of their political complexion.

In this time of strife and tension, I cannot think of a more effective way to demonstrate the true moral fiber of America. President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the man who not long ago offered to share the secrets of the atom for peaceful use with all comers, spontaneously offered the process of the Salk vaccine in order to combat disease and better the lot of human beings wherever they may live.

We have much for which to be thankful, but nothing I can think of makes me more proud and grateful to be an American than does this great and humane act of our great President. I hope that the Voice of America will do its part in telling all the world that the Nation which is alleged to harbor sinister secrets of destruction is giving to the entire world the wonderful secret of how to eliminate infantile paralysis.

Hawaiian Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WINT SMITH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith an editorial from a small college paper printed in Dallas, Tex. The name of this publication is Op Cit—Young Men of America.

It is most refreshing and encouraging to read this publication because these young men present their ideas with a depth of conviction seldom found in college papers. This caption appears on their masthead:

A monthly publication devoted to the preservation of constitutional government and Christian civilization—to encourage students to take an informed and active interest in the affairs of our Government.

Their timely editorial follows: HAWAHAN STATEHOOD

The Territory of Hawaii's candidacy for statehood in the Union should be rejected. The strategic location of the Hawaiian Islands makes them of utmost concern to the Federal Government. With vast military, naval, and air installations, with numerous Government personnel, and with vast storehouses of weapons and supplies, the islands bear in their sum total of Federal activities a relationship to the United States more comparable, perhaps, to the District of Columbia than to any 1 of the 48 States. In view of the needs of national defense it is difficult to see how the Federal Government could afford-in some contingency-to entrust to a Hawaiian state government all the functions ordinarily carried out by State governments in continental United States. This is particularly true because the oriental population of the Hawaiian Islands is said to constitute about 85 percent of the total, and it is increasing, whereas North Americans in the islands have a tendency to move to the mainland. With the population what it is, the state administration and also the Hawaiian representation in the United States Senate and House of Representatives in the future almost certainly would (and should) be oriental, probably Japanese or Chinese.

Partnerships in wars are never permanent. We have twice fought in major wars against Britain and have twice been her ally. As recently as in World War II we fought against Germany and now we are trying to secure her as a friend and partner in Europe. It is not possible for anyone to be sure at the present time that in the future we may not be involved in war with Japan or China. Also, it is not possible to state whether in a future crisis the oriental senators from Hawaii might favor their Nation, the United States, or their racial brothers in arms.

Among other problems, one seems formidable. We could hardly by diplomatic means prevent the ships of the world from passing between one part of the new state and some other part, because the intervening body of water is the open Pacific Ocean. Would not, then, an alien power's right to penetrate the territorial waters of the state of Hawaii be a precedent for the penetration of the waters of other States, for instance the Hudson and Mississippi Rivers?

Finally there is the question of communism. The proportion of Communists to the total population of Hawaii is said to be many times greater than is the case in continental United States. These Communists are deeply infiltrated and powerful. Like the Communists of New York, these enemies of our country would propagandize and pressure their senators, and hence wield tremendous power in Washington.

There appear to us to be no good reasons for admitting Hawali, except to please the unofficial government referred to by Senator Jenner. On the contrary, as we have shown, there are many reasons for not granting Hawaii's admission, and giving throughout the future the privileges and immunities of United States Senators to persons who may understandably feel that their interests are more Asiatic than North American. This is the United States of America. Where do the geographical boundaries end?

Shade Falls Over Great American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the House an editorial by Mr. Wilbur D. Matson, editor and publisher of the Morgan County Herald, of McConnelsville, Ohio, one of the most highly regarded weekly newspapers in southeastern Ohio. Mr. Matson's remarks appeared in the April 7 edition of his newspaper and are a eulogy to one of the foremost journalistic giants of our century who recently passed from the national scene.

The editorial follows:

SHADE FALLS OVER GREAT AMERICAN

"To be an organ of no man, however high, no clique or ring, however influential, or faction, however fanatical or demonstrative, and in all things to follow the line of common sense." These are the words of Joseph Medill, founder of the Chicago Tribune and one of the foremost editors of his era. Col. Robert R. McCormick, who died, Friday, was a grandson of Joseph Medill.

In the sanctum of the Morgan County Herald, hangs an autographed picture of Colonel McCormick. It is a cherished possession. We never personally met the colonel, but when news came of his passing, we experienced a genuine feeling of sorrow. To us, his ideal of journalism was a standard about which every editor who loves America and what it stands for, may rally. We grieved because we believed his death was a loss to the cause of freedom and liberty throughout America and the world.

Not long since when reading a life of Grover Cleveland, we came across these moving words, uttered by an able and honest, but misunderstood statesman: "I have tried so hard to do right." These words might well have supplied the keynote to the life of the colorful and many sided Colonel Mc-Cormick. He sought to square his every action, not with what was popular and expedient, but with what was right. Once he had decided that a thing was wrong, he gave vigorous and tenacious battle. Convinced of the rectitude of his opinion, he never wavered or faltered. He hated sham, hypocrisy or cant. The mighty Tribune, most influential and powerful journal of opinion in the world, was largely a reflection of the personality of its owner.

With Colonel McCormick, patriotism was a cardinal principle and a passion. He was adamant in his devotion to the Constitution and to basic American concepts which insure to the citizen a maximum of personal liberty and a minimum of governmental restriction. Believing firmly in liberty for all men of all nations, he thought that America could best serve the cause of freemen everywhere by remaining strong and fiscally solvent, a shield and a sword and a haven for the oppressed of all peoples of the world.

Colonel McCormick hated the New Deal with a high and holy hate. To him, it was the negation of individual liberty and free enterprise; the primrose path to socialism and collectivism; the imported version of the all-powerful states of Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini; the antithesis of all hitherto regarded as fundamentally American.

Through the Tribune, sledge-hammer blows were delivered against Roosevelt, Truman, and all their New and Fair Deal works. His paper became the voice of much of the Middle West which stood for traditional Americanism and against internationalism or any surrender of national sovereignty. His vast wealth and great influence were utilized to preserve the liberties and the nationality of his beleaguered country, and he and his paper stood like Gibraltar in unyielding opposition to New Deal socialism and for the Constitution and written safeguards of liberty.

During the American Revolution, patriots who loved freedom above everything in life rallied to the standard of George Washington. It is no exaggeration to pursue a simile in comparing the millions who rallied around the standard of Colonel McCormick, Taft, and Hoover. These three outstanding statesmen and leaders of our troubled time have done the most to save America from the noisome and formidable threat of creeping collectivism.

All of the active years of Colonel McCormick were spent as a fearless and courageous champion of the cause of liberty. In France he battled for his country as an artillery officer. In Chicago he fought valiantly against every form of vice and corruption which vitiated sound municipal and State government. A stalwart and uncompromising advocate of free speech and a free press, he believed the two form the keystone to the arch of the citadel of liberty, and that freedom could not long exist without either.

To us personally, his Tribune was the ideal paper. It adhered strictly to the truth; it was clean and decent; it was fair; its news columns were not slanted or colored to promote any selfish interest or group. Its editorials were written, not as a bulldup for any individual or political clique, but with a background of what is sound and best, not for Hindustan or Timbuctoo, but for America. Little did it matter to the colonel what selfish or political interest was displeased with his paper. Time without number, the Tribune espoused a cause, opposed to something ephemerally popular. It is a great tribute to its publisher, that in nearly every instance, subsequent events vindicated its position.

The hallmark of a superior mind is the ability to judge character and brains in others. No man can see over his own head. Lacking this ability, Colonel McCormick could not have made the Tribune the mighty organization he created of superior minds. the Tribune's fold were assembled a staff of the best cartoonists, feature writers, and foremost editorial writers in America. Salaries did not matter if an employee could deliver the goods. It is said, that in the future, men trained in the Tribune tradition will carry on in the high ideals of their fallen chief. We sincerely hope that this may be true. In a time of vast confusion and upheaval over all the globe, certainly every true American needs the clarion call and the inspiration of a battling, crusading paper like the Tribunethe mighty organ of Colonel McCormick, who, like Blaine of old, "hurled his shining lance full and fair against the brazen forehead of every traitor to his country and every maligner of his fair reputation."

Col. Robert R. McCormick was undoubtedly one of the great American leaders with a larger personal following than any individual in the Midwest. A towering figure has fallen—one who leaves a definite imprint on the history of the times.

Wheat Certificate Plan Provisions of H. R. 12 Offer Best Way To Solve Wheat Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM COON

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. COON. Mr. Speaker, as the representative of one of the finest commercial wheat producing areas in the world, and as a legislator who is interested in the welfare of all the people in the United States, I am concerned about the misunderstanding and the misinterpretation which has been given to the certificate-plan provisions of H. R. 12.

On March 12, 1955, my esteemed colleague, the gentleman from Indiana, eloquently denounced the certificate plan as unsound. From his remarks, it is apparent to me that he does not understand the full significance of this plan. He repeatedly assumes the plan would dump huge quantities of wheat on the feed market to the detriment of the corn producer. It is his assumption that additional huge quantities would be dumped on the shaky world wheat market. And, blackest of all predictions, while all this dumping was underway. the American housewife would be gouged by higher bread prices.

These assumptions are exaggerations of events that could happen under any program, particularly, the flexible price-support program as it affects wheat. The same safeguards which prevent them from happening now under our present program would prevent them from happening under the certificate

plan.

On February 14, 1955, the Secretary of Agriculture announced at his press conference that the National Agricultural Advisory Commission would be requested to review the wheat surplus situation and consider anew, ways to solve the problem. He indicated an open mind on all programs including the certificate or what is erroneously called a two-price plan. Obviously, he was not convinced the flexible price program was the answer for wheat.

Under the legislation which was passed by the 83d Congress, wheat is the only basic commodity that is flexed downward to any great extent. The price support on wheat for 1955 will be 82½ percent, while other crops are near the 90-percent support level. It has been announced that corn will be supported at not less than 87 percent of parity. There is a chance it might even be back up to 90 percent by the time the final decision is made.

The theory of this legislation, the Agricultural Act of 1954, is that lower price support levels would encourage consumption and discourage production. While this may be true for some commodities, supply and demand for wheat foods are inelastic and show little response to price. Even though wheat is flexed downward more than any other basic commodity, it is doubtful if the program will increase consumption or decrease production.

Statistics show that as wheat prices declined drastically in the early thirties, the acres planted to wheat did not decline. Also, that production control programs have had more to do with acreage planted than has price. The principle of flexibility in a price support program may be sound as related to areas where producers have an opportunity to diversify. In those areas, farmers might be influenced through lower price supports to switch from surplus commodities to those in greater demand

However, a great part of the Nation's wheat production which is on a commercial basis is in areas where there is not a great deal of diversification possible. The flexible support program will flex downward the price on all wheat produced, not just the surplus portion, even though the major part of the Nation's wheat production is used for domestic consumption as food and is entitled to a price comparable to the domestic prices of the things purchased for producing that wheat.

While the price of wheat will be reduced under the flexible support program, there is no possibility that retail prices of food products made from wheat will follow the downward trend. As this margin between the price paid the wheat producer and the price paid by the consumer widens, who is going to benefit? Most Members of Congress have, in the past, expressed concern regarding this spread. The effect of the present flexible support program on wheat should, and no doubt will, cause us to be more concerned than ever.

The certificate plan is described as a device for dumping surplus wheat in other people's markets. As far as the export market is concerned, no one supporting this plan would favor a dumping program. We all desire to maintain a world market for our wheat. No one interested in solving the wheat problem would want to see the international wheat market demoralized. Any threat of dumping would be avoided as now by the wise use of export quotas. May I point out that while the United States is curtailing wheat production, other countries are increasing their wheat plantings. Also, our share of the world market has shrunk faster than the market itself. While we are selling less in the world market, competitive exporters are selling more.

In order to sell wheat at any time and in any place, the price has to be competitive. A difference of a fraction of a cent per bushel will determine a sale. Under this plan, it is probable there would be more aggressive merchandizing than at present when our competitive position depends entirely upon the

amount of subsidy our Government is willing to pay. This subsidy is publicly announced from time to time which invites other exporting countries to come into the market under our price umbrella and sell their wheat for a little less.

Considerable effort and money have been spent in market development work. Unless our surplus wheat can be available at competitive prices, we are merely developing markets for wheat and wheat products from other exporting countries. This market development program does not contemplate trying to take markets from other exporting countries. Millions of people in other lands are underfed. Certainly, there are enough hungry people in the world to use our surpluses, if we can remove some of the obstacles that stand in the way. Price is a primary obstacle.

It should be noted there are 10 countries that guarantee their wheat farmers prices higher than the support price for wheat in the United States, as shown in the following table:

Turkey	3.21
France	3.04
Tunisia	3.03
Germany	2.83
Spain	2.81
Greece	2.40
PACTO MINT HENDERS AND MANAGEMENT AN	2.29
Sweden	2.10
Argentina	2.80
Japan	2.61

For years our domestic wheat program has stabilized the price for producers in other countries as well as our own. The unnecessarily high prices guaranteed producers in the importing countries listed above are encouraging uneconomic wheat production. A realistic pricing system on export wheat from the United States would result in many importing countries reducing their wheat production and growing more economic crops adapted to an intensified agriculture.

The certificate provisions of H. R. 12 could not result in dumping wheat on the domestic feed market. The provision for a floor under surplus-wheat prices would protect the feed grain producer from undue competition. I have been told by corn producers and feeders that if wheat were available in their area at prices comparable to corn, corn would be used in preference to wheat. Transportation costs would keep surplus wheat from moving in volume into corn producing areas. Wheat moving into feed uses under this plan would only equal from 3 to 5 percent of the total feed grain supply.

The charge that the certificate plan is subsidized competition is not a just one. Wheat would be made available at lower price levels, rather than being subsidized for export to the extent it is at the present time, at a cost of millions of dollars annually.

The opponents of this plan seem to think of the certificate as a means of increasing the returns to the wheat producer. Actually, it would merely bridge the gap between the lower price he would receive on all his wheat and the price that he has been receiving under farm programs up to the present time. The average price including the certificate would probably be no higher than under the flexible program, but more wheat

could move into uses. Expanding our markets is the quickest way to solve the surplus wheat problems. Even though the blended return to the wheat farmer under this plan would be quite low, the increased use of wheat in the long run would more than compensate for this fact.

The gentleman from Indiana makes reference to a high and very profitable price that would accrue to the wheat farmer under a protected domestic price program. Actually, under this plan the top price received for domestically consumed wheat would be no higher than the price-support level that has been in effect on wheat for some years. This is true because the modernized parity formula will take effect in 1956 and 100 percent of parity will be no higher than 90 percent under the old formula.

The gentleman from Indiana refers to the Canadian situation and points out that the Canadian wheat farmer makes his living by selling wheat at the world price. Is he saying the American wheat farmer should sell all of his production at the world-market level even though the cream of the crop is purchased by the millers in our country and processed into food commanding prices that could well return parity to the farmer? From 1942-51, an average of 62.2 percent of the wheat produced in the United States was used for milling and seed. This was our best quality wheat and should command a price commensurate with retail prices of wheat products.

Machinery, labor, petroleum products and other items used in producing wheat are not priced at world-market levels. Is it fair to expect the wheat producer to sell all of his production in competition with world markets while other segments of our economy have various types of protection from the influence of world prices? Does my colleague from Indiana choose to support a wheat program that would place the American wheat producers in a situation similar to that of our friends to the north?

Wheat farmers in Canada have entirely different conditions from those in the United States. Land values, taxes, and labor costs are much lower. In spite of this, the Canadian wheat farmer does not fare too well as evidenced by his generally lower standard of living. While the Canadian farmer has been receiving less for his wheat, the Canadian consumer pays less for bread. Today a pound loaf sells for about 18 cents in the United States compared to 12.5 cents in Canada.

We look forward to the time when production controls will be unnecessary. With present supplies, however, they will be necessary regardless of what type of program is in effect.

The movement of wheat into feed and export under the domestic parity plan would be on a gradual basis. With the support level on wheat comparable to that on corn, wheat would not move into feed except in areas where corn was priced considerably due to transportation costs. Qualified officials have estimated that not more than 250 million bushels of wheat would be fed under the program. This is only about 5 percent of the normal feed-grain supply.

It is difficult for the wheat farmer to see what difference it makes to the corn farmer whether wheat is competing with corn on a basis under which the wheat farmer can stay in business, or on a basis under which the wheat farmer would go broke. Either way eventually the corn farmer is going to have some competition because most growers raising wheat in commercial wheat-producing areas have to continue to raise wheat. There are no other alternatives of any importance.

In resolving this difference of opinion, I believe it is necessary to look upon wheat as a dual commodity. Historically it has been used for both food and feed in rather large quantities. Wheat as food justifies a higher price than wheat as feed. If the wheat farmers of this country were to be limited to producing wheat only for food in order to maintain a fair price, they would of necessity produce feed grains on the acres taken out of wheat.

An article by Dr. J. T. Sanders in a recent issue of the Quarterly Review, put out by the National Federation of Grain Cooperatives, shows that feed grains produced on surplus acres would give more competition to the corn man than would wheat on these same acres. About 80 percent of the corn produced is fed in the locality where it is grown. The livestock fattened on this feed are sold in the domestic market at prices that do not have to compete with world prices on livestock products.

Still it is suggested that the wheat farmer sell all of his production at these lower world prices, ignoring the fact that only a portion of the production moves into world use. Even if the wheat producer received 100 percent of parity on a portion of his production, his blended return would be considerably lower than the 87 percent of parity guaranteed the corn producer.

The referendum provided for in this bill is criticized. It should be pointed out that the results of the farmers voting down marketing quotas in the referendum would be much more disruptive to the feed grain producers than it would be if the farmers would vote in favor of the certificate plan for wheat. Noncommercial producers of wheat do not depend entirely upon wheat for their living. Consequently the outcome of the referendum either on marketing quotas or the domestic parity plan would not be of as great importance to them.

From the statement made, it appears the corn producer would like to reserve the feed market for himself. Yet, on the other hand, he criticizes a program that would discourage indiscriminate increase in wheat plantings. It is doubtful if the average corn farmer would be interested in establishing a base for food wheat production on his farm, in view of the fact that he has not chosen to do so under the 90-percent support program.

Even though wheat prices under this plan might be above world wheat prices a part of the time, certainly the amount of subsidy required to move the wheat in export would be considerably less than at present, thereby resulting in a saving to the taxpayer. Just how much exports will be increased over a period of

time is problematical. Work being done presently under Public Law 480 as well as other efforts to increase consumption of wheat in foreign markets offers great promise.

Imports of wheat and flour in the Far East countries increased from a prewar average of less than 54 million bushels to nearly 290 million in the marketing season of 1951–52. While this high demand has not continued, annual import requirements of this area could well stabilize at around 150 million bushels. With a competitive export program, we can share in this expanded market.

The population in Asia alone is expected to increase by 215 million people in the next 10 years—an increase the size of the whole population of North America. Until such countries as lie in this area can raise their standard of living they must, of necessity, subsist largely on cereal diets. Wheat is needed to supplement rice because it is less expensive and more healthful for the people.

In looking ahead one can see the opportunities for expanding sales of our wheat products in Asia. Similar opportunities are available in Europe, South America, and Africa. Members of Congress indicated confidence in our ability to increase the sales of United States farm products when they appropriated \$700 million last year under Public Law 480. By January 1, 1955, some \$453 million had been obligated under this act. 43 percent of which would be spent on grains, mostly wheat and flour. This program is proving that markets can be expanded. All of the major farm organizations have joined in requesting the authority for export sales under Public Law 480 be expanded from \$700 million to \$1,500 million for the 3-year period.

We will never know how much more wheat and flour can be exported from the United States unless we give it an honest try. Only experience will answer that. As long as our domestic price-support program prices our wheat out of the market, we will never know what could be done. There is no surplus of wheat in the world today. There are local surpluses due to poor distribution and inadequate purchasing power. It is apparent our domestic-price policy has encouraged uneconomic production in other countries.

It is almost impossible to effectively control wheat production because weather is the governing factor. In the past 15 years, our growers in the United States have been blessed with twins from every acre. There is no assurance the rains will continue to come. Two years of drought in our Great Plains wheat area, and the surplus would be gone.

Under the rigid 90-percent support program there was little incentive to produce quality wheat. The certificate plan would once again provide an incentive for growing the best wheat possible, because all wheat would be sold on the open market. The farmer would become a salesman once again, getting all he could for his product at the current price. The market would operate freely with differentials for grade and quality and not a multiple-price system as indicated in my colleague's remarks.

The matter of distribution of certificates on an equal basis among producers often comes up for criticism. We know that a greater percentage of some classes of wheat are used in domestic consumption than others. Just what story is told by available figures depends upon the figures used. My colleague's figures show that on an average for the years 1949-53, 77.4 percent of hard red spring production is used domestically. However, if you take the average for the years 1948-53, the figure is 60 percent instead of 77.4.

On first consideration, this plan might appear unfair to the producer of Hard Red Spring wheat. However, it should be remembered that under programs of the past, the acreage reduction has been shared by producers of that area as in other areas. Also, under this plan if the demand for Hard Red Spring is greater than for other classes of wheat, this would be reflected in prices paid producers of this more desirable wheat. The producer of this wheat would receive certificates the same value as producers of less desirable classes of wheat; consequently his return per bushel would be considerably higher. In this way, he would be rewarded for producing highquality milling wheat. This premium would be to his advantage and should offset this objection to the certificate plan, frequently referred to as the domestic-parity plan.

It should be pointed out that under this plan for wheat the situation in the export market would be no different than it is at present. Foreign consumers have for years received wheat products at a lower price through our subsidy program. In some cases, the American housewife pays more for her wheat products than the consumer of American wheat abroad. Without a lower price, foreign housewives with their lower standards of living could never buy wheat foods. In India, for example, the average wage is \$54 per year.

Some opponents of this plan have called it a bread tax and warned that bakers might oppose it. This possibility has been discussed with some of the bakers and they say they have taken no official position regarding this plan. However, it would be natural for them to resist any program that would raise the cost of flour to them.

In discussing this possibility with several millers, I find they are having to pay a considerable premium at the present time in order to get the quality of wheat they need in their milling business. At times they are paying above parity for quality wheat. Under these conditions, this plan would not raise the cost of wheat for milling into flour. In fact, it probably would have an influence in the opposite direction. This plan would encourage the production of quality wheat types desired by millers and a free open market price with quality differentials again in the picture would discourage the production of undesirable wheat. The resultant increase in the supply of quality wheat would enable a miller to buy at a lower price.

The administrative procedure in connection with this plan would be very

similar to that which is currently carried on in connection with wheat acreage allotments, and would not require a great deal of additional administrative activity on the part of the Government.

The gentleman from Indiana has said that this plan would increase the cost of bread and encourage the use of substitute foods. Wheat prices would have to vary approximately 75 cents per bushel to make a difference of one cent in the price of a loaf of bread; consequently, it is difficult to believe that this plan would provide a real incentive for research to develop ways of producing food products that would use less wheat, as inferred by my colleague.

I believe the certificate plan would encourage farmers to take marginal land out of wheat production. The low return on wheat produced in excess of the domestic food quota would discourage production on excess acres, particularly in areas where the wheat producer has some chance to diversify. Conservation practices would compete with low returns from poor lands if the grower received a high enough return for his share of the crop used domestically for food. This should encourage conservation farming.

Many misleading statements have been made on the cost of producing wheat. Certainly, individual cases can be shown where cost of production is way below average. These individual cases should not be used as a basis for lowering price supports to a level where many growers will go broke.

I know the 90-percent support program is not the answer to the wheat situation. Neither will the flexible-support program solve our wheat problem. The wheat certificate provisions of H. R. 12 are a middle-of-the-road approach. It combines the most desirable features of these other two plans. The grower would receive parity only on the wheat which is used in the world's biggest highpriced market-the domestic food market. The rest of the crop would move into other uses on a flexible basis. plan would be fair to the wheat producer even though it would reduce his percentage of parity returns compared to what they have been under the 90-percent program. It is unfair to suggest that all of the wheat produced in the United States with high-cost machinery, tractor fuel, and labor should go at world prices when less than 20 percent of the crop has traditionally been sold to foreign consumers with their lower income. I realize it will take some time to make the necessary adjustments but they will occur much faster with the domestic parity plan. We need to recognize wheat quality, take marginal land out of wheat production, sell wheat for foreign currency, and work with other countries to expand the total world demand for wheat. We are pleased that the gentleman from Indiana admits that as a part of solving the problem, we also will have to feed some of our surplus wheat. I think we all can agree that the above things should be done. The adoption of the wheat certificate provisions of H. R. 12 would assist in doing this job.

It should be emphasized again that under this plan, the certificate would not increase the price of wheat foods. The miller or processor would buy his wheat in the open market at a lower price level and the cost of the certificate to him would result in his paying approximately the same price for wheat that he has been paying under previous programs.

In developing a program for wheat, we have no choice except to start from where we are, not from where we would like to be. We cannot ignore the present situation in which tremendous amounts of wheat are stored at Government expense. It is absolutely necessary that we have a program that will permit wheat to move into all its possible uses. Most of the debate on what type of a wheat program we should have has been whether we should have a high-lean program or a low-loan program. The certificate plan provisions of this bill offer a compromise and should have the support of both groups. It would provide full parity for a portion of the production and permit the flexible features to apply to the surplus. The certificate plan for wheat should be approved by the House of Representatives as a long step in the direction of providing a practical long-range program for wheat.

Rigid Farm Supports Result in Lower Farm Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. DAGUE, Mr. Speaker, I am pledged to support any program that will improve our farm economy, short of outright grants from the public treasury, but I remain unpersuaded that 90 percent of parity can accomplish that end. In fact, the direct opposite has been the result, and we know that farm prices dropped some 22 points while rigid supports were in full force and effect. I also believe that our overall economy can best be improved by a reduction in the cost of government with a consequent reduction in taxes. The Agriculture Act of 1954 and the revision of our Federal tax laws. both of which were enacted during the Republican-controlled 83d Congress, will in my opinion operate to the improvement of our economy through the stabilization of farm prices and the retention by all of our citizens, through tax reductions, of more of their earnings for their own use. The following letter from Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson addressed to Mr. J. Claude Hammond of Gettysburg, Pa., explores these views and is included with these remarks:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, Washington, April 5, 1955. Mr. J. CLAUDE HAMMOND,

Gettysburg, Pa.,

DEAR MR. HAMMOND: Your letter of February 26 addressed to President Eisenhower has been referred to me for reply. I want

to say first that I deeply regret the difficulties in which you find yourself as a result of the adjustments that have to be made in this transition period from one of war to one of peace. These adjustments are particularly hard for agriculture because as we move into a peacetime economy prices for the things the farmer has to sell are the first to adjust to peacetime levels. This is true this time as has always been the case in the past. However, this administration takes pride in the fact that the adjustments that have had to be made in agriculture have not been anywhere near as difficult as those that farmers experienced following the First World War, or the Second, or in fact any other war in our history. This lessening of the impact has been brought about through careful management of our Federal affairs including those of agriculture.

I think you will be interested to know that total sgricultural assets stood at \$162 billion at the beginning of 1955, up slightly over a year earlier. Farm dot, as a percentage of current assets was 23.9 percent on January 1, 1955, compared with 49.3 percent in 1940 and 70.4 percent in 1930. Following World War I, farmland values fell nearly 20 percent below the 1920 peak in 2 years. From the post-World War II peak reached in 1952, farmland values had declines less than 4 percent by January 1, 1955.

clines less than 4 percent by January 1, 1955. The parity ratio, which measures price received by farmers against those they pay for goods and services, has been relatively stable during the past year. It dropped from a Korean war peak of 113 percent in February 1951, to 94 percent in January 1953. Since then it has averaged about 90 percent. Currently it is 87 percent. Thus nearly three-fourths of the decline in farm prices came in the 2 years before this administration took office. All of the decline occurred while we had rigid supports at 90 percent of parity for the basic commodities. The flexible price support provisions of the Agricultural act of 1954 do not become effective until the 1955 barvests.

Since dairy price supports were reduced from 80 percent of parity to 75 percent on April 1, 1954, there has been real improvement in the dairy situation. Consumption is up. Milk production has leveled off. Government purchases of dairy products are sharply down. Surplus stocks are moving into use. In recent months dairymen have been receiving from 84 to 86 percent of parity for all milk—approximately the same as in March 1954 when 90-percent supports were still in effect.

The second part of your letter deals with the tax legislation of the last Congress. First, let me say that everyone agreed-Democrats and Republicans alike-as to the need for a general revision of our Federal tax laws. Such a revision was long overdue. Second, the tax reduction of our administration was unparalleled in the life of our Nation, totaling \$7,400,000,000. This is hard to grasp, but the money the American farmers got last year for all the corn and all the wheat grown in our entire country was \$7 billion. This reduction was made possible through careful elimination of wasteful, duplicating, and often ridiculous spending policies of the big Government operation built by the Democrats. Of the total of \$7,400,000,000 in tax savings brought about by Republican policies, nearly two-thirds, or \$4,700,000.000, goes directly into the pockets of the wage earner and the family and other individuals. This meant a saving for the average American family-a taxpaying family of 4-of \$200 a year.

This 900-page Republican law containing some 3,000 independent tax-law changes contains a long list of benefits to the low-income taxpayer, such as additional child dependency, deduction of tax credit on retirement income, extension of split-income

provisions to widows and widowers with children, lowers medical-expense deductions requirements, gives working widows, widowers, and mothers a tax reduction, liberalizes soliconservation expense allowances for farmers, permits additional allowances for charitable contributions, and a long list of other lowincome benefits.

In short, the largest tax saving in history has been handed to the American people—not to any one group but to all—and, it seems to me, that is the American way.

Sincerely yours, E. T. Benson, Secretary.

NACA Keeps the Ceiling Unlimited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, in an era so thoroughly dominated by the airplane that it is commonly—and I think quite appropriately—termed the air age, it is fitting to observe the 40th anniversary of an organization which has had a major part in making our country the undisputed leader in the field of aeronautics. I refer to the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics which today celebrates its 40th anniversary.

Considering that the entire modern history of human flight is not much older than 50 years, the NACA is "old." I am glad to know from firsthand experience, however, that the great usefulness of the organization is continuously increasing, that the rich experience of the past 40 years finds expression in a most constructive and dynamic program of aeronautical research. I know I am on safe ground when I say that it is the work of the NACA which keeps America not only abreast but ahead of other countries in civilian as well as military aviation.

Mr. Speaker, near the cities of Mountain View and Sunnyvale, in the 10th District of California, which I represent, there is an installation known as Ames Laboratory. While much of the work performed at Ames is by its very nature a closely guarded secret, it is common knowledge that flying today in its gigantic wind tunnels are the military aircraft of 1960 and the speedy airliner of 1965. Ames Laboratory is operated by the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics. Its equipment includes the world's largest wind tunnel, a monster with a test section measuring 40 by 80 feet. Here, under the able direction of Dr. Smith J. DeFrance, the NACA can subject plane models to speeds fast enough to melt any known material on earth; speeds fast enough even to melt diamonds. The answers that are found in the caverns of Ames Laboratory will help the American aircraft industry to build the planes and missiles of tomorrow. I have no doubt that every one of our current aircraft and missiles reflects in important ways the fruit of scientific studies conducted at this California research center.

In 1915, when our Government tock the initiative and appointed the National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics, our country was woefully behind France, Germany, England, and other nations in the development of aircraft. A large measure of thanks must go to the NACA for pulling our Nation far ahead in subsequent years. On the occasion of its 40th anniversary we owe a vote of thanks to this organization which quietly, patriotically, and with great ability helps American wings to fly higher, faster, safer, and more efficiently, and which gives American aviation its true "ceiling unlimited."

Editorials on the Farm Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT D. HARRISON

OF NECRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. HARRISON of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorials on the farm situation:

[From the New York Times]

FOR A SANE FARM POLICY

A congressional showdown on farm policy is approaching. On one side will be the supporters of President Eisenhower's policy of flexible farm-price supports. On the other side will be the congressional farm bloc, which is trying to scrap the flexible program and reinstitute the old system of rigid, high Government support of farm prices for major crops at 90 percent of a mythical "parity."

We are faced today with mounting surpluses of farm produce in Government surpluses that threaten to exceed \$10 billion in value within the next few months. The Government has been trying to cut down current production by imposing acreage and other controls upon farm-The higher the price guaranteed farmers. ers by the Government for a given prodthe more incentive farmers have to uct. nullify acreage restrictions by using more fertilizer and other resources on their reduced area of plantings so as to get higher yields. The high support advocates. short, really propose to make the surplus problem more unbearable than ever.

High support prices tend to keep farm prices in this country at higher levels than they would be under the operation of natural market forces. We cannot sell farm products at prices above the world market price; the result is pressure to subsidize such export sales. But export subsidies are a form of economic warfare directed in the main against our friends and allies of the free world. They bring animosity and recriminations which weaken free world unity. Moreover, as the growers of cotton have learned to their sorrow, high United States prices stimulate the growth of competitive plantings in other countries.

All of us are consumers and taxpayers. We pay for high support prices twice, at the grocery store and in our tax bills.

Farmers, who are also consumers, also pay a higher price, because high supports require that farmers accept a high degree of governmental regulation for their chief crops. Surely it is time that we made an approach to sanity in our farm policy by adhering to the flexible support program.

APPEAL FOR RESPONSIBILITY

A persuasive appeal for responsible House action on farm price supports has been made to that body by a bipartisan minority of the Agriculture Committee. It is an appeal to defeat legislation which would restore mandatory 90 percent of parity supports for 5 basic crops—corn, wheat, cotton, peanuts, and rice. And it is an appeal that should be honored.

By law enacted last year, the Government is authorized to apply a flexible support formula within a range of 821/2 to 90 percent of parity on these 5 commodities. Initial application of this authority would apply to 1955 crops and there has been no opportunity yet to establish claims that the flexible formula will be injurious to the farmers or to the national interest. There has, however, been ample opportunity to recognize the damaging impact of a high, rigid price-support program that was adopted originally as a temporary wartime formula. The committee minority has summed up this evil result in one effective paragraph, as follows: "Rigid 90-percent mandatory pricesupport programs have failed to keep farm income from declining, created surpluses that have forced farm prices downward, held commodities off the market at great cost to the Government, undermined public support for sound farm programs, lost foreign and domestic markets, assisted foreign competitors to take our markets, and have taken the right to produce away from both small and large farmers."

Effectively, too, the committee minority drew some parallels between price structures for the commodities favored by the rigid supports and those for so-called nonbasic commodities. "It is an interesting and significant fact," they pointed out, "that the average price for nonbasic (unsupported) commodities has been higher (as measured by parity price relationships) in every year since 1940, except one, than the price of so-called basic commodities." As a consequence, the outlook today for the nonbasics is better than that for those which have been covered by high supports.

The flexible support theory is a keystone of the Republican administration's program for dealing with the farm problem. Influential Democrats in both branches of Congress have favored it, at least to the point of urging that it be given a trial. Disposal of some of the huge Government-owned surpluses, expansion of research and educational work in agriculture, and some pending recommendations for helping the small, low-income farmers are other major parts of the administration blueprint. At this stage, it appears to have much greater merit than a retreat to a program that already has been proved costly and unsuccessful.

[From the Boston Herald of March 20, 1955] Subsidizing Wastz

We have known a number of farmers (we are a tiny part-time one ourselves) and we have never known one that liked to waste things. Oh, sure, lime sometimes gets let out in the rain before it's spread, and the gears of the manure spreader sometimes lock for lack of oil, but it's lack of time and not lack of concern that does it.

We do not believe that the farmers of America like to see waste by the Government—massive waste, waste of the things the farmers have tolled to produce.

Yet the House Agriculture Committee has reported a bill to subsidize further just such waste. The committee wants to go back to 90 percent mandatory price support for wheat, corn, peanuts, rice, and cotton, irrespective of supply, for 1955 through 1957. It wants to continue the old process of encouraging excess production to be stored until spoiled if it cannot be unloaded on school children or sold abroad in a way to unsettle international trade.

The committee has other gimmicks. It proposes a referendum among wheat farmers this year on a three-price plan. Under this, wheat sold for food would command the 90-percent support price, wheat for animal feed would get a lower price, and wheat for export would go for still less, all to be subsidized.

The wheat farmers might well vote for it, for it would sell more wheat. But it would sell more wheat at the sacrifice of corn. Wheat would replace corn in feed and export. To waste less wheat, we would be wasting more corn. But corn farmers would not be allowed to vote on the matter.

And what a sorry price we have already paid on wheat support. Because the Government has bought wheat just as wheat, without any milling standards, the farmers have planted the coarse varieties, which produce more but are of low quality. In that way, 50 years of crop improvement have been tossed out the window.

Besides which, the dust storms that have been sweeping the Middle West and which are due to continue to waste our rich topsoil blow because Government subsidies have pushed plows through land that should have been left to grass.

Farmers hate that waste. The Farm Bureau Federation, the Nation's largest general farm group, is one of the major opponents to high fixed price supports.

Yet somehow the House Agriculture Committee thinks it's good politics to subsidize waste. Do they really know farmers on that committee?

FOOD PRICES LAID IN PART TO PAY HIKES (By Vincent Burke)

A congressional study suggested yesterday that sharp wage gains made by labor in foodhandling industries have helped keep consumer prices high in the face of a farm price slump.

This conclusion was set forth implicitly in a 10-page report on a study of Farm to Retall Price Spreads by the House Agriculture Committee staff.

Committee Chairman Harold D. Cooley said the study demonstrated that consumers cannot expect lower food prices as a result of the lowering of farm price supports under the administration's flexible farm program. He is advocating a return to high, rigid supports.

The report said prices received by farmers for food, fiber and tobacco were down an average of 7 percent last year from the 1947-48 average. But retail food prices were up 13 percent.

Wage rates for workers engaged in marketing farm food products jumped from \$1.25 per hour in 1947-49 to approximately \$1.70 in 1954 or 32 persons the approximately \$1.70 in

1954, or 38 percent, the report said.

The report said one "important reason" for the rise in marketing costs is the increased cost of processing and packaging—cellophane packaging of fresh fruits and vegetables and the higher costs involved in marketing fresh-frozen fruits and vegetables.

It noted also that railroad rates have increased about 25 percent since 1947-49.

As for profits, the study indicated that food processors made less money in 1953—after the farm slump got underway—than in 1947-49.

It said the Agriculture Department reports that 46 food-processing companies, for which it has data, made 1.9 cents per dollar sale after payment of taxes in 1953, compared with 2.3 cents in 1947-49.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times of March 20, 1955]

PRICE SUPPORT FIGHT IS ON AGAIN

Farm bloc Congressmen once again are trying to raise the price of butter and other foods. They are trying to ditch the Elsenhower farm program.

The farm bloc wants a rigid guaranty of 90 percent of parity on basic crops—wheat,

rice, cotton, corn and peanuts. President Elsenhower last year won the right to move the guaranty down to 82½ percent. The farm bloc wants dairy prices supported at 80 percent, instead of 75. This would increase butter and cheese prices, which, like wheat, already are in surplus.

Some of the Nation's best economists have warned against the rigid price support system which guarantees high prices even when there are bumper crops and prices

normally would drop.

Illinois corn growers are rightly concerned about another phase of the new bill. It would provide for a national referendum by wheat growers on a two-price system for their crops. There is even talk of asking a three-price system.

There would be a guaranteed price for wheat used as food. There would be another price used for wheat put on the market as cattle feed to compete with Illinois corn growers. And a still third price would be provided for wheat exported; this latter price would be whatever the wheat growers could get—they'd dump wheat on the world market.

The wheat surplus problem is serious. There is a 3-year supply on hand. But in solving that problem Congress should be careful not to help the wheat grower at the expense of the corn grower. It should be careful not to upset the world market and turn other nations against us.

Congress will be wise to listen to the sound farm advice of Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson.

[From the Norfolk (Nebr.) Daily News of April 8, 1955]

THIS IS NOT THE RIGHT MEDICINE

A man had a severe pain in his stomach. He went to his doctor. The doctor asked him what he had been eating.

"Well, Doctor," he said, "my wife made some mince ples yesterday. Now, I like mince ple so I ate four pleces."

"All right," said the doctor, "if you like mince pie go home and eat four more pieces."

No medical doctor would offer a prescription like that for indigestion. But the political doctors in Washington are doing just that.

Agriculture is sick. It is sick because we hired the farmer to overproduce during the war, and he liked it so well we have kept on hiring him to raise big surpluses after the need for them was over. We did it because it was felt to be good politics.

Ninety percent of parity made agriculture sick, say the political doctors, but the farmer likes it, so let's keep on feeding him 90 percent of parity, then he will yote for us.

cent of parity, then he will vote for us.

They say it is good politics, but we are beginning to doubt it. We think the farmer hereabouts is beginning to see that the thing that piled up huge surpluses to depress the market, isn't the thing that will cure what ails his business.

Representative Bos HARRISON, in his excellent address before the chamber of commerce Thursday explained that the Government now has \$7 billion worth of farm surpluses in storage, and that it is costing us a million dollars a day just for storage. We could quit raising wheat for 3 years and still have food enough. There is enough cotton to last an extra year or two. Our exports have fallen tremendously for three reasons. One is that other countries have increased their food production too; another that they haven't the dollars, since we have cut down on foreign aid, to buy our wheat and cotton and butter; the other is that we refuse to sell to some countries needing our food because they are our potential enemies behind the Iron Curtain. But even if all these ills were cured, we should still probably be producing more than we could sell abroad.

Representative Harrison explained how the plan effected by his bill to encourage foreign buying of our wheat is working. In the first year of operation \$453 million worth of our products has been sold. We are setting up programs which we hope will increase the use of our food abroad. But though this plan is working well it will hardly keep up with the annual surpluses.

The largest farm organization in the country sees that something else must be done. We can't keep on stimulating overproduction forever.

The political doctors, we think, will discover that prescribing the wrong medicine, palatable though it may be, isn't going to get the votes.

The farmers are wise to that kind of quackery.

Immigration and Citizenship Act of 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced an immigration and naturalization bill which would completely revise and replace the Mc-Carran-Walter Immigration Act, which was passed over the President's veto in 1952. This immigration and naturalization bill, entitled the "Immigration and Citizenship Act of 1955," is a codification of all existing immigration, naturalization, and citizenship laws, clarifying and simplifying the present act, but above all, remolding American immigration and naturalization policy into its traditional directions of justice and equity. Moreover, this proposed act would establish an immigration and naturalization policy that will give faithful and positive expression to the basic human values to which American political institutions are dedicated.

Before discussing the principal features of my bill permit me to state that the need for a complete reevaluation of our immigration policy is made even more clear by the unwarranted ousting last week of Edward J. Corsi, the State Department's expediter of immigration. The treatment afforded Mr. Corsi, who has served as Commissioner of Immigration under President Hoover, and as New York State Industrial Commissioner under Governor Dewey, is as absurd and offensive as the present immigration policy itself. Last January Mr. Corsi was urged by Secretary of State Dulles to come to Washington to accept the task of speeding up the flow of refugees into this country under the stringent provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act. At that time Mr. Dulles called him the "best-qualified man in the United States" on immigration matters. After the highest praise from Mr. Dulles only 3 months ago he discharged this man who was trying to interpret the repressive immigration laws in the most humane way possible. This seems to me to be as unjust as the McCarran-Walter Act itself. We all know that Mr. Corsi has long been on record as favoring a much more liberal administration of the emergency refugee program, and a com-

plete revision of the Immigration and Nationality Act. Both these objectives will be accomplished under the provisions of the bill I introduced in the House.

At this point, let me remind the spokesmen of both major political parties that they are on record as having assured the American people of a revision of the un-American McCarran-Walter Act and a new refugee law. I appeal to the leadership of both parties to redeem the pledges made by giving prompt consideration to my bill. It seems to me that the basic principle is whether or not we are to have a sensible, humane immigration policy—and that is obviously the concern of both political parties.

The bill I have introduced is a code of permanent immigration and naturalization law designed to enable the United States to meet its continuing obligations in the immigration field without periodic emergency measures, and to meet American needs and requirements at the same time. The proposed bill if enacted into law eliminates the national-originsquota system with its built-in discriminations based on place of birth; eliminates statutory discriminations and distinctions between native-born and naturalized American citizens; eliminates the present insubstantial grounds for revocation and denial of citizenship, and eliminates fractions and arbitrary grounds for denial of admission to the United States.

Moreover, the proposed act would make clear distinction in requirements for entry between (a) aliens seeking permanent residence here, and (b) alien visitors coming here for scholarly or scientific purposes, for pleasure, or for business. In addition, this bill would eliminate special immigration barriers against Orientals and Negroes: establish an annual immigration ceiling of approximately 250,000 a year, but permit immigration up to that limit. It would also require all ordinary immigration from the Western Hemisphere to be included within the annual immigration limits. Another very important feature of the bill would establish a unified quota system, based on national need, individual aptitude, and the requirements of our foreign policy, and last but not least the bill would establish statutory review and appeals procedures in all cases of deportation and exclusion, and for denials of

I wish to point out and make very clear that this bill would promote entry of desirable immigrants on a basis responsive to national need and international responsibility and at the same time protect this country from infiltration by those who would destroy or impair its political institutions. Let us not forget that the present struggle with Soviet communism is political and moral, as well as military, and therefore if we are to win this fight, we cannot allow legislation to remain on the statute books which enable others to accuse us of establishing our own "Redtape Curtain." Beyond any question or doubt, the United States is the leading democratic nation in the world. This fact imposes a grave responsibility on us which we

are failing to live up to as long as the McCarran-Walter Act is the law of our land.

By adopting this bill you will eliminate all racial and national bias, establish a uniform right of review and appeal from administrative decisions, and remove the distinctions between native-born and naturalized American citizens. The national origins quota system would be replaced by a new unified quota system. Likewise, all immigration and naturalization functions, now divided between the Consular Service of the State Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Justice Department would be consolidated in a separate single agency to be known as the Immigration and Naturalization Commission.

We in the United States know that our population stems from many races, groups, and tongues. It is also clear beyond dispute that our country has developed and prospered because we have made it a practice to offer a welcoming hand to substantial numbers of immigrants who were seeking freedom and equal opportunity. There is no question that our moral and material advancement has been due principally to the fact that we have had a liberal and progressive immigration policy. That liberal immigration policy, which allowed my ancestors to come to this country must be renewed if this country is not to lose an essential source of its great invigorating strength. In my opinion, the proposed legislation will achieve this purpose and at the same time guard the security, health, and welfare of the United States. It is extremely important that the Congress consider, with open and sympathetic mind, these grave problems of immigration and naturalization. We must remember that any injustice in our immigration and naturalization law is a wedge which will weaken our political system and our long established, constitutionally guaranteed, doctrine that all men are created equal.

In conclusion I want to say that the bill I have introduced is a comprehensive revision of the present law designed and intended to reflect the genuine American tradition of equal justice and impartiality under the law for both the alien and the citizen, and to provide a friendly welcome for immigrants, without discrimination or prejudice, but within a fortified limitation as to total numbers. The bill also provides full security against the admission of criminal, subversive, and other undesirable aliens and it provides for the deportation of those inadvertently admitted or already present in this country. In my opinion the two most important reforms advocated are the abolition of the national origins quota system and consolidation of the overlapping immigration functions of the State Department and the Department of Justice. I firmly believe that if this proposed legislation is enacted into law it will represent an essential return to our basic American tradition and concepts of immigration and will remove the inequities and discrimination from our basic immigration and naturalization laws which are presently a sore on our American way of life.

Forest Conservation Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, with increasing frequency our valuable national forest lands are being nibbled to death by "weekend miners" who have been using the Nation's mining laws to lay claim to valuable stands of timber and choice summer home sites.

These "weekend" miners are not to be confused with the legitimate prospector upon whose optimism, energy and ability the future wealth and safety of our Nation depends. The legitimate miner presents no problem. His diggings—if he is fortunate to find an ore body—are few and far between and present no hazard to our forest watershed areas.

The minority, however, that are abusing the law have in their capacity cre-

ated a national scandal.

The problem of correcting this situation has not been easy to solve. The legitimate prospector and miner understandably objected to changes in the mining law that would, in preventing abuses, put him out of business also. The forest service, commendably zealous, had difficulty in recognizing this fact.

Now, however, after lengthy meetings legislation has been drafted and I have introduced it today in the House. This legislation has the strong support of both the Department of Agriculture and the Department of the Interior.

The new legislation recognizes the requirements of the legitimate miner and prospector but it also will bring to a halt the abuses of the mining laws who seek to obtain areas of the public domain for nonmining purposes.

Briefly, the new legislation would:

First. Ban the location of mining claims for common varieties of sand, stone, gravel, pumice, pumicite, and cinders and make them subject to disposal by the United States under terms of the Materials Disposal Act.

Second. As to mining claims hereafter located, it would, prior to patent:

(a) Prohibit use of the mining claims for any purpose other than prospecting, mining, processing, and related activitics.

(b) Authorize the Federal Government to manage and dispose of the timber and forage, to manage the other surface resources—except mineral deposits subject to location under the mining laws—and to use the surface of the claim for these purposes or for access to adjacent land, without endangering or materially interfering with mining operations or related activities.

(c) Bar the mining claimant from removing or using the timber or other surface resources except to the extent required for mining or related activities. Any timber cutting by the mining claimant, other than that to provide clearance, must be done in accordance with sound principles of forest management.

Third. Provide an in rem procedure, similar to a "quiet-title" action, under which the Federal Government could expeditiously resolve title uncertainties resulting from the existence of abandoned, invalid, dormant, or unidentifiable mining claims, located prior to enactment of this measure, in any given area.

This legislation is fair and long overdue. I urge Members to study it and to press for its speedy passage by Con-

gress.

Weaverville (Calif.) Chamber of Commerce Endorses Partnership Trinity River Project Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I desire to include a resolution adopted by the Weaverville (Calif.) Chamber of Commerce on March 31, 1955, withdrawing its support of full Federal development of the Trinity River project—and endorsing the partnership plan proposed by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

Under this plan, the private utility would construct and develop the power facilities of the project, resulting in a net saving to the Federal Government of nearly \$50 million in capital outlay. In addition, the plan would provide increased annual tax revenue of \$1,400,000 to the Federal Government and \$1,300,000 to State and local governments. Over the repayment period tax revenue would aggregate \$70 million to the Federal Government and \$65 million to State and local governments.

This resolution endorsing the partnership plan is especially significant in that Weaverville is the county seat of Trinity County, the area in which key structures of the proposed Trinity River project

would be located.

It reads as follows:

Whereas a bill has been introduced into the House of Representatives and the United States Senate calling for full Federal development of the Trinity-San Luis project; and

Whereas it is to the best interests of the Weaverville Chamber of Commerce and the people of Trinity County to receive maximum benefits from the construction of the features of the Trinity River project, within the boundaries of this county; and

Whereas said Interests of Trinity County and the Weaverville Chamber of Commerce were not best served by a resolution adopted on March 15, 1955, by the Inter-County Chambers of Commerce of Northern California supporting full Federal development of the Trinity-San Luis project as originally proposed to Congress; and

Whereas the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. has made to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and to the Bureau of Reclamation a partnership proposal to build and pay for the power facilities of the Trinity River project: Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That the board of directors of Weaverville Chamber of Commerce desires to go on record as withdrawing its support of the Inter-County Chambers of Commerce resolution, and further resolve that both Houses of Congress be urged to incorporate the partnership plan into the respective Trinity project bills wherein the power facilities of the Trinity project would be developed by private capital under Federal Power Commission license, thereby increasing the tax base of the county; be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Weaverville Chamber of Commerce be instructed to forward copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the Members of the California delegation to Congress, to the Governor of the State of California, and to the Secretary of the Interior.

Passed by the members of the Weaverville Chamber of Commerce at a meeting held on the 30th day of March 1955.

Weaverville Chamber of Commerce, Robert Zbinden. President. Lorene Melquist, Secretary.

Toledo, Ohio, Cited for Outstanding Record in Industrial Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio recently cited Toledo, Ohio, for its outstanding record in industrial relations. I feel that it is particularly significant when a city is singled out for such recognition. The text of the resolution adopted by the Ohio House of Representatives is as follows:

Whereas the members of the house of representatives of the 101st general assembly are aware of the increasing significance of stable industrial relations to the prosperity and well-being of our State and country; and

Whereas the city of Toledo, as established by official State records, has led the industrial cities of Ohio in minimizing the losses

due to industrial disputes; and

Whereas this impressive illustration of successful cooperation for the common good will inure not only to the benefit of the city of Toledo, but will perpetuate its benefits by enabling others to profit, now and in the future, from Toledo's excellent example: And, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the statement of Mr. William L. Batt, Jr., executive secretary of the Toledo Industrial Development Council, "these statistics dramatically illustrate the little known fact that Toledo has one of the best records for stable industrial relations of any city its size in the Nation," be appropriately seconded and acquiesced in; and be it further Resolved, That the members of the house

Resolved, That the members of the house of representatives, in cognizance of the accomplishment of the city of Toledo, gratefully acknowledge our appreciation by adopting this resolution and causing a copy to be spread upon the Journal; and be it

Resolved, That the clerk of the house of representatives transmit a properly authenticated copy of this resolution to the mayor and city council of the city of Toledo.

Adopted, February 28, 1955.

CARL GUESS, Clerk.

The Cause of a United Ireland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks. I wish to include the following statement I received from Mr. William Conlon, 23 Breed Street, Lynn, Mass.:

In honor of the Easter Week, Rebellion of Easter Week 1916, and those immortal and gallant Irishmen who shed their blood for the cause of a united Ireland, I send you the following article for publication:

The cruelty and inhumanity of the penal laws which the British Government enacted against the people of Ireland after the Jacobite collapse have never been equaled in the history of man. So disbolical was this piece of English legislation that the great French jurist Montesquieu wrote: "This horrible code was conceived by devils, written in human blood, and registered in hell."

It is not my purpose to give the details of the penal laws except to say that under them no Catholic Irishman could vote, keep arms, or enter a profession, or hold public office, engage in trade or commerce, live within 5 miles of a walled town, inherit the land of a Protestant, purchase any land, own a horse valued at more than 5 pounds sterling, own land valued at more than 30 shillings (\$6) a year. He could not educate his children and if he sent his children abroad to be educated all his property was forfeited and he was outlawed. But above all else he could not practice his religion. Violation of any of those statutes was punishable by death.

It was not until the American Revolution

It was not until the American Revolution of 1776 that the Irish people were able to find any little surcease from their sufferings. The wily British politicians, having their hands full in the colonies and, later, viewing with alarm the rise of the young Corsican, Napoleon Bonaparte, following the French Revolution, made overtures to the leaders of the Irish volunteers, with the consequent result of the formation of the so-called Irish Parliament of 1782. Even under this assembly, known to history as "Grattan's Parliament" the Catholic Irish were not eligible for election.

There is a great misconception among many Irish people with regard to the formation of the Irish Volunteers of the period. Many are apt to confuse them with the united Irishmen of the era. It is interesting to ascertain just how the Volunteers originated.

During the 80 or more years that the Penal Laws were in force, England destroyed practically every industry. The great woolen and linen trades of Ulster, owned and operated by the Ulster "Loyalists" were not spared and thousands of Presbyterians were forced to emigrate to the Colonies. It is perhaps only retributive justice that history records the fact that these exiled Ulstermen were eager and willing to join with the other Catholic exiled Irishmen to compose about 40 percent of George Washington's army which achieved American independence when Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown.

The American Revolution helped the Irish cause in many ways. Apart from the fact that both Catholic and Protestant Irishmen united to serve with George Washington in 1776. There was the great factor. That England was forced to withdraw her troops from Ireland in an effort to conquer the "American Rebels." The coasts of Ireland being then unprotected (according to the

British conception) from the ravages of American privateers—the people of Ireland principally those of the counties on Antrim and Down began to form volunteer groups. The movement spread all over the country and before England had fully realized the possibilities of Ireland having an army of her own. Numbering more than 100,000 men fully trained and equipped. Lord Cornwallis had surrendered and the American Colonies had achieved their independence.

The Irish volunteers met and demanded legislative independence for Ireland and the right of free trade. England acquiesced and so was born the Irish Parliament of 1762. But there were many young Irishmen who were not satisfied with the British concessions. Among them were Dolf Tone and Napper Tandy and others who were leaders in the United Irishmen. Their ideal was the same as that of Padriac Pearse—a century later—Ireland completely free of all British tentacles.

all British tentacles.

Under "Grattan's Parliament" the great force of Irish volunteers had been allowed to disintegrate. Many of the volunteers later joined the united Irishmen, during the heroic struggle of 1798. Just before the rising at Wexford a young Presbyterian from County Antrim named William Orr, was convicted of having administered the oath of the united Irishmen to a soldier named Whitly. Notwithstanding the fact that Whitly confessed to perjury. Orr was hanged for treason against the Crown. "Remember Orr," became the rallying cry of the united Irishmen.

Some 60 years after the rising of 1793, John Keegan Casey, Leo of the nation, wrote his inspiring ballad The Rising of the Moon. Even today it is one of the most inspiring and popular patriotic Irish songs. Set to a variant of the immortal Wearing of the Green, it is one of the grandest tributes ever paid to the dead who died for Ireland.

"Oh, then tell me, Shaun O'Farrell,
Tell me why you hurry so;
'Hush, Ma Voochal, hush and listen,'
And his cheeks were all aglow;
'I hear orders from the captain,
Get you ready quick and soon,
For the pikes must be together
At the rising of the moon,'
At the rising of the moon,
For the pikes must be together
At the rising of the moon.

"Oh, then tell me, Shaun O'Farrell, Where the gathering is to be? In the old spot by the river, Might well known to you and me; One word more—for signal token, Whistle up the marching tune, With your pike upon your shoulder, At the rising of the moon.

"Out from many a mud-walled cabin Eyes were watching through that night, Many a manly breast was throbbing For the blessed warning light, Murmurs passed along the valley, Like a Banshee's lonely croon, And a thousand blades were flashing At the rising of the moon.

"There beside the singing river,
That dark mass of men was seen
High above their shining weapons,
Hung their own beloved green,
Doth to every foe and traitor,
Forward! Strike the marching tune,
And hurrah! my boys for freedom,
Tis the rising of the moon.

"Well, they fought for poor old Ireland,
And full bitter was their fate,
Oh, what glorious pride and sorrow
Fill the name of 'Ninety-eight,'
Yet, thank God, there still are beating
Hearts in manhoods burning moon,
Who would follow in their footsteps,
At the rising of the moon."

John Keegan Casey was one of Ireland's greatest songwriters. He was born in 1846 and died in 1870. For a few years of his short life he contributed to the Nation, writing under the pen name of Leo. He is best remembered for his patriotic ballads, principally the Rising of the Moon; Thou Are Not Conquered Yet; Dear Land; God Bless Our Irish Girls; the Flag is Raised; the Green Flag; and Donald Kenney.

Like all Irish poets, he could write very charming love songs. Mamie, My Girl, and My Colleen Euadh are fine examples of his work in this category. There is a tendency among some people to credit John Keegan Casey with the authorship of the Irish Reaper's Harvest Hymn. These songs were written by John Keegan, who was born in 1809 and died in 1849. Since the names of the poets are similar, it is easy for anyone to confuse them. The fact that Keegan's work was known to Casey influenced the latter to use the pen name of Leo.

The Rising of the Moon is a most inspiring song. It can also be very inspirational when given as a recitation with suitable musical accompaniment. My sister, the late Anna Winifred, recited the poem often during the Rambles in Erin radio series over the Mutual network some years ago, while a symphony orchestra played Irish national melodies in the background.

Casey's grand song also inspired the late Lady Gregory to write her celebrated one-act play The Rising of the Moon, when I think of the stirring poem, especially the last verse, in which Casey sings:

"Yet, thank God, there still are beating Hearts in manhood's burning moon Who would follow in their footsteps At the rising of the moon."

And realize that our Irish poets and songwriters never despaired of the future. I recall Thomas McDonagh's last message prior to his martyrdom in 1916.

to his martyrdom in 1916.

"While Ireland lives, the brawn and brains of her manhood will strive to destroy the last vestige of British rule in her territory.

"Let England make no mistake. The generous, high bold youth of Ireland will never

fail to answer the call we pass on to them.
"Take me away and let my bloow bedew
the sacred soil of Ireland. * * * I die in the
certainty that once more the seed will

fructify."

Respectfully yours,

WM. JAS. CONLON.

A Vote of Thanks to Dr. Jonas E. Salk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced in Congress a concurrent resolution tendering the thanks of Congress to Dr. Jonas E. Salk for his great achievement in developing an antipolio vaccine.

We all owe this brilliant young scientist a heartfelt vote of thanks, and it is fitting that the elected representatives of all the people should offer a word of sincere commendation in behalf of the American people.

This historic contribution to preventative medicine proves again that America leads the world in the development of weapons to save human life and we freely share with the world the noble humanitarian benefits of our greatest scientific achievements.

Dr. Salk, the son of a garment worker, is an example of how an American boy in our great land of free enterprise can achieve success and attain the highest honors.

I wish to add that I am deeply gratified that United States Surgeon General Leonard A. Scheele is taking immediate steps to extend the facilities of the United States Public Health Service in distributing the new polio vaccine.

Sonoma Valley Conservation District Favors Trinity River Power Development by Private Power Company

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I desire to include a letter from the Sonoma Valley Soil Conservation District, Sonoma, Calif., in support of the P. G. and E. plan for developing power on the Trinity River.

If the project should prove feasible and is authorized I believe the partnership plan as proposed by the private utility to the Bureau of Reclamation would be a practical approach. This plan would result in a multi-million-dollar savings to Federal taxpayers in construction costs, plus providing increased revenue in the form of tax payments to Federal and local governments.

I have received numerous endorsements of the partnership plan for the development of power on the Trinity River. Soil conservationists have a great interest in preserving and making the best use of our natural resources, and I take this opportunity of presenting the views of one of the soil-conservation groups in my congressional district on this important subject.

They have gone on record, as follows:

SONOMA VALLEY SOIL,

Conservation District,
Sonoma, Calif., March 31, 1955.

Congressman HUBERT B. SCUDDER, House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: At a recent meeting of the Sonoma Valley Soil Conservation District, the board of directors unanimously favored the Trinity River partnership plan proposed by the P. G. & E. Co. to the United States Bureau of Reclamation as indicated in the following ballot:

Chairman, Comdr. J. C. Poshepny, orchardist, aye; directors: Victor Leveroni, rancher, aye; Herman Johnson, rancher, aye; A. "Nibs" Maffei, rancher, aye; Carson Mitchell, dairyman, aye.

The facts present an overwhelming argument in favor of savings to taxpayers and the encouragement of private enterprise. The amount of revenue which would be realized by the Government for the use of

this water would substantially reduce the governmental share in the cost of operations, and so further reduce the present tax burden.

The P. G. & E. is fully equipped to enter into this program with their present facilities, thus saving the Government, the taxpayers, the cost of initial plant and operational expenses and, further, making available more water than anticipated in the original plans of the Bureau of Reclamation, and more power to the P. G. & E. at reduced cost to the consumer.

This board respectfully request that you give this proposal your consideration and attention.

SONOMA VALLEY SOIL CONSERVATION DISTRICT.

M. EILEEN MERONEY, Secretary.

Farm Co-op Asks for Repeal of 1954 Agricultural Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to insert in the Record a resolution adopted by delegates attending the 24th annual meeting of the Farmers Union Central Exchange held in St. Paul, Minn., from February 28 through March 3, 1955.

The Farmers Union Central Exchange serves 350,000 farmers in the 6 Northwest States of Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Iowa.

From the tenor of the resolution adopted by the delegates attending the Farmers Union Central Exchange's annual meeting it is very obvious that farmers in this area are not satisfied with the results flowing from the Agricultural Act of 1954. In fact, these farmers are asking for repeal of the law. Here is the full text of the resolution which I commend to my colleagues for their study:

FARM PROGRAM

As a wholesale supply cooperative serving the needs of farmers in a six-State area, the Farmers Union Central Exchange performs a vital function in the overall Farmers Union movement.

It has the endeavor and purpose in common with the other Farmers Union cooperatives and the National and State Farmers Union Educational organizations to preserve the family-type farm for our United States of America, and to secure parity of income and living standards for farm families. This is not just a high-sounding phrase.

The kind of farm program which individuals and organizations develop and support depends on their basic philosophy and purpose. Parity for farmers is not and should not be a matter of partisan politics, but politicians and political parties must be held accountable for their record.

We condemn the 1954 farm act because it is in conflict with the goal and past accomplishments to achieve parity for agriculture. It seeks to regulate production by manipulating prices and to eliminate surpluses by eliminating farmers.

When production control becomes necessary, it should be by democratic farmer participation in control programs, not by application of a protracted economic squeeze ending in bankruptcy and foreclosure.

Our State Department has found in a number of foreign countries that monopoly and large-scale land ownership resulted in conditions favorable to Communist expansion. In order to prevent such expansion, our Government has assisted these countries in land reform programs to replace land monopoly with individual family owned and operated farms. However, the leading proponent and architect of these land reforms for foreign farmers was dismissed by our Secretary of Agriculture as a security risk. And our present program for American farmers is leading toward, not away from, land monopoly.

We recognize that farming operations must keep pace with modern technology and know-how. And that measures for so-called rural slum clearance are necessary. Such measures, however, are a supplement, not a substitute, for price supports. Those who say that we cannot achieve parity of income for farmers lack faith in our free enterprise system and our democratic way of life.

The present administration has promised to develop new farm programs to secure full parity for farm products, both storable and perishable. It has not yet succeeded in doing so, and until it does, we urge that the 1954 farm act be repealed and that the 90 percent supports under the old parity formula be restored for basic commodities; that acreage allotments and marketing quotas be utilized to achieve a better balance between supply and demand.

New England Interstate Water Pollution Control Commission Reports on S. 850

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following statement adopted unanimously by the New England Interstate Water Pollution Control Commission at Springfield, Mass., on March 24, 1955:

STATEMENT RELATIVE TO S. 890 BY NEW ENG-LAND INTERSTATE WATER POLLUTION CON-TROL COMMISSION, BOSTON, MASS., AN INTERSTATE AGENCY REPRESENTING CON-NECTICUT, MASSACHUSEITS, NEW HAMPSHIRE, NEW YORK, RHODE ISLAND, AND VERMONT

The New England Interstate Water Pollution Control Commission, after careful study and consideration of S. 890, a bill to extend and strengthen the Federal Water Pollution Control Act (Public Law 845), is greatly concerned over this legislation which was prepared and submitted for introduction into the 84th Congress by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare without consultation with the States.

Several features of this bill would change the entire existing philosophy of cooperative Federal-State relations regarding water pollution control, wherein the Congress recognizes the rights and responsibilities of the States and interstate agencies in conducting their abatement programs.

Moreover, in approving the New England interstate water pollution control compact. the Congress granted certain authority to this commission and its signatory States, which under the proposed legislation would be subject to Federal approbation and control.

The commission, therefore, records its opposition to those portions of S. 890 which would adversely affect the continued successful operation of the New England interstate water pollution control compact.

JOSEPH C. KNOX, Sccretary.

Address by Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, Chief of Staff, United States Army, to the West Point Society of New York at the Annual Founders Day Dinner, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, March 19, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted to extend my remarks, I include a splendid address made by a great military leader and great American, Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, on March 19, 1955, to the West Point Society of New York at the annual founders day dinner held in New York City.

The views of General Ridgway are worthy of profound consideration in connection with our national defense, and particularly in connection with the strength of our Army during these trying days. In addition to showing that the "land arm" is indispensable in seizing, holding, and controlling portions of the world's surface, he also makes the pointed assertion that—

It is, I believe, indisputably true that weakness in the strength of ground forces anywhere in the free world invites aggression in those areas. Where free-world ground forces are in position in strength, conditions tend toward stability, and the chance of successful aggression lessens.

Also, the further pointed statement:
By remaining strong militarily, and by
taking full advantage of our Nation's human,
industrial, and scientific potential, we can
best hope to deter aggression, or, should it
occur, to deal with it in the manner that
our national interests require. As a decisive
factor in war, there is no substitute for determined troops, adequately trained, properly
armed with modern weapons, well led, and
imbued with the will to close with the enemy
on the ground and crush him. I believe any
contrary concept is a dangerous fallacy,

The address follows:

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Baruch, General Byran, distinguished guests, and members of the West Point Society of New York, it is an honor to be one of this gathering tonight, an honor to share once more in honoring our illustrious alma mater, an honor to be permitted to address this group of eminent Americans and sons of West Point, whose high achievements and dedicated service to God and country, in peace and war, testify eloquently to the worth of West Point's teachings, and to its continuing contributions to the Nation's progress.

Let us first recall with reverent pride the many sons of the United States Military Academy who have given life or limb in battle, defending with unswering loyalty the values and ideals which inspire the people of our Nation. Let us, too, express our abiding appreciation to West Point's sons, who are serving the Nation in our Armed Forces and in civil life, alongside of their patriotic fellow Americans whose service equally elicits our admiration.

Ninety years ago a great human drama was closing—a great historical era in our evolving society was about to begin.

Early in April of that year of 1865, two men of high principle faced each other in that climactic scene at Appomattox. They were famous then. They were to attain still higher eminence. Yet, in spite of the greatness Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee achieved in later years, perhaps neither ever knew more greatness of soul than that to which adherence to their principles had elevated them at that moment.

I seem to discern, in the perspective in which time now brings those war years and that scene into focus, a parallel with the American scene today. Not since then, I think, has destiny confronted America with such decisions. Not since then has principle stood so revealed as the instrument by which our future shall be decided.

Then, as now, apathy and complacency dragged at the feet of principle, and the search for a less arduous path threatened to sap national resolution. Today, fateful decisions, as in those days, confront our Nation, and the paths which we as a people choose to follow, will no less vitally affect our future before God and man.

We live in an age when science and technology appear to challenge the capabilities of man to control the fruits of his own rapidly increasing knowledge. To the normal hazards of life, as we have known it, there has been added in recent years the power of modern weapons, with destructive capability on an almost unimaginable scale, the magnitude of which goes on increasing—and with it the number and magnitude of the problems we confront.

There can be no dodging these problems, no escaping our national destiny for decisions, no evading our responsibility as a people for the results which will flow from their execution.

These results can have such a staggering impact in future years that I think it pertinent to discuss one or two of them briefly, even if this introduces a somewhat somber note into this pleasant evening. Most of us are members of the active Army. As such, we may well review what the Army's role is expected to be, and how it and we can discharge that role to our country's best advantage, in our evolving destiny.

I think no mind, however fine, can perceive with any sureness the course of events beyond the immediate future. Yet we may be sure that there will be continuing danger of war, while there exists the present combination of implacable hostility toward us by Kremlin leadership, and a great and growing capability under its control for military aggression and political subversion.

So long as this combination exists, the risk of war will remain, in spite of all we do to seek by all honorable means, to prevent war's occurrence. This risk has become an accepted fact in our daily life. We must reduce this risk of war, not ignore it, and we can, if we resolutely maintain our determination to remain strong at all costs, and to take the measures necessary for our protection, while with the dynamic force of faith we renew and intensify our efforts to solve this greatest of all problems—the preservation of peace and the extension of freedom.

Weapons of mass destruction are a twoedged sword. Under our control, they may serve as a deterrent to aggression. In the hands of the Communists they pose a threat. But they are still weapons, with definite limitations as well as capabilities, and subject, like all weapons, to man's control. The United States Army is prepared to employ tactically an impressive family of modern weapons against legitimate military targets.

Until some major change occurs in the world power ratio, and none is yet discernible on the international horizon, I firmly believe we must continue to employ our industrial and technical resources in ways most likely to increase our national security; that we must maintain, and to the maximum practicable extent, increase our superiority in all these modern weapons, atomic, and otherwise; that we must preserve adequate strength in all our Armed Forces, properly proportioned between the land, sea, and air arms.

The Army has inherent military characteristics indispensable in warfare, capabilities which we are ceaslessly seeking to increase. First in importance is the capability of the land arm to seize, hold, and control portions of the earth's surface, and the people who inhabit them. No other service has that capability. It is significant that in many instances where Communist aggression has occurred in the world, Communist ground forces have been the principal instruments of aggression, and that where aggression has been halted and defeated, this has been accomplished mainly by ground forces, with supporting sea and air strength.

It is, I believe, indisputably true that weakness in the strength of ground forces anywhere in the free world invites aggression in those areas. Where free world ground forces are in a position in strength, conditions tend toward stability and the chance of successful aggression lessens.

By remaining strong militarily and by taking full advantage of our Nation's human, industrial, and scientific potential, we can best hope to deter aggression, or, should it occur, to deal with it in the manner that our national interests require. As a decisive factor in war, there is no substitute for determined troops, adequately trained, properly armed with modern weapons, well led, and imbued with the will to close with the enemy on the ground and crush him. I believe any contrary concept is a dangerous fallacy.

Since, in the final analysis, man is the most important element in war, the intangibles that inspire men—the great moral and spiritual influences—are of the utmost importance in deciding issues between warring groups. An army's success in modern war will depend upon its possession of the highest attributes of bravery, patriotism, professional skill, and devotion to duty. The soldier in combat will be placed under the severest stresses to which war has yet subjected him. He will need and must receive the highest type of leadership and that type of leadership the Army will provide.

We can take deep pride in our officer corps and our noncommissioned officer corps—two reservoirs of leaders of character and competence, highly trained, many tested in combat, imbued with confidence, and sustained by those principles which have made our aima mater and our Nation great.

Today these leaders bear, and in the years ahead their successors will bear, heavy responsibilities. The manner in which they are discharged will be of incalculable importance to us and to mankind. If, in reaching decisions which lie ahead, our Nation remains true to the principles of the Founding Fathers; if our Nation matches the dedication to principle exemplified by the victor and the vanquished at Appomattox; then we need have no fear of future trials. For the principles on which our country is founded are rocks, and like the heights of the Hudson at West Point, they are the hills unto which we lift up our eyes, for from them, in truth, will come our help.

Hungarians Seek Freedom—Condemn Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the spark of freedom inherent in the hearts and minds of the members of the American Hungarian Federation burst into a flame of protest against the evils of communism at their recent meeting at Hunter College, New York City.

The federation resolved to organize a committee of 1 million Americans of Hungarian descent to combat communism, and seek to liberate their native country from Russian domination, to restore freedom to Hungary, and to denounce the Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam agreements which have brought Communist slavery and subjugation to Hungary?

They appealed to President Eisenhower to use the great power of his office to help them acquire their goal.

The firm stand for freedom and independence taken by the Americans of Hungarian descent deserves the full cooperation of the people of the United States.

Resolution adopted on March 5, 1955, at the commemoration of Hungarian Independence, Hunter College, New York City:

"Whereas Hungary by tradition and history had been the bastion of Christianity since the 14th century and by three centuries of continuous fighting at the sacrifice of 4 million of her people, had secured peace and progress for Western Europe; and

progress for Western Europe; and
"Whereas the unjust and cruel consequences of the agreements of Teheran, Yalta,
and Potsdam have led to Hungary's subjection to Soviet domination and Communist
rule; and

"Whereas the Hungarian people have never ceased to remain dedicated to national independence, individual freedom, and Western cultural standards as has been demonstrated even under Soviet military occupation at the 1945 and 1947 elections; and

"Whereas the present Communist regime and Soviet colonial exploitation are being maintained in Hungary only by violent domination by the Red army and arbitrary rule by the Communist secret police; and

nation by the Red army and arbitrary rule by the Communist secret police; and "Whereas the Hungarian people silenced by Communist terrorism have been deprived of all possibilities of expressing their true will and communicating with the free world;

"Therefore, we assemble tonight under the banner of "Free Americans for Free Hungary," and raise our voice in behalf of our brethren in protest against their subjugation and the intolerable slavery into which they have been plunged; Be it

"Resolved, That we herewith create a committee representing 1 million Americans of Hungarian descent and designate the American Hungarian Federation as our agent. The federation is herewith authorized and directed to submit our appeal to the President of the United States, Dwight D. Elsenhower, and simultaneously to call upon him as the leader not only of the American people but of the free world, to reaffirm his solemn pledge against all tyrannies, never to compromise for the sake of illusory coexistence, those eternal ideals of national freedom and

human rights defended throughout American history and to do all in his power to liberate our enslaved people from under Soviet tyranny and Communist degradation."

Youthful Energies and the Civilian Conservation Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, at this time of year when life begins to stir and tree buds burst, many men in their early forties recall how they once lived and worked in a CCC camp. They recall the depression of the early thirties when they were left with nothing to do-and nothing to do it with. These thoughts come to them because just 22 years ago this month, the first CCC camp was established on the George Washington National Forest in nearby Virginia. It was appropriately called Camp Roosevelt in honor of a great President whose quick action in approving the Emergency Conservation Act helped relieve unemployment by putting men to work on the national forests, the national parks, and others of our public lands.

During nearly 9 years after the act of March 31, 1933, was signed, the people of every State saw young men standing in line to enroll in the Civilian Conservation Corps. Before the camps were closed in 1942 there were over 2,600 such camps in which over 3 million young men had seized the opportunity to build self-confidence while serving their country. I know what it meant, for I was with them.

Like thousands in those days, when I graduated from the Winona State Teachers College in my State, I stood with a diploma in my hand and no place to use my training. The CCC looked good, and believe me, it was good to me. For the better part of 2 years I worked with other young men on the Superior National Forest in northeastern Minnesota as camp educational adviser. The tasks we did depended upon the time of year and the ingenuity of our camp superintendent. We planted trees and built roads, strung telephone wires, searched for the elusive gooseberry bush to free the white pine trees from blister rust, and fought forest fires. As camp educational adviser it was my task to provide educational opportunities in addition to the relief and work programs for which the CCC is more widely known. We worked in warm weather and in cold. There was plenty to do. but we were young. We liked the work; we liked the life; and especially, we liked the opportunity to be a recognized part of American life.

I believe I am the only Member of this Congress who was in the CCC. From this vantage point, I see it as a great movement to renew a spirit of adventure in youth, and to dramatize the protection and restoration of our natural resources. Our efforts up there on the shores of Lake Superior stand out as part of a job being done by thousands of young men in hundreds of CCC camps across the country.

Because of our work, millions of acres of forest land now yield crops of pulpwood and sawlogs, on millions more, fat livestock feed on good grass that we made possible, everywhere sportsmen find better places in which to fish and hunt, and families have places where they may picnic. Now, as never before, I see in the CCC, an evidence of what can be done when direction is given to the energies of youth.

Mendocino County Chambers of Commerce Endorse Proposed Trinity River Power Development Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON, HUBERT B. SCUDDER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the APPENDIX of the RECORD, I desire to include a telegram signed by chamber of commerce officials from various communities in Mendocino County, Calif., endorsing construction and development of power on the Trinity River by private enterprise.

Considerable interest has been generated throughout my congressional district in the proposal offered by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., to develop power phases of the proposed Trinity River project. One such expression of interest is a telegram dated April 13, signed by the president of the Mendocino County Chamber of Commerce; the president of the Ukiah Chamber of Commerce; the president of the Willits Chamber of Commerce, the president of the Fort Bragg Chamber of Commerce, and the director of the Mendocino County Chamber of Commerce. These leaders endorse the "partnership plan" as a sound business proposal which would result in a savings of several million dollars to Federal taxpayers in construction costs, and return to the Federal and local governments tax revenues amounting to multimillions of dollars.

I firmly believe the proposal made by the Bureau of Reclamation by which private enterprise would develop power facilities on the Trinity River should be favorably considered by the Congress.

The telegram referred to is as follows: UKIAH, CALIF., April 13, 1955.

Representative Hubert Scudder, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

We note by press release Pacific Gas & Electric Co. has made a formal proposal to the United States Bureau of Reclamation for partnership construction of the Trinity River project. We endorse this plan as a sound business proposal which would re-

sult in a tax savings of several million dollars to the people as well as a saving to the Federal Government by private capital investment.

DON MACMILLAN,
President, Mendocino County Chamber
of Commerce.
CLAUDE FALCONER,
President, Ukiah Chamber of Commerce.

OSCAR GRUTER,
President, Willits Chamber of Commerce.
Gus Nicholas,

President, Fort Bragg Chamber of Commerce.

JAMES PELLASCIO,
Director, Mendocino County Chamber of
Commerce, Point Arena.

National Housing Act or Abandoned City Parishes?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the following article on housing is dealt with so expertly by the Reverend Thomas J. Finnegan that I am pleased, under unanimous consent, to insert it in the RECORD. It is an interesting and enlightening article which deserves national attention:

NATIONAL HOUSING ACT OR ABANDONED CITY PARISHES?

(By Thomas J. Finnegan 1)

A slum is not the "other side of the tracks" to me; it is not a place I have heard of or read about; it is the neighborhood in which I live. Making the first parish census after my ordination, I found that many of the dilapidated buildings contained dark, dingy hallways, that dwellings were severely overcrowded and lacking in light and air, with outmoded sanitary facilities, often in the backyard or on the back porch, and shared by many families. These dwelling units were so substandard as to be unfit for human habitation. A congressional committee investigating housing conditions throughout the Nation declared this section of our city the second worse slum area in the United States.

The parish to which I am assigned is a parish of old buildings and poor people—people who are sometimes called "slum dwellers." To me these poor people mean the babies who are born and the old people who die in our parish. They also mean the mothers and fathers, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters in the families which I enumerate for the parish census. They are the parents who have to strive against insurmountable odds to do for their children that which should be done for every child in this and every land.

AN APOSTOLIC CONCERN—NOT POLITICS

One of the earlier bishops of the diocese was the rector of this parish, once the great-

est in the city. A glorious story could be told of a bygone era, but this would be of no practical help to the present pastor in his duties.

In recognition of a worldwide housing need, the conditions in our parish being now one example, Our Holy Father. His Holiness Pope Plus XII, made the following statement in an address to the Autonomous Institute for Popular Housing in the province of Rome on November 21, 1953:

"Furthermore, the industrial progress and the consequent development of large cities during the past 100 years has given the question of housing such a special aspect that the pope, the bishops, and Catholic associations have not ceased to give this important and, alas, distressing problem their particular attention. The problem has been painful from the very beginning and has remained so even to this day. * * * Even today we must make our own the words of our predecessor Pius XI of glorious memory in the Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno: 'It is horrifying to consider the impediments that the altogether unbecoming state of housing offers to the union and intimacy of family life' (Acta Ap. Sedis, vol. XXIII, p. 221).

"What a burden arises, therefore, for Christian consciences, when future spouses, new domestic hearths, growing families cannot find any shelter, or only an inadequate or often a too costly one. The Lord alone knows how often under such conditions, human weakness has hindered souls from leading a Christian life and injured them also in their faith. * * This particular apostolic concern for those who, having a family, seek adequate and wholesome housing, coincides with the true interest and the objective scope of the national economy."

VIRTUAL INEVITABILITIES OF SLUM SURROUNDINGS

All the nationalities that have gone into the making of this country had the family as a physical unit of society. Consequently, housing is not only a matter of providing shelter for individuals, it is the business of providing a decent environment for the home. Good housing does not, in itself, create a satisfactory home, but there are few individuals capable of creating a good home in a wretched dwelling. Poor housing makes it easy for a home to fail and difficult for it to succeed.

In overcrowded buildings that are dark and dirty, with poor ventilation and insanitary conditions which grow steadily worse, the feeling of shame smothers family loyalty because an ambitious individual comes believe that his home is an obstacle to self-respect. He is likely to hide his family connections as a detriment to his personal advancement. A home that must exist under bad accommodations is undermined in every aspect of its family life. Proper privacy is impossible. Family conflicts are engendered. Hopelessness stimulates slovenly habits. The proper relationship between parents and child is difficult and, under these circumstances, the children, and sometimes the parents, seek their recreation away from the wretched home. They lose the benefits of contact with one another. They are prey for evil companions; their interest in their religion drops off and they cease attending mass and the sacraments. In bad housing it is not easy for parents or children to keep healthy. Disease germs, to say nothing of rats and vermin, infest many slum buildings. Hot water and adequate bathing facilities are lacking. Many-storied frame structures are poorly heated by a multitude of stoves which create fire hazards. The fire bell and siren are more often heard in a congested section of the city than they are in the better housed sections. A child must be very rugged to survive in this environment.

Jacob Riis, a Danish-born immigrant, noted journalist, and one of the most tireless workers to clear slums in New York City more than a generation ago, wrote:

"The most pitiful victim of city life is not the slum child who dies, but the slum child who lives. Every time a child dies, the Nation loses a prospective citizen, but in every slum child the Nation has a probable consumptive and a possible criminal."

Yet, the man living apart from these blighted areas also shares in this abnormality, for his pocketbook helps to pay for the fire and police protection, the social and judicial services which must be augmented in those wretched sections. Old and antiquated houses, zoning variances altering the character of residential neighborhoods, increased populations, high tax rates, and housing shortages bring about a surge to the suburbs.

"I want to give my child all the advantages I never had." This is the creed of those who are seeking to live in suburbia. However, in this sweep to the suburbs and the small towns, there are several factors to be considered. The utopia in the suburb must have utilities installed; sewers, roads, and schools must be built; and, as the population increases, the need of expanded police protection and fire safeguards grows. None of these figured in the low tax rate which tempted the man to move out there in the first place.

THE ABANDONED PARISH

Then there are the utilities left behind. In addition to those mentioned, there are others of a judicial and social nature. Now we come to that portion that strikes home. What of the parish just left behind in the city? What do we do now? Shall we close it down? It was a grand old place in its day, and there are many memories connected with it, some sad, others joyful. The school, church, convent, the rectory, and club are still there. How are they to be maintained now? How long can the parish treasury stand the reduction in the income? The parish parochial plant still is to be main-The school has fewer children in it, tained. but it is still in operation. The people who moved into old rooms or into the rooms vacated are either not Catholic or, if they are, they cannot or will not enter the parish activities or contribute as much as was contributed heretofore.

Is it sound business practice to abandon these public utilities and these parochial plants or use them at less than capacity while duplicating their services in the suburbs which will not be used to capacity for many years to come?

Slums and blighted areas represent inventory carried at a loss by a city. They are a drain on residential, commercial, and industrial properties. In fact they are being subsidized annually by other real property because the cost of municipal services and facilities for the slums is far in excess of the tax revenues derived from them.

The planning board defines slum areas in our city as being "located within a ring surrounding the downtown business district, although in some instances they extend a considerable distance from the center of the city. Within these areas major problems of health, sanitation, crime, delinquency, and poverty exist."

Studies by the board show that the dwellings on 1,209 acres, or about one-twelfth of the entire city area, should be immediately demolished and completely replaced. This area contains 28,260 bulldings, or 22 percent of the total number of dwellings in the city. These dwellings, according to the 1950 census, are inhabited by over 115,000 people comprising 25 percent of our city's population.

More important than the physical deficiencies in existing housing is the fact that a new dwelling costs much more than most of the families in need of housing can afford to

¹ Four years after his ordination to the priesthood in 1946. Father Thomas Finnegan was appointed 1 of 5 Commissioners of the Housing Authority of the City of Newark, N. J. Only two priests in the United States hold such a position. After 1 year of service as Commissioner, the author of the present article was elected to the office of chairman of the authority and has held that post ever

pay. Little or no new housing is available commercially for low- and middle-income families.

In high-cost metropolitan areas, for example, a new house usually costs \$12,000 or more, and new apartments of average size rent for \$100 or more per month, and owners will not accept families with children. Obviously, these prices are far beyond the means of the family whose yearly earnings are \$4,000, and completely impossible for the low-income family with an earning capacity below \$3,000 per year.

The cost of acquiring a slum area at its market value and of demolishing the existing obsolete buildings is usually much greater than the value of the land when redeveloped to its most appropriate use. Private enterprise has found it economically impossible to do this job, not only because of the formidable cost involved, but also because of the virtual impossibility of large land assembly without power of condemnation.

NATIONAL HOUSING ACT OF 1949

The predicament the average American city now faces is like the crises frequently met by a large corporation which has had its policies, practices, plans or equipment shattered by technological progress. It must make a complete about-face or it will fall utterly. Years ago, street-rallway companies went through this kind of change when busses supplanted trolleys; radio is now in a similar transition, and so are some of the automobile manufacturers and textile firms. Old cities likewise have to be regenerated by a process that is vastly more complex and much more important to the general welfare.

Most communities, because of financial limitations, were unable to meet the problem until the passage of the United States Housing Act of 1937, amended in 1949 and 1954. This act provides annual subsidies, loans and grants-in-aid for low-rent public housing, and for redevelopment and clearance of slum and blighted areas.

In its declaration of policy, the National

Housing Act of 1949 states:

"The Congress hereby declares that the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require housing production and related community development sufficient to remedy the serious housing shortage, the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, thus contributing to the development and redevelopment of communities and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation."

This Federal program is consistent with the principles of our Constitution as well as with Catholic teaching. It is the obligation primarily of private enterprise to provide decent housing within the income level of all our people. It is also a traditional American tenet, to say nothing of the principles of natural law and papal writings, that when private enterprise falls to fill a great public need, the government must and shall fill that need. Such thinking is hardly socialistic; yet it has been attacked as such.

Something had to be done and our Government did it. Low-rent public housing for low-income families was instituted. Our holy father, the late Pope Pius XI, in recognition of a government's duty to provide adequate shelter for families of low-income, made the following profound observation:

made the following profound observation:
"If, however, for this purpose, private resources do not suffice, it is the duty of the public authority to supply for the insufficient forces of individual effort, particularly in a matter which is of such importance to the common weal, touching as it does the maintenance of the family and married people. If families, particularly those in which there are many children, have not suitable dwell-

ings; • • • if the necessities of life cannot be purchased except at exorbitant prices; • • • it is patent to all to what an extent married people may lose heart, and how home life and the observance of God's commands are rendered difficult for them; indeed it is obvious how great a peril can arise to the public security and to the welfare and very life of civil society itself when such men are reduced to that condition of desparation that, having nothing which they fear to lose, they are emboldened to hope for chance advantage from the upheaval of the state and of established order.

"Wherefore, those who have the care of the state and of the public good cannot neglect the needs of married people and their families, without bringing great harm upon the state and on the common welfare. Hence, in making the laws and in disposing of public funds they must do their utmost to relieve the needs of the poor, considering such a task as one of the most important of their administrative duties" (Christian Marriage).

FROM PEINCIPLE TO ACTION TO GOOD

The Housing Authority of the City of Newark, N. J., of which I am a member, is a public corporation formed under the laws of New Jersey by means of an ordinance passed by the local governing body in 1938. The housing authority is composed of 5 commissioners appointed by the city government for 5-year terms which overlap. One commissioner is appointed by the State. The six commissioners of the authority act in the same manner as do the directors of a private corporation.

The Housing Authority has the power to clear slums. It also has the power to build and operate low-rent public housing, and to borrow money for these purposes. It can acquire property by purchase or by condemnation. Its debts are not debts of the city. Its property is technically tax-exempt, but the Authority, in lieu of taxes, makes a payment of 10 percent to the city of all rent money collected. To maintain low rents, Federal funds are available to the Authority, when and if needed.

Public housing was never intended, nor is it to be considered now, as a refugium peccatorum for those who are too lazy to help themselves. Rather, in its true light, those who are interested in public housing consider it a stepping-stone for the occupants to acquire their own homes. Indeed, it is a sort of half-way house between the substandard dwelling and the privately owned home. Most people want to help themselves but are prevented from doing so by large families or by low income, most often a combination of both. To compel helpless people to live in a form of ghetto violates charity and impugns justice.

The big change for these families from slums into public housing brings about the beneficial effects of better environment, and the good is immediately evident. These social effects of public housing were studied and reported upon by Dr. Jay Rumney, professor of sociology at Rutgers University. found the tuberculosis rate and the communicable disease rate at the projects to be half the corresponding rates in the surrounding wards from which the project tenants came. Juvenile delinquency and infant mortality rates were also very much reduced in the projects. The fire rate and the fatal accidents rate in the projects were negligible in comparison with the corresponding rates for the city as a whole. But statistics are hardly needed to prove the importance of a good environment.

Everywhere people ask: "Why is housing such a problem?"

ROOT OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM

The answer to that question, in its simplest form, is that housing is a problem because house-building is a handicraft industry

in a machine age. That is the answer suggested by Fortune magazine after a number of intensive housing studies. Among other things, Fortune reported that more work is done by machinery in farming than in construction. Similarly, the Wall Street Journal found that "construction is the only large American industry still doing things in the way they were done before the Civil War."

In some ways, we still build as the ancient Egyptians did. by putting one brick on top of another. Thirty thousand or more pieces of material are put together by hand to make

a home for one family.

This is an expensive process and many serious consequences result from its high cost. One consequence is that only a few families can afford new housing, and we do not get enough new housing to meet the needs of new families. The Federal Reserve System, in a report in 1946, estimated that the country needed between 1.2 million and 1.5 million dwellings per year for 10 years. The 1.2 million figure has only been equalled once—in 1950.

Another consequence of the inadequacy of the construction industry is that old houses must be used long after they cease to be fit for use. This antiquated housing, which is usually bad housing, is the biggest factor in the poor environment of the low-income families who must occupy it. As a result of this environment, these families have more than their share of disease, crime, and delinquency. To cure this disease, prevent or punish this delinquency requires extraordinary spending of taxpayers' money.

THE HIGH COST OF KEEPING SLUMS

The cost of slums has been studied scientifically in a number of cities. Newark discovered that it was spending an average of \$230 per year for extra city services to each slum dwelling. That is \$19.16 a month per slum dwelling. Newark has 28,000 such dwellings. They receive a hidden subsidy amounting to \$6,500,000 per year.

If the slums could be eradicated and extra services eliminated, Newark's tax rate would be reduced at least 100 points. New ratables which would replace the slums would further reduce the tax rate. For the cities of the United States as a whole, slums consume 45 percent of the municipal budgets; yet, they pay only 6 percent of the real-estate taxes. Consequently other real estate must pay higher taxes.

So that the benefits of public housing may go to those who need it most, the Federal Housing Act requires that apartments in the developments be rented only to families living in substandard dwellings, and with incomes so low that they cannot afford to rent housing from private owners. For each public housing unit built, one substandard dwelling has to be eliminated so that the opportunities of private owners to rent or sell residential property are not restricted by the operations of public housing.

Low-income families can afford only low rents. These rents are achieved through long-term financing at low interest rates, made possible through government guarantics and subsidies. Large-scale planning, construction, and maintenance reduce costs of operation which, together with the non-profit element, make possible a rent scaled down to fit the low income of the families.

In order not to compete with private enterprise, income limitations for admissions and continued occupancy are established.

ARCHBISHOP WALSH HOUSING PROJECT—SOCIAL JUSTICE IN BRICK

A typical low-rent public housing project is the one named for the late Archbishop Thomas J. Walsh, dedicated on May 1, 1953, in a ceremony at which the Most Reverend Thomas A. Boland, archbishop of Newark, was the principal speaker. This project consists of 630 apartments located on the banks of the Passaic River in the northern part of

our city, occupied by low-income families who had been living in substandard dwellings.

The dwelling units are designed primarily for families with children. The apartments range in size from 3 rooms with 1 bedroom to 7 rooms with 5 bedrooms.

Apartment rent is fixed at about 20 percent of family income regardless of apartment size which is determined by family size. Rent includes gas and electricity as well as heat, hot water, and refrigeration.

There are complete sanitary facilities in every project apartment. There is a private lavatory, hot water, kitchen sink, window screens, and incinerators for daily garbage disposal. Each apartment is furnished with a refrigerator, a gas range, and kitchen cupboards. In the cellars there are storage and utility rooms and metered clothes washing and driving machines.

and drying machines.

Only one-sixth of the land in the project site is occupied by buildings. The rest is used as safe play space for children, adult sitting areas and automobile parking. Every apartment has plenty of fresh air and sunlight. The central heating plant and the project offices are in a separate building, which also contains a recreation hall for the tenants of the project.

UNDERSTANDING THE WINDFALL SCANDAL PROPERLY

Recent reports of windfall profits in housing reaped by private entrepreneurs have no relation to public low-rent housing. These profits were made by speculative builders under section 608 of the FHA law—a law intended to induce private financing of housing construction by Government insurance of mortgages. Huge profits resulted from inflated estimated building costs, so that the mortgages frequently exceeded actual costs, and the excess went to the owners as "profits." FHA (Federal Housing Administration) is strictly a mortgage insurance agency for private builders.

Public low-rent housing is built and operated by local housing authorities with the financial assistance and supervision of the PHA (Public Housing Administration). Bonds are issued to cover actual total final construction costs.

In the current struggle of ideologies the victory of the free world will be fashioned by the strength of free men. Our spiritual strengths are respect for the dignity of man, morality, freedom under law and, above all, our religious faith. Complementing these are our physical strengths, the productivity of free men, our family security and our homes.

What greater strength is there among these, excepting our faith in God, than the promise to every man that he shall have a decent, safe and sanitary home in an environment worthy of the dignity of man created in the image and likeness of God.

Santa Rosa Chamber of Commerce Endorses Development of Trinity River Power by Private Utility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I desire to include a resolution adopted by the board of directors of the Santa Rosa, Calif., Chamber of Commerce, on March 29, 1955, endorsing development of power facilities on the Trinity River by a private utility.

We in Californa are very proud of the fine service and cooperation which we have had from private utilities. We feel that the best interests of our citizenry can more properly be served through private enterprise and numerous organizations and individuals throughout the First Congressional District of California have endorsed the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.'s proposal by which they would construct a considerable portion of the proposed Trinity River project.

I, personally, am of the opinion that the project should not be developed until a survey to determine present and future water needs in north coastal counties has been completed. However, if it should be authorized I firmly believe the "partnership plan" should be put into effect.

The resolution referred to above is as follows:

"Whereas the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. has offered to enter into partnership with the United States Government on the Trinity River project; and

"Whereas they have offered to furnish, install, and operate at power company cost all of the electrical elements of the project, including generators, switch gear, and lines; and

"Whereas this will constitute a saving of \$50 million in capital outlay to the United States Government; and

"Whereas they would pay the United States Government an agreed price per kilowatt hour for all current generated in the various powerhouses on the project; and

"Whereas the power company would agree to wheel power for the United States Government to agreed points connected with this project; and

"Whereas this would result in the producing of taxes from the electrical end of the project to the counties where said electrical equipment is located as well as to the State and Federal Government: Now, therefore,

be it

"Resolved, That the board of directors of
the Santa Rosa Chamber of Commerce does
sincerely support and endorse this partnership proposal of the Pacific Gas & Electric
Co. with the Bureau of Reclamation of the
United States Government; and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to Congressman HUBERT SCUDDER, Senator WILLIAM KNOWLAND, and Senator THOMAS KUCHEL."

Adopted at regular meeting of the board of directors of the Santa Rosa Chamber of Commerce the 29th day of March 1955. Approved:

JAMES H. HURLEY, President.

Attest:

Scott Gordon, Acting Manager.

Centennial Celebration-Elizabeth, N. J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call the attention of the Congress to the centennial celebration of the city of Elizabeth, N. J.

On March 27, 1855, Elizabeth was incorporated. At that time it was already a city with a long and rich history, having been settled in 1665.

Elizabeth has contributed much to the growth and culture of our Nation, and I believe the entire Congress will want to join with me in congratulaing Elizabeth on this historic landmark. Under unanimous consent, I include a letter I have received from Mr. John A. Kervick, chairman of the Elizabeth centennial committee, written on behalf of himself, Thaddeus F. Gora, and A. O. Murray, the latter gentleman being vice chairman and secretary of the commit-Under unanimous consent I also include an editorial from the Elizabeth Daily Journal of March 26, commemorating this great occasion in the life of a leading American city:

ELIZABETH CENTENNIAL COMMITTEE, Elizabeth, N. J., March 15, 1955. Hon. Harrison A. Williams,

Post Office, North Broad Street,
Elizabeth, N. J.
DEAR CONGRESSMAN WILLIAMS: May we bring to your attention the fact that our

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WILLIAMS: May we bring to your attention the fact that our city of Elizabeth in New Jersey is celebrating on Sunday, March 27, 1955, the 100th anniversary of its incorporation as a city. The community of Elizabeth is much older, however, for it was settled in 1665, becoming the early capital of the New Jersey colony. It contributed much to the growth of the colonial United States. Elias Boudinot, one of its citizens, served as the President of the Continental Congress. Many other illustrious sons and daughters are noted on the pages of our Nation's history.

Close to the heart of the greatest metropolitan area of the world, Elizabeth, since 1855, has developed into one of the most important industrial cities on our Atlantic seaboard. Its products are well known throughout the world. Its public and private educational institutions are excellent. Our citizens devote themselves extensively to all aspects of public and social welfare. Elizabeth is the home of many churches of all faiths.

The citizens of Elizabeth are not only celebrating throughout the year 1955 our rich historical past and our present achievements, but also trusting in our future. Above all we are dedicating ourselves anew to the continual growth of the human spirit and to reverence to God.

Yours respectfully,

JOHN A. KERVICK, Chairman.

[From the Elizabeth (N. J.) Daily Journal of March 26, 1955]

THE CENTENNIAL OF A CITY

Tomorrow afternoon in the natural setting of Boxwood Hall, Elizabeth, officially. begins the observance of its centennial as a city. In such an inauguration there is an urge, almost a command, to look back and to review a long, long parade of events-of the coming of the Carterets, the firm, unafraid hand helping to steady the cradle of the Republic, the Minute Men, Lafayette, Washington. General Scott returning from the War of 1812, the Civil War, all the wars and Elizabeth the town, burgeoning and bursting into blossom as a city on March 27, 1855. One full hundred years ago. A century. And tomorrow we officially inaugurate the centennial at Boxwood Hall, so close by "Horse Hollow" where the first city hall was built. And we may look back, but we must also look ahead.

Once before we have been permitted to know the pride and excitement of a community observance which, in realization, challenged all the potentials that attend the centennial, Close at hand is a book of 106 profusely illustrated pages with fading and tattered covers which must always remain a cherished possession for two reasons.

Written across the front in lead pencil is the name, "Aug. S. Crane." That means once this book was the prized possession of Augustus S. Crane. And it is a "Souvenir Programme, Elizabeth, New Jersey, Old Home Week, Oct. 6-12, 1907." What pride the beloved publisher of the Elizabeth Dally Journal must have taken in the summons that went out to wandering sons and daughters of Elizabeth through the call for an "Old Home Week." What pride he would experience now as the city he loved so dearly becomes 100 years old.

There is the second reason for never forgetting this celebration which stood the old town on end almost 50 years ago. It is at once a history of Elizabethtown, a meticulous report of the city that existed and a projecting of hopes toward the Elizabeth of today. It should spur projection of new hopes for the city which today begins its centennial. Will we in the Elizabeth of today be less hopeful than they were in 1907? Will we be satisfied to stop now, or emphasizing the advantages in which Elizabeth is so richly endowed point our centennial programs toward 50 years from now?

Here on page 59, hardly more than halfway through the Old Home Week program, is the map of the city of Elizabeth, N. J. (the one that Jacob L. Bauer drew) showing railroad and water transportation facilities. Here is the deep-water channel piercing the Kill Von Kull on its way to New York Bay. Here, winding its way southward to Sandy Hook and the open sea, is still another deepwater channel. Here, the very center of everywhere nestles Elizabeth, pinpointed in a veritable web of major railroads. Is there any who will contend that from such a background there was any presumption in 1907 when Elizabeth men sought to "publish to the world unrivaled advantages of the city from a commercial standpoint and to demonstrate for all time that Elizabeth is a good city to live in"?

Gone from the streets are the horses and wagons that in 1907 stood so patiently before Jim Faulks' plumber shop at the site now occupied by the Elizabeth Carteret Hotel; there are no long troiley cars rumbling and grumbling over rough cobbled streets to await the pleasure of the switchman at the foot of the Broad Street hill. They've gone, and the tiny horseless wagon that posed so pompously before the old home of General Scott has gone, too, gone with the home to make room for a gasoline service station and its softly purring procession of automotive marvels.

The trolley wires have gone, the cobbles have disappeared, the commercial planes are here to stay, there is a television antenna on every roof and the city of hope in its web of railroads has become a city of interlacing highways flanked by a variety of industrial projects that serve every corner of the world.

In 1907 names like Isham and Ryan and Halsey, Trimble, Crane, Bate, Beglan, Chatfield, Morey, Rath, Hersh, Shearer, names of lamented citizens who are no more, looked down a dusty road to the future with hope and faith to publicize to the world the unrivaled advantages of Elizabeth. There are no more dusty roads. There is no dust to dim our vision, only every advantage of an advancing world, every advantage enjoyed by any other major city on the face of the earth—the advantage of geography, the advantage of transportation, the advantage of industry and coveted economy that were mostly hope in 1907. Can we be less hopeful 50 years later? What can be our excuse to the Elizabeth 50 years from now if we fail to rise to our own obligations as we begin observance of the city's centennial?

We devoutly wish that there will not even be standing room tomorrow afternoon in the boxwood shrine of American independence. And we earnestly hope that burning in the hearts of all who may attend will be the flame of those stalwarts who in 1907 gave us Old Home Week. After tomorrow, still left for observance, will be 9 full months of our centennial year. There is still time. We must not let this year fade away without the world knowing through impressive demonstration why as much of the world as can crowd in belongs here. If we have built up all the old streets we can start building new ones. If we are now starting to build higher let's build higher and higher. The men of 1907 showed us the way. We can't say there are no guide posts.

Facts Don't Bear Out Corsi's Abusive Charges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of April 13. 1954:

FACTS DON'T BEAR OUT CORSI'S ABUSIVE CHARGES

The reckless charges that Edward J. Corsi has made since his dismissal from a State Department post, the abuse he has heaped on Secretary Dulles and his generally intemperate behavior may please those who have been trying, with political motives, to make some kind of martyr out of the New Yorker. But they are of little help to those interested in the facts behind the controversy.

There has been no substantiation for his statement that his dismissal was forced by an intolerant minority in Congress and the State Department or for his charges laying the blame on Congressman Francis E. Walter's attacks. Yet he has chosen to meet Secretary Dulles' denials by accusing that official of lying.

Corsi apparently fancies himself as a victim of persecution to which a spineless Secretary of State acceded, and a number of persons, without bothering to seek the truth in the matter, have been glad to go along with him in his role of the wronged.

But what actually happened? Secretary Dulles has denied all the talk about congressional pressure brought to bear and says simply that Corsi is out because he was not qualified for the office and because he insisted that he be named administrator of refugee admissions, a post held by Scott McLeod.

It was McLeod, whom Corsi later sought to undermine, who first suggested the former Dewey officeholder for a place in his department as consultant on refugee immigration.

He was sent to Europe to secure first-hand information and there proceeded to annoy the State Department by his over-free expressions and his failure to check with our heads of diplomatic missions. On his return to Washington, further friction developed within the Department and while plans were under way to offer Corsi another advisory post, he got himself embroiled in the argument with Congressman Walter regarding past Communist-front affiliations, which Corsi denied.

When his job was terminated, the New Yorker promptly flung himself into a rage, which has been renewed at given intervals ever since, and which has been marked mainly by angry disapproval of the Secretary of State. If Mr. Dulles had given him the office he wanted, doubtless he would now be complimenting the Secretary on his sagacity. He didn't get it, so he screams.

Milk Research Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, this is an age of delving into the unknown. Man's ingenuity knows no barriers. The alchemists of old were "pikers" compared with our present-day scientists. Where does this statement take us? I recently introduced a bill to create a milk research center in Madison, Wis. An article on that subject was written by Bill Groves and published in the Wisconsin Agriculturist and Farmer of April 2, 1955. I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILEY WANTS MILK RESEARCH CENTER
(By William F. Groves)

In the course of a year several hundred congressional bills relating, either directly or indirectly, to agriculture pass across my desk. It is my duty to scrutinize each bill carefully. I must arrive at a decision on how the passage of these bills will affect Wisconsin's farmers in general and the State's dairy industry in particular.

America is a great, wide country. The interests of the American farmer are greatly diversified and very often contradictory. Consequently the bills introduced into the Congress cover a great variety of subjects. Generally speaking, however, the bills can be divided into four main categories, namely:

- 1. Price supports and production controls.
 2. Plant and livestock disease control and sanitation.
- 3. Soil conservation.

4. Standards, grades, and marketing.

Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Wisconsin's senior Senator, has recently introduced a bill which doesn't fit any of the above classifications. It is unique in character. The bill makes an entirely new legislative approach to the dairy problem.

Senator WILEY'S bill, S. 788, bears the following title: "A bill to provide for the establishment of a dairy research laboratory."

The first section of the bill instructs the Secretary of Agriculture to establish a dairy research laboratory at Madison, Wis.

The second section defines the purposes of the laboratory:

"To conduct and stimulate continuous research into the basic problems of dairying, including but not limited to research to the improvement of the quality of and the development of new and improved methods of packaging, processing, refrigeration, powdering, condensing, transportation, storing, marketing, distribution, and merchandising of dairy commodities.

"Research relating to the combating of livestock disease, the increasing of dairy productivity, the lowering of dairy costs.

"Research relating to the problems of human nutrition and the nutritive value of dairy products, including gains or losses in nutritive value that may take place at any stage in their production, distribution, processing, and preparation for use by the consumer.

"Research relating to the development of present, new, and extended food and non-food uses and markets for dairy products and byproducts—

"Research relating to the design, development, and more efficient use of dairy ma-

chines and equipment-

"Research relating to any other matters that may contribute to the establishment and maintenance of a more effective dairy industry."

In brief, Senator Wiley proposes to establish in the heart of America's dairyland a laboratory which will explore and analyse every forseeable need, present and future, of the dairy industry.

In this modern era constructive research is a necessity if an industry wishes to expand or even to survive. The dairy industry is no

exception to this rule.

The University of Wisconsin and the public institutions of other States have contributed greatly to the scientific progress of the dairy industry.

Private industry also has played its part in the field of dairy research. Every milk company of any size maintains a laboratory and a corps of expert scientists.

Thus the question arises—Do we need a dairy research center such as Senator Willey proposes? I think the answer to this ques-

tion is "yes."

As Senator Whey says, "Modern dairy research lacks a chart and compass. It has no ultimate goal. It proceeds somewhat as does a ship on a stormy sea without a pilot or a rudder. Coordination and authoritative direction are the crying needs of present day dairy research."

A dairy research center would gather under one roof all the technical knowledge concerning milk which has been accumulated throughout the years. It would coordinate and lend a guiding hand to future experi-

mentation.

"Such a laboratory can become a fitting companion to the great Forest Products I :boratory at Madison which over the years has produced a tide of research findings to enrich the entire woodworking industry," continued Senator Wher. "Think of the good that could be accomplished by intensive research in milk. A dairy research laboratory—working hand in hand with the great universities and great corporation laboratories is a challenge to America."

Crossroads Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER ROGERS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in the 18th District of Texas down at Wellington there lives a man by the name of D. E. Scott. He has a native ability to express himself that is not equaled in my humble opinion. The humor with which he tempers factual truths that would otherwise be most distasteful, brands him also as a humani-

tarian. His recent remarks concerning the Department of Agriculture are most appropriate and exemplify his ability of expression much better than I can explain it. I insert this short article that contains so much long thought:

CROSSROADS REPORT

DEAR EDITOR: I note that Mr. True Morse who reigns as Under Secretary of Agriculture up in Washington, told a bunch of farmers here the other day that he figured 80 percent of United States farm operators were so inefficient that they ought to be run out of the business, on account of the effcient 20 percent could raise all the stuff we need.

Went on to say he didn't care where the 80 percent was run to, maybe they could work in factories or somewhere; it wasn't his problem. But I have been thinking, it could bother him a good deal. You take, now for years it has seemed like the main qualification for a Government job is to not be able to make a living at anything else. And to go broke at farming ought to specially fit a man to work for the Department of Agriculture.

Which leads to the thought that one of those millions of federally busted farmers just might be underpowered enough so he could bump Mr. Morse out of his own job as under secretary.

D. E. SCOTT.

CROSSROADS, U. S. A.

Greater Relief for Distressed Industrial Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, attention is called to a resolution of the New York State Senate, concurred in on April 2 last by the Assembly of the State of New York, which was inserted in the Congressional Record by the Acting President pro tempore of the Senate and which appears on page 3644 of the Record of April 13.

This resolution directs attention to a problem which is of utmost concern to responsible people in certain industrial areas in my State, and which affects similarly a number of areas elsewhere in the country where the same conditions prevail.

This resolution points out one of those unhappy situations where a highly salutary and commendable policy of our Federal Government collides headlong with emasculating consequences, into another perfectly good and sound policy. In connection with procurement and manufacturing contracts to support our national defense effort, it has been established—and very wisely—that areas will be favored where there are idle plant capacity and unemployed labor resources. This was a basic determination, reflecting the commonsense conclusion that we should not cause new plants to be built or new industries started so as to require shifts in the labor population when there are idle capacity and unemployed workers to do the work elsewhere.

What has developed as a conflict with that policy, severely penalizing areas in my State which would otherwise be eligible under it, is another policy—equally understandable and good on its face—that the Office of Defense Mobilization will not give work to areas having unemployed and idle plant capacity if by doing so it must incur a price differential. In other words, the first policy applies only if the area to be given the work is able to underbid all its competition. Now that saves the Government money, but, in many cases, it defeats the other objective.

It is not suggested that either of these policies be scrapped. It would be ridiculous to insist upon this special dispensation at no matter what cost to the Government. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the present outcome is too harsh. Therefore, what the resolution proposes is that the Director of Mobilization shall be given greater discretion to adjust the conflict between the two in order that neither may be truly vitiated by the other.

The other question raised by the resolution—as to the wisdom of concentrating certain types of production entirely in the hands of a single large producer—also has my full concurrence.

I hope this problem will receive prompt

and serious consideration.

Segregation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial by H. B. Snyder, editor of the Gary (Ind.) Post Tribune, reveals practical good sense on a problem which disturbs people who would postpone the inevitable:

MOLEY'S GLOOM IS UNJUSTIFIED

Raymond Moley has been dublous about enforcement of the Supreme Court's ruling against segregation in the public schools of the Nation. His column on this page today reflects his gloomy thinking.

Moley does not argue about the justice of the Court's decision, but he does not understand how it can be put into effect within a reasonable time. His attitude is an example of that "It's a fine idea, but—" philosophy with which so many folks are inclined to

greet new proposals.

No one expects segregation in all the schools to disappear easily and quickly just because the Supreme Court says it is in violation of American constitutional principles. The Court did not so expect. Instead it delayed enforcement until a program could be worked out for arranging compliance in the various States. The Court is about to hold hearings on proposals for implementing its decision.

Some States have gone ahead with programs of integration without waiting for Supreme Court advice. Some States are awaiting further action by the Court, but presumably will follow the integration pattern without too much difficulty.

There are half a dozen others, making up the Deep South, where strenuous efforts are being made to block effectiveness of the desegregation program. In general, their strategy is to eliminate the State as a factor in the public schools. Education would be handled either on a local basis or through pseudo-private schools.

For the moment the extremists are having their day. Demagogues are ranging through the South, and "Citizen's Councils" are being set up in several States. But there are also moderate and sensible leaders in the South, and their voices are beginning to be heard.

The Supreme Court is endeavoring to work out a practical program of integration. It quite evidently intends to deal with the facts of the matter, rather than theories. It is quite possible different plans may be proposed for different States, recognizing varying situations to be dealt with.

Further, it is not likely the Court will be taken in by the various strategems devised to circumvent its order. Scattering responsibility among many local school boards probably could add to legal difficulties of enforcement, as Moley suggests. On the other hand, the people of the South may decide segregation is not worth ripping up their whole system of education. It will be easier to guess on that after the Court has presented its solution.

Nonsegregation has been established as the lawful policy. It is right in principle. It is working in practice elsewhere and it can work in the South. As school integration spreads, the "stubborn six" States will find it easier to make their shift. We have progressed far from the days of secession or defiance of the Federal Government. There is no justification for lamentation over the prospects; rather, there should be friendly but firm assistance to the South in negotiating the changeover.

The Junior Baseball Association of New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the Congress to a most worthwhile youth program in New Jersey. The Junior Baseball Association of New Jersey has been and is continuing to make a splendid contribution in the field of providing constructive activities for teen-agers and combating juvenile delinquency. I heartily endorse this effort and believe the résumé of the program which is given below may be useful in other areas:

JUNIOR BASEBALL ASSOCIATION
OF NEW JERSEY,
Cranjord, N. J., March 20, 1955.

While statistics published from time to time by our larger cities indicate that in those localities juvenile delinquency is increasing, we are not inclined to agree with many who are prone to overemphasize these statistics to the extent of claiming that the country is raising a bunch of hoodlums. It is a fact that this increase in delinquency among our teenagers is not, as yet, felt in many of our municipalities. This, however, does not prove that they are immune. Therefore, we believe that every possible step should be taken to prevent its spread. To put it briefly, we feel that the prevention of a disease is better than the cure.

We are of the opinion that in order to combat juvenile delinquency where it exists and to prevent its expansion to those municipalities where it is not now of major concern it is necessary that the teenager be made to feel that he is a part of his community and the only way to accomplish this is through the revival of that now oftenneglected characteristic, community pride. If the municipal fathers, the townspeople, the parents, and the press will pull together to make their community one that the teenager can be proud of instead of pulling against each other in order to further their own selfish interests there is no reason to believe that our young will not cooperate, unless we are to concede that our boys are not basically good Americans, which we, as American parents, are not willing to concede. In the main, only in those communities and in those families where supervision and cooperation are entirely lacking do we find any serious amount of delinquency.

In order to assist in developing community pride among our teen-agers, the undersigned have formed the Junior Baseball Association of New Jersey, and are offering to municipalities throughout the State a program providing for the formation of intercommunity and intracommunity baseball leagues in two age groups-13 through 15, and 16 through However, while the program is being offered to all communities, all applications for membership are not being accepted. Since it is imperative that the people of a community indicate their support of a team before the program can succeed, applications are being screened and only those having the support of responsible individuals are con-

Supervision of the program, which has the endorsement of many people prominent in baseball and public life, is in the hands of a board of governors composed of the president, vice president, secretary treasurer, and district commissioners, who are responsible for the administration of the association on the State level. The next lower echelon of supervision is the district council, which administers the program on the district level and is composed of the commissioner of the district and the president of each league in the district. Meetings of the board of governors and district councils are held monthly so that close contact is maintained at all times between the members of the association (the leagues) and the administrators of the program. Annually meetings of all team representatives are held with officials of the association.

In the operation of any program expenses are incurred which are unavoidable and which, out of fairness to the officers, they cannot be expected to pay. This program is no different than any other in this respect but expenses are kept to the minimum necessary for good administration and the furnishing of awards to the State champions of each age group in each classification. To cover these expenditures, intercommunity leagues are asked to pay initiation fees at the rate of \$7.50 per team and intracommunity leagues \$2.50 per team. Annual dues for the former are computed at the rate of \$5 per team and for the latter at the rate of \$1.25 per team. The constitution provides that these amounts cannot be changed without the approval of the members. It is expected that expenses of the association will be covered by the dues and by contributions from persons interested in the program.

Insofar as the operation of the individual leagues and team is concerned, the association has adopted a hands-off attitude and will not interfere as long as they comply with its constitution and bylaws. However, in order to standardize play, provision is made so that no team may exceed 18 in playing personnel, players must reside in the community for which they are playing, and no one is to receive compensation. If it is desired by a league, the association will prepare

a playing schedule for it but we have no standard schedule because of the variance in days of the week that teams may prefer to play. It is expected that a schedule of between 30 and 40 games will be played by each team, depending on the size of the league, with the season opening the third Saturday in June and closing the last Saturday in August. Thereafter, district champions and the State champion in each class group will be determined by an elimination tournament,

It is not the purpose of the association to alter in any way the local playground activities or other programs of recreation directors or citizen groups in any municipality but rather to supplement these programs by providing a uniform basis of play among the communities to encourage community pride. In fact, the association would welcome the assistance of recreation directors and other interested responsible individuals who would be willing to serve in the capacity of a District Commissioner or a League President. We are also desirous of obtaining the services of individuals who would like to aid their communities by acting as umpires and scorekeepers.

A few of the reasons why a community should participate in the program are:

1. It appeals to teenagers, who are inherently have a desire to be a part of something big, because it is statewide.

2. It is run by individuals selected by the municipalities and by their elected representatives.

3. Game admissions and donations to the teams are retained entirely by them.

4. It is a natural followup to any local activities now being undertaken for boys in the age group immediately preceding those covered by the program.

5. Provision is made for the entry of teams in either one or both of two age groups and in this way players, as they become more mature and presumably more proficient, may continue to represent their community.

6. The amateur status of all athletics, so important to those who wish to compete in athletics in our institutions of higher learning in later years, is preserved because no one receives remuneration.

Inquiries regarding the program and applications from individuals desirous of assisting in the program are welcomed and will be given prompt attention if directed to the office of the association at 31 Broad Street, Cranford, N. J.

> F. C. KRUCKMAN. E. A. CONNELL. H. B. ZIOBRO.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. BRICKER

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix to the Record an editorial which appeared in the October 1954 issue of the Journal of the American Association of University Women, written by Dr. Bessie Randolph, entitled "The Bricker Amendment." I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the Record, immediately following Dr. Randolph's editorial, a reply thereto written by Mrs. E. Webster Wanner, eastern Pennsylvania coordinator of the Vigilant Women for the Bricker Amendment, and Mrs.

Wanner's letter to me dated March 25, 1955.

It is very encouraging to me to find so many American women who are taking such an active interest in the subject of treaty law. During the past year thousands of people have asked me to supply them with pro and con material on the subject of my proposed constitutional amendment to safeguard the exercise of the treatymaking power. I believe that Dr. Randolph's editorial and Mrs. Wanner's reply highlight the basic issues involved in this historic constitutional debate.

There being no objection, the editorial, reply, and the letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows: [From the Journal of the American Association of University Women for October 19541

THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

(We have asked Dr. Bessie Randolph, President Emeritus of Hollins College, Virginia, whose specialty is international law, to comment on the status of the Bricker amendmen. Doctor Randolph is a former chairman of the legislative program committee.—Editor's note.)

Some sort of proposal, perhaps for a constitutional amendment, to curb the President's power over all international agreements is sure to be an issue in the 1954

congressional elections.

Since World War II there has been in Congress and outside an increasing demand for a searching review and limitation of the President's power over foreign policy. The action taken by Presidents Roosevelt and Truman at Yalta and Potsdam has been seized upon-and frequently with little or no attention to hard facts-as proof that those Presidents not only showed indefensibly bad judgment, but, more seriously, acted far beyond their constitutional powers. As the United States has come to face the prospect of an endless cold war with Russia and her satellites, the actions of Roosevelt and Truman have been pictured as more and more iniquitous and their role as scapegoats has become a stereotype for many citizens. Organizations of various types have decided that our participation in international cooperation can most effectively be curbed or stopped short by tying the President's hands in the control of foreign policy and giving to Congress all but the routine mechanics of negotiation.

In February 1952, Senator BRICKER first introduced his famous proposal to amend the Constitution in the matter of treaty and nontreaty agreements. When his proposed amendment was presented to the Senate on June 15, 1953, after changes in the Judiciary Committee, it had two main objectives:

1. To keep all treaty content strictly within the limits of our national domestic Constitution, and also to give Congress power to regulate all Executive agreements. Presumably this power applied not only to the content of such agreements, but also to the procedure of making, executing, and terminating them.

2. To permit those treaties which operate inside this country to become the law of the land, not automatically as at present under article VI, but only after their enactment into statutes by both Houses of Congress; and to keep them strictly within Constitutional limitations.

Presidents Truman and Eisenhower both opposed the proposed Bricker amendment as being a flagrant encroachment on presidential powers under the principle of the separation of powers.

The resulting debates, as clearly reflected in the hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee (1,800 pps.), and especially in the masses of data from the American Bar Association, and in the individual writings of members thereof, show frequently an amazing ignorance of certain basic facts. For example:

1. The treaty-making power is not derived from the Constitution at all but existed years before, based on the mere fact that United States is a sovereign person, a member of the family of nations. But the exercise of the power was wisely placed primarily (art. II, 2) in the hands of the President, subject to strong control by the Senate. It should constantly be emphasized that the Fathers were convinced that the President should not be granted unlimited treatymaking power, but must be assisted-and definitely checked if necessary-by the Sen-

2. In treaty-making there are not 2 steps

(a) Negotiation by the executive.(b) Approval by the Senate with or without change.

(c) Ratification by the President.
(d) Exchange of ratifications with the other power or powers.

Dates of these steps for any treaty may be found in treaty collections. The Department of State has a list of 60 treaties which were never ratified by the President. About 25 of these were left unratified because either he or the foreign power refused to accept the Senate changes. Apparently these four steps progressing as they should, alongside pre-liminary enactment procedures in both Houses of Congress, have never been worked out definitely at all. There are several pitfalls which may stop the proposed treaty short of ratification by either side.

Be it remembered also that along the way the proposed treaty-statute may run smack into a Senate filibuster, or presidential veto,

or both.

The Bricker proposal was defeated in the Senate; and a few days later (February 26. 1954) the George proposal, last survivor of several compromise Brickeresque substitutes, was also defeated in the Senate, lacking only one vote of the necessary two-thirds. Hence, the resolution was not sent to the House of Representatives.

Some proposal of this kind will doubtless be debated in the congressional campaigns. It will be supported, as before, by thousands Americans who do not understand the dangerous consequences of such a change. Doubtless the continued wrangle between the executive and legislative branches greatly please Russia and her satellites.

Our association has stood strongly for leaving our treaty content and procedures as they now are, and we shall certainly have to continue the fight. It is our belief that before changing the treaty provisions—if they ever are to be changed—the proponents ought to know clearly what treaties are under international law and practice. emphatically not the case at present. It is also our belief that 96 able-bodied Senators are competent to guard the treaty rights of the United States, legal and political.

BESSIE C. RANDOLPH.

THE CASE FOR THE BRICKER AMENDMENT (A reply to Dr. Bessie Randolph by Mrs. E. Webster Wanner)

Dr. Bessie Randolph's screed against the Bricker amendment (AAUW Journal, October 1954) reflects an egotistical emotionalism almost beyond belief.

To be sure, laymen have the final word on the legal issues raised by the Bricker amendment. Nevertheless, ordinary prudence and humility would prevent any lay-

woman, even one of exalted station in the educational hierarchy, from indicting the American Bar Association for an amazing ignorance of certain basic facts concerning treaty law. And to state emphatically that proponents of a treaty-control amendment, including 60 Senators, do not know clearly what treaties are under international law and practice, illustrates the intellectual arrogance which the word "egghead" was coined to describe.

Curiously enough, Dr. Randolph proves the need for the Bricker amendment by her

statement:

"The treatymaking power is not derived from the Constitution at all but existed years before, based on the mere fact that the United States is a sovereign person, a member of the family of nations.

In other words the treaty power, says Dr. Randolph, is unlimited in scope. If the treaty power is "not derived from the Con-stitution at all," it can, as Mr. Dulles confirmed in 1952, "override the Constitution" and "cut across the rights given the people by their constitutional Bill of Rights." is the loophole the Bricker amendment is

designed to plug.

Dr. Randolph points out that the inherent and unlimited power of treaties is safeguarded to some extent by the procedural requirements of article II, that is negotiation the President and approved by two-thirds of the Senators present and voting. This is sufficient protection, however, only if the President and the Senate are infallible. To argue that they can be trusted never to make, wittingly or unwittingly, any treaty denying fundamental freedoms is merely to place reliance on a government of men rather than one of constitutional restraint.

By a happy coincidence, Mr. Benjamin Cohen's article in the same issue of the Journal makes mincement of Dr. Randolph's theory that the procedure for treaty-making (art. II) provides absolute safety against abuse of substantively unlimited treaty power (art. VI). Mr Cohen urges caution in pressing for basic amendments at a UN Charter Review Conference on the ground that their rejection by the Senate and by other governments might weaken the moral and legal fabric of the UN. Then, Mr. Cohen says "the same purposes can be achieved through the normal evolution processes pro-jected in the Charter" without the consent of the American people and their elected representatives.

Dr. Randolph completely ignores the fact that executive agreements, like treaties, become the supreme law of the land under article VI even though not approved by either House of Congress. That is what the Supreme Court of the United States held in United States v. Pink (315 U. S. 203 (1942)) The Court upheld an executive agreement setting aside the law of the State of New York and depriving creditors of property without due process of law.

Dr. Randolph's defense of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements is nothing less than shocking. These agreements placed a stamp of approval on the delivery of hundreds of millions of people into Communist tryranny. They bear witness to the necessity of adopting promptly the Bricker amendment and supplementary legislation. As former President Herbert Hoover pointed out on the occasion of his 80th birthday, "we must make such misuse of power forever impossible."

Toward the end of her polemic, Dr. Randolph concludes that continued debate on the Bricker amendment "will greatly please Russia and her satellites." The relevancy of this remark is not explained. We do know, however, that the Communist Party in the United States is violently opposed to the Bricker amendment and from that we may assume that Russia and her satellites would cheer the death of the Bricker amendment.

VIGILANT WOMEN FOR THE BRICKER AMENDMENT, Philadelphia, Pa., March 25, 1955. Hon. JOHN W. BRICKER,

United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR BRICKER: In the October 1954 issue of the Journal of the American Association of University Women there appeared an 840-word editorial by Dr. Bessie V. Randolph. In this editorial Dr. Randolph attacked your proposed constitutional amendment and the motives of its supporters.

Believing that the intemperate editorial by Dr. Randolph was studded with misstatements of fact and of law, I asked the editors of the AAUW Journal to provide me equal

space in which to reply.

I submitted for publication a reply of the same length as Dr. Randolph's editorial. I was informed, however, that I could have only 350-400 words with which to answer Dr.

Randolph's 840-word editorial.

In the March 1955 issue of the AAUW Journal an abbreviated verson of my original reply to Dr. Randolph was published. To my shock and dismay, however, there was published immediately after my 410word reply a 642-word rebuttal by Dr. Randolph.

Thus, it is obvious that the editors of the AAUW Journal refuse to give their readers any fair presentation of the pros and cons of the Bricker amendment. To offset the lopsided treatment of the Bricker amendment in the pages of the AAUW Journal, I respectfully request that you place in the Appendix to the Congressional Record:

1. Dr. Randolph's editorial in the October 1954 issue of the AAUW Journal;

2. My original article in reply to Dr. Randolph, copy enclosed; and 3. This letter.

Dr. Randolph wrote in her second editorial:

"As to the treaty-making power, it is necessary to remember that it is not based on the Constitution. Many critics apparently think it was so based and is therefore subject to all the limitations of that instru-

That may well be an accurate statement of the extent of the treaty power at the present time. But why, Senator BRICKER, should anyone object to basing the treaty power on the Constitution and exercising such power in accordance with the wise limitations of that great charter of freedom?

You and your colleagues in the Senate should know that Dr. Randolph did not apologize in her second editorial for her slur on the intelligence of 60 Senators who voted for a modified version of your amendment on February 26, 1954. Instead, Dr. Randolph offered this feeble explanation of

her insulting remark:

"As to my alleged charge that all 60 Senators who sponsored the Bricker resolution (1952) do not understand treaties, many of them have stated definitely that they have no opinion concerning the resolution on its merits, but merely wished to have the question fully discussed and, if possible, settled."

Who said anything about 1952? Anyway, the number of cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 130 in 1952 was 58, not 60. Dr. Randolph knows that 60 Senators voted for the amendment in February 1954. And these are the 60 Senators who are described in her first editorial as not knowing what treaties are under international law and practice.

I am a member of the American Association of University Women. I know that many members of our organization do not agree with the leadership's position on your amendment.

Please continue your magnificent fight to prevent abuse of the power to make treatles and executive agreements.

Sincerely yours,

ESTHER B. WANNER, Mrs. E. Webster Wanner, Eastern Pennsylvania Coordinator, Vigilant Women for the Bricker Amendment.

A Third Look

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN L. McCLELLAN

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "A Third Look," written by Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., of the Arkansas A. & M. College.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A THIRD LOOK

(By Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., Arkansas A. and M. College)

Arkansas A. and M. College has completed a 3-year study of general education via the services of professional consultants. first year was: The Philosophy of General Education, and reported as "A New Look," CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 22, 1953, pages A4804-A4805. The second year was: General Education as a Pattern in Our World, and reported as "A Second Look," Congressional RECORD, May 18, 1954, pages A3639-A3640.

The theme this year was: Methods of Teaching and Presenting General Education Subjects. Dr. Ernest H. Cox, professor of English and counselor of the University of Florida devoted 2 days addressing and conferring with faculty, students, and patrons concerning this topic on March 3 and 4.

Dr. Cox discussed C-1, American Institutions; C-2, The Physical Sciences; C-3, Reading, Speaking, and Writing; C-4-1, Practical Logic; C-4-2, Fundamental Mathematics; C-5, The Humanities; and C-6, Biological Science. He was concerned with the organization, administration, and methods used in these general education courses at the University of Florida. This discussion was extremely valuable in relating this program to the local situation.

Dr. Paul A. Witty, professor of education and director of the phychoeducational clinic at Northwestern University, spoke on A Developmental Reading Program for Our Schools, Some Characteristics of a Balanced Reading Program, Reading in Modern Education, and Television, Comic Books, and Your Child, on March 24 and 25. Not only did he address the faculty and student body, but a large group of public-school teachers drove in for the meeting.

Dr. Hoyt Troybridge devoted some time in conference with teachers of general education subjects.

This 3-year study has developed many fine thoughts, ideas, ideals, and principles. Probably the two most noted are the following two new courses:

1. Sociology 203, consumer problems: "Development of sound business and consumer principles for single student and family liv-This course is not designed for an economics course on the economic of consumption, but rather for a general education course on consumer problems emphasizing family living. The subject is drawn from any source that helps the student acquire better insight and information on a consumer problem. Materials are included from the fields of psychology, economics, nutrition, government at all levels, sociology, and homemaking to round out the course. Recent findings of the Consumer Education Study, reports of various marketing research organizations, government agencies, United tions agencies, child development studies, studies on housing costs, studies on the causes of marital unhappiness, dollar-cost of divorce, case studies in meeting financial crises."

2. Sociology 123, school and community: "The place and function of the school in a democratic society; changed social conditions and the consequent demands made upon the school. A careful consideration of the individual, social integration, prejudice, demo-cratic living in school, realization of worldwide interdependence, our common humanity, the value and understanding of differences, the ideological conflict, war, the United Nations, the Commission of Human Rights, UNICEF, World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, UNESCO in action, an overall view of UNESCO, technical assistance, and patriotism and world-mindedness."

Paul McCarthy-Great Legislator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very appropriate and welldeserving editorial that appeared in the Boston Traveler, Boston, Mass., on April 5, 1955, concerning a former member of the Massachusetts Legislature for whom all of us, regardless of party affiliations, had great respect and admiration:

IN THE BAY STATE

(By Cornelius Dalton)

The biography of Paul A. McCarthy, as recorded in the official handbook, Public Officers of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, was unusually brief.

It reads, "Born, Somerville, December 23, 1902; education, Somerville public schools; business, stationer; public office, secretary to mayor of Somerville 1934-35; Massachusetts House 1937-54".

This biography, composed by himself, told almost nothing about Paul McCarthy, who died Sunday night after years of sickness and

suffering.
Paul McCarthy was a great legislator. During his 18 years in the house of representatives, there were probably only a dozen other legislators of whom this could be said.

He was a fierce fighter on the floor of the house chamber, and a kindly, considerate man off it.

He was an intensely loyal and even par-tisan Democrat, and no Democrat was more admired by his Republican colleagues.

He was an eloquent and remarkably effective debater, and his formal education ended with grammar school.

Paul McCarthy was not always right, and he did not always win. But no one ever questioned his sincerity, and even in defeat he usually looked like a winner.

He participated in most of the big debates of the past 2 decades on Beacon Hill. His interests ranged over a wide field, but he knew his subject, whether it was the State budget or the beano racket.

He led many legislative battles-for the workingman, for the aged, for the veteran, for the patients in hospitals-and many of

his bills became law.

But his influence was felt in a hundred ways that never were obvious. No member's advice and counsel was sought more often in the lobby by colleagues, both Democratic and Republican

He was a relentless foe of the Communists. and he was a relentless foe of the racketeers. It was he, more than any other man, who was responsible for outlawing beano in Massachusets. He could not be intimidated, and he could not be bribed.

When he took the floor of the house, the members listened. And he was one of the few legislators who could change votes dur-

ing a debate.

McCarthy suffered from high-blood pressure, and the \$100,000 study of hypertension authorized by the legislature was voted as a tribute to him. He underwent a series of operations, and in recent years was in and out of the hospital.

He was devoted to his wife and four chil-And he was devoted to his religion. But he never made a display of his devotion.

Even in the midst of his own troubles, he thought of others. When the Democrats won the house in 1948, for the first time in history, McCarthy phoned Republican Clerk Lawrence R. Grove from his hospital bed to assure him that he would be retained.

National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO. JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include herein several pieces of correspondence together with certain comments relating to my resolution to establish a National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week:

AMERICAN MATERIAL HANDLING SOCIETY, INC., Toledo, Ohio, April 6, 1955.

Hon. PETER W. RODINO, Jr., House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RODINO: I am in receipt of a letter from Mr. Harry P. Dolan, executive secretary, Caster & Floor Manufacturers Association.

In his letter he writes, and I quote: "We are very happy to join with AMHS and the many outstanding trade associations representing the material handling industry in requesting that President Eisenhower proclaim a National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week. In our opinion it is quite fitting that the 'Moving Force' in America receive the recognition that is its due. * As manufacturers of casters, wheels, and floor trucks, our members have seen a tremendous industry develop and are proud of the important part they continue to play in it."

This organization, which voluntarily adopted a program to develop standards for all products represented in their trade association in January 1952, pursued the pro-

gram so vigorously and efficiently that in 1954 they were chosen to receive the American Trade Association Executives award of merit. The highest honor that can be bestowed on a trade association, the citation reads, in part and I quite: "Presented to the Caster & Floor Truck Manufacturers Association in recognition of its successful endeavors to encourage and develop various standardization and specifications for the products of its industry."

The jury of awards for 1954, which honored

this association were Hon. Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce of the United States: Mr. Clem Johnston, president, United States Chamber of Commerce: Mr. Harold C. Mc-Clellan, president, National Association of Manufacturers; Mr. Neil H. Borden, president, American Marketing Association; and Dr. George W. Robbins, acting dean, School of Business Administration, University of Cali-

We are happy to include this organization among our sponsors and would request that have established a National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week.

Very truly yours.

J. W. HALL, National Secretary, Westinghouse Electric Corp., Meter Division, Newark, N. J.

AMERICAN MATERIAL HANDLING SOCIETY, INC., Toledo, Ohio, April 6, 1955. Hon. PETER W. RODINO, Jr.

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RODINO: I am enclosing 2 letters, 1 written by Mr. E. W. Allen, vice president, Thomas A. Edison, Inc., and 1 written by Tom Turner, vice president, Westinghouse Electric Corp.

In support of the effort to establish a National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week. I would request of you that these letters be included into the CONGRES-SIONAL RECORD as of benefit to this program.

Very truly yours,

J. W. HALL, National Secretary, Westinghouse Electric Corp., Meter Division, Newark, N. J.

WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC CORP., Buffalo, N. Y., February 16, 1955. Mr. J. W. HALL.

National Secretary, American Material Handling Society, Inc., Westinghouse Electric Corp., Meter Division,, Newark, N. J.

DEAR MR. HALL: Material handling is one of the big items in industry. Anything that can be done to increase material handling efficiency and bring it into the national limelight is worthwhile.

Congratulations and best wishes for the continued success of AMHS.

Very truly yours,

BUFFALO-MOTOR AND CONTROL DIVISION, TOM TURNER, Vice President.

THOMAS A. EDISON, INC., West Orange, N. J., February 18, 1955. Mr. J. W. HALL,

National Secretary, American Material Handling Society, Inc., Care of West-inghouse Electric Corp., Meter Division, Newark, N. J. DEAR MR. HALL: Thank you for your let-

ter of February 7 and attachments having to do with the efforts being made through the Honorable P. W. Rodino, Jr., and others toward the declaration of a National Material Handling Week.

Over the past 30 years I have been actively engaged in promoting the interests of the material handling industry and it is needless to say that any movement which will

contribute to this cause has my unqualified

Yours very truly,

E. W. ALLEN. Vice President.

AMERICAN MATERIAL HANDLING SOCIETY, INC. Toledo, Ohio, April 7, 1955.

Hon. PETER W. RODINO, Jr., House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RODINO: I am forwarding to you a letter, written by Mr. H. S. Jones, president, Montreal Chapter, American Material Handling Society.

The letter refers to the effort involved in producing The Bibliography of Material Handling. This is the most complete compila-tion of books, pamphlets, speakers, films and articles on material handling ever made.

The effort was voluntary. Those engaged

The effort was voluntary. Those engaged in the preparation worked long hours gathering the data to be used. It will shortly be published in book form for the use of li-

braries, colleges and industry.

As an example of the devotion of the men of the material handling and packaging field to the principles of their chosen profession. I would like to submit this letter in support of the program to establish A National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week.

Very truly yours,

National Secretary, Westinghouse Corp. Meter Division, Newark, N. J.

THE AMERICAN MATERIAL HANDLING SOCIETY. Montreal, Quebec, March 30, 1955.

Mr. J. W. HALL,

National Secretary AMHS, Westinghouse Electric Corp., Meter Division, Newark, N. J.

NATIONAL MATERIAL HANDLING WEEK

DEAR SIE: Herewith is a summary of the work of our chapter's committee to produce the Bibliography of Material Handling.

At the request of the national president of the American Material Handling Society, a committee was formed from the Montreal chapter to compile a complete and up-todate reference of books, pamphlets, articles, films, and speakers which pertain to material handling subjects.

The need for such a bibliography became evident when it was appreciated that it has become virtually impossible to read all of the ever growing list of magazines which publish material handling articles. Its purpose is to permit men in the material handling field of industry to locate more easily those items which pertain to their own problems.

That this was a tremendous undertaking can best be realized by reviewing the final results. The cost in dollars was not great. The Montreal chapter contributed \$250, and the National another \$100, or a total of \$350. However, in addition to the money, some 600 hours of effort have been expended by the seven committee members. This is not a particularly impressive figure until you realize that it is the equivalent of each member donating his annual vacation to the cause of preparing this bibliography. Thus we feel that the value of this publication can be conservatively estimated at \$2.000.

The completed project required just over 1 year to complete and was only accom-plished in this time through the 100 percent cooperation of a group genuinely interested in the material handling profession, consisting of J. C. Cochrane, P. N. Dufresne, D. A. Gillespie, E. B. Jobien, P. J. McKeough, L. J. Stock, and bibliography committee chair-man, J. L. Smyth. Mr. Dufresne was a graduating student at McGill University and used his work as his engineering thesis.

That the bibliography has proven successful can be appreciated from the numerous requests we have had for copies and the number of firms who have requested permis-

sion to publish it.

I would request you on behalf of the Montreal chapter that the above should be submitted to the Honorable Peter W. Rodino, Jr., for insertion into the Congressional Record as a part of the program to establish a National Better Material Handling Week.

Yours as ever,

H. S. Jones, President, Montreal Chapter and

National Director.

Aid to Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the gathering of delegates to the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, adds emphasis to the critical need for formulation and positive action on a reinvigorated program to aid the underdeveloped nations of the world. I wish to call the attention of the Congress to a statement by the Church Peace Union, of which Dr. Ralph W. Sockman is president, on this vital subject:

RESOLUTION ON AID TO ASIA

The Afro-Asian Conference, to convene in April at Bandung, Indonesia, promises to be a widely representative gathering. Of the 25 invitees and the 5 sponsoring countries, 25 have already indicated that they will be represented, and the remaining 5 are expected to accept the invitation.

This meeting may prove to be the prelude to one of the most significant events of our time. For these 30 countries, including well over half of the human race, may be on the way to concerted action which will give voice and sanction to their determination to live no longer as second- or third-class citi-

zens in the world.

The calling of this conference by the Columbo Powers (Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, and Pakistan) serves to highlight the supreme importance of the free Asian nations within the current international situation. If large-scale war is averted, it is our understanding that there will be waged in Asia during the months and years ahead an intensive economic competition between the western nations on the one hand and, on the other, the Soviet Union and Communist China.

In line with our traditional friendship with the Asian people and to assume that the free world shall not lose by default the economic struggle for the loyalty of the free Asian area, we, the trustees of the Church Peace Union, believe that the United States should immediately initiate two courses of action. We, therefore, earnestly urge our Government to give prompt attention to two issues:

- To appropriate as quickly as possible the amount of approximately \$1 billion, the obligational authority requested by the administration for these crucially important Asian programs.
- 2. To devise an efficient way to administer the disbursement of these funds, if the Foreign Operations Administration is allowed to go out of existence on June 30, 1955, as directed by Congress. We hope that the tenure of FOA will be extended, at least until an effective organization can be provided, ade-

quate to handle the immense aid-to-Asia programs. It should be noted that unification of foreign-aid activities under FOA has to date saved both money and personnel.

The United States and its western allies must truly become good partners if they are to participate successfully in the economic competition already being waged in the free Asia arc. More bases of mutual respect and mutual interest must be established. New areas of agreed cooperation for mutual advantage must be found. How we meet this immense problem will be of fateful importance, in both the short and long term, if we aim to widen the reaches of a genuinely free world in which an increasing number of stable, self-reliant, and independent nations are joined. The immediate contribu-tion we can make toward this end is to appropriate adequate funds for the prospective Asian programs and to provide for their efficient administration.

RALPH W. SOCKMAN,
President
HENRY A. ATKINSON,
General Secretary
(For the Board of Trustees, the
Church Peace Union).

Mr. Stevenson Goes It Alone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I am inserting in the Record an article by David Lawrence which appeared in last night's Washington Evening Star.

It relates to Adlai Stevenson's socalled foreign policy speech and is extremely enlightening as to how one without the responsibility of formulating policy feels perfectly free to adjust his dramatic pronouncements from day to day in accordance with what appears expedient at the moment, regardless of what the inconsistencies and contradictions may be.

The article follows:

Mr. STEVENSON GOES IT ALONE—HE ROCKS THE BOAT AT A CRITICAL TIME, WITH HIS PEACE-AT-ANY-PRICE PLEA

(By David Lawrence)

If Adlai Stevenson had contrived purposely to encourage the Communist Chinese to believe that America is disunited and that her allies are seriously at odds with her on fareastern policy, he could not have delivered a more convincing speech to that end than he did on Monday night.

For, while to many Americans the former presidential candidate would seem to have been motivated merely by domestic political considerations and by his own ambitions—which can be realized only by undermining the political popularity of President Eisenhower—the Red Chinese could well imagine that the speech represent the beginning of a retreat by the Democratic majority now in control of Congress. Only a few weeks ago they voted solidly to support the resolution authorizing the President to use our military force to defend Formosa and "related positions and territories of that area." Is "bipartisanship" to be spelled differently now, with divisive speeches by partisans at a time of grave crisis in international affairs?

There are, of course, differences of opinion here and abroad over the extent to which the "related areas"—namely, the offshore islands—shall be defended. But the issue was thoroughly debated in Congress, and it would seem that Mr. Stevenson now is merely accentuating a difference that has already been resolved. For the Congress was informed that there was no intention on the part of the President to defend the offshore islands as such, but to defend them "only in situations which are recognizable as parts of, or definite preliminaries to, an attack Formosa. This has been made clear to Members of Congress on the Democratic side, and especially to Senator Walter George, Democratic chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. But now it would appear that Mr. Stevenson has publicly repudiated the leadership of the Georgia Senator and prefers to go it alone in proclaiming what he believes should be the foreign policy of the Democratic Party.

Mr. Stevenson, moreover, calls for a declaration by the ailied nations condemning the use of force in and around Formosa. This is predicated on the assumption that the Red Chinese will likewise refrain from using force. Senator George favors the renunciation of the use of force in and around Formosa, and so does President Elsenhower, who has called for a cease-fire to be arranged by the U. N. It is not Mr. Elsenhower or our allies who can regulate whether force shall be used. Only the Red Chinse can decide whether there is to be war in the Far East. Any pronouncements about United States policy should be left to the President of the United States to make.

The speech by the former presidential candidate is full of contradictions so characteristic of many of his addresses. While, for example, he condemns the Eisenhower administration for not doing what it says, and for not meaning what it announces in its threat of massive retaliation, Mr. Stevenson unfortunately chooses as his illustration the allied retreat in Indochina. For this he blames America when he ought to know that the United States backed down from the use of force there because neither the French nor the British-our allies-would go along with us. Here was a case in which Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles did precisely what Mr. Stevenson now pleads should be donenamely, adopted an attitude deferential to the wishes of our allies. But having followed our allies, America is now blamed by Mr. Stevenson for the loss of Indochina. He certainly cannot have it both ways.

Mr. Stevenson's speech exhibits a greater concern for the feelings of the allies than it does for the feelings of the American people. This is probably due to a desire to make it appear that in foreign policy the administration is inept and incompetent. While professing high motives himself, Mr. Stephenson accuses the administration of yielding to considerations of domestic political expediency in making its far eastern policies. There are critics inside the Republican Party but fortunately they have not been in favor of appeasing the Communists, and are trying instead to keep the administration from yielding to those peace at any price elements in the Republican Party which, like Mr. Stevenson, advocate withdrawal from the offshore islands.

Mr. Stevenson would, of course, wash his hands of any responsibility if the policy he advocates were really adopted. If, for example, after the United States withdrew moral support from the Nationalist Government and a disintegration of morale developed on Formosa among the troops of Chiang Kai-shek—which Mr. Stevenson now significantly derides as "over-age"—the titular leader of the Democratic Party probably would not concede that, by his speech and proposals, he had helped to break down the morale of the Nationalist troops on Formosa, just as the Truman-Acheson administration did in pulling the rug from beneath Chiang

Kai-shek's forces on the mainland of China in 1949.

Mr. Stevenson is rocking the boat at a critical time, and if his words are heeded by the Democratic majority in Congress, then America is headed for the era of chaos and divided Government predicted by many observers last autumn. The American people during the campaign were promised cooperation by the Democrats in upholding the hands of the President, especially in foreign policy. But Mr. Stevenson evidently does not feel obligated now to see that this pledge is fulfilled.

Panel Discussion: The Roots of Prejudice Examined

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include the text of a panel discussion on the Roots of Prejudice that was held by the New York Herald Tribune Forum for high schools, and in which young students from six countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa took part.

This panel discussion reveals in a singularly illuminating way how prejudice and bigotry derive from ignorance, from a craving for superiority, and from the example set by the elder generation. I believe that there is much to be learned from the frank views of these youngsters, and I urge my fellow Congressmen to read and reflect on what they have to say.

I also want to express my appreciation and admiration for the New York Herald Tribune, for the very valuable program that they have now been conducting for 9 years. Here is one great metropolitan newspaper that deserves a universal salute for its earnest and effective efforts to bring to the youth of this country, and of others, an understanding of the nature of our world and of our world problems by a direct interchange of views. A program like the Youth High School Forum of the Herald Tribune is an encouraging silver lining to a troubled world cloud.

PANEL DISCUSSION: THE ROOTS OF PREJUDICE EXAMINED

(Epiror's Note.—The panel discussion, The Roots of Prejudice, at the Forum among Gur Ben Ari, of Israel; LeBrecht "Pifi" Hesse, Gold Coast; Marlene Roodt, Union of South Africa; Akram Z. Barakat, Jordan; Per Friis Rusten, Norway, and Hisako Shimazu, Japan.)

MARLENE. I have spent most of my energy during the last 3 months trying to figure out what has been happening to me since I came here. And, Fifi, I still don't know. But one thing I do know. A person can change more in 3 months than I ever thought possible. Sometimes I can't identify myself with the Marlene who left Johannesburg last December to be the Forum delegate from the Union of South Africa.

Firi. I think all of us have had the same feeling to some extent, Marlene.

MARLENE. You see, when I got on that Pan American plane, I had never met a Negro on terms of equality. And I was won-

dering so much about what it would be like here that it never occurred to me the plane would soon be picking up other African delegates. Then we put down at Accra in the Gold Coast. The American cultural attache came up to me and asked if I would like to meet the delegates from the Gold Coast and Nigeria—Fifi and Minjiba. I was scared stiff, knowing how the Gold Coast regarded white South Africa and what they had been saying about us in the newspapers.

Fig. I was scared, too. But I decided to be prepared for anything and play it the way she did. Marlene offered her hand first.

MARLENE. By the time we got to Lisbon the next afternoon, the three of us were sitting on two seats, finishing an enormous box of chocolates I had been given when I left Johannesburg. We didn't stop talking for a minute, and when we got over New York City at 5 a. m. Christmas morning, oh, it was so exciting. All the Christmas trees were lit. At Idlewild we got the first feeling of what the forum would be like—looking for lost luggage, helping and waiting for each other. I didn't know then how complicated things would be fore me here, sometimes.

FIFI. I wonder if you realize how hard things have been for Marlene here?

Marlene. You are still in character, Fift. For when things have been hardest you have often been the one who understood me best; (looking at audience) if Fift knows what I'm talking about when I explain apartheid, why can't you?

FIFI. Why don't you give it another try? MARLENE. The government of South Africa follows a policy of "apartheid" (separateness). It arises from the basic differences between two peoples whose customs, religious habits, and state of civilization are so far apart, and from the fact that power is in the hands of a small minority. There are 2½ million white people in the Union of South Africa, and 8 million blacks. In theory, "apartheid" will set both black and white free to develop to the full extent of their capacities, leaving each free to preserve its own culture, and eventually the blacks will take over their own government and we will keep ours. * * * I have discovered since I have been here that the race problem at home is far more complex than I ever realized. I know that we are not born prejudiced, but that we accept the readymade attitudes of others, and that the social order of today conveys lessons which we absorb without conscious learning.

Fir. Let me try to put this matter of prejudice in perspective. The word "prejudice" comes from two Latin words—"prae," which means "before," and "judicium," which means "judgment." Literally, prejudice means preconceived judgment. People make preconceived judgments—become prejudiced—when they don't know the facts, or when they do know the facts and don't like them. For example, when our interests conflict with the interest of others, we make ourselves believe that others deserve less than we do, in order to be at peace with ourselves. We think of another as inferior, to create for ourselves a feeling of superiority.

CITES SURVEY HERE

Let me tell you about a survey I conducted in some high schools here. I asked a number of Negro girls how often white boys took them out on dates. About 90 percent had never been out with a white boy. The remaining 10 percent could count the number of times on their fingers. The experience of Negro boys was about the same.

What is responsible for this segregation in unsegregated schools, where Negroes and Whites do everything together? Some say the reason is economic; that the average Negro income is less than the White. I don't think this is the only reason, or the most important. It is the old contempt, inherited from the days of slavery. No matter how

widely publicized the Supreme Court decision, the basic cause of segregation still exists in ourselves. We must see that they are removed.

MARLENE. You see how difficult Fifi makes things for me? How easy the policy of apartheid would be if skin color did make one person superior to another.

Fig. Marlene, let me say what needs to be said here, because it is easier for me than for you. There is a fundamental difference in educational development and rate of adjustment to Western machine civilization that makes it difficult for the white South African to treat the native as an equal today. Why this difference exists is another question. But it is also difficult when people used the word "native" as if it were synonymous with "savage" and "primitive" and "uncivilized."

I recently saw an advertisement on a subway here which read: "You need not go native for comfort." It showed a picture of a woman from somewhere in the East Indies, very scantily dressed. It was an advertisement for girdles. Another example of how we are unconsciously taught that "natives" are primitive.

AFRICA IS CHANGING

MARLENE. And, Fifi, let me say what is easier for me to say than you. Through the ages the whites in Africa have believed that the native is not fit for the company of whites, and so must be separated from them. They have not helped the native as much as they should to adjust to the civilization they imposed on him. Too much of our policy has been based on fear of our fellow man, rather than confidence in him. But things are beginning to change. People are beginning to realize that the natives are human beings just like we are, and must have the same opportunities. All Africa is changing-white well as black. And South Africa has achieved more in the last 10 years than was done in the previous 200.

Fig. But to get this conversation in perspective for an American audience, one of us has to say that the situation in South Africa is about 100 times more complicated and difficult than in the most backward of the American Southern States.

Marlene. Thank you, Fifl. Also, our problem is not only between whites and blacks. There are the coloreds and the Asians. The United States of American has solved her problem, legally at least, and the world approves. What we do has repercussions all over native Africa, in the whole Arab world, and all over Asia. If you think your problem of coexistence with communism is difficult, I wonder what you would do with our problem of coexistence if you live in Johannesburg.

Fig. It is the genuine feeling of all of us Africans that blacks and whites can work together peacefully. But under existing circumstances we find it difficult. A famous educator from the Gold Coast once said: "You can play all sorts of tunes on the black piano keys, and all sorts of tunes on the white. But for harmony you must use them both." Marlene, you have testified to our friendship: What would it be like if I came to Johannesburg?

PRECONCEIVED JUDGMENTS

Marlene. You know the answer. But your question gives me a chance to say this: It's something I have been wanting to get off my chest for weeks. I think I have a better understanding of how an American Negro feels, deep inside, than all of you white Americans.

For 3 months now I have been judged—by most of you—not for what I am—me, Marlene Roodt, an individual—but by your preconceived judgments about my country.

Now, Fifi—a direct answer to your question. If you come to Johannesburg it will not be the same, nor would it if I went to Accra. We would both be prisoners.

Firi. I have always hated white South Africans violently, because they are Negro-phobists. But, believe me. I like the first white South African I ever saw very much. I think our stay in this country proved to me that all white South Africans don't fit my stereotype of them.

I recently visited the Museum of Modern Art and saw the exhibit on "The Family of Man." The whole range of pictures was wonderful, and impressed me greatly. But one picture from South Africa impressed me most. It was a picture of a Negro standing by a rock, with his eyes uplifted unto Heaven, and under it was written, "Who is on my side? Who?'

A JORDAN VIEWPOINT

ARRAM. When I was chosen to represent Jordan in this forum, I did not know there would also be a delegate from Israel. Then, in the letter of congratulations from Mrs. Waller, telling us how to prepare for the trip. I saw the name of Israel among the countries to be represented. It was really difficult for me to think how I would act.

My first thought was that I would not speak with him at all, and treat him as our countries treat each other. But this was difficult from the beginning because his country was listed as "Israel" and we call it "Palestine." I talked to some of my teachers and friends to get their advice. Some said I should not speak to him at all. Others said I should treat him just as I would treat any of the other delegates, to show him that we do not have any enmity against people.

When Gur arrived at Kober House the day after I did, together with the boys from Italy and Switzerland, I got to know him just as I did the other delegates. We all had so much in common as members of the same group that our political differences didn't come up.

Two days later we both happened to be assigned to wash dishes together, with some of the other delegates, and Gur and I started to talk about the Palestine problem. I was surprised to find that some of the others had not even heard about it. In trying to explain to them, we had to go easy on the heat in order to shed some light. And although we were talking about a very complicated problem from very different points of view, still neither of us broke a dish.

JUDAISM AND STONISM

Only 3 months ago, I used to think that all the Jews are Zionists. Since I have been here, I have realized that there are some Jews who don't have any faint idea about Zionism. So, a very good thing I learned, first of all, is that Judaism is not synonymous with Zionism. Judaism is a religion. Zionism is a political idea. So we should not confuse the two.

Therefore, although I still have prejudice against Zionism-naturally enough-I don't have anything against Judaism now. However, as an Arab, I do feel prejudice against Zionism because of all the troubles it has brought to this part of the Middle East.

My job here as a forum delegate, in six different host schools and all the others I have visited, has been to talk about my country and explain our point of view. In some of these schools there have been not only large numbers of Jewish students but many Zionists. In many cases I gave them their first opportunity to hear the other point of view. And it was also my first opportunity to discuss this problem with Zionists.

I was so glad you know-I really felt happy-when some of them not only understood my point of view but really appreciated a chance for discussion instead of angry argument. It was the first time for some of them to see that the other point of view is possible.

Now I have talked enough about Palestine. This is just one of the many diffi-cult problems between countries that the 34 of us represent. The thing that the last 3 months has made us wonder aboutsince all of us are friends-is this: Since people from anywhere like people from anywhere as individuals, and since everybody seems to agree that wars usually do more harm than good, where is the point where people forget what their common interests are, and start fighting each other?

This is a complicated question-too complicated for students to solve. Maybe the fact that we have asked the question here, in the U. N., will have some small influence on the official delegates who occupy these seats and who will be back here again next week, trying to find the answers.

ISRAEL'S VIEWPOINT

Gur. I've got another suggestion for the diplomats who come back here on Monday. If they haven't time to wash their dishes together, maybe they could play ping pong? After Akram and I finished doing those dishes he told you about, I went down to the ping pong table with the Arab league. I beat Rifaat, from Egypt, but then Akram beat me.

Speaking of the Arab League, Saniya, from the Lebanon, was washing dishes that day when Akram and I were drying them. She word when we were talking didn't say a about the Middle East. At first I thought she kept quiet so that it wouldn't be two against one. Then I discovered she was having to concentrate all her attention on doing a job she never had learned how to do in the Lebanon.

Five months ago, when I wrote my essay on The World We Want for the forum competition, I wrote as an Israeli, without any international experience. In the course of these 3 months, my horizon has been considerably widened.

In these 3 months, I have often felt myself thinking similar to an American, a Burmese, or a Japanese.

Once I even got myself into a really tough spot! It started as a game. You know that in each host school we have been together with 2 or 3 other forum delegates. tening to each other say the same things about our countries so many times in assembly programs, we practically learn each othspeeches by heart. So, one night in Washington when all of us were together, just for fun we exchanged roles to see how well we could present another's point of view. And I found myself being the delegate from Jordan, trying to convince the delegate from Israel (played by another of the delegates from the Middle East). In the end it was a draw.

OUTLOOK ENCOURAGING

We have had a lot of fun. But we have also discussed many serious problems.

Sometimes I realize how narrow-minded people can be pursuing only selfish interests, and forgetting that there is something more fundamental-serving good international interests, as nations and as individuals. Of course, this is not as easy as it may sound. Coming back to what you said, Akram, about your experience here, and what you discovered about Judalsm and Zionism. My experiences were entirely differ-I am happy to say that all the Jews I met and also most of the non-Jews I talked to were very sympathetic toward Israel and what it stands for. Especially the Zionists, who see in the ancient new country of Israel the fulfillment of their age-long hopes. Our different experiences here show how complicated problems are.

We don't want a world where we can breathe freely in the morning just because no calamity happened overnight. We don't want a world where countries spend most of their energy on armaments in order to bring closer the possibility of dying together. In stead we should be finding a way to live to-

This forum encouraged me to be an optimist. Now I am sure that coexistence is possible.

PROUD OF COUNTRY

This forum helped me in another way. It made me proud of being a citizen of my young country. I was asked many times whether I would like to live here. To me it was like asking, would I like to exchange my parents. However, I find much that is alike in your country and mine. Both countries face the problem of integration, the problem of forming one nation out of people from everywhere. And we are overcoming their prejudices and making one nation just as you have.

Israel is a country of challenge that gives every citizen a feeling of being needed-especially the youth.

What my country needs now, as all other nations, is peace. We have much constructive, creative work to do. War prevents this and solves nothing.

I said I was an optimist. I wonder whether we will be able to impart the wonderful experiences we have had here to as many as we would like to. Maybe that is why I can end by saying I wish the politicians would solve their problems the same way we did. We lived here in the world we want, a peaceful world which, discounting prejudices, can be achieved.

CULTURAL POLICIES

PER. Of course, it is not only through the policies of governments that we get our prejudices toward other peoples.

In Europe, people often go crazy about what they call the "cultural policy" of the United States. Americans, of course, claim that they haven't any cultural policy at all. This is theoretically right, since the American government doesn't control which American movies are sent abroad, or which books.

The practical result is that you do have a cultural policy, determined by Hollywood and Mickey Spillane.

Do people actually have to come here—as we did-to find out how hospitable and friendly you are? Of course, I realize now that you take this side of American life so much for granted that you are not inclined to talk about it. But you must realize that if you want our military solidarity, you must also have our psychological support and we could never respect America in the cultural field through Hollywood as it is today.

So why don't you find a way to let us know

you as you really are?

I wonder, too, how many of our prejudices come from history books we used in school? I am proud of my history teacher. When we read about how the old Vikings used to ravage down in England and Central Europe, he always says, "Remember, boys, this is nothing to be proud of." Few teachers manage to be so objective. And too many stress differences instead of similarities between countries.

CONTRAST IN JAPAN

HISAKO. But sometimes, when countries are far away, they do not stress the differences enough. When I was in Japan, I thought that China was a very far-off coun-Here, to my surprise, many people consider China and Japan the same country.

PER. What are some of the differences you found in Japan and America.

HISAKO. In Japan, people who can have a car are only upper class, and then they use the car mostly for business. Here I saw a washing woman come to clean the house driving a Buick.

It is envious that American women are given much time to please or to develop their knowledge by many convenient ma-chines. It is difficult for us to do something in the world after marriage.

But everything is too automatic and similar here. I wonder if you understand the taste of hand-made things, or the pleasure of delicate variation?

Here I danced with boys for the first time. I was surprised at the scene of the party. If I had written my parents about it in detail. they would have taken me back to Japan.

NORWAY'S DIFFERENCE

PER. Our social life in Norway is much the same as yours, but I did notice one thing in the schools that is different. I got the impression that American high-school teachers may talk about some of their political opinions in classes. As far as I know there are no laws, as there are in Norway, to prevent them from doing so. At home, we may have any kind of political discussion in class, but the teacher has to stay out of it.

I will never forget what I heard in an American citizenship class of 11-to-13-yearolds I visited here. The teacher said, "Today we are going to talk about communism for the first time." The children sat with wideopen eyes. When he finished his description he asked the children what they thought could be done to stop communism. He didn't give a definition of communism, and gave the impression that even socialism, which includes my country, Norway, is a synonym for dictatorship. This is dangerous. A 13year-old does not have the intellectual capacity to question what he hears in school. And because it is human to stick to first opinions, a person tries to make later impressions conform to his original idea, and thereby becomes prejudiced.

MENTAL INDIGESTION

HISAKO. I notice another difference between your schools and ours. Sometimes in Japan we take too many subjects with speedy lesson. It makes us indigestion and our knowledge we get in this way is not real one.

I could not find in the classroom of American high school who is intelligent and who is not so. Here everyone joins in discussion. No one fears that they should make a mistake. It is indeed quite different from us, where only the most intelligent would dare to speak in class.

American children are not shy any they say and do what they think to be right without hesitation. We must learn that character from them, because sometimes we are too polite in discussion and few say their opinions. Even if we knew the answer for teacher's question, we do not say until he points us out.

I think equality and individualism must

be applied to Japanese education.

PER. But, Hisako, Americans have been in Japan for 10 years now. Haven't they already brought new ideas, like individualism, to Japan?

HISAKO, Japanese know the word "Individualism" now, but we don't practice it. Something in our very old thought prevents it. To be conservative, modest, patient, respectful, and obedient is part of our character. I found a word that describes itintrospective, internal. Japanese people have composure.

We do not show ourselves to others. To us, when you express feelings in big expression, it proves you don't feel deeply and will forget soon.

In this we are so different from Ameri-What we think is delicate, you call cans. ungenerous. What to us is modesty, to you is secrecy.

Before I came I knew that there was difference between Japanese and Americans in customs and behavior. Now I know that there is something very different in our minds.

Just after the war, when we began to know the word "democracy," a teacher called her class for an examination. They answered, "No, we do not want to take it. Because now we are free."

We have been much in contact, but we have only understood the surface of each other's culture. We have not yet understood what in each is best.

Gur Ben Ari, 17, born in Tel-Aviv, Israel, attends Hebrew Gymnasium Herzlia in Tel-Aviv. Joined Boy Scouts and Maccabi sport organization. Chief interests are track athletics, rowing, and handball. Has received silver medals for running, long jump, and discus throwing in competitions for the last 4 years. Has played violin for 8 years, and is member of school orchestra.

Lebrecht Wilhelm Hesse, 18, student at Accra Academy, Accra, Gold Coast. Winning of an essay competition in connection with coronation of Queen Elizabeth gave "happiest day of my life." Suffered from hazing in first weeks at school, but soon settled down to enjoy Latin, literature, and history. Never did get to like algebra and geometry. Favorite pastime is swimming and favorite hobby is reading. Also a theater fan and likes to read books he has earlier seen filmed. President of school branch of United Nations Students Association. Hopes to become lawyer.

Marlene Roodt, 17, from Krugersdorp, South Africa, is a crack athlete and wants to be a journalist. Born at Pretoria, describes herself as brunette with hazel eyes. Has studied English, art, biology, history, and geography at Monument High School. Likes languages, but not geography. At school is prefect, 1 of 4 members of student council. Captain of girls' athletic team and hockey team. Holds school record for several hurdle and sprint distances. Played on first team in softball and volleyball, and likes swimming and tennis. Hobbies include oil painting and sketching, collecting classical and light opera records. Likes modern music but says "this excludes wild jazz." Likes public speaking and debating, is fond of knitting, but not keen on sewing."

Akram Z. Barakat, 17, student at Al-Ahliyyah College, Ramallah, Jordan, was born in Jaffa, Palestine, son of a citrus-fruit exporter. Family left Jaffa in 1949 because of disturbances between Arabs and Jews and settled in Ramallah, which had superior educational f-cilities for Akram and his two brothers. Always ranked high in his classes, conduct, and initiative. Was named by his college principal to be a candidate for the Herald Tribune Forum, and easily passed subsequent competitive tests.

Per Friis Rusten, 17, born in Oslo, Norway, is now in secondary public school in Dram-men. Remembers living during World War II in Harstad, in north of Norway. His father died in 1949, since he has lived with his mother in Drammen. Has made several trips to the middle and south of Europe and to Great Britain.

Hisako Shimazu is from Osaka, Japan. Was born in Tokyo in 1936. Has been keen about reading from childhood, and reads all kinds of books. Says that although she was rather delicate, she played games and was good at climbing trees and roofs, like a boy. In 1946, was baptized and named Maria Bernadetta by a Roman Catholic father. Enjoys school and lists hobbies as music, movies, and reading books, of course. Father is head of Dai Nippon Spinning & Weaving Co. at Osaka.

National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 14, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include

herein correspondence together with certain comments relating to my resolution to establish a National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week:

AMERICAN MATERIAL HANDLING

SOCIETY, INC. Toledo, Ohio, April 7, 1955.

Hon. PETER W. RODINO, Jr., House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RODINO: I am enclosing a letter from Mr. W. T. Faricy, president, Association of American Railroads.

In support of the program to establish a National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week I would request that this letter be included in the Congressional Record as a part of the effort.

Very truly yours,

J. W. HALL, National Secretary, Westinghouse Electric Corp., Meter Division, Newark, N. J.

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN RAILROADS, Washington, D. C., April 5, 1955.

Mr. J. W. HALL,

National Secretary, American Material Handling Society, Inc., care of Westinghouse Electric Corp., Newark, N. J.

DEAR MR. HALL: Pursuant to the promise

made in my letter of March 22, I am enclosing a short item entitled "The Railroads and Materials Handling" for such use as you may desire to make of it in connection with National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week.

Sincerely.

W. T. FARICY.

THE RATLROADS AND MATERIALS HANDLING

Materials handling, even with a specific commodity of uniform size and within a delineated area, such as a warehouse or portion of a warehouse, presents numerous chal-lenges. Consider, then, the complexities of a system virtually without limitation and it becomes clear why the railroads constitute the most versatile materials handling system in the world today. Ever since the invention of the wheel, methods involving its use for the movement of materials have been progressing. The development of the steel rail greatly accelerated this progress and has led to the vast network of railroad materials handling facilities.

The nature of materials to be handled varies greatly. Commodities may be solid. liquid, or gaseous, with extensive differences in size, shape, density, and other character-istics. The versatility of the materials handling system represented by the railroads permits the movement of all these commodities to virtually any destination at any time, regardless of weather, and the dependability of delivery is the key to the smoothly functioning, scheduled operation of industry.

Within the railroads' own plant are numerous examples of progression of materials handling research and study. To see the results of such study one has only to visit the supply department of a railroad and observe its vast and continuous movement of materials through methods incorporating the latest and most modern handling devices.

While the materials handled by the supply department of a railroad are numerous and varied indeed, they are generally consistently uniform within specific limits, and we must visit the freight-station platform where lessthan-carload freight is being handled to observe true diversification of materials. Here we may see articles varying from a small item, such as a box weighing less than a pounds, to packages of varying weights and dimensions.

Studies involving the expeditious and safe handling of such materials have brought about the development, acquisition, installation, and use of many devices, including motorized lift trucks, motorized burden-carrying trucks, tractors, and trailers, roller conveyors, and containers, as well as mechanized conveyor systems involving the use of four-wheeled or two-wheeled trucks attached to and towed by a chain conveyor.

In carrying out their big, basic job of handling materials, the railroads have also developed special equipment like the covered hopper car for the handling of bulk commodities, the automobile rack car for handling set-up automobiles, specially equipped gondola cars for automobile frame loading and rack cars for the more expeditious handling of pulpwood. But railroads go even further than that. There is no other industry that provides material handling equipment comparable to the automatic dumping machines for the handling of lake and tidewater coal and the ore unloading machines for the discharge of vessels. Livestock pens and grain elevators that are, in many instances, owned by railroads are another indication of the extent to which the railroads go to make materials handling easier for the shipping and receiving public.

Still another example of progress in materials handling on the railroads is the development of "piggyback" service, which entails the hauling of over-the-road motor truck trailers on flat cars. Continual re-search is likewise under way to improve the methods of handling such materials as lumber, plywood, plasterboard and similar commodities generally loaded on flat cars, as well as the handling of bulk commodities in covered hopper cars. Another recent innovation is the development of such interior car facilities as permanent lading strap anchors for economical bracing and protection of shipments moving in box cars. Car design advances, including improved draft gear and easy riding trucks, are also highly important. Other contemporary plant improvements relate to tracks, bridges, communications, and signals. One of the most outstanding changes is, of course, the transition from steam to diesel motive power.

In such ways does materials handling continue to receive aggressive attention through research and investment on the American railroads. Improvements in the field are an important factor in enabling railroads to provide the best possible service at the lowest possible cost.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUS-

TITLE 44, SECTION 182D. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1935, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

- 1. Arrangement of the daily Record.—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the Record with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.
- 2. Type and style.—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the Congressional Record, in 71/2-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 61/2-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.
 3. Return of manuscript.—When manu-
- 3. Return of manuscript.—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. Tabular matter.—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. Proof furnished.—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. Notation of withheld remarks.—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr.—addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. Thirty-day limit.—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Appendix to daily Record.—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. Official reporters.—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. Estimate of cost.—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. Illustrations.—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44. United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the Record should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the Record and shall be linecuted only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. Corrections.—The permanent Recorn is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided further, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which I shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and I at the Capitol.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

SENATORS WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON OFFICE ADDRESS: Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. [Streets northwest unless otherwise stated] Vice President, Richard Nixon Aiken, George D., Vt_____Carroll Arms. Allott, Gordon, Colo____ Anderson, Clinton P., 6 Wesley Circle. Barkley, Alben W., Ky_____ Barrett, Frank A., Wyo____The Woodner, Beall, J. Glenn, Md_____ Bender, George H., Ohio___The Mayflower Bennett, Wallace F., Utah __ Bible, Alan, Nev....The Mayflower. Bridges, Styles, N. H.... Bush, Prescott, Conn____ Eutler, John Marshall, Md_ Byrd, Harry Flood, Va____The Shoreham. Capehart, Homer E., Ind ___ The Westchester. Carlson, Frank, Kans Sheraton-Park Case, Clifford P., N. J Case, Francis, S. Dak 4545 Conn. Ave. Chavez, Dennis, N. Mex 3327 Cleveland ---4545 Conn. Ave. Clements, Earle C., Ky____2800 Woodley Rd. Cotton, Norris, N. H._____Curtis, Carl T., Nebr_____ Daniel, Price, Tex______ Dirksen, Everett M., Ill____ Douglas, Paul H., Ill____ Duff, James H., Pa___ Dworshak, Henry C., Idaho. Eastland, James O., Miss___5101 Macomb St. Eilender, Allen J., La____ Ervin, Samuel J., Jr., N. C__ Fianders, Ralph E., Vt____ Frear, J. Allen, Jr., Del____ Fulbright, J. William, Ark__ George, Walter F., Ga____The Mayflower. Goldwater, Barry M., Ariz_ Gore, Albert, Tenn_. Green, Theodore Francis, University Club. R. I. Hayden, Carl, Ariz ... Hennings, Thomas C., Jr., Mo. Hickenlooper, Bourke B., 5511 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Holland, Spessard L., Fla...Sheraton-Park Hruska, Roman L., Nebr..... Humphrey, Hubert H., Ives, Irving M., N. Y Jackson, Henry M., Wash... Jenner, William E., Ind..... Johnson, Lyndon B., Tex... Johnston, Olin D., S. C Kefauver, Estes, Tenn......4848 Upton St. Kennedy, John F., Mass...... Kerr, Robert S., Okla....... Kilgore, Harley M., W. Va...3934 Macomb St. Knowland, William F., Calif. Kuchel, Thomas H., Calif__ Langer, William, N. Dak___The Roosevelt. Lehman, Herbert H., N. Y_Sheraton-Park Long, Russell B., La___ McCarthy, Joseph R., Wis__ McClellan, John L., Ark____ McNamara, Pat, Mich ____ Magnuson, Warren G., The Shoreham. Wash. Malone, George W., Nev....The Mayflower. Mansfield, Mike, Mont..... Martin, Edward, Pa..... Martin, Thomas E., Iowa... Millikin, Eugene D., Colo__ Monroney, A. S. Mike, Montoney, Okla. Okla. Morse, Wayne, Oreg_____5020 Lowell & Mundt, Karl E., S. Dak___The Capitol Towers. ____5020 Lowell St. Murray, James E., Mont ... The Shoreham. Neely, Matthew M., W. Va__ Neuberger, Richard L.

Oreg.

O'Mahoney, Joseph C., Sheraton-Park

```
Robertson, A. Willis, Va ...
Russell, Richard B., Ga ...
Saltonstall, Leverett, Mass_2320 Tracy Pl.
Schoeppel, Andrew F.,
Scott, W. Kerr, N. C.____
Smathers, George A., Fla__
Smith, H. Alexander, N. J_Sheraton-Park
Smith, Margaret Chase, (Mrs.), Maine.
Sparkman, John J., Ala____4920 Upton St.
Stennis, John, Miss
Symington, Stuart, Mo ....
Thurmond, Strom, S. C ....
Thye, Edward J., Minn____
Watkins, Arthur V., Utah...
Welker, Herman, Idaho....4823 Tilden St.
Wiley, Alexander, Wis....2122 Mass. Ave.
Williams, John J., Del.....
 Young, Milton R., N. Dak__Quebec House So.
                 OFFICERS OF THE SENATE
 Secretary-Felton M. Johnston,
Chief Clerk—Emery L. Frazier.
Sergeant at Arms—Joseph C. Duke.
Secretary for the Majority—Robert G. Baker.
Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice.
Chaplain—Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D.
```

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

Messrs. Ellender (chairman), Johnston of South Carolina, Holland, Anderson, Eastland, Clements, Humphrey, Scott, Aiken, Young, Thye, Hickenlooper, Mundt, Williams, and Schoeppel.

Committee on Appropriations

Messrs. Hayden (chairman), Russell, Chavez, Ellender, Hill, Kilgore, McClellan, Robertson, Magnuson, Holland, Stennis, Clements, Bridges, Saltonstall, Young, Knowland, Thye, McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Dworshak, Dirksen, and Potter.

Committee on Armed Services

Messrs. Russell (chairman), Byrd, Johnson of Texas, Kefauver, Stennis, Symington, Jackson, Ervin, Bridges, Saltonstall, Flanders, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Case of South Dakota, Duff, and Welker.

Committee on Banking and Currency

Messrs. Fulbright (chairman), Robertson, Sparkman, Frear, Douglas, Lehman, Mon-roney, Capehart, Bricker, Ives, Bennett, Bush, Beall, Payne, and Morse.

Committee on the District of Columbia Messrs. Neely (chairman), Gore, Bible, Mc-Namara, Beall, Hruska, Case of New Jersey, Allott, and Morse.

Committee on Finance

Messrs. Byrd (chairman), George, Kerr, Frear, Long, Smathers, Johnson of Texas, Barkley, Millikin, Martin of Pennsylvania, Williams, Flanders, Malone, Carlson, and Bennett.

Committee on Foreign Relations

Messrs. George (chairman), Green, Ful-bright, Sparkman, Humphrey, Mansfield, Barkley, Wiley, Smith of New Jersey, Hicken-looper, Langer, Knowland, Aiken, Capehart, and Morse.

Committee on Government Operations

Messrs. McClellan (chairman), Jackson, Kennedy, Symington, Ervin, Humphrey, Thurmond, McCarthy, Mundt, Mrs. Smith of Maine, Messrs. Cotton, Bender, and Martin

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Messrs. Murray (chairman), Anderson, Long, Jackson, O'Mahoney, Scott, Bible, Neu-berger, Millikin, Malone, Watkins, Dworshak, Kuchel, Barrett, and Goldwater.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Messrs. Magnuson (chairman), Pastore, Monroney, Smathers, Daniel, Ervin, Bible,

Thurmond, Bricker, Schoeppel, Butler, Potter, Duff, Purtell, and Payne.

Committee on the Judiciary

Messrs. Kilgore (chairman), Eastland, Kefauver, Johnston of South Carolina, Hennings, McClellan, Daniel, O'Mahoney, Wiley, Langer, Jenner, Watkins, Dirksen, Welker,

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare Messrs. Hill (chairman), Murray, Neely, Douglas, Lehman, Kennedy, McNamara, Smith of New Jersey, Ives, Purtell, Gold-water, Bender, and Allott.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

Messrs, Johnston of South Carolina (chairman), Neely, Pastore, Monroney, Hennings, Scott, Neuberger, Carlson, Jenner, Langer, Curtis, Martin of Iowa, and Case of New Jersey.

Committee on Public Works

Messrs. Chavez (chairman), Kerr, Gore, Symington, Thurmond, McNamara, Neuberger, Martin of Pennsylvania, Case of South Dakota, Bush, Kuchel, Cotton, and

Committee on Rules and Administration

Messrs, Green (chairman), Hayden, Hennings, Gore, Mansfield, Jenner, Barrett, Mc-Carthy, and Curtis.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel

Sheraton-Park, Washington, D. C. Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.

Mr. Justice Reed, of Hentucky, the Mayflower, Mr. Justice Frankfurter, of Massachusetts, 3018 Dumbarton Ave.

Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 3701 Connecticut Ave.

Mr. Justice Burton, of Ohio, the Dodge.

Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut

Mr. Justice Minton, of Indiana, the Methodist Building.

Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Clerk—Harold B. Willey, 3214 N. Wakefield St., Arlington, Va. Deputy Clerk-Reginald C. Dilli, 1329 Hem-

lock St Deputy Clerk-Hugh W. Barr, 4701 Connecti-

cut Ave.

Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Road. Reporter—Walter Wyatt, 1702 Kalmia Rd. Librarian—Helen Newman, 126 3d St. SE.

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS JUSTICES ASSIGNED TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit; Mr. Justice Frank-irter. Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Puerto Rico.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan.

Vermont, Connecticut, New York. Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Burton, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Virgin

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Canal Zone.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Reed.

Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, Tennessee, Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Min-

ton. Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Arkansas.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Washington, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, Cali-fornia, Nevada, Arizona, Alaska, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Kansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

REPRESENTATIVES WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building. Washington, D. C. [Streets northwest unless otherwise stated] Speaker, Sam Rayburn Abbitt, Watkins M., Va_ Abernethy, Thos. G., Miss_6278 29th St. Adair, E. Ross, Ind____4200 Cathedral Ave. Addonizio, Hugh J., N. J ... Ave. Anfuso, Victor L., N. Y_____Arends, Leslie C., Ill_____4815 Dexter St.

Ashley, Thomas L., Ohio___
Ashmore, Robert T., S. C___
Aspinall, Wayne N., Colo_Arlington Towers, Arlington, Va. Auchincloss, James C., N. J. 113 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va. Avery, William H., Kans___ Ayres, William H., Ohio___ Bailey, Cleveland M., W. Va_ Baker, Howard H., Tenn.... Baldwin, John F., Jr., Calif. Barden, Graham A., N. C...2737 Devonshire Pl. Barrett, William A., Pa... Bass, Perkins, N. H..... Bass, Ross, Tenn... Bates, William H., Mass Baumhart, A. D., Jr., Ohio_ Beamer, John V., Ind____110 Maryland Ave. NE Bentley, Alvin M., Mich... Berry, E. Y., S. Dak.... ___2720 Terrace Betty, Jackson E., Ohio

Blatnik, John A., Minn
Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga
Boggs, Hale, La
Boland, Edward P., Mass
Bolling, Richard, Mo
Bolton, Frances P., Ohio
Bolton, Oliver P., Ohio
Bonner, Herbert C., N. C. The Dorchester
Bosch, Albert H., N. Y
Bow, Frank T., Ohio
Bow, Frank T., Ohio
Boykin, Frank W., Ala
Boykin, Frank W., Ala
Bray, William G., Ind
Brooks, Jack B., Tez Road SE. Brooks, Jack B., Tex.____ Brooks, Overton, La_____4413 46th St.
Brown, Clarence J., Ohio_Alban Towers
Brown, Paul, Ga_____Boston House
Brownson, Charles B., Ind_ Brownson, Charles B., Ina.
Broyhill, Joel T., Va......
Buchanan, Vera, Pa.....
Buckley, Charles A., N. Y...
Budge, Hamer H., Idaho...
Burdick, Usher L., N. Dak...
Burleson, Omar, Tcx.......2737 Devonshire
Pl. Arlington, Va. Canfield, Gordon, N. J.___ Cannon, Clarence, Mo____ Carlyle, F. Ertel, N. C.____The Washington Carnahan, A. S. J., Mo.___ Carrigg, Joseph L., Pa____ Cederberg, Elford A., Mich. Celler, Emanucl, N. Y.___ The Mayflower Chase, Jackson B., Nebr.__ Chatham, Thurmond, N. C. Chelf, Frank, Ky_____Chenoweth, J. Edgar, Colo_

CONGIGERATION AND RECORD
Chiperfield, Robert B., III1713 House Office Building
Christopher, George H.,
Church, Marguerite Stitt, 2122 Mass. Ave. Ill.
Clark, Frank M., Pa The Jefferson Cole, W. Sterling, N. Y 1610 44th St. Colmer, William M., Miss Cooley, Harold D., N. C The Dorchester
Colmer, William M., Miss Cooley, Harold D., N. C The Dorchester
Cooper, Jere, TennThe Washington
Coon, Sam, Oreg
Jr., Ind.
Cunningham, Paul, Iowa Curtis, Laurence, Mass3314 O St. Curtis, Thomas B., Mo
Dayidson, Irwin D., N. Y
Davis, Clifford, Tenn4611 Butter- worth Pl. Davis, Glenn R., Wis2550 South Joyce
Davis, James C., Ga
Dawson, William A., Utah
Deane, Charles B., N. C Deinney, James J., N. Y Dempsey, John J., N. Mex-2500 Q St. Denton, Winfield K., Ind-
Dempsey, John J., N. Mex2500 Q St. Denton, Winfield K., Ind
Derounian, Steven B., N. Y. Devereux, James P. S., Md. Dies, Martin, Tex
Diggs, Charles C., Jr., Mich. The Congressions Dingell, John D., Mich.
Dixon, Henry Aldous, Utah. Dodd, Thomas J., Conn
Dollinger, Isidore, N. Y Dolliver, James I., Iowa3752 Jocelyn St. Dondero, George A., MichThe Continental
Donohue, Harold D., Mass. Donovan, James G., N. Y Dorn, Francis E., N. Y
Dorn, Francis E., N. Y Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C
Doyle, Clyde, Calif3877 30th St. N., Arlington, Va.
Durham, Carl T., N. CThe Lee House Eberharter, Herman P., Pa.3101 4th St. N.,
Arlington, Va. Edmondson, Ed. Okla
Elliott, Carl, Ala
Arlington, Va. Evins, Joe L., Tenn5044 Klingle St. Fallon, George H., Md
Fascell, Dante B., Fla Feighan, Michael A., Ohio_ Fenton, Ivor D., Pa3725 Macomb St.
Fernandez, A. M., N. Mex_200 CSt. SE.
Fine, Sidney A., N. Y
Fjare, Orvin B., Mont The Congressions Flynt John J. Jr. Ga
Flynt, John J., Jr., Ga Fogarty, John E., R. I3627 Chesapeake St.
Forund, Aime J., R. I.——4108 Dresden St. Kensington, Md.
Ford, Gerald R., Jr., Mich514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Forrester, E. L., Ga3251 Q St. Fountain, L. H., N. C3251 Q St. Frazier, Jas. B., Jr., Tenn. Fairfax Hotel Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr., 3014 N St. N. J.
Friedel, Samuel N., Md Fulton, James G., Pa
Gamble, Ralph A., N. Y Garmatz, Edward A., Md
Gamble, Edward A. Md Gary, J. Vaughan, Va Gathings, E. C., Ark
Gentry, Brady, Tex3801 Rodman St George, Myron V., Kans3801 Rodman St Gordon, Thomas S., Ill

```
Granahan, William T., Pa...
Grant, George M., Ala......4801 Conn. Ave. Gray, Kenneth J., Ill......
Green, Edith, Oreg..........
Green, William J., Jr., Pa...
Gregory, Noble J., Ky......2401 Calvert St. Grimths, Martha W., Mich...
Gross, H. R., Iowa.................
Gubser, Charles S., Calif................
Gwinn, Ralph W., N. Y................
Hagen, Harlan, Calif _____
 Harrison, Robert D., Nebr ...
Harvey, Ralph, Ind ....
                                          110 Maryland
                                           Ave. NE.
314 2d St. SE.
Hays, Brooks, Ark
Hays, Wayne L., Ohio ____ The Woodner
Hayworth, Don, Mich.....
Hébert, F. Edward, La.....104 Cockrell St.,
                                           Alexandria, Va.
Henderson, John E., Ohio_-125 Marthas Rd.,
                                           Alexandria, Va.
Herlong, A. S., Jr., Fla ....
Heselton, John W., Mass....
Hess, William E., Ohio.....
Hiestand, Edgar W., Calif...
Hill, William S., Colo_____
                                           110 Maryland
                                           Ave. NE.
Hillings, Patrick J., Calif ...
Hinshaw, Carl, Calif____
Hoeven, Charles B., Iowa_2108 Sultland
Hoffman, Clare E., Mich. Methodist Bldg.
Hoffman, Richard W., III. Holifield, Chet. Calif. Holmes, Hal, Wash.
Horan, Walt, Wash____
Hosmer, Craig, Calif____
Huddleston, George, Jr.,
Ala.
Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo.....
Hyde, DeWitt S., Md.....
Ikard, Frank, Tex ....
Jackson, Donald L., Calif ... James, Benjamin F., Pa ... 200 C St. SE.
ton House
Johansen, August E., Mich_
Johnson, Leroy, Calif_____630 North Caro-
                                           lina Ave. SE.
3816 Pope St. SE.
Johnson, Lester R., Wis____
Jonas, Charles Raper, N. C.
Jones, Paul C., Mo_____
                                       __3613 Greenway
                                           Pl., Alexandria,
Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala...
Jones, Woodrow W., N. C...
Judd, Walter H., Minn....3083 Ordway St.
Karsten, Frank M., Mo____
Kean, Robert W., N. J____2435 Kalorama
```

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

	001101001011111 1-0011-	
Laird, Melvin R., Wis	Pilcher, J. L., Ga	Tumulty, T. James, N. J
Landrum, Phil M., Ga	Pillion, John R., N. Y.	Udall, Stewart L., Ariz
Lane, Thomas J., Mass Lanham, Henderson, Ga	Poage, W. R., Tex2309 Skyland Pl. SE.	Utt, James B., Calif
Lankford, Richard E., Md	Poff, Richard H., Va	Vanik, Charles A., Ohio Van Pelt, William K., Wis
Latham, Henry J., N. Y	Polk, James G., Ohio	Van Zandt, James E., PaThe Senate Courts
LeCompte, Karl M., Iowa_Sheraton-Park	Powell, Adam C., Jr., N. Y.	Velde Harold H. III
Lesinski, John, Jr., Mich Lipscomb, Glenard P., Calif.	Price, Melvin, Ill	Vinson, Carl, Ga4 Primrose St.,
Long, George S., La	Priest, J. Percy, TennThe Berkshire	Chevy Chase, Md. Vorys, John M., Ohio2032 Belmont Rd.
Lovre, Harold O., S. Dak1605 Sherwood	Prouty, Winston L., Vt	Vursell, Charles W., IllThe Congres-
Road, Silver	Quigley, James M., Pa	sional
Spring, Md.	Rabaut, Louis C., Mich	Wainwright, Stuyvesant,
McCarthy, Eugene J., Minn_419 Raymond St.,	Radwan, Edmund P., N. Y.	N. Y.
McConnell, Samuel K., Jr.,	Rains, Albert, Ala	Walter, Francis E., Pa Watts, John C., Ky
Pa.	Rayburn, Sam, Tex	Weaver, Phil, Nebr9408 Crosby Rd.,
McCormack, John W., Mass_The Washington	Reece, B. Carroll, Tenn	Silver Spring, Md.
McCulloch, Wm. M., Ohio Westchester Apts.	Reed, Chauncey W., Ill2009 Glen Ross	Westland, Jack, Wash
McDonough, G. L., Calif	Rd., Silver Spring, Md.	Wharton, J. Ernest, N. Y Whitten, Jamie L., Miss5804 Nebraska
McDowell, Harris B., Jr., Del.	Reed, Daniel A., N. Y The Woodner	Ave.
McGregor, J. Harry, Ohio_The Westchester	Rees, Edward H., Kans1801 16th St.	Wickersham, Victor, Okla
McIntire, Clifford G.,	Reuss, Henry S., Wis2750 32d St.	Widnall, William B., N. J
Maine McMillan, John L., S. C1201 S. Barton St.,	Rhodes, George M., Pa1809 Franklin St. NE.	Wier, Roy W., Minn Wigglesworth, R. B., Mass3257 N. St.
Arlington, Va.	Rhodes, John J., Ariz	Williams, Harrison, Jr.,
McVey, William E., Ill3130 Wisconsin	Richards, James P., S. C	N. J.
Ave.	Riehlman, R. Walter, N. Y_3210 Wis. Ave.	Williams, John Bell, Miss1001 26th Road S.,
Macdonald, Torbert H.,	Riley, John J., S. C Rivers, L. Mendel, S. C	Williams, William R., N. Y_1241 Pa. Ave. SE.
Mass.	Roberts, Kenneth A., Ala_4545 Conn. Ave.	Willis, Edwin E., La
Machrowicz, Thaddeus M., 812 Park Ave., Mich. Falls Church, Va.	Robeson, Edward J., Jr., Va_	Wilson, Earl, Ind
Mich. Falls Church, Va. Mack, Peter F., Jr., Ill	Robsion, John M., Jr., Ky_1500 Delafield Pl.	Wilson, Robert C. (Bob),
Mack, Russell V., Wash	Rodino, Peter W., Jr., N. J Rogers, Byron G., Colo	Calif. Winstead, Arthur, Miss
Madden, Ray J., Ind3250 T St. SE.	Rogers, Edith Nourse, Mass. The Shoreham	Withrow, Gardner R., Wis-
Magnuson, Don, Wash	Rogers, Paul G., Fla	Wolcott, Jesse P., Mich3707 Thornapple
Mahon, George H., TexAlban Towers Mailliard, William S., Calif.	Rogers, Walter, Tex	St., Chevy Chase
Marshall Fred Minn	Rooney, John J., N. Y Roosevelt, James, Calif	Wolverton, Charles A., N. J_1336 HOB Wright, Jim, Tex
Martin, Jos. W., Jr., MassThe Hay-Adams	Rutherford, J. T., Tex	Yates, Sidney R., Ill
Mason, Noah M., IllThe Baronet Matthews, D. R. (Billy),	Sadlak, Antoni N., Conn	Young, Clifton (Cliff), Nev_3202 So. Stafford
Fla.	St. George, Katharine, N.Y.	St., Arlington, Va.
Meader, George, Mich 3360 Tennyson St.	Saylor, John P., Pa	Younger, J. Arthur, Calif_4545 Conn. Ave.
Merrow, Chester E., N. H	Schenck, Paul F., Ohio3801 Conn. Ave., Apt. 307	Zablocki, Clement J., Wis
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West	Scherer, Gordon H., Ohio The Mayflower	Zelenko, Herbert, N. Y
Highway, Chevy	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa	DELEGATES
Chase, Md.	Scott, Hugh, Pa	Bartlett, E. L. (Bob), 1718 33d Pl. SE.
Miller, Edward T., Md 2901 Conn. Ave.	Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Cathedral Ave.	Alaska.
Miller, George P., Calif Miller, William E., N. Y3708 Calvend	Scudder, Hubert B., Calif 4545 Conn. Ave.	Farrington, Mrs. Joseph R., Hawati.
Lane, Kensing-	Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr.,	RESIDENT COMMISSIONER
ton, Md.	Conn.	Fernós-Isern, A., P. R2210 R St.
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave.	Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B 36th St. So., Arlington, Va.	
Minshall, William E., Ohio. Mollohan, Robert H.,	Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill	OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE
W. Va.	Shelley, John F., Calif	Clerk—Ralph R. Roberts. Sergeant at Arms—Zeake W. Johnson, Jr.
Morano, Albert P., Conn	Sheppard, Harry R., Calif	Doorkeeper—William M. Miller.
Morgan, Thomas E., Pa Morrison, James H., La4420 Dexter St.	Short, Dewey, MoSheraton-Park	Chaplain-Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D.,
Moss, John E., Jr., Calif	Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J.	1421 Montague St.
Moulder, Morgan M., Mo	Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla	Postmaster—H. H. Morris.
Multer, Abraham J., N. Y.	Siler, Eugene, Ky Simpson, Richard M., Pa_4545 Conn. Ave.	OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE
Mumma, Walter M., PaThe Coronet Murray, James C., Ill	Simpson, Sid, Ill2100 Mass. Ave.	SENATE
Murray, Tom, Tenn	Sisk, B. F., Calif	James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy
Natcher, William H., Ky5108 Bradley	Smith, Frank E., Miss	Chase, Md.
Blvd., Bethesda,	Smith, Howard W., Va204 W. Walnut St. Alexandria, Va.	John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane.
Md.	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Dorchester	Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St. Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace.
Nelson, Charles P., Maine	Smith, Wint, Kans	J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE.
Nicholson, D. W., Mass Norblad, Walter, Oreg	Spence, Brent, KySheraton-Park	Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St.,
Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave.	Springer, William L., Ill Staggers, Harley O., W. Va_	Arlington, Va.
O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y	Steed, Tom, Okla	Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St. Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr.,
O'Brien, Thomas J., IllThe Hamilton	Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo	Silver Spring, Md.
O'Hara, Barratt, IllThe Congressional	Taber, John, N. Y	Elmer L. Koons (assistant), 826 Aspen St.
O'Hara, Joseph P., Minn2813 31st St. O'Konski, Alvin E., Wis4201 Mass, Ave.	Talle, Henry O., Iowa	Willard W. Pruett (clerk), 5020 Illinois Ave.
O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr.,	Taylor, Dean P., N. Y Teague, Charles M., Calif	HOUSE
Mass.	Teague, Olin E., Tex6015 Mass. Ave.	W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Ave.
Osmers, Frank C., Jr., N. J.	Thomas, Albert, Tex2901 34th St.	Roy L. Whitman, 4820 Linnean Ave.
Ostertag, Harold C., N. Y_100 Maryland Ave. NE.	Thompson, Clark W., TexSheraton-Park	F. S. Milberg, 5032 Massachusetts Ave.
Passman, Otto E., La	Thompson, Frank, Jr., N. J. Thompson, Ruth, Mich	E. B. Clark, 604 Bennington Dr., Silver Spring, Md.
Patman, Wright, Tex117 Carroll St. SE.	Thompson, T. A., La726 So. Royal St.,	Frank E. Battaglia, 957 East-West Highway.
Patterson, James T., Conn.	Alexandria, Va.	Claude S. Scheckel, 6 East Blackthorne St.,
Pelly, Thomas M., Wash Perkins, Carl D., Ky	Thornberry Homer Tex	Chevy Chase, Md.
Prost, Gracie, Idaho	Thornberry, Homer, Tex Tollefson, Thor C., Wash	Albert Schneider, 7516 14th St. Paul L. Miller (clerk), Shadyside, Md.
Philbin, Philip J., Mass	Trimble, James W., Ark	Sidney W. Williston (assistant clerk), 1830
Phillips, John, Calif	Tuck, William M., Va	Longford Drive, Hyattsville, Md.

